

JOINT UNIT FOR RESEARCH ON THE URBAN ENVIRONMENT

FACULTY OF ENGINEERING

LAND USE CHANGE AND THE PLANNING PROCESS

IN HISTORIC TOWN CENTRES

BY

HELEN ROSEMARY HAY, B.A. (HONS).

THESIS SUBMITTED FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER
OF PHILOSOPHY

THE UNIVERSITY OF ASTON IN BIRMINGHAM

June 1983.

SUMMARY - Land Use Change and the Planning Process in Historic Town Centres,
Helen Rosemary Hay. M.Phil. thesis, 1983. University of Aston in
Birmingham.

The study makes an assessment of the role of planning in the pattern of land use and processes of change in historic centres. A comprehensive view is taken to locate and document change, both historically and in major land use activities, primarily retailing, and also at different geographical scales. This helps to explain some aspects of area change and problems arising for planning particularly on the edge of the central area. By concentrating on land use and planning outcomes, the study covers aspects often ignored in the historic town context, where most concern tends to be for the physical fabric. The research therefore contributes to the knowledge and techniques available to more fully understand change within centres.

The method of investigation is via a case study of one historic centre, Shrewsbury. A transect through the centre enables rates and types of change to be compared between the core and fringe, and the specific influences of planning pressures and decisions to be related to policies and change over time and space. It is also the basis for an interview survey of businesses.

The organisation of the thesis is in three parts. The first reviews changes which have taken place in historic centres and their inter action with planning styles and policies. Theories of land use structure and change on which much understanding of towns is based are discussed. The main issues and questions raised are then explored in the second part by means of the case study. The final part, which sets out the general conclusions and implications for local planning, gives particular importance to change in fringe areas. The information and techniques which would make the planning process more responsive to change in historic centres are noted and suggestions made for undertaking land use and area impact studies.

LAND USE

PLANNING

HISTORIC CENTRES

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to thank the following for information and useful discussion:

Mr. Graham Pearce, Environmental Planning and Policy Studies Department, The University of Aston in Birmingham; Mr. Hugh Williams, Joint Unit for Research on the Urban Environment, University of Aston; Shrewsbury and Atcham District Council Planning Department, notably Mr. Phillip Insley, Conservation Officer and Mr. Hugh Jones, Local Plans; Messrs. John Stagg, Jim Pithouse and Paul Bainbridge and other staff of the local plans and conservation sections of Worcester City Council and Hereford City Council Planning Departments; The Structure Plan Departments of Shropshire County Council and Hereford and Worcester County Council; Members of Hereford Civic Trust, Worcester Civic Society and Shrewsbury Civic Society; staff of the Shrewsbury Local Studies Library. Thanks are also due to Ms. Anne O'Sullivan for help with the typing.

LIST OF CONTENTSPAGE NO.CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1	Introduction to the main elements of the research	1
1.2	Post War change and planning in town centres	5
1.3	Development of conservation planning and area policies	8
1.4	The Planning Process: Critical elements for planning in historic centres	13
1.4.1	The integration of different levels and timescales of planning	14
1.4.2	Co-ordination with other policies and errors in the process	16
1.4.3	Deficiency of theory and methodology	17
1.4.4	The influences and consequences of planning	20
1.5	Research requirements and purposes	26

CHAPTER TWO: CHANGE IN HISTORIC TOWN CENTRES - EMPIRICAL
OBSERVATIONS AND LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1	Introduction	29
2.2	Post-War changes in historic town centres and planning influences	30
2.2.1	Urban growth and sprawl - early development plans of the 1950's	30
2.2.2	The effects of redevelopment policies - late 50's to early 60's	33
2.2.3	Impacts of Transport Management - mid 60's	34
2.2.4	Loss of 'character' and historic fabric - the designation of Conservation Areas - late 1960's and early 1970's	36
2.2.5	The emphasis on adaptation and full economic use - the late 1970's onwards	37
2.2.6	Conclusion	41
2.3	Review of trends in central area land use	43
2.3.1	Retailing - the importance of this sector	47
2.3.2	Shopping Patterns: Changes in consumption	52
2.3.3	Shopping Patterns: Changes in production	57

2.3.4	Shopping Patterns: Changes from the physical/spatial viewpoint	64
2.3.5	Commerce. The demand for offices and the historic towns.	68
2.3.6	Effects of the increase in Service Trades	71
2.3.7	Protecting the historic town centre - Retail and commercial planning policies	73
2.3.8	The trends and future for retail planning in the historic centre	78
2.3.9	Other central area activities	81
2.4	The spatial/urban structure perspective of local planning	88
2.4.1	Current planning of central areas and review of local plans	88
2.4.2	The planning role and consequences with reference to fringe areas	99
2.4.3	Fringe area identification and issues	102
2.4.4	Policy characteristics and effects in fringe zones	104
2.5	Summary	108
2.5.1	Planning influences over time	108
2.5.2	Sectoral trends	109
2.5.3	Spatial/structural change and local planning	110

CHAPTER THREE: RELATED THEORIES AND RESEARCH

3.1	Introduction	112
3.2	Urban structure and process of change theories - with reference to planning and the historic city	114
3.2.1	Classical theories of urban development and change	114
3.2.2	Central area theories	121
3.3	Central area land use activities and planning	134
3.3.1	Retailing	136
3.3.2	Offices	141
3.3.3	Residential	143
3.3.4	Mixed use areas	143
3.4	Planning and the central area fringe zone - Processes of area change	149

	<u>PAGE NO.</u>
3.4.1 Theoretical location and characteristics	149
3.4.2 Subsequent research and theory on various aspects	156
3.5 The trader in secondary locations - Behavioural aspects of change in land uses	166
3.5.1 Retail quality and socio-economic characteristics	167
3.5.2 Specific shops - problems and potential	168
3.5.3 The role of planning	170
3.6 Summary	173
3.6.1 Urban structure theories	173
3.6.2 Central area activities	174
3.6.3 Fringe area theory	175
3.6.4 The Trader in secondary locations	177
<u>CHAPTER FOUR: DELIMITATION AND DESIGN OF THE RESEARCH INVESTIGATION</u>	
4.1 Introduction	178
4.2 Review of the limitations of planning in historic town centre	178
4.3 Questions arising from the background information	183
4.3.1 Questions from Chapter Two	183
4.3.2 Questions from Chapter Three	185
4.4 A framework for the research investigation	189
4.5 Designation of the research method: The case study	197
4.5.1 The case study approach	197
4.5.2 Stages of the study	198
4.6 Techniques for obtaining and analysing the data	201
4.6.1 Secondary data	201
4.6.2 Interviews and surveys	202
4.7 The Research Investigation - A case study of Shrewsbury Town Centre	211
4.7.1 Criteria for the selection of the case study	211
4.7.2 Introduction to the case study town	212

CHAPTER FIVE: HISTORICAL LAND USE FACTORS - PLANNING AND CHANGE
OVER TIME

5.1	The Town level: Strategic aspects and continuing influences	218
5.1.1	The historical land use pattern and continuing influences in Shrewsbury	219
5.1.2	Post-war planning activity and land use changes	233
5.2	The Central Area: Historical view of activities	238
5.2.1	Changing use over time	238
5.2.2	The rate of change over time	252
5.3	Site level: The influence of historical land patterns on use change	258
5.3.1	Historically derived building types and influences on uses	258
5.3.2	Building changes to accommodate different types and levels of use over time	265
5.3.3	The influence of changing planning policies	268
5.4	Summary of historical aspects of land use change	271

CHAPTER SIX: CENTRAL AREA ACTIVITIES

6.1	Town level functions	274
6.1.1	The changing roles of the town	274
6.1.2	The influence of planning on sectoral change	278
6.2	Sub areas of the Centre - use characteristics	290
6.2.1	Changes of use 1961 - 81	290
6.2.2	Planning influence 1961 - 81	301
6.3	Site level changing uses	306
6.3.1	New types of businesses and trends	306
6.3.2	Problems of older types of businesses	308
6.3.3	Mixed and multiple uses	310
6.3.4	Rate of change of businesses	312
6.3.5	The influence of particular uses on change	314
6.4	Summary of sectoral aspects of land use change in Shrewsbury	316

CHAPTER SEVEN: SPATIAL PROCESSES OF LAND USE CHANGE AND THE
PLANNING ROLE

7.1	The spatial pattern of the towns development and planning policies	319
7.1.1	Spatial land use pattern	319
7.1.2	The consequences of planning	321
7.2	Spatial change in areas of the centre	333
7.2.1	Area definition	333
7.2.2	Characteristics of central area land use	335
7.3	Site level: Location and development factors	341
7.3.1	Location decisions	341
7.3.2	Planning and the location decision	345
7.3.3	Improvement and conversion decisions	350
7.4	Summary of spatial and structural aspects of land use change in Shrewsbury	353

CHAPTER EIGHT: LAND USE CHANGE AND PLANNING THE CENTRAL AREA FRINGE

8.1	Transect study of development proposals and property uses	357
8.1.1	The general land use pattern	364
8.1.2	Changes of use 1961 - 81	364
8.1.3	Pressures for development	365
8.2	Fringe areas study	371
8.2.1	Area 1 - Frankwell	371
8.2.2	Area 2 - Wyle Cop	402
8.3	Aspects of change in fringe areas	423
8.3.1	Fringe area types and changes	423
8.3.2	Backland development	428
8.4	Summary of the transect and area study methods	434
8.4.1	The transect study	434
8.4.2	The area studies	436

CHAPTER NINE: ANALYSIS OF CASE STUDY FINDINGS

9.1	Introduction: Aims and Contents of the Chapter and the Relationship of the Case Study to the Research	438
9.2	Methods Adopted and Appraisal of their Validity in Terms of the Study	439
9.2.1	Methodological approach to the case study	439
9.2.2	Methods to analyse historical aspects of land use	439
9.2.3	Methods to analyse change in land use sectors	440
9.2.4	Methods used to view spatial changes	441
9.2.5	Further methods to study change in fringe areas	441a
9.3	Summary and Appraisal of Case Study Findings	442
9.3.1	The process of change	442
9.3.2	Theories of change in the centre and fringe	445
9.3.3	Planning influence in the centre and fringe areas	452

CHAPTER TEN: CONCLUSIONS

10.1	Introduction	458
10.2	General Conclusions Relevant to Historic Towns and Areas	460
10.2.1	The process of change in historic centres	460
10.2.2	Change from the historical viewpoint and sectoral trends	460
10.2.3	Spatial processes of change with reference to other research and theories	462
10.2.4	The problem and potential of fringe areas	463
10.2.5	Methods to improve understanding of change in historic centres	464
10.3	Assessment of Planning Effects and Interaction with Market Forces	466
10.3.1	General planning outcomes in the historic centre	466
10.3.2	Planning from the historical and sectoral view- points	466
10.3.3	Planning and spatial processes with reference to theories and research	467

PAGE NO.

10.3.4	Planning problems in fringe areas	468
10.3.5	Methods of assessing land use change and planning consequences at area level	469
10.4	Planning Implications and Possible Policy Responses	471
10.4.1	General implications for planning	471
10.4.2	Policies with regard to historical and sectoral trends	472
10.4.3	Implications for policies in spatial change	473
10.4.4	Implications for planning of fringe areas	474
10.4.5	Implications for planning methodology	475

APPENDICES

Appendix A:	Summary of Pilot Studies of the Historic Centres of Hereford and Worcester	477
Appendix B:	Historic Towns Commercial Statistics	481
Appendix C:	Transect Survey Notes, The Questionnaire and Summary of Replies	486
Appendix D:	Notes on Other Fringe Areas of Shrewsbury Town Centre	496
Appendix E:	Indications for Further Research	504

LIST OF REFERENCES

Part 1.	Books and Periodicals	505
Part 2.	Government Circulars and Local Authority Reports	512
Part 3.	References for Shrewsbury Case Study	513

LIST OF TABLES

2.1	Population change in 22 historic towns 1951 - 81	45
2.2	% in retail employment	48
2.2a	Shops and restaurants floorspace trends 1967 - 81	50
2.3	Retail shops by business type	54
2.4	Non-food multiples 1978	60
2.5	Retail Outlets: Multiples and Independents 1971	61
2.6	Commercial offices floorspace 1967 - 81	68
2.7	Proportion of retail floorspace in town centres 1971	73
3.1	% Floorspace in industrial and commercial use 1981	135
3.2	Retail research approaches	137
3.3	Land use models and retail accessibility	137
3.4	Classification by Berry of Shop Types by Trade Area	139
3.5	Classification by Davies of Retail Locations	139
3.6	Classification by Alexander of Office Distribution	142
3.7	Classification of Attitudes to the Urban Core	148
5.1	Population of Shrewsbury 1900 - 1981	230
6.1	Commercial and industrial floorspace statistics 1981	276
6.2	Population in the centre and two suburbs of Shrewsbury	279
6.3	Shopping floorspace 1975 and 1979	284
6.4	Shopping floorspace in Centre and Suburbs	285
6.5	Numbers of businesses of different types in Shrewsbury 1964 and 1980	291
8.1	Development proposals for the study transect 1961 - 1981	366
8.2	The timing of development proposals in the study transect	367

PAGE NO.

8.3	Business change in Frankwell 1960 - 80	373
8.4	Floorspace and density in areas of Frankwell	376
8.5	% in different land uses in areas of Frankwell	376
8.6	Types of business interviewed in Frankwell	390
8.7	Business types 1964 and 1981 in Wyle Cop	405
8.8	Business mix 1977 and 1980	406
8.9	Business sample in Wyle Cop	415
8.10	Land use proportions in fringe areas in 1979	424
8.11	Plot ratios in fringe areas	425
8.12	Vacant shopping floorspace in centre and fringe - 1979	425
8.13	Shopping floorspace in centre, fringe and suburban shops - 1979	426
8.14	Analysis of change in fringe areas of Shrewsbury Town Centre	428a
10.1	Approach to classification of fringe areas	463a
10.2	Factors for and against revitalisation in the commercial fringe	464a
10.3	Land use impact checklist	465a
10.4	Approach for an area impact study	469a
10.5	Use of the levels and perspectives framework	470

Appendix B Tables:

II	Retail Statistics for Towns in the West Midlands 1961 and 1971
III	Retail Statistics for Central Areas of West Midlands Towns 1961 and 1971
IV	Retail Statistics for Historic Towns 1961 and 1971
V	Retail Statistics for Central Areas of Historic Towns 1961 and 1971
VI	Commercial Floorspace Statistics 1967 - 81 in 20 Historic Towns

Appendix C Tables:

VII	Questionnaire Summary Totals
VIII	Questionnaire Summary Totals for Recent Movers Only

8.3	Business change in Frankwell 1960 - 80	373
8.4	Floorspace and density in areas of Frankwell	376
8.5	% in different land uses in areas of Frankwell	376
8.6	Types of business interviewed in Frankwell	390
8.7	Business types 1964 and 1981 in Wyle Cop	405
8.8	Business mix 1977 and 1980	406
8.9	Business sample in Wyle Cop	415
8.10	Land use proportions in fringe areas in 1979	424
8.11	Plot ratios in fringe areas	425
8.12	Vacant shopping floorspace in centre and fringe - 1979	425
8.13	Shopping floorspace in centre, fringe and suburban shops - 1979	426
8.14	Analysis of change in fringe areas of Shrewsbury Town Centre	428a
9.1	Classification of Fringe Areas	470

Appendix B Tables:

II	Retail Statistics for Towns in the West Midlands 1961 and 1971
III	Retail statistics for Central Areas of West Midlands Towns 1961 and 1971
IV	Retail Statistics for Historic Towns 1961 and 1971
V	Retail Statistics for Central Areas of Historic Towns 1961 and 1971
VI	Commercial Floorspace Statistics 1967-81 in 20 Historic Towns

Appendix C Tables:

VII	Questionnaire Summary Totals
VIII	Questionnaire Summary Totals for Recent Movers Only

LIST OF FIGURES

1.1	Aerial view of Worcester	3
1.2	A fringe area of central Worcester	25
1.3	Organisation of the research	28
2.1	Population trends in 22 historic towns	46
2.2	Shops and restaurants - Floorspace in 20 historic towns 1967 - 81	49
2.3	Trends in New Shop Building	56
2.4	Changes in a secondary shopping street	67
2.5	Commercial offices - floorspace in 20 historic towns	69
2.6	Railway station conversion in Bath	79
2.7	Neglected properties in Monmouth Place, Bath	82
3.1	Models of urban development	115
3.2	Spatial aspects of centrality in an urban area	125
3.3	Diagrammatic aspects of centrality in Worcester and Hereford	126
3.4	Development of central area activities	127
3.5	Perception of core and frame in Hereford	151
3.6	Facets of the transition zone: after Griffin & Preston	155
3.7	Area around the City Wall, Hereford c. 1800	159
3.8	Aerial view of part of Hereford Centre	160
4.1	Elements of the research	189
4.2	Perspectives of change	190
4.3	Three dimensional matrix of change levels and perspectives	191
4.4	Information legislation and critical issues at various planning levels	192
4.5	Types of urban change at different scales	193

4.6	Aspects of change at different levels	195
4.7	Case study research questions	205-209
4.8	Information and sources of data	210
4.9	Aerial view of Shrewsbury Town Centre	213
4.10	The regional location of Shrewsbury	213
4.11	Location of the study transect and fringe areas in central Shrewsbury	216
5.1	Physical features of the site of Shrewsbury	220
5.2	Shrewsbury in 1832	220
5.3	Entrances to Shrewsbury Town Centre	227
5.4	Ecological model zones in Shrewsbury	231
5.5	The Royal Shropshire Infirmary conversion in progress	234
5.6	Location of sample transect in the centre	237
5.7	Post-War change in Frankwell	240
5.8	Frankwell Roundabout when newly constructed	239
5.9	Frankwell in the early 1960's and inset: the same view in 1982	239
5.10	Post-War change in Mardol	242
5.11	Mardol Quay around 1932	241
5.12	Mardol Quay 1982	241
5.13 to 5.16	Views progressing up Mardol	} 243
5.17	Changes in the High Street	244
5.18	High Street from Pride Hill	245
5.19	High Street towards Wyle Cop	245
5.20	Changes in the building pattern in Wyle Cop	246
5.21 to 5.24	Views progressing down Wyle Cop to English Bridge	} 247
5.25	View to English Bridge after widening and inset - 1982	248
5.26	Changes in Abbey Foregate	250

5.27		
to	Views of Abbey Foregate	} 249
5.29		
5.30	Number of changes of use in the study transect 1961 - 81	251
5.31	Rateable values in the study transect 1963 and 1981	253
5.32	High proportionate increases in rateable values 1963-81	255
5.33	Shuts Passages and Lodes in Shrewsbury	257
5.34	Grope Lane from the High Street	259
5.35	Barracks Passage towards Wylecop	259
5.36	Changes made to historic building plots in a section of Wyle Cop	261
5.37	View of depot to rear of Tanners Wine Merchants	262
5.38	Changing land use patterns in Wyle Cop	264
5.39	Changes to building boundaries	263
5.40	Bridge House Frankwell	263
5.41	Changes to the building pattern on Beeches Lane	263
5.42	Chapel in Frankwell now used for tyre repair	265
5.43	The Fellmongers Hall Frankwell in the early 1960's	266
5.44	The Fellmongers Hall in 1982	266
5.45	Lower Wyle Cop	269
5.46	Hotel Development Site	269
6.1	The growth of Shrewsbury	277
6.2	Office development policy from 1968	280
6.3	Commercial features of the Centre	280
6.4	Planning applications for change of use outside of the Centre 1977 - 81	286
6.5	Summary of planning applications in Figure 6.4	288
6.6	Land use floorspace proportions 1979	289
6.7	Prime and secondary shopping streets	289
6.8	Current ground floor use of properties in the transect by length of occupation	294

6.9	Changes between different use categories for transect properties 1961 - 81	296
6.10	Change in Mardol	} 299 - 300
6.12		
6.13	Changes of use, proposed and completed in the town centre 1977 - 81	302
6.14	Summary of trends in changes of use 1977 - 81	303
6.15	A wine bar in Mardol	307
6.16	A wine bar and restaurant in Wyle Cop	307
6.17	An antiquarian shop in Frankwell	307
6.18	A recently converted antique shop in Wyle Cop	307
6.19	Changing uses in the High Street and inset	309
6.20	Changing uses post-war of no. 3 High Street	311
6.21	The Lion Hotel from Dogpole	312
6.22	Abbey Foregate in the late 1940's and (inset) 1982	313
6.23	Buildings converted in Abbey Foregate by one owner	314
6.24	A property restored and converted by F. G. Allier & Sons	315
7.1	The general land use pattern in Shrewsbury	320
7.2	Extract from Shrewsbury Town Development Map (1960)	322
7.3	Significant Development in Town Centre during the last 20 years	325
7.4	Shrewsbury Conservation Area	328
7.5	Shrewsbury Town Scheme	331
7.6	The main shopping centre and areas of change	332
7.7	Aspects of centrality	354
7.8	Identity areas and other policy zones	336
7.9	Circulation patterns	337
7.10	Vacancy rates 1967	338
7.11	Plot ratios 1979	338
7.12	Business structure and property values along the central area transect 1982	340

7.13	Rushworths Antiques	344
7.14	Movements within and between areas	342
7.15	'Pastiche'	344
7.16	'Take a Second'	344
7.17	Frankwell Roundabout	346
7.18	'Reflections'	346
7.19	'Ironcraft'	346
7.20	'Laura Ashley'	349
7.21	Plans of Laura Ashley shop layout	349
7.22	St. Julians Craft Centre	351
7.23	Own Department store	351
8.1	Use of properties and development proposals in Frankwell,	359 -
-	Mardol, High Street, Wylecop and Abbey Foregate 1961 - 81	363
8.5		
8.6	Planning applications for sample transect 1961-81	369
8.7	Planning applications for Shrewsbury District 1961 - 81	370
8.8	Historical Development of Frankwell	372
8.9	Land uses in the survey area of Frankwell	374
8.10	Location of survey blocks in Frankwell	376
8.11	Derelict buildings - 22, 23, 24 Frankwell	377
8.12	22, 23, 24 Frankwell in the process of renovation	377
8.13	The White Horse in 1940's and 1982	378
8.14	Frankwell and New Street junction at the turn of the century	379
8.15	Frankwell/New Street 1981	381
8.16	'Natty Prices Corner', Frankwell	380
8.17	Redevelopment by the Council in Frankwell	380
8.18	New workshops on Nettles Lane	382
8.18a	Location of photograph views 8.18 - 8.20	382
8.19	Extensions to rear of Frankwell	382
8.20	Carpenters and Signwriters workshop	382

8.21	Frankwell Car Park	383
8.22	Hall Water Lane & Owen Car Park, Wateridge	384
8.23	Frankwell towards the Mount	386
8.24	The same view in the 1950's	386
8.25	Ownership of land in Frankwell	388
8.26	A renovated property by F. Gallier & Sons	389
8.27	Frankwell in the 1950's	396
8.28	Frankwell in the early 1960's	397
8.29	Frankwell in the late 1960's	398
8.30	Frankwell in 1981	398
8.31	The Pre-war building pattern	399
8.32	Layout of the area in the 1960's	400
8.33	1980 map of Frankwell	401
8.34	Builders yard next to terraced housing	401
8.35	English Bridge 1925	404
8.36	13 & 14 Wyle Cop	406
8.37	Parking in Wyle Cop Hill	407
8.38	Blighted property at the lower end of Wylecop	407
8.39	The Century Hall	407
8.40	The gradual infill in land around the town walls	} 411
8.41		
8.42	To the rear of Tanners Wine Merchants	411
8.43	Barracks Passage	412
8.44	Bowdlers Passage	
8.45	Restoration work on 48-52 Wyle Cop	414
8.46	Land uses in the study area of Wyle Cop	413
8.47	Aerial view of the SE side of the centre and suburbs	422
8.48	Fringe zones and backland areas of the centre	422
8.49	Hills Lane before restoration	430
8.49a	Hills Lane scheme location	430

	<u>PAGE NO.</u>
8.50 Hills Lane restored houses	430
8.51 Passages in the High Street area	431
8.52 Grope Lane new retail units	431
8.53 Golden Cross Passage	431

D.1 The changing pattern of Abbey Foregate in the 18th and 19th Centuries	496
D.2 Abbey Foregate in the 18th Century	497
D.3 Abbey Foregate 1981	497
D.4 Land uses in Abbey Foregate 1982	498
D.5 Remaining timber framed buildings in Abbey Foregate	499
D.6 Abbey House	499
D.7 Abbey Foregate from English Bridge	500
D.8 Different uses of residential buildings in Abbey Foregate	501
D.9	
D.10 The railway bridge and small shop units on Abbey Foregate	502
D.11 Builders Yard, utilises old mill buildings	502
D.12 Shops in Castle Foregate	503
D.13 Howard Street Warehouse	503
D.14 Longden Coleham	504

PHOTOGRAPH ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Figures 1.1, 3.8, 8.27, 8.28, 8.29, 8.30, 8.47, Aero films; Figure 1.2 Cr. Hopcraft; Figures 5.8, 5.9, 8.14, 8.16, 8.17, 8.24, West Midlands Photographic Services, now Abbey Color; Figures 5.11, 5.25, 6.12, 6.19, 6.20, 8.13, 8.35, 8.40; Shrewsbury Local Studies Library; Figure 6.10 Cross & Son Ltd; Figure 6.22, E. Greenlough.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1. Introduction to the Main Elements of the Research

Town centres have undergone unprecedented change in the post-war period. Redevelopment and restructuring have taken place on a large scale, reflecting the growth of the commercial sector, the need to cope with problems of increased traffic and the desire to renew the worn out heart of towns. Planning has responded to the changes with comprehensive redevelopment and land use transport plans in an attempt to impose order on the centre and meet the demands of different activities. In historic towns, this has brought a stark contrast between old and new and the destruction of much architectural heritage and ancient layout patterns.

However, the last decade has seen a dramatic turn around in the planning approach. The realization of the extent of erosion of the historic building fabric, together with the economic recession and a need to conserve resources led to legislation to protect areas of historic or architectural interest. The result is that in large parts of most of our historic towns, development is restricted and urban fabric, which may often be redundant, is preserved, creating the problem of finding new uses for old buildings.

The emphasis has been on change to the building fabric, but the changing land use activities of the centre have received less attention. Yet some of these sectoral trends have been particularly significant in the historic centre. The decentralisation of population and convenience goods shops to the suburbs, the expansion of office development and takeover of High Street shopping by the multiple retail chains have all changed the

traditional activities of the historic core. The level of activity has also been affected; intensive redevelopment in some parts contrasting with vacant buildings and the underuse of upper floors in others. Measures have been taken in historic cores to counteract these trends. For instance, a preference for residential use has been shown in controlling conversions of buildings in the centre, out-of-town store developments have been restricted to protect the central trading area and limits put on the amount of new office development in an attempt to divert commercial activity to existing old buildings. However, the implications of such planning intervention have not been fully explored.

The consequences of conservation policy on land use are only just being appreciated. For example, ring roads built to protect the centre from heavy through-traffic have tended to cut it off from the rest of the town, and created further problems for the inner fringe. In addition, the whole pattern of movement between activities has changed, with pedestrianisation schemes and strategically located car parks, so that the old street layout functions in a completely new way. Above all, the shift in policy emphasis away from wholesale clearance and redevelopment has often accounted for the delay in decisions made on road and shopping schemes already in the pipeline. The uncertainty resulting has caused blight and neglect in those areas of the town which are usually the backland of main shopping streets or on the edges of the centre. Figure 1.1 illustrates the effects of some of these changes in the historic centre of Worcester.



Figure 1.1: Aerial View of Worcester - This historic town centre has witnessed many changes in the post-war period. Slum clearance with shopping and car park redevelopments are shown (A & B); road schemes and grouping of institutions (C & D); but with the old town remaining in the core and remnants at the edges (E & F).

The relationship of planning to market forces is therefore critical. Planning does not appear able to adequately respond to change in the historic centre context. It is suggested that this stems firstly from the lack of assessment of the influence of planning on change, including the unintended consequences, and secondly because the nature and process of land use change within historic central areas is not fully understood and therefore measures to deal with it are inadequate.

The following sections consider general urban changes and differing planning responses over time, including the introduction of conservation and other area policies. The issues which require investigation are indicated and finally, the purposes of the research summarized.

1.2 Post-War Change and Planning in Town Centres

The mechanism for regulating change to land and buildings was established by the 1947 Town and Country Planning Act. This involves two types of planning. The preparation of the Development Plan deals with the proposed distribution and allocation of land uses and associated policies. It is regulated by the Development Control system which seeks to ensure that activities conform to the guidelines contained in the plan. The process of regulating change takes place within a framework of procedures, methods of organisation and treatment of data and also within the particular local context of interests and powers.

The scale and pace of change in town centres have severely taxed this regulation process. Planning has attempted to deal with the conflicts arising but many of the solutions have had unanticipated consequences, such as the earlier planned redevelopments which caused so much devastation in the historic town of both buildings and communities.

A distinction can be made in the types of change affecting the town centre between broad scale and continuing trends in society and specific changes during certain periods which have had varying local significance. In the first category for example, is the increasing use of the car and the continued growth and expansion of urban areas. For many years planning has directed its attention to the problems of the latter. Land planning, according to Hall (1977), has been based on the ideology of urban containment and zoning to direct or resist change. He notes that this response had impacts on land values, the suburban land market, housing trends and the separation of

home and work place. These trends in turn have had repercussions in the town centre such as the decentralisation of some services to the suburbs and increasing journeys to work, often creating congestion in the centre.

Meanwhile, some of the pressures on the town centre have been the product of the economic or political climate of any one time, which have called forth a certain type or style of planning response. This has not always been beneficial to the historic centre where high rise building, empty office blocks, intrusive urban motorways and derelict and blighted land suggest the inability of planning to manage the market and public investment within the environment of the historic centre.

The influence of changing contexts on planning approaches can be briefly traced. Immediately post-war, the emphasis was on regional and economic planning and demographic policies, with controls on building especially commercial development. The 1950's brought the return of market forces in which the private sector was dominant and the regional approach was abandoned. Planners were then having to cope with pressures for growth. Plans for the central areas of towns involved large scale slum clearance and commercial redevelopment programmes. Historic towns were generally no exception and long established land use patterns were considerably altered.

There was a return to immediate post-war type policies in the 1960's, with a Labour government aiming for equity and growth. However, continued pressures for commercial development and transport networks brought conflicts in preserving both the urban and rural heritage. The inadequacy of the land use allocation type plan to deal with these pressures was demonstrated

in the 1967 Planning Advisory Group Report which led to a new two-tier system of plans as set out in the 1968 Town and Country Planning Act. This system, officially introduced with the reorganisation of Local Government in 1974, was allied to an area-based approach, whereby resources were to be concentrated in areas of greatest need, whether this was related to conservation, housing or environmental dereliction problems.

Stagnation and recession through^{most} of the 1970's reinforced the conservation approach to urban renewal but brought the area-based policies into question: whether they were really helping those in greatest need. Therefore, although there is general support for conservation its implementation via the blanket approach of area policies raises further issues.

1.3 Development of Conservation Planning & Area Policies

The broad term 'conservation' means the conscious retention of some element of the natural or man-made environment which is considered of value, by measures to maintain or enhance that value. Thus, according to Allison (1975), it involves "political or social action in defence of the physical environment and the levels of social benefit determined by that environment". The movement towards conservation represents a major change both in the priorities of society in general and specifically in the planning response to the problems of urban change and renewal, so that it is now a central element of planning policy.

The ecological crisis of recent years has shown that it is important to preserve finite resources, thus wasteful to replace buildings unnecessarily, especially with the increased costs of energy, materials and labour, as witnessed by the change in housing policies. The rehabilitation and improvement of housing was initiated in the late 60's and was then extended to other building uses. It is now operated as a policy in most authorities. Accordingly the legislation on conservation of the built environment has expanded along with other measures concerned with environmental control, such as the post-war efforts to contain the growth and sprawl of towns.

Statutory protection has been increasingly afforded not just to individual buildings, but also to areas of special architectural and historic interest. There are now also provisions for more positive policies with the concept of conservation as the protection of the character of a building or area of a town while keeping it in use. This conservation area policy was

introduced by the Civic Amenities Act 1967 with its measures to preserve and enhance areas of architectural and historic interest. Since then over 5000 Conservation Areas have been designated and approximately 27% of these are in town centres (J.U.R.U.E., 1982). The coverage is wide scale, many historic towns possessing large conservation areas extending over much of the centre. J.U.R.U.E. estimates that the average size of conservation area in, for example, towns of between 50,000 and 100,000 population is 114 hectares.

Conservation policies represent a certain type of planning intervention which in effect defends a particular set of values in restricting urban change in the interests of basically architectural objectives. The mainly area-based approach amounts to a policy of spatial discrimination which raises further issues. Hambleton (1977) has reviewed the development of local government area policies this century from the early land use/density controls and redevelopment areas to Housing Action Areas and Comprehensive Community Programmes. From this it is notable that the conservation area was the last of the predominantly physical area policies and later ones included more social and economic aims.

There are some parallels with other area policies such as conservation in the rural context and those for housing, which draw attention to similar issues arising in the conservation areas that now exist in most historic cores. For example, on the macro-scale, National Parks have similar restrictive development control policies being designated with the aim to "preserve and enhance" in this case "natural beauty". They have had a more positive role from the outset and have been concerned with activities

rather than just the physical appearance to be protected. National Park Plans are to incorporate definite measures for the 'promotion of public enjoyment' and deal with growing pressures and demands which have caused deterioration in the quality of the environment (Sandford Report, 1974).

Green Belt policy is another type which restricts development over certain areas, in this case, the land designated around towns for additional controls to restrict the spread of built-up areas. Both policies aim to ensure that the present character of the urban area is not adversely affected by new development, by controlling or diverting urban growth and safeguarding certain interests such as agriculture in Green Belts and property interests in Conservation Areas. Gregory (1970) in reviewing Green Belt policy concluded that they have contained towns to some degree but at the price of restraining the impetus for growth. This is a price which may be being paid in urban areas where conservation policies are operating. It has also been noted that the policy has tended to cause land in towns to be used more intensively or diverted urban development to sites beyond the Green Belt, sometimes to areas of higher landscape or agricultural quality than in many parts of the Belt itself. A similar effect on the land use change process could be occurring in Conservation Areas where strict design controls are diverting pressures to other areas and so only shifting the problem.

For all these policies it has not been shown conclusively the part planning intervention has played in the process of land development and change, nor have the effects on different groups or small areas been fully explored.

Developments in housing policies and their assessment are also useful in showing the changing historical context within which both housing and conservation problems and policies are perceived. For instance, General Improvement Areas, introduced by the 1969 Housing Act, have been quite extensively documented (Mason, 1977). Adverse consequences are noted, for example that inner city improvement has taken place in the form of gentrification*. The 1969 Act sought to redirect Government expenditure towards improvement, through higher levels of grant aid. The policy was similar to conservation area ideas, in looking for the first time at house and environment together when judging fitness, it allowed a wider view of the problems.

At the same time other geographically discriminating policies were rather hastily introduced as part of the Urban Programme of the 1970's designed to combat urban deprivation. Bassett and Short (1978) have criticised these on the grounds that deprivation is not so spatially concentrated and therefore root causes cannot be tackled effectively by compensatory planning. They also suggested that many households in poor conditions were excluded because they were not conveniently concentrated in a small number of Enumeration Districts to benefit from the area policy. Doubts about the ability of small area policies to solve problems which have a wider basis and impact could also be applied to the problems of historic town centres and the drawing of conservation area boundaries. With both housing accommodation and buildings of

* Defined by Merrett (1976) as "a process whereby a residential area predominantly occupied by relatively low income households switches to occupation by relatively high income households."

historic or architectural value there is also the problem of distinguishing between areas of high and low pressure.

For both rural conservation and urban area policies, many of the issues are specific to the boundaries of the defined areas. These constitute the fringe zone to which pressures may be diverted or where relative change is most obvious. As will be demonstrated in Chapter Two, this is often a problem area for planning in historic towns.

1.4 The Planning Process: Critical Elements for Planning in Historic Centres.

In the light of the issues mentioned previously the need was seen to examine the planning process and distinguish those aspects which seem critical to achieving more effective and responsive planning in historic centres.

The process of planning in general can be defined as the means of preparing for action. In the complex contexts within which planning operates, there tends to be a reliance on a process or set of steps. This has developed from the basic "survey, analysis, plan" method, to a more systematic series of steps with provision for feed-back, as listed below:

1. Awareness of need
2. Data collection and analysis
3. Development of goals and objectives
4. Problem analysis - diagnosis of problems in relation to 3.
5. Alternative solutions
6. Evaluation of solutions and recommendations
7. Programme of evaluation
8. Surveillance, monitoring

However, as McKee (1982) points out, the process is time-consuming and at a time when market conditions are volatile, especially in town centres, this can place considerable constraints on the local authority. It is essential therefore that relevant information is collected for the correct diagnosis of problems.

Considering the overall operation of the process, there appear to be a number of factors which are critical and the following sections make a preliminary assessment of these issues within the historic town context.

.../..

1.4.1. The integration of different levels & timescales of planning.

The variety of contexts in which planning operates, and the different issues involved, demand both short and long-range plans and variations in geographical specificity. Therefore consequences will be spread over varying lengths of time and have different spatial impacts. Overlaying this are different scales of planning which affect the centre, from the strategic County Structure Plan scale to the site specific level. These are not just part of a hierarchy but an interacting system and a major problem for planning lies in relating the macro and micro levels.

Research by SAUS (1981) emphasised the problem of co-ordination, finding that policy formulation was hindered by "the administrative and political tensions surrounding County and District relationships." Similarly, it was seen that Districts have difficulty in achieving conformity with Structure Plan policies particularly during periods of review and change.* Within historic areas there is widespread use of a similar package of policies centering around development control based on conservation area policy. However, this forms part of the wider District and Structure plans and is thus influenced by strategic policies. Conservation policies can be seen as an element of urban management which affect different sections of the community and political and economic goals. They

* Although D.O.E. circular 2/81 now advises that, in carrying out their responsibility for development control, it is essential that district planning authorities should take account of relevant provisions in structure plans and consult County Planning authorities on matters of concern for them.

are also part of the wider urban and sub-regional environment and here there may be both local impacts and spill-over effects of which there is little knowledge. In addition, as with other town centres, they may have been subject to Comprehensive Development Plans in the past or the operation of a Town Map. Several shorter term area policies may be also operating in or around the centre, such as Housing Action Areas, so adding complexity to the assessment of planning influence over a period of time.

The continuing effects of previous policies cannot be ignored. Jenkins (1982) notes for instance that in Bath and York where road proposals of the late 1960's would have involved substantial demolition and division of historic centres, these blighted streets are still being slowly and expensively repaired. Moreover, she sees earlier clearance policies having created a ring of blight surrounding the commercial centre (see Figure 1.2). Planning must operate within the context of continuing effects of previous approaches to problems. Urban renewal policy itself has changed in emphasis over the years relative to changes in fashion and economic circumstances, from redevelopment, to preservation and then conservation, yet the legacy of each phase remains.

Studies of historic towns and conservation seem to have taken a restricted view of the policies involved. They tend to be limited to considering certain types of land use categories or buildings, such as how changes in the pattern of retailing adversely affects buildings (Whitbourne 1973). Where they do present an overview, they are weighted towards the physical aspects. Yet sectoral policies do not operate in isolation and shops and office

use policies are often closely related. However, recent conservation reports have, according to Bloxsidge (1980) started to consider in more detail the inter-relationships between policy areas. They are also suggesting schemes and proposals to enhance and preserve the designated conservation areas and integrate these with wider considerations of planning policy. There is thus a need for research which takes a comprehensive view of the effects of changes in activities and policies.

1.4.2. Co-ordination with other policies & actors in the process

Essential to the implementation of plans is that they are comprehensive in dealing with all the issues and implications of a situation. Plans should provide the means of bringing together other public agencies concerned with development. However, according to Plumb (1982) the different time scales and priorities of the various agencies can frustrate the plan as a decision-making document. This creates what Underwood (1982) calls "turbulence of the policy environment" in reporting the development of other complex control mechanisms in both the public and private sectors.

Concerning other actors in the process, these may be individuals or institutions with a variety of functions and roles, from statutory bodies to the general public. An increasing number have demanded participation in the planning process which was previously restricted to technical officers and members. The amenity groups which developed partly from a reaction in the late 60's to the early post-war redevelopment schemes, have brought many critical factors to the attention of the authorities.

However, their interest tends to revolve around aesthetic factors, the loss of listed buildings and their out-of-scale replacements thereby drawing attention away from the effects on land use. The latter may include changes to the circulation and trading patterns and to community activities, which constitute the less tangible, 'character' of the historic centre in addition to just the building fabric.

More understanding is needed of these land use factors and also the wider aims of the community, reflected not only by amenity groups, but in the behaviour of individuals.

1.4.3. Deficiency of Theory and Methodology

The accepted central role of planning is the collecting and analysing of information and the diagnosis of past and present situations. Information for the planning process can be said to relate to or consist of facts, theories, opinions and values. With the constantly changing activities of the town centre, this information needs to be readily available and immediately relevant.

The emphasis tends to be on keeping up-to-date with factual information, but its nature and interpretation may be on the basis of out-dated theories or concepts. These may be less applicable in historic centres where there are more constraints on change and values play a greater part in policy formulation and implementation.

There is also a tendency for planning to concentrate on certain types of information at different times related to changing planning styles and political requirements. For example in the 1960's, when urban studies were more spatial and analytical,

the quantitative field developed in planning with Land Use/Transport Plans and restrictions on office/shop floorspace. The 1970's behaviouralist/structuralist theories informed planning practice so that qualitative aspects gained more attention. By analysing the nature of past approaches and the way change was guided insights can be gained into some of the current issues.

The adverse consequences of past planning are cited to justify the aim of conserving historic areas of a town, but it has not been shown how these fit into the theories and knowledge of urban structure and development. There appears to be a need to investigate whether the economic and geographical models on which planning is based require modification in the historic context. This in turn has implications for the types of techniques relevant in historic centres. It is suggested that the earlier morphological and spatial analysis and techniques are of relevance to the better understanding of land use in the historic centre. The emphasis instead has been mainly on the building fabric. Yet decisions to retain buildings for which it is difficult to find a suitable use show that this is not sufficient.

More recent planning documents often note that the vitality of historic areas must be retained and new uses for buildings sought. Yet pursuit of this aim may also mean a loss of the original character of the area, given that character cannot be defined solely in physical landscape terms. New roles for areas are only now being considered, although crucial in regard to the changing spatial land use structure of the centre. Albers (1980) has stressed that in local plans, not only should the conditions

of historic quarters be considered so that the use is consistent with the historic structure to be preserved, but also the functions which could be assigned require consideration within the overall system of the city and urban development policy.

Although trends in the land use activities of town centres in general are documented and this knowledge influences land use policies, variations occurring in the historic centre may create different problems and opportunities. There is a lack of land use information on a consistent basis over a period whilst existing data is often not analysed with sufficient understanding. A D.O.E. circular (71/74) referred to the lack of comprehensive, comparable and regular quantitative information on land use changes and required local authorities to provide annual statistics of land use change. This did not begin until around 1977 and the generally computerised system still had limitations. Spatial aspects and rates of change require more attention in historic centres, but here data may be locationally unspecific, whilst it is difficult to find out when and if approved changes were actually implemented.

Only recently has it been realised that there is a need to monitor a series of individual decisions to discern patterns emerging, rather than just for the calculation of floorspace changes (NERC 1978 ECU). This leads to the question of planning and data levels. Information may be collected at the town scale for strategic planning and is also available at the unit level for individual development control decisions. However, it is at the Area level where the main inadequacy lies (although this may be largely a problem of definition).

Particularly relevant here is the lack of knowledge concerning the behavioural dimension such as how attitudes and values govern land use activities. Few have considered how processes of change affect the local business community, what really happens over time, and how planning intervention affects the nature of choice or level of satisfaction with the environment and the rate of change.

It has therefore been indicated that reasons for the inadequate understanding and measures of land use change in the centre relate to geographical, historical, functional and behavioural aspects. Research is required to pinpoint the relevant information and measures to remedy this.

1.4.4. The influences and consequences of planning

Finally, is the issue of evaluation, which poses many problems for planning in general and additional difficulties in historic towns. The term 'evaluation' is used interchangeably for a variety of sub-processes of planning. Firstly is the type of evaluation undertaken at the stage of plan-making which involves deciding between alternative proposals and for which a number of standard techniques have evolved. Much attention was given to this stage in the late 1960's and early 1970's, partly as the result of the development of techniques such as cost-benefit analysis and goals achievement matrices. There has been less concern for outcomes - the more indirect consequences of planning.

As an essentially comparative analysis, it implies the valuation of results, actual or potential against criteria such as the chosen goals or the situation without a policy. This presents problems in the historic town. A review of some

conservation area reports revealed a lack of clear policy statements in many documents. There was rarely any ordering of priorities and, beyond the general statements, a great variety of objectives specific to the problems of each particular area.

Evaluation may also take the form of a project assessment. This can be more straightforward, being a system in which elements are interdependent. A specific project, which for instance might involve a definite number of environmental improvements to be made could be assessed in this way. A clear methodology can be used to establish objectives, standards and performance indicators of efficiency, effectiveness and equity. Yet this input and output type of approach is restricted to comparatively concrete items over a limited time period and so of less value in historic towns where projects cannot be easily divorced from the wider policy environment.

A third type of evaluation is that of policy analysis. This tends to concern development over time, attempting to show the main actions influencing the policy process and identifying variables and inter-relationships. Research, especially in America, has focussed on the processes by which public policies are made and the forces resulting in certain Government decisions being taken. To use this approach in historic towns there are problems in deciding what the policy in any one centre is, as the intention may often not coincide with the policy as it operates. If policy is regarded as a form of generalised decision-making, in which sets of decisions are considered and contexts reviewed (Etzioni, 1968), it is necessarily broader than the statutory legislation and regulations. For conservation policy local authorities have considerable leeway in

deciding how it is interpreted, which may only be reasonable given the differences in towns' capacities to change, their functional organisation and architectural styles.

Therefore each of the above types of evaluation is limited in its assessment of consequences in this context. However, a fourth category of evaluation, the impact assessment, offers some remedy. It does not involve a measurement against standards or goals but aims to provide an analytical account and suggested methodology from which a further assessment can be made. The desirability of achieving the identified outcomes will depend on the political context and values attached.

Impact Assessment techniques were mainly developed in the U.S.A. and based on the National Environmental Protection Act, of which the intention was to open planning to public scrutiny. Although they are generally used to forecast future effects of a proposed policy or project, they also help to understand why certain impacts have occurred. There has been little application in this country, although similar ideas have been included in evaluations; such as the Goals Achievement Matrix, with its element of social, cost/benefit accounting. However, it is recognised that such a technique or discipline has developed in the very different context of either rural resource development, such as for large-scale public programmes, or in larger American cities - where land use policies reflect more intense conflicts, more significant ethnic and racial division, and there is a higher degree of participation.

Apart from the question of values, a problem for all types of evaluation is to assess consequences where there have been a

number of changing policies and projects operating over a period of time. Any study over time, i.e. an "ex-post evaluation", involves difficulties such as selective documentation and recall of the people concerned (as it is unlikely that there has been continuous monitoring). The policy as operated may have changed and therefore past solutions cannot be compared with present planning.

Evaluation of policies specific to historic towns have tended to be restricted to the financial and technical implications of conservation, especially by the literature developing in the architectural and building journals. The economic aspect is mainly dealt with in terms of the cost of preservation or conservation versus rebuilding and different methods of financing. The relationship between economic forces and the ability and aim of planning authorities to regulate change, has been commented on but not in any systematic way. Consideration of social issues has been limited to a discussion of segregation and gentrification. The assumption is that new sources of wealth are brought in by the middle classes to modernise and conserve. Furthermore, it is suggested that conservation schemes displace residents to a greater extent than previous redevelopment projects, with trends to exclusionary zoning and unevenly applied policies. (White, 1978). Eversley in the 'Planner in Society' (1973) did suggest that it was not the planners' task to set up his own aesthetic yardstick, but to point out the costs and benefits of conservation as they affect the whole community. He called for more attention to be paid to demographic structure and social relations in a conservation area. Various commentators have made similar points; for example,

.../..

that professional standards may imply class-based perspectives and that design control is often upheld despite its subjectivity and economic impact, (Harrison, 1978). The ideologies of the design disciplines still predominate in the theory and practice of urban preservation, rather than land use considerations.

Lichfield (1976), goes some way towards looking at socio-economic implications in his study of Minimum Physical Change Policy in Bath. This is concerned with future consequences rather than the analysis of past and present actions. It also considers the whole town in its sub-region rather than the interaction of the conserved area with other areas in the town and involves broadly-based assumptions of sectoral objectives. Although the information used is on a highly aggregated basis it does provide some indication of the variables involved and techniques possible.

There does appear to be a need to define the implications arising when conservation proposals are carried out at the expense of other areas. This may occur with traffic schemes which have a wider areal impact by diverting pressures elsewhere, or when a conservation area becomes specialised in its role so drawing facilities previously distributed over a wider area. Once again, it is the edge of the conservation area where such implications of planning actions may have the most immediate, often damaging impact. This may be too readily termed 'blight' and the zone written off as a problem area, without a fuller understanding of the processes of change taking place there and the potential of these areas.

Figure 1.2 indicates some of the characteristics and changes taking place in an area of Worcester on the edge of the centre, which are explored further in later chapters.



Figure 1.2: A fringe area of central Worcester

Key

- A - remnants of old industry, now vacant or workshops, and the cattle market.
- B - intermixing of housing with other uses, remaining from earlier slum clearance programme.
- C - car parks on wasteland left through clearance or delays in schemes.
- D & E - cafes and motor sales - typical of edge of centre uses on a busy approach road;
 - predominantly small, independent businesses;
 - unused upper floors.
- F - expansion of central business district via redevelopment scheme creates new focus for shopping and a change in the use pattern of the town.

1.5 Research Requirements and Purposes

Following on from the points outlined, there are a number of basic requirements for this research to provide further understanding of the role of planning and land use change in historic town centres and the significance of various forces for change:-

1. The research should constitute a general assessment of the processes of change and planning outcomes in historic centres over a period of time.
2. The study should be as comprehensive as possible in its view of change, from the historical aspect and in the light of sectoral trends.
3. It should explain spatial processes with reference to other urban research and theories.
4. The explicit problems of planning for fringe areas should be dealt with.
5. It should improve methods of understanding and responding to land use change at the area level.

The next two chapters explore the background knowledge required to investigate these aspects and refine the requirements into researchable questions. Both refer in particular to the fringes of historic centres which have been identified as controversial areas of changing land use, being considerably affected by the planning process and in need of further research.

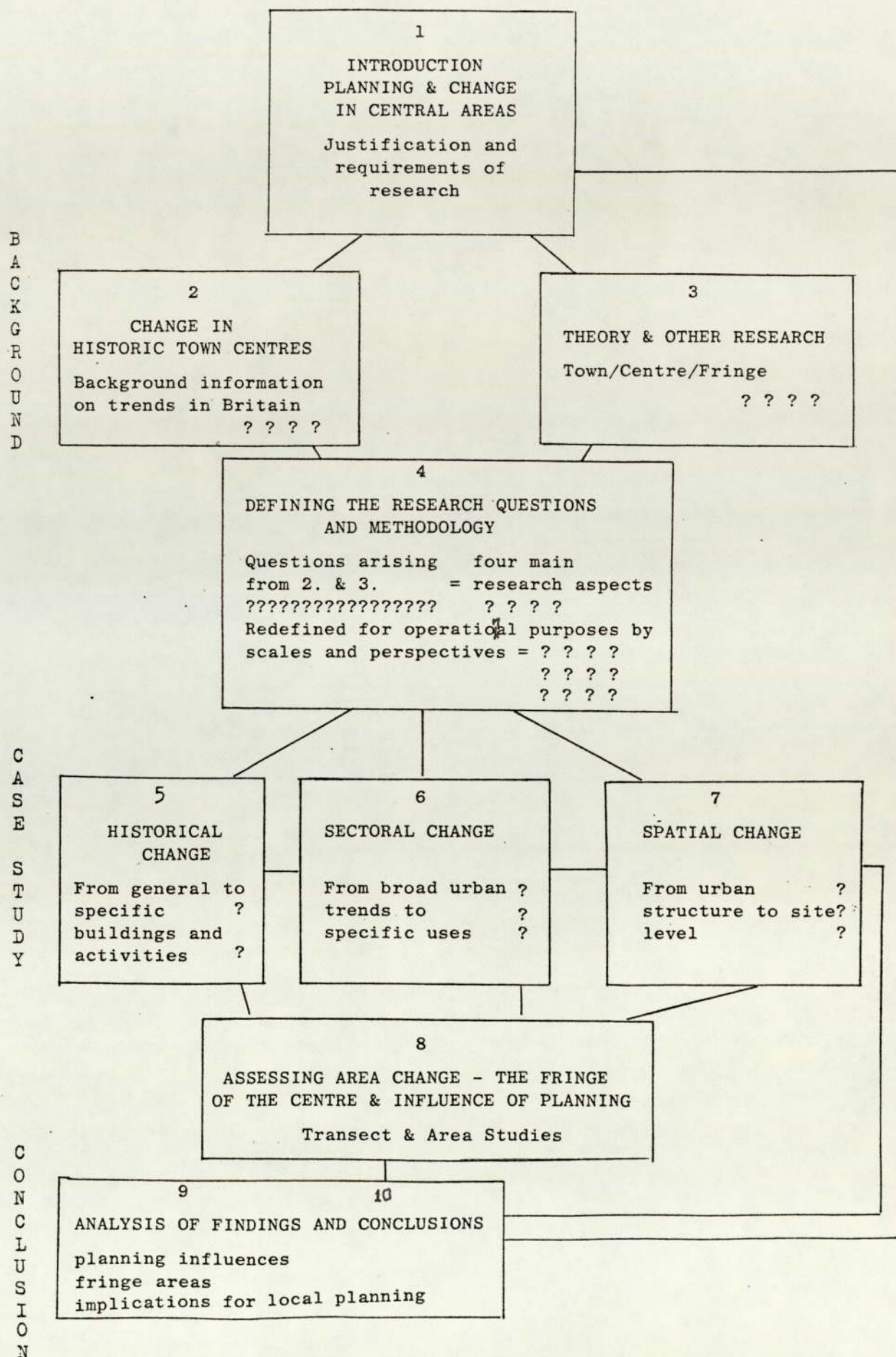
Chapter Two illustrates some of the problems for, and consequences of planning in historic centres by reviewing the development of land use plans affecting town centres, the trends taking place in the main activities of central areas and the

planning response, and the current approaches of local planning. Chapter Three then brings together the relevant theories and research concerning the spatial structure and processes of change in central areas, fringe area characteristics and the changes in central area activities.

A number of questions arise from this general review and in Chapters Five to Eight a case study of one historic centre is used to investigate at a more detailed level the processes of land use change and methods of assessment. The difficulty of evaluating the role of planning in the historic centre has been emphasised, but an impact assessment approach provided a starting point for the study. Conclusions are then drawn from the case study findings, with reference to the earlier background material and literature review.

Figure 1.3 shows the overall organisation of the research, indicating the progressive narrowing down of the research questions.

Figure 1.3: Organisation of the Research



OBSERVATIONS & LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

In order to investigate the specific aspects of change noted in Chapter One at the most useful level of detail it was thought necessary to firstly demonstrate what is actually happening on the ground and where conflicts are arising. This was done by means of pilot studies of two historic town centres, Worcester and Hereford (ref. Appendix A) and also by looking in more depth at the variety of literature on both historic towns and local planning, and central area activities in general.

Chapter One made a number of points concerning different views of change and factors which are critical in the planning process. This is used firstly to set the centre within the context of its planning history (evaluation of change over time), secondly, reviewing the trends in land uses (sectoral change), and then to look more closely at some of the issues arising in areas of change (spatial change relative to the broader urban structure). In each case there is specific reference made to the effects between centre and edge, the historic town context and the role of planning, especially the different levels involved.

2.2 Post-War Changes in Historic Town Centres & Planning Influences

It was not unusual for towns in the past to be destroyed and rebuilt , but this was mainly associated with warfare. British town centres in post-war times have been the target for a new sort of onslaught ; rapid commercial change, high density land use, traffic pressures and technological developments in the construction and service industries.* The effects of these changes locally have been conditioned by both external forces - what is happening in the rest of the economy during different periods, and by internal forces generated in the town itself - such as the ageing process of the town's fabric and the adjustment of facilities to the changing population structure.

There are common features in many towns which illustrate how planning has operated over the years in response to both types of forces, the consequences of which this research seeks to explore. Outlined below are some of those factors which are most significant in the context of the historic centre, where change can threaten the character it is sought to preserve.

2.2.1 Urban growth & sprawl - early development plans of the 1950's

The inter-war period had seen some of the first attempts to control the sprawl of cities which had been produced by

* UNESCO (1975) notes that many historic towns have been conserved largely by accident - and if they are to remain in future - this requires a deliberate decision.

a number of factors. The development of public transport, rapid growth of speculative, private housing development and municipal housing estates led to the decentralisation of living accommodation, which used up land on the edge of urban areas. Following the war, the centre was left with both out-dated structures and bomb-damage, whilst with increased accessibility and centralisation of commercial land use, more land was required for traffic systems. There was thus an increasing need to secure consistency and continuity in land use and urban development. The 1947 Town & Country Planning Act gave local authorities an opportunity to rebuild more efficiently. Development Plans were to indicate "the manner in which they proposed that land in their area should be used" (see 1.2) with plans for both renewal/redevelopment and modernisation, together with a re-ordering of the urban structure i.e. zoning, to reduce environmental conflict.

A significant consequence of these plans was that in designating areas of comprehensive redevelopment the scene was set for much of the destruction of historic cities in the 1950's and 60's). They also created inflexibility by the establishment of land use zones for housing, industry, shops and so on. Although not enforced as rigidly as in the U.S.A., this idea of mutually exclusive areas was adopted at an early stage in Britain. Whilst the zones often just rationalised existing land uses, the regulation of planning permission for new development and changes of use over the years, did tend to mould the centre into an orderly plan.* This was often

most noticeable in the barriers that were imposed to central area expansion - sometimes in the form of a ring road such as at Chester and Hereford.*

The zoning procedure also pre-supposed the decision as to which uses best fit into a zone i.e. conform to it. However, as pointed out by Procos (1976), not all would regard the hierarchy of conforming uses for a zone as of equal importance, so questioning the planners' view of what should be segregated. He suggests that not only do local preferences need to be gauged, but that segregation may be unrealistic in historic centres. Here, by virtue of their long process of development is a mix of uses which may take a long time to weed out - especially where well-established. Thus, urban renewal has tended to be on conventional parcels of land from which non-conforming uses had already been removed. However, there have been non-conforming decisions, where planners have not implemented policies consistently, which tend to be in areas of uncertainty - often where a redevelopment or road scheme is delayed. (Jurue, 1977).

* For example, it was found in the pilot study that as early as 1945/6, the Worcester Civic Survey Report had made proposals for land use zoning and restructuring of the circulation system in the city, but also suggested the need to take action to preserve the city's character. The latter was unusual in that one criticism of early development plans had been that they failed to deal effectively with the quality of the environment. This report led to the first Development Plan in the country in 1954, and, as with many others, established the basis for subsequent city centre road proposals.

2.2.2 The effects of redevelopment policies - late 50's to early 60's

Redevelopment

Plans as set out in the 1947 Act were a case of specific intervention in the land use allocation system. Although intended for bombed out centres they were important in producing land use changes in many other central urban areas. As with zoning, the process brought greater simplicity and regularity to the land use pattern and visual scene, but since a feature of historic centres is their irregularity, the result was often destructive. However, the procedure was slow-moving, and, with growing pressure for change in the late 50's, was seen as inadequate. Non-statutory town centre maps were encouraged with the setting of the central area redevelopment in a wider context. Even though redevelopment of central areas in the 1960's gave way to rehabilitation and conservation in the 1970's, it left a legacy of cautious over-reaction to further change, although it did pave the way for greater participation with developers.*

The results of uncertainty caused probably the most insidious damage of the 1960's redevelopment schemes. It was recognized that the comprehensive development plan was also needed to solve the pressing problems created by traffic, parking and housing demands, but it was still often left to the haphazard operation of speculators.

* Worcester's attempts, in its road and redevelopment schemes to 'move with the times' and anticipate expansion, met with much criticism. In the Architects Journal, Nairn, writing about a number of cathedral cities (1963), thought that Worcester was in real peril, since the scheme was taking traffic right outside the cathedral door.

Meanwhile, commitment to the removal of traffic from central shopping streets led to the use of urban wasteland at the edges for car parks. These may have been clearance areas for redevelopment but for which for various reasons no scheme was forthcoming and the temporary parking use became permanent.**

2.2.3 Impacts of Transport Management - mid-60's

Early models of urban structure and change on which the planners first relied, did not anticipate the growth of a car-owning population, which called for new plans and ideas to deal with congestion, particularly in centres with narrow historic streets. The spatial pattern of the centre was considerably affected for instance by the increase in road widths. This had a similar effect to the railways as an obstacle to central area growth in certain directions. Likewise inner ring roads were often intended to act as a boundary to central area expansion, but curtailed the natural processes of concentric radial expansion (as described by the ecological theories).

** Nairn claimed that the redevelopment scheme (a shopping development around the old Lych Gate) was not only a "commercial fait accompli," but also the direct result of the council buying land and "selling out". It was not just a visual impact, for the scheme had a pronounced effect on the trading pattern in Worcester (as witnessed in many other towns, such as Bath), with a shift towards the southside. This was later counter-balanced to some degree by a cheaper scheme in another area of the city, so strengthening the shopping axis along the High Street. Here again, there were repercussions in that the rethinking of this scheme's later phases has created uncertainty in the area. Hereford, in contrast, had less pressure for redevelopment during this period and was acclaimed for restricting its ideas for such schemes to backland areas. (Nairn, op.cit.)

At the same time, the ideas of Buchanan, which attempted to free 'identify areas' from through-traffic, were being applied in many cities. However, the urban motorways built to protect the heart of cities, tended to encapsulate, or penetrate too close to the historic core. Where they had been proposed at a later date, but not built because of conservationist reaction or lack of finance, this resulted in uncertainty and blighted tracts of land.*

Reaction to over-ambitious schemes grew including the Civic Trust Report on Heavy Lorries (1970) stressing the damage caused by schemes attracting heavy traffic.** Consequently a Government Circular (56/71) drew attention to the need for proper weight to be given to the importance of preserving historic towns when considering the priority of road improvements and new roads. Traffic was recognised in the conservation plans of the 1970's, as an area of conflict with the aims of conservation. Lichfield and Proudlove (1976), investigating traffic proposals in York, noted how the issues were probably defined too narrowly in

* In Worcester in the late 60's, attacks against the various road plans escalated, as the results of previous schemes were realised. Thus, the northern distributor road remains unfinished, but not without leaving its mark in terms of blighted property and continued bottlenecks. Where schemes were not completed at an early stage, this process seems to have occurred in many centres, but those which were completed, did not always provide adequate parking at that time - the provision of which becomes more difficult as conservationist reaction grows.

** This pressure has continued with the Civic Trust recently undertaking a by-pass survey, following on from the Armitage Report (1981). Their point is that topography or settlement shape may make a by-pass costly or undesirable by severing a village from its rural hinterland could also be applicable in urban areas where the centre is severed from inner residential and business areas, with repercussions for secondary streets as shown later.

respect to conservation. They thought that there should have been more awareness of proposals which could be complimentary, for example, altering the disposition of land uses and modes of transport that might have lessened the urgency for an inner ring road.

2.2.4 Loss of 'character' and historic fabric - the designation of Conservation Areas - late 1960's and early 1970's.

Planning until this time had been based on the assumptions of population and economic growth, but a stable population and lower resources brought a new emphasis on conservation in its broadest sense. This was most relevant in historic centres as it coincided with changes in tastes towards the old and dissatisfaction with much new development. There was ^{a call} for a halt to so much change, in the realisation that too much land had already gone. There had been legal constraints on change to listed buildings for some time, but it was the Conservation Area, set up under the 1967 Civic Amenities Act that had a more definite effect on constraining change over wider areas. For many historic towns these areas covered much of the ancient town which now constitutes all, or a large part of the modern centre.

The change in policy emphasis came at a time when there was a move towards area management policies in general, and can be documented for many towns - on the lines of Durham, for instance, which affirms that:

"the traditional character will be protected by preserving the character of historic streets, buildings and open areas" (Durham County Council 1978).

More recently, there have been changes in conservation area boundaries. This in part reflects rationalization, but increasingly reveals the use of conservation area protection as a control device at a period when other planning controls are weakened and/or in the absence of a local plan, to add extra weight to a decision. Conservation areas have also been extended to include approach roads and the view or setting of an area. This results in a blurring of obvious boundaries and the inclusion of apparently less 'worthy' areas where there might be possible development pressure leading to redevelopment, or where incipient erosion could destroy a general character which may not be of special interest or under immediate pressure.

2.2.5. The emphasis on adaptation & full economic use - the late 1970's onwards.

The institutional changes taking place in the mid-1970's with the re-organisation of local government into a two-tier structure were accompanied by changes in the development plan system producing a hierarchy of plans. The Structure Plan

.../..

was seen as a comprehensive strategic plan for the wider area of, usually, a county. The District Plan was to include comprehensive proposals for a relatively large area where change was to take place over a fairly long period. The Subject Plan was to deal with particular planning aspects in advance or instead of a comprehensive plan. The Action Area Plan was for where the Structure Plan had indicated an area for improvement, redevelopment or new development.

The new Structure Plans, with the time taken for their completion delaying the progress of local plans, seemed to divert attention from the implications of existing policies. However, the continuing economic recession did draw attention to the need to make full use of resources. Thus, the economic use of old buildings rather than just their retention was recognised, as was the need to preserve the social fabric. Surveys were done by many towns and civic societies into the problems of vacant buildings and unused upper floors. Sometimes the results were used as a justification for policies to restrict new office and shop development. The Government Circular in 1977 on New Uses for Old Buildings, also suggested that:

"It may be justifiable to relax control over land use allocation ... and other controls, which would thus enable an historic building or group to be given a new lease of life. This may apply particularly in the case of warehouses, churches, barns, etc. where the size and character of the

.../..

building present special difficulties ... planning authorities should take this into account when dealing with planning applications and seek appropriate new uses for listed buildings which they own or might acquire; and, if this is not practicable, authorities should consider, whether other public bodies can find a suitable use for them" (23/77).

The following round of Structure Plans took this advice, with policies such as in West Sussex (1978), that they would:

"under some circumstances permit, in the best old buildings, uses which in other circumstances might be resisted, where this is the only means of retaining the buildings."

or as in Cheltenham (1976),

"In some cases, the need to find a viable use for old buildings may be in conflict with land use zoning and the desire to increase or decrease some uses (when it) ... may be desirable to relax restrictions."

Although Structure Plans and local policies provide such guidance, it is mainly through development control (i.e. the micro-level) that specific decisions are made, and, as found by Underwood (1981), in practice, applications are dealt with mainly on their merits. Since pressures vary considerably between areas, this has produced a variety of reactions and ad hoc decision-making on uses.

Historic towns are often on the forefront (both politically and technically) in the re-use of old buildings. Having the constraint of so many listed buildings has created 'conversion thinking' - and in general, such conversion work tends to be at a maximum on the fringe of the centre where uses are in the balance (so leading to

more innovation than on the central area fringes of non-historic towns ?) Circular 12/81 now requires local authorities to make a "diligent search for a new use and if necessary a new owner before seeking consent to demolish" and to "use all the powers available to them ... to help owners find ways of keeping their buildings in economic use and thus in repair."

In some cases, there may be fairly guarded relaxations of use policy, e.g. Derbyshire (1977) has a policy that:

"Elsewhere, conversion of listed buildings, buildings in Conservation Areas and other buildings worthy of preservation may be accepted where this would prevent their falling into disuse or disrepair. In such cases the conversion proposals will need to conform with the policies relating to the alteration or extension of existing buildings in conservation areas and other buildings of architectural or historic importance ..."

In other cases, there may be a conflict between preserving the history and exploiting the geography of a conservation area, such as suggested by Fernie (1979). He noted the penetration of Edinburgh New Town by offices and institutions, but because of the restrictions on building alterations and parking limits, those wanting to expand in the centre are frustrated, so driving these profitable uses away. He considers that if parking and planning controls were more flexible, few private firms would move to the suburbs, given that prestige and tradition are important locational factors for example for head offices of banks and investment trusts.

2.2.6. Conclusions: Planning and Post War Change

Therefore by looking at the planning history context of the town centre, the policies can be seen to have changed radically, but not before making an imprint on the fabric and activities of the centre, which throws light on some of the current issues.

Field (1981) documents these changes in Bristol, from the period of office promotion 1945-65, with its out-of-scale developments, criticism of which brought rehabilitation and more harmonious infill. By the time of the mid 70's property collapse most of the core had been refurbished but between there and the inner residential areas, a ring of dereliction was created, often comprising historic areas where commercial speculation had forced out existing uses.

Indeed, notable throughout the changes, in terms of planning consequences, have been the effects on the fringes of central areas. Also there has been a pre-occupation with the aesthetic/built fabric of the historic core - rather than land use consideration, and concern over the results of delay rather than seeing it as part of wider structural processes.

The legacy of re-ordering the town on certain principles and the interaction of external and internal forces has brought conflict for current local planning - as set out in Section 2.4. Similarly, whilst planning was coping with new trends and socio-economic changes,

.../..

it was also having to adjust to changes within particular land use sectors, for example changes in the location of activities such as the relationship between home and work, new retailing trends and the growth of services, which are considered in the next section, 2.3.

2.3 Review of Trends in Central Area Land Uses

If the historic core has survived largely intact, it will be because the built form has been adapted to suit the various activities dictated by the socio-economic conditions during different periods of the town's development. Whilst in general, the older the centre, the more likely it is that the use of the buildings and land will differ considerably from their original purpose, there are some traditional functions that such centres continue to fulfill, even if their spatial focus within the town may shift, i.e. residential, cultural and tourist activities.

However, the amount and location of space devoted to various functions will vary between towns. This has implications for the built environment and the priority given to policies concerning these uses. Yet whilst changes to the physical fabric may be recorded and used by the

planner, there is less data (especially on the small scale) or apparent interest in the changing proportions of land used for different activities, which can be of as major significance to the character of a local area as changes in the buildings. Thus, for instance, the amount of under-use of upper floors, concealed by the term 'storage' when measured at the macro-level, was only revealed by detailed studies of the type undertaken by Williams (1978).

Pressure on space in centres will mean conflicts between uses and historic towns have appeared to gain a relatively higher proportion of population increase (and its attendant demands) than many other towns. For instance (ref. Table 2.1) during the period 1961-71 the average population increase in historic towns was 7.7% compared with an average of 2.9% in towns in England and Wales. In the following decade, as the population stabilised and there was some out-migration to rural areas the average loss of population in English and Welsh towns was 1.9%, but for the historic towns only 0.5% loss. The 1981 Census Report on population in towns noted this marked slowing down of population growth in the last decade in comparison with the previous one. It identified growth concentrating around small towns in the more accessible parts of the country (in the urban categories into which many of the historic towns fall).*

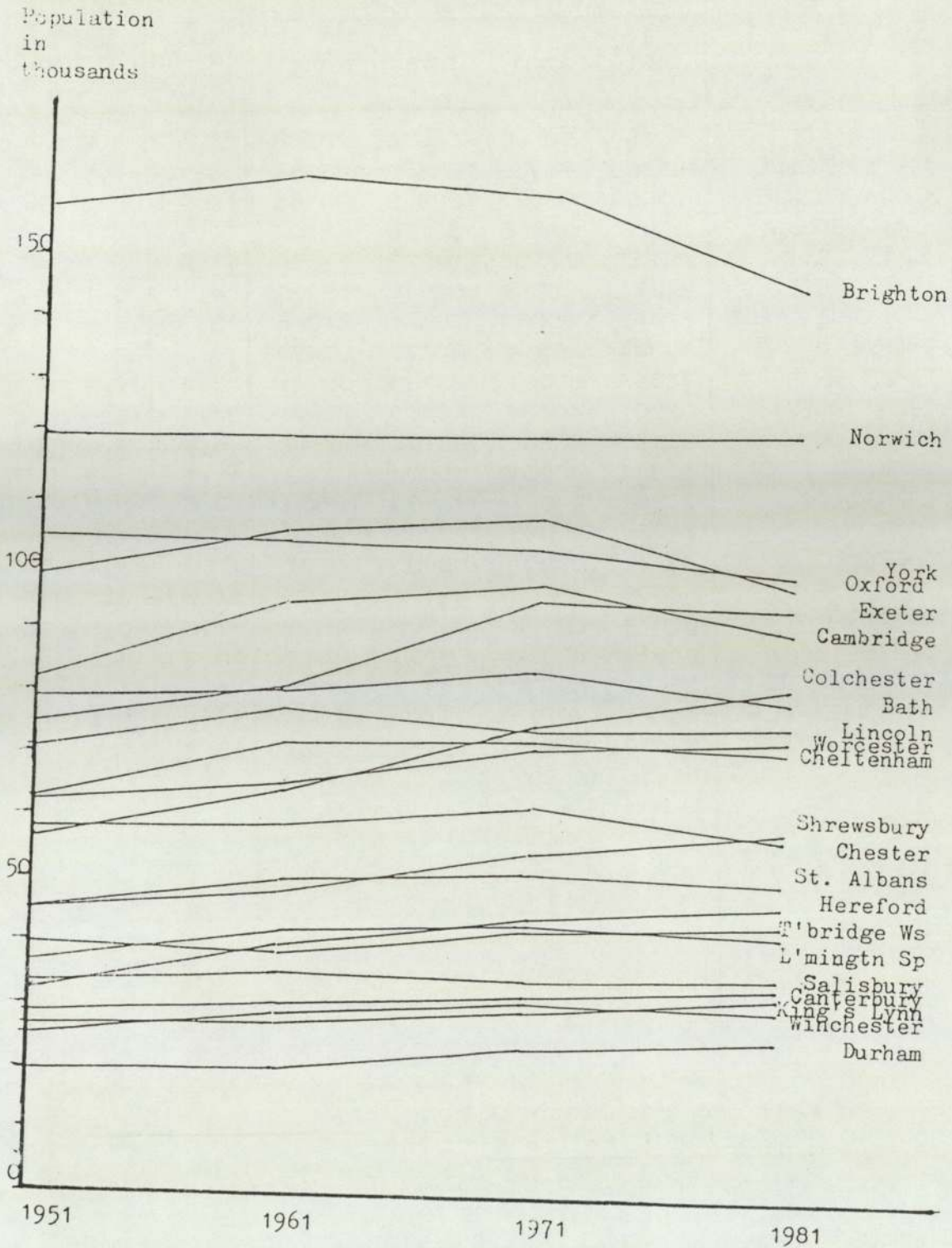
* i.e. smaller cities category: (comprising 16 major towns dominated by cathedral cities and university towns, e.g. Bath, Cambridge, Worcester); other mixed urban/rural accessible towns: (comprising 21 towns accessible to wide rural areas, e.g. Chester, Hereford and Shrewsbury.)

Table 2.1: Population Change in 22 Historic Towns 1951-1981

TOWN	POPULATION				% CHANGE		
	1951	1961	1971	1981	1951-1961	1961-1971	1971-1981
BATH	79294	80901	84670	79965	2.0	4.6	-5.6
BRIGHTON	158068	163159	161351	146134	3.1	-1.1	-9.4
CAMBRIDGE	81500	95527	98840	90440	17.2	3.5	-8.5
CANTERBURY	27817	30415	33176	33404	9.3	9.1	3.7
CHELTENHAM	62850	72154	74356	73229	14.8	3.1	-1.5
CHESTER	56952	59268	62911	58436	4.1	6.1	-7.1
COLCHESTER	57449	65080	76531	81945	13.3	17.6	7.1
DURHAM	19304	20514	24776	26422	6.3	20.8	6.6
EXETER	75513	80321	95729	95621	6.4	19.2	-0.1
HEREFORD	32501	40434	46503	47652	24.4	15.0	2.5
KINGS LYNN	26176	27536	30107	33340	5.2	9.3	10.7
LEAMINGTON	36344	42561	45064	42953	17.1	5.9	-4.7
LINCOLN	70333	77077	74269	76660	9.6	-3.6	3.2
NORWICH	121236	120096	122083	122270	-0.9	+1.6	0.2
OXFORD	98747	106291	108805	98521	7.6	2.4	-9.5
ST. ALBANS	44098	50293	52174	50888	14.0	3.7	-2.5
SALISBURY	33079	35492	35302	35355	7.3	-0.5	0.2
SHREWSBURY	44919	49566	56788	59826	10.3	14.6	6.5
TUNBRIDGE	38400	39869	44612	44821	3.8	11.9	0.5
WINCHESTER	25721	28770	31107	30642	11.9	8.1	-1.5
WORCESTER	62069	65923	73452	74247	6.2	11.4	1.1
YORK	105415	104392	104782	99787	-0.9	0.4	-4.8
Average for Historic Towns above					8.7	7.7	-0.5
ENGLAND & WALES 863 Towns					*	2.9	-1.9

Source: Census of Population 1961 and 1971; OPCS ^{*} not available
Report (1981), for Towns. Preliminary

Figure 2.1: POPULATION TRENDS IN 22 HISTORIC TOWNS 1951-81



Source: Census of Population 1961, 1971, 1981.

There are still considerable differences between historic towns (see graph, Fig. 2.1) which are sometimes related to census anomalies such as student and tourist populations, but some regional trends can be observed such as the increases in East Anglian towns. It is also useful to compare the different rates of population growth with relative change in particular functions of the towns .

The fact that historic towns have faced particular pressures in their centres is better reflected in the office and shop floorspace statistics discussed in the following section. These concentrate on the trends within main use categories and the planning reaction to problems arising. Illustrations from the pilot studies in Worcester and Hereford are used to show the inter-relationship and influence of changing patterns and controls over time, which also allows consideration of supply and demand aspects of the activities involved. The rest of the chapter, part 2.3, therefore concentrates on the trends within the major use categories.

2.3.1 Retailing - the importance of this sector

There are a number of reasons for looking in most detail at this land use. Firstly is the importance of retailing to the economic base of historic towns. Before the Industrial Revolution, most of the historic towns were centres of trade, providing a market for the surrounding rural area or a port for overseas trade. This function has remained important to these towns, supported by

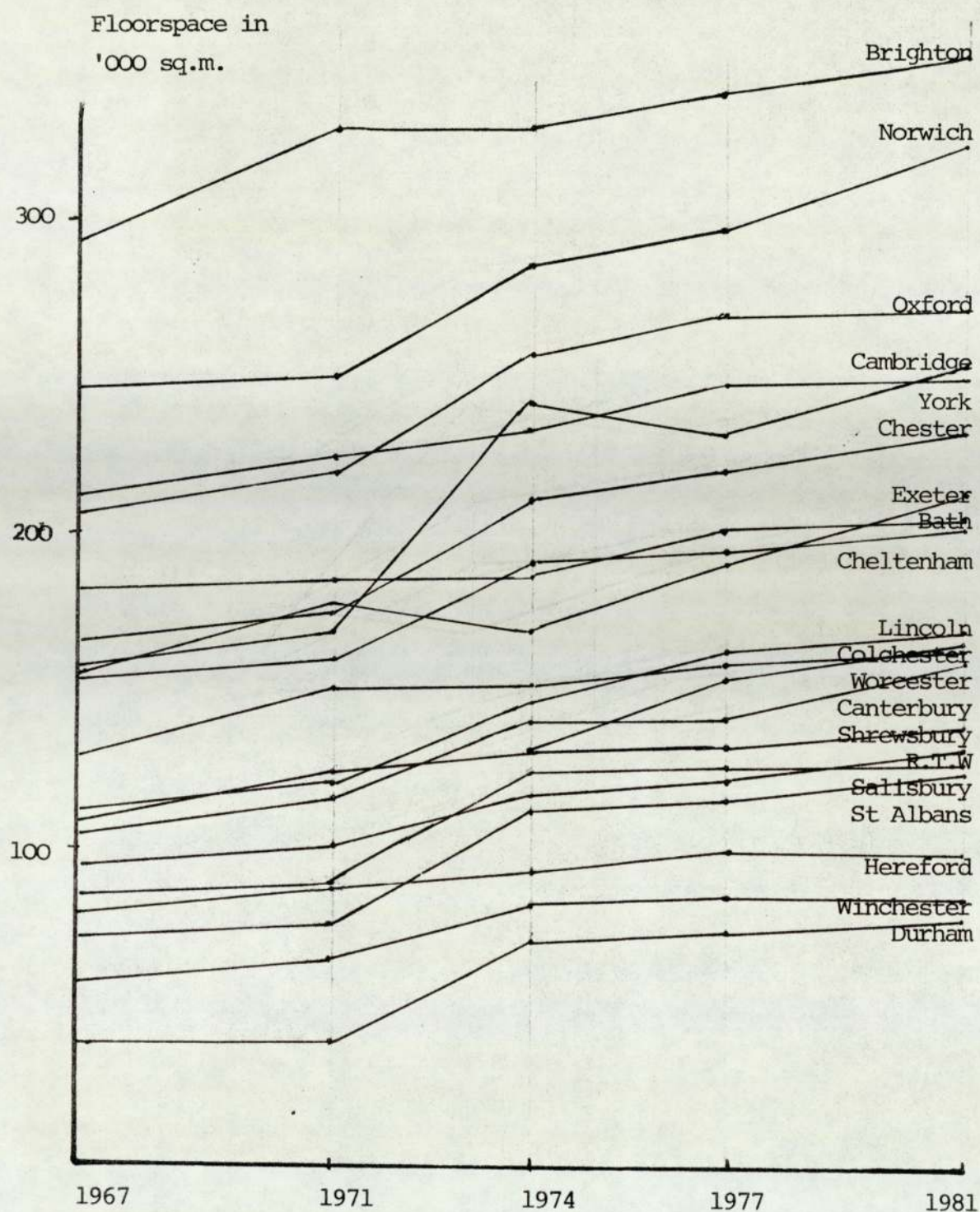
the more recent tourist trade. The figures in Table 2.2 below give the percentages of the total population in retail employment in 1971 for some of the major historic towns, the average at 8% being considerably higher than the 5.4% for towns in Great Britain, whilst noting that the proportions in this type of employment have increased generally since 1961.

Table 2.2: % in retail employment: Source - Census of Distribution 1961 & 1971					
	<u>1961</u>	<u>1971</u>		<u>1961</u>	<u>1971</u>
Bath	5.2	7.8	Leamington Spa	5.5	8.4
Brighton	4.8	7.4	Lincoln	4.8	7.1
Cambridge	5.2	7.5	Norwich	6.0	8.6
Canterbury	7.7	11.6	Oxford	5.1	7.4
Cheltenham	5.3	9.1	St. Albans	4.4	6.7
Chester	7.9	9.8	Salisbury	6.9	9.1
Colchester	4.7	6.3	Shrewsbury	5.1	6.8
Durham	*	6.5	Tunbridge Wells	7.0	9.7
Exeter	5.8	6.4	Winchester	5.7	7.7
Hereford	5.4	7.4	Worcester	4.9	6.7
Kings Lynn	6.9	8.7	York	5.1	7.3

* not available

Floorspace figures for shops and restaurants give some indication of this sector's continued predominance in historic towns for 1981, comprising an average of 20.1% of the total industrial and commercial floorspace compared with 12.9% for England in general (ref. Tables in Appendix) and graph and notes pp. 49-50.

Figure 2.2: Shops & Restaurants - Floorspace in 20 Historic Towns. 1967 - 1981.



Source: Department of the Environment: Commercial & Industrial Floorspace Statistics.

Figure 2.2 shows how the increase in shopping floorspace since 1967 has varied between different historic towns, although the larger towns tend to have had the highest increase. During the period 1971 to 1974, when historic towns had gained in total more than twice the general average increase for England, (Table 2.2a), Cambridge, Salisbury, St. Albans, Durham and Norwich were predominant. The period 1974 to 1977 saw an overall lower increase, with an actual fall for Cambridge and a higher than average increase for Exeter and Colchester. Since then there has been a steady increase in these towns, which appear to be expanding their role as shopping centres.

Table 2.2A: Shops & Restaurants Floorspace 1967-81.

	<u>HISTORIC TOWNS</u>		<u>ENGLAND</u>	
	<u>av. 000 sq.m.</u>	<u>% inc.</u>	<u>av. 000 sq.m.</u>	<u>% inc.</u>
1967	2774.4)		49072.5)	
1971	2979.7) }	7.4	52591.0) }	7.2
1974	3450.6) }	15.8	56692.2) }	7.8
1977	3613.0) }	4.7	59347.7) }	4.7
1981	3817.9)	5.7	62790.9)	5.8
1967-74		+24.3		+15.5
1974-81		+10.6		+10.8
1967-81		+37.6		+27.9

Source: Commercial & Industrial Floorspace Statistics

Secondly it is a sector which has changed drastically in post-war times^{*}. As the primary function in town centres, such a degree of change has brought problems and land use conflicts, particularly where there are policies which attempt to control or direct such changes. Furthermore, the way in which planning attempts to deal with conflicts arising for retailing in historic centres has had consequences not only on the visual attractiveness of the centre, but also on its prosperity. It is suggested that planning has a responsibility to ensure that all sections of the community are adequately served but at the same time should aim to restrain the total amount of new building to prevent waste of building stock. Meanwhile planning also tries to separate or reconcile non-conforming land uses and to minimise adverse environmental impacts. The basic conflict arising from these roles, noted by Bennison & Davies (1980), is that while the local authority attempts to protect existing town centre commerce, it also wishes to enhance the overall image and prestige of the area by introducing new shopping developments (plus the added element in some councils being composed largely of local retailers and businessmen with personal interests at stake). In addition, whilst trying to balance the supply and demand for new shops, planning authorities are also aiming for some planning gains such as the provision of public facilities within a commercial scheme - together presenting a confusion of roles and aims which is most acute in historic centres.

* (This both in terms of construction activity, see p.56, and in organisational structure, see Appendix Tables II-V).

The following sections therefore deal with the implications of changes that have occurred, some of the reasons for such changes and how planning attempts to deal with specific problems arising in historic centres and the general impact of those policies.

2.3.2. Shopping Patterns: Changes in Consumption

Here, the demand and supply aspects are firstly considered from the consumers viewpoint rather than the producers, although noting that it is often difficult to distinguish whether a change in one brings a response from the other or vice versa. There has been little increase in real expenditure on retail goods since the boom of the late 50's and early 60's, particularly in the food trade. Instead it is the pattern of consumption which has changed due to a variety of influences. Firstly, the increased mobility of consumers. Because of higher car ownership and usage for shopping this has had several consequences. On the one hand it has increased the attractiveness of some of the main shopping centres for the location of multiples - tapping their greater catchment potential. This is often also the case for historic centres with their tendency to provide more independent shops (ref. Appendix Table V) catering for more specialist trade for which people are likely to travel further, and also ^{because} many have the tradition of a weekly market bringing in a rural population from a wider area. In the case of an historic town such as Worcester which provided parking facilities at an early stage

.../..

and new developments before tighter controls on new buildings, this often meant a legacy of huge out-of-scale structures. However, towns such as Hereford, under less pressure for new shopping developments at that time, or those adopting a more cautious approach, are now faced with even more serious problems of congestion and the possible draw-off of trade to competing centres where parking is easier.

On the other hand, more car-ownership and the possession of freezers and refrigerators, has increased the viability of edge-of-town trading which does ^{not} have to rely on accessibility by public transport and where there is space available to construct large parking areas so geared to bulk-buying by both retailer and consumer. Although it has been suggested that increasing petrol prices would reduce the attractiveness of such centres, others argue that instead, people just cut down on the number of shopping trips - so benefitting the centre where they can stock up weekly.

Secondly, increased affluence and leisure time/tourism.

With changes in population and disposable income levels, there has been a shift to higher-order goods, especially an increase in certain durable goods such as clothing, electrical items and carpets. This is reflected to some extent in the changes in numbers of outlets devoted to various trades, shown in Table 2.3, (noting that while turnover has increased, the number of shops has fallen, mainly in the grocery trade).

The historic towns, with apparently greater emphasis on luxury/specialist goods, could be benefitting from this trend to an extent. Schiller (1971), has also found that geographical

TABLE 2.3: RETAIL SHOPS BY BUSINESS TYPE

TRADES	Number of Outlets (Thousands) 1961-79									
	1961	%	1966	%	1971	%	1976	%	1979	%
Total Shops	542.3	100	504.0	100	472.9	100	393.7	100	351.2	100
Grocers & Provisions		27		24		22		18		15
Other food Retailers		21		21		20		19		20
Confec/News/Tobac.		13		14		11		12		13
Clothing & Footwear		16		16		17		18		17
Household goods		11		13		15		15		16
Other non-food		11		12		14		13		14
Mixed retail		-		-		-		4		5

Source: Census of Distribution 1971
Retailing Enquiry 1976/77

segregation of the community by class and income levels is increasing with the higher socio-economic group moving toward rural areas and small towns. This is more so where there is an attractive environment of historic interest which brings the tourist and high status resident, who provide custom for the specialist shop and a disproportionate share of high grade services,* especially where it draws on a wider and fairly prosperous rural area. This appears to be substantiated by turnover figures which were much higher for central area shops in 21 historic towns sampled in 1971 (at £74,800 p.a.) compared with the £35,246 average for English

* A survey by Mintel (1980) found that the range of shops visited falls steadily as one goes along the class spectrum - the higher status groups making greater use of specialist outlets.

towns in general.

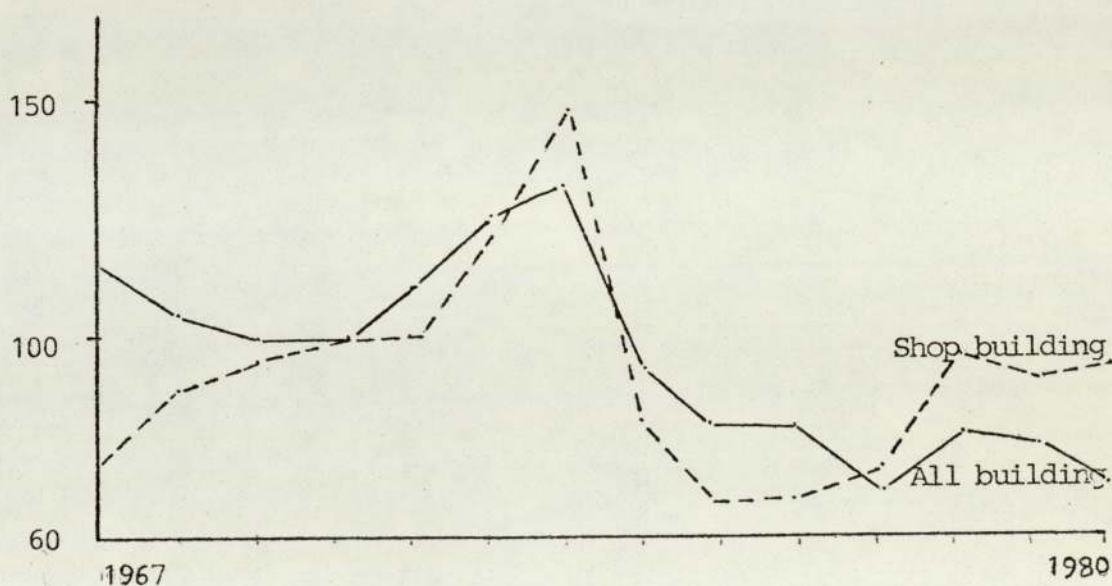
Increased mobility and affluence have contributed to the polarisation of standardized and luxury goods, both between and within centres, whilst there is also, according to Dawson & Kirby (1980) growing polarity in the operating scale, e.g. between multiples and independents.

Planning has had a further influence on this process, so that planned centres attract retailers providing convenience goods, since though expensive they have space for large retail units and facilities for the car owner or access to public transport. Meanwhile, the remaining 'unplanned centres' including historic towns not radically altered, provide for small units, greater specialisation and a market for luxury goods. The polarisation is marked in historic centres, which may be partly because of the policies protecting the centre and diverting large stores to the edge (or not in the town at all) and partly because of the historical location of traditional shops in good central sites, where if they adapt to changing trends, they are able to continue ^{in business.} Within the historic town itself there may be polarisation of shopping types - for instance, near the centre where an attraction such as a castle or medieval street is located. This creates a demand for tourist-oriented small shops, whilst the car owning population of the suburbs provides a better location for the larger supermarket.

* Although this may also be the case in other centres, for example Camden has experienced the rapid loss of convenience shops but an increase in specialised boutiques and travel agencies. (Thompson, 1977).

The changes outlined so far need to be seen in the context of the National Economy. Consumption trends generally follow patterns of prosperity in the country as a whole and retailers have had to adapt to changing economic conditions. The most obvious manifestation has been in the rate of new shopping developments. The graphs of shop construction below, indicate how closely this industry followed the period of rapid general expansion in the late 50's and early 60's and again in the early 70's.

Figure 2.3: Trends in New Shop Building



(level of new orders at constant prices, 1970 = 100)

Source: Maitland, B., "Buildings Update. Retail", Architects Journal, Vol. 173, No. 19, 13th May, 1981, p.912.

In historic towns this cycle of activity may have been constrained, particularly in the early 1970's by the new conservation laws. The pressure to use existing facilities and conversions became more the rule in the later 70's (following housing policy) when economic slow down meant

that historic centres considerably benefitted if they had not already succumbed to the pressures of the 60's. This leads to two further aspects of changes in retailing - from the production side and from the physical impact viewpoint.

2.3.3. Shopping Patterns: Changes in Production

As with consumption there have been many changes over the last 20 years in the retailing industry some of which have consequences which are particularly relevant to changes in historic centres.

Firstly, the continuing growth of self-service outlets and supermarkets. This trend may have had a slower start in some of the more traditional centres, but self-service has now become an accepted style. It is not just confined to grocery trades, but is expanding into other areas such as off-licences, greengrocers and fashion shops, which has several implications for historic centres. To capitalise on economies of scale, self-service goes hand in hand with automation which means bigger storage facilities and demand for stores all in one level. This requires much larger retail units but is problematic for a town centre with traditional unit sizes. The result has been a loss of listed buildings for redevelopment on some prime sites, especially in the early days of expansion when the multiples had buying power. Alternatively, there has been amalgamation of two or more units resulting in a loss of internal features and produced uniform fascia boards.

Whitbourne (1973) found that changes in land use resulted from attempts to find sites for large new retail units, e.g. sites of former churches, inns, cinemas and industry or the closure of several small shops. The problem in historic towns is that whilst there is less space available in the centre, there is also much less chance of obtaining land away from the centre because planners fear it would destroy the traditional shopping core. The supermarket itself can be a controlling influence and stimulate locational changes, but with the possible corollary effect of a progressive decline of smaller shops distant from the new focus.

Secondly, the diversification of goods sold is a trend which has generally been the result of retailers competing to gain an increased share of the limited market. At the top end of the scale, major stores have expanded their ranges. Safeway for example (1980) reports its move to speciality departments such as delicatessens and bakeries. Meanwhile larger chemists are expanding into children's wear, lighting and audio-equipment, constituting a threat to the smaller independents which have been able to hold their own until recently, as it was previously only grocery stores which really suffered from supermarket competition. Lower down the scale, off-centre locations and smaller independents have sometimes gained by diversifying, such as the combining of a newsagent, grocery store and off-licence, especially where they can offer extended opening hours.

.../..

Thirdly, the introduction of new services and goods. Although planning policies can restrict changes of use from shops to offices, and so may be able to protect to some degree the traditional shopping fabric in an historic street, there is no control over the nature of goods sold, or shops within a specific use category. However, such changes can mean a considerable alteration in the character of trading in a street or loss of facilities. For example, it was noted in the Bath Conservation Review (1981) that while there is a greater number of applications for conversion works and restoration schemes, they are not always what was intended in the local plans. It has resultedⁱⁿ the increasing pressure for fast-food shops, exhaust repair centres and retail warehouses. Although this local authority is more able than many to control what they see as undesirable uses, since they own much of the property and so can influence letting policies .

Finally, changes in the retail structure and implications.

The growth of the multiple outlet retail companies has been the basis of many of the changes discussed so far, and is therefore dealt with here in more detail. Where the 1960's saw the supermarkets firmly established, the 1970's brought non-food multiples expanding their share of the retail market. By the end of that decade, with increased price competitiveness, it overtook the independent sector in its share of the market, with the resulting division as shown in the table below.

TABLE 2.4: NON-FOOD MULTIPLES. 1978

Sector	Total Sales £ bn	Market Share Percentage		
		Single Outlets	Small Multiples	Large Multiples
Confec/News/Tobac.	3.7	62	14	24
Clothing & Footwear	4.4	30	20	50
Household	6.5	34	20	46
Other non-food	3.6	53	28	19
Mixed retail	11.8	15	11	74

Source: Jordan & Sons (1979).

The growth of multiples and concentration of trade into a few big organisations has meant an increased presence in main High Streets where financial strength is important as the sharp rise in High Street rents has squeezed out the independents. Consequently, historic centres, which in the past have tended to stand out in their individuality and variety are taking on the face of every other town centre in the country. However, in the secondary shopping streets or non-prime areas, there are some specialist goods shops not competing with the multiples - such as where a less systematic approach is required, for example ironmongers, sports goods and florists (Erdmann, 1979), or where the value of serving customer needs is appreciated (such as knowledge of stock, personal service and providing longer hours).

The 1961 and 1971^{*} figures for retail outlets do however

* latest census of distribution figures - No census made in 1981.

indicate that historic towns have retained a higher proportion of independents, especially in their centres than compared with other towns (ref. Tables II to V, Appendix).

TABLE 2.5: RETAIL OUTLETS: MULTIPLES & INDEPENDENTS, 1971.

Average for Towns 20,000-200,000 pop.* in each area.	WHOLE TOWN		CENTRAL AREA	
	$\frac{\text{Multiples}}{\text{Independents}}$		$\frac{\text{Multiples}}{\text{Independents}}$	
	Shops	Floorspace	Shops	Floorspace
W. MIDLANDS	0.28 ^(.32)	0.94 ^(1.1)	0.77 ^(.72)	1.9 ^(1.5)
SOUTH EAST	0.33 ^(.31)	1.09 ^(.93)	0.78 ^(.68)	2.2 ^(1.6)
E. MIDLANDS	0.28 ^(.29)	1.04 ^(.89)	0.60 ^(.5)	1.95 ^(1.6)
EAST ANGLIA	0.26 ^(.27)	1.20 ^(1.4)	0.63 ^(.69)	1.8 ^(1.6)
SOUTH WEST	0.30 ^(.32)	1.10 ^(0.9)	0.70 ^(0.7)	2.0 ^(1.3)
NORTH WEST	0.24 ^(.32)	0.83 ^(.93)	0.59 ^(.5)	1.8 ^(1.2)
NORTHERN	0.26 ⁻	0.98 ⁻	0.60 ⁻	2.0 ⁻
YORKS. & HUMB.	0.48 ^(.26)	1.77 ^(.71)	0.47 ^(.41)	1.3 ^(.74)
AREA AVERAGE	0.30	1.12	0.64	1.9
HISTORIC TOWNS AVERAGE	0.30	0.99	0.67	1.5

Figures in brackets = average for historic towns in each area.

*Includes only the towns where central area figures given.

Multiples ÷

Independents: >1 = higher proportion of multiple retail outlets
<1 = higher proportion of independent outlets

Source: 1971 Census of Distribution.

The figures in the table above, indicate how in general the historic towns in each region tend to have a higher proportion of independents, especially when using floorspace figures for the town centres, than the average for the area. Similarly, the area average floorspace for independents/multiples in the centres shows a higher proportion of multiples compared with the 21 historic towns (ref. Appendix, Table V). Although comparisons between 1961 and 1971 can only be made on the basis of shop numbers this does give some indication of the continuing importance of independents in historic towns, e.g. in the West Midlands, M/I for all town centres = average of 0.87 for 1961 and 0.77 for 1971, compared with the average for the historic centres in the W. Midlands of 0.76 for 1961 and 0.72 for 1971.

Thorpe (1968) has looked at the pattern of independents and multiples in different centres and noted that towns such as Canterbury and King's Lynn showed differences to the typical structure of outlets. This appeared to be the result of the special nature of demand for retail services in them or because of long established non-food shops in the ancient centres (and the fact that the centres were more closely knit). He also noted that fewer independents existed where there were major post-war developments of shop property occurring whereas there is a higher proportion in towns such as Leamington Spa, Tunbridge Wells and Wrexham - all small towns with special characteristics and a demand (concentrating on variety and the 'exclusive') which independent traders are likely to be able

to supply more effectively.* Intowns where more than half the independents trade centrally such as Worcester, Gloucester, Cheltenham and Chester it is because of their size, distance from conurbations and in many cases, county town status.

Alongside these trends are two further aspects of interest: firstly the increasing attention by retailers to aspects of 'presentation'. Fitch (1981) notes that the growth of multiples and the sell-and-leaseback of valuable High Street sites has released capital for development, often resulting in extensive refitting and modernisation. The national multiples became pre-occupied with presenting an image, which has implications for the historic units not just with the aluminium section shopfronts, large windows and changes in interior fittings but often large scale rebuilding with an overall design replacing, according to Beddington (1981) 'organic High Street renewal'. A second aspect is that location decisions are increasingly related to the locational choices of other retailers. Large organisations make location decisions based upon the location of other outlets in the group and land-holding investments. Kivell and Shaw (1980) suggest that this may create a spatial sub-system which does not relate to the more obvious locational constraints, so questioning many traditional conceptions of retail location decisions.

* Thorpe suggests that the existence of lease restrictions in residential areas make it difficult to trade in non-central locations.

2.3.4. Shopping Patterns: Changes from the Physical/Spatial Viewpoint

Two important developments from this point of view are the shopping precinct and superstores. Firstly, the development of Shopping Centres and Precincts. The emphasis of post-war town centre shopping plans on redevelopment and land use segregation has been a threat to the mixed use historic core. This can be traced back to the 1947 Act, which enabled local authorities to designate comprehensive redevelopment areas, although it was not until the 1960's that there was any significant shopping development. This was prompted by a shift in investment to commercial building as more private finance became available.* Yet 1960-65 was seen as a period of "uninhibited and often badly conceived shopping developments" (Bennison and Davies, 1980). With population growth such precincts provided a chance to both cater for an increasing market and enhance a town's image. Whilst they provided benefits in rents and rates, disadvantages arose from their locations as they "owed more to availability of sufficient land than to positional logic" (Erdmann 1979). A disastrous effect could result on the old shopping pattern, a shift of focus dramatically affecting the use of long established shopping areas.

The late 1960's and early 1970's brought more carefully-planned precincts, often closed-in, and the development companies specialising in retail and office construction, which although more costly, tended to be built in the regional centres. Consequently, in the smaller towns such as Hereford,

* With increasing problems of traffic congestion, the commercial development scheme offered an opportunity to increase retail capacity and solve parking and ring road problems.

development companies back-tracked when any complications arose for their schemes, particularly from 1968 onwards when conservation constraints were adding to costs.

The more sophisticated schemes also required more collaboration between developers and local authorities. This tended to involve lengthy negotiations for land and planning delays. The latter often ^{resulted} in a blight which had an equally detrimental effect on central area land use and townscape, as the towns which had acquired earlier, less well planned developments. Although some centres did manage to gain a new shopping precinct without seriously blighting areas, and fitting in with the historic character such as in Chester .

The property collapse in 1974/5 put an end to schemes for a while, bringing a period of inactivity and time to consider the damage caused in some historic centres (further encouraging conversion and smaller infill schemes). There has been a pick-up in construction rates since (ref. graphs p.56) matching those of the early '60's.

Secondly, has been the development of hypermarkets and superstores. There has been a growing number of studies on the impact of supermarkets and superstores in this country and their strategic importance is accepted in the number of structure plans which have policies geared specifically to their control - mainly to protect existing centres (see 2.3.7). However, there is expected to be less penetration of retail trade than for their European counterparts because of the lack and cost of land and planners who are not favourably disposed to this type of development. It appears that the main casualty has been the medium or small multiples, least

able to withstand competition^{*}, whilst the non-competing retailers in the immediate vicinity benefit from the additional custom (ref. Mintel Survey 1980).

Both these developments, in their spatial locations particularly, have caused concern for planners. That their effect on the demand for traditional units creates vacant shops and neglect of the historic fabric whilst also affecting activity patterns in the town.

Commentators have reached various conclusions of specific relevance to land use changes on central area fringes. Kivell & Shaw (1980) found that in many centres over a long period of time there has been a contraction in^{their} physical location with existing unplanned centres thus becoming more tightly defined and retreating at their peripheries. The West Midlands study (Erdmann 1979) also noted the phenomenon of fading shopping positions, when the street becomes economically and visually unattractive often where there is a lack of rear access and inadequate parking facilities. Similarly the NEDO report (1971) had already seen the accelerated obsolescence of shops in marginal locations, with radial routes particularly affected by the concentration of retailers in the centre.

* Perhaps most affected are the non-specialist stores and those operated either by older retailers who are unable to adapt, or perhaps very young retailers with the lack of finance to adapt for example to non-competing lines.

However, much is dependent on the size, design, style and location of new shopping developments in the centre. As Bennison and Davies found (op.cit) each needs to be assessed individually, for example when a location sets up a new shopping axis rather than a new locus of activity. The latter produces more radical changes in shopping movement - whereby traders in secondary positions are even further removed from primary activity and suffer loss of trade (although they may have already been in a state of decline which is only aggravated by the new development).

The photograph below of a radial route into Worcester town centre, indicates some of the features mentioned. As a 'fading' shopping street, cut off from the new Lych Gate centre by the merging of the inner relief route, but carrying heavy traffic into the town, it was showing signs of deterioration, but recent rebuilding and take-over by antique shops have started to revitalize the area.



Fig. 2.4: Changes in a Secondary Shopping Street

2.3.5. CommerceThe demand for offices and the historic town.

As post-war administration has grown, the number of white collar jobs in the centre has increased, with the preference, especially in the 1960's, for new purpose-built accommodation. Development companies often included major office schemes in their central area re-developments. However, over-concentration of offices in the centre led to traffic congestion and provoked a reaction from planners to reverse this, encouraging de-centralisation from the conurbations.

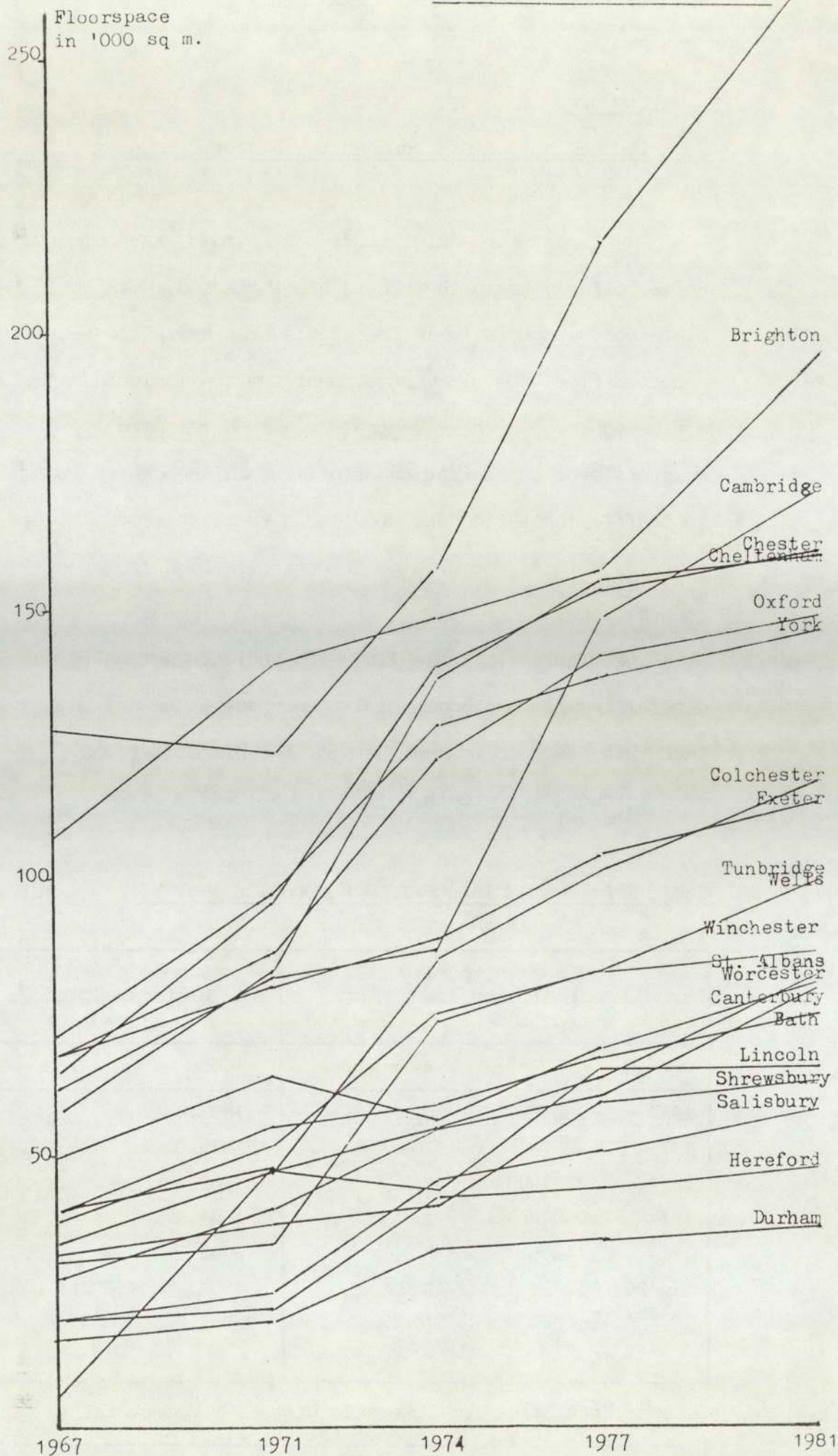
The figures in Table 2.6 below indicate not only the general increase in commercial floorspace in towns, but that this has been much higher for the historic towns, even in the lower growth period since 1974.

Table 2.6: COMMERCIAL OFFICES FLOORSPEACE 1967-81.

Local Authority Districts in England			Sample of Historic Towns	
	'000m ²	% increase	'000m ²	% increase
1967	25350.8	16.7	1007.8	26.5
1971	29579.5	20.7	1275.0	34.0
1974	35690.3	12.2	1709.1	16.5
1977	40029.8	10.4	1991.8	13.1
1981	44206.3		2253.2	
1967 - 74		+ 40.8%		+ 69.6%
1974 - 81		+ 23.9%		+ 31.8%
1967 - 81		+ 74.4%		+ 123.6%

Source: Statistics for Town & Country P. & Commercial & Industrial Floorspace Statistics.//..

59. Figure 2.5: Commercial offices - Floorspace in 20 Historic/Norwich Towns 1967-81



The graph, Figure 2.5 (p. 69) shows how these increases differ between the historic towns, the larger centres being notable for their high increases (e.g. Norwich and Brighton). However, centres with higher rates of increases in different periods would seem to be related to specific local and regional influences which needs to be explored in more detail.

The historic town has therefore been the recipient of both new office developments within and movers from elsewhere. However, the constraint on space in the centre and later policies restricting change of use, have meant rebuilding on the edge of the centre and a looser spread of the Central Business District (although sometimes resulting in a diversion to other new towns, or pressure for conversions, as it was realised that the centre was being left with too many empty buildings and controls were imposed on new building). Franklin and Stafford (1976) have noted that in the office sector parallel moves with housing towards rehabilitation rather than rebuilding have occurred, listed buildings having become an asset rather than a liability in a scheme. They acknowledge the advantages of this to the developer - including easier approval for planning permission, avoidance of high interest rates for new building and changes in rents and tenants requirements. But they conclude that many of the advantages are peculiar to the present economic and political situation regarding interest rates, bureaucratic delays and current fashion.

.../..

2.3.6. Effects of the Increase in Service Trades

This has also followed the growth in disposable incomes and they now occupy approximately one quarter of all outlets in town centres (**). Most prolific have been the building societies whose outlets have increased three-fold in the past 15 years. These and other service trades such as finance and insurance companies, travel agents and even betting shops (once confined to secondary streets and radial routes out-of-town) have started to take over the prime High Street sites vacated by multiples or independents which may have moved to new precincts, or can no longer survive the high overheads of central locations.* The period of rapid Building Society growth may be over, but rationalization and competition mean that good premises will still be sought.

Jones (1976) indicates that the growth of services in itself is not responsible for the decline in representation of other trades in the High Street, but to their more aggressive marketing approach, producing as great a demand for such locations as the shoe shops. The general planning

* Sometimes the national economy/government bodies can be more of a force to contend with. For example in Hereford, the 'quango' Property Services Agency, who in 1978 were looking for a job centre in the town (at that time assuming political importance) wanted to be in the main shopping centre and had settled on the Black Swan, a listed building in Widemarsh Street. Having noted that if the old building was to be used it would have to be completely gutted to provide the flexible floorspace required, and as such expenditure would not yield the required return, they applied for re-development. It was only because of delay (as the Council and Civic Society fought to save the building with proposals to compulsory purchase the site under the Community Land Act) that the project was stalled until the time when proposals for new centres were shelved in the government cuts at the end of 1979, but not before the sudden demolition of the building by the then owners.

** Architect's Journal, 1981, 13th May.

policy is to discourage this trend, as these trades are supposedly not complementary to adjoining shopkeepers, causing discontinuity of shopwindow frontage.

Yet in the historic centre, whilst local authorities are still concerned at the take-over by non-retailers in what had been a traditional shopping street, the irony is that such occupants are sometimes the most suitable owners/tenants of listed buildings for a number of reasons. For instance, they may find a smaller unit more appropriate to their needs, without having to make vast internal alterations and erecting large fascia signs as the large stores would require. They are often also in a financially better position to spend a considerable amount on restoration work, possibly for the prestige gained from such premises and not necessarily because it was a condition of the planning permission.*

Additionally, the trend to services may have specific effects in historic centres such as increasing the demand for the use of upper floors. They are often well-suited also to provide for specialist services for instance in Oxford it is suggested that it is not just the historic buildings but the total college environment with which particular services identify, such as conference centres and language schools, for which accessibility and spatial linkages within the centre are less important (Baird, 1979).

* e.g. in Worcester, the Civic Society were successful in their informal approaches to the Cheltenham & Gloucester Building Society to preserve the interior of a building recently taken over by them.

2.3.7. Protecting the Historic Town Centre -
Retail & Commercial Planning Policies.

There is a general commitment in the U.K. to maintain the predominance of central areas linked to a preoccupation with floorspace useage and empty urban buildings or sites.

The following tables showing the proportion of total retail floorspace in the town centre give some indication of the importance of the centre in historic towns.

Table 2.7: PROPORTION OF RETAIL FLOORSPLACE IN TOWN CENTRES 1971.

Average for towns in each region	% central area floorspace of town total	(av. for historic towns in each region %)
W. MIDLANDS	58.1	77.2
S. EAST	59.1	66.2
E. MIDLANDS	64.1	66.1
E. ANGLIA	57.6	49.9
S. WEST	65.8	72.2
N. WEST	50.0	76.5
NORTHERN	59.0	-
YORKS & HUMBER	66.3	66.0
AREA AVERAGE	60.0	
HISTORIC TOWNS	71.1	

Source: Census of Distribution

A comparison of the proportion of shops in historic town centres (out of the whole town) between 1961 and 1971 having increased from 32.2% to 43.5% shows the centre has maintained its predominance either because of natural forces or supplemented by planning controls.* The latter are often applied for emotive reasons, protecting the viability of the centre because of its symbolic and sentimental associations, especially in the historic town. There has also been a realisation that protecting the trade of the centre is not just a case of controlling development elsewhere, but seeing that out-of-scale developments in the centre can work against the main advantage of the historic town, the individual character of its environment. Many towns have therefore adopted more cautious attitudes to redevelopment and restrictions concerning new forms of shopping where it is thought that they might damage the existing centre. Some of these policies and their consequences are dealt with in the next section.

* Thorpe (1968) has analysed the concentration of trade in central areas between different types of towns, from a broader perspective. He notes that while the concentration of trade in the town centre tends to be greater, the smaller the population size of the town, some centres in main towns do have more than 40% of sales, e.g. Cambridge, Ipswich, York, Plymouth, Norwich, Edinburgh and Gloucester. This is either because they are highly integrated areas of small extent or places which attract custom in significant proportions from beyond the main centre. Conversely, where the proportion is less than 40% is where there has been rapid growth or the town has a generally loose-knit pattern (more likely in more modern towns.)

Firstly are the policies on out of town stores and new developments. Most local authority policies express concern about the effects of new developments, e.g. Oxfordshire County Council in its Structure Plan (1976) advised that:-

"in considering proposals for shopping facilities in out-of-town, or edge-of-town locations the Planning Authorities will have regard to the following factors ... the effect the proposals would be likely to have on the conservation of the urban environment, taking into account not only the reduction in possible pressures for redevelopment elsewhere, but also the possibilities of decay in the existing urban fabric resulting from loss of trade and the loss of opportunities for improvement in the existing environment."

However, this policy and the rationale behind it has been brought into question by appeal decisions and its effectiveness doubted in Structure Plan monitoring (ref. Shropshire County Council, 1981). Precise effects on the urban structure and the use/maintenance of historic buildings and the shopping character and status of the centre have not been explored, although the South Hampshire Plan (1972) does state that:

"to ensure, in making the best use of public investment, that major new shopping developments do not undermine the viability of existing or proposed strategic centres ... local planning authorities wish to see evidence provided by developers of the viability of their shopping proposals and the likely impact of these upon existing centres."

Secondly are planning policies concerned with the impact of shopping precincts and shopping over-development. Changing consumption patterns and the pressures for development have made calculation of demand and supply increasingly difficult. Not until it was too late did

planners realise, perhaps first in historic town centres, that towns were probably over-shopped. They then responded with sometimes too cautious estimates of retail demand. However, the policies to protect the centre by steering new developments there, do seem to have had an effect, in that, according to one survey 81% of schemes in the last five years were within existing town centres, (Bennison & Davies (op cit)).

An over-provision of shopping floorspace in the 1960's seemed to threaten the traditional central area shops and the maintenance of the historic core fabric which led to policies restricting additional new development. Many of the arguments surrounding public enquiries about new shopping developments have been based on various calculations of floorspace*. Yet as Thomas argues (1978), terms such as "shopping need", "over and under provision" and "shopping capacity" are imprecisely defined. Past trends are a poor guide to future economic and social developments, as patterns of retailing have changed much faster than planners have realised. There is a lack of knowledge about efficiency of retailing in existing shops, yet as Guy observes (1980), the allocation of floorspace

* e.g. Hereford set up a joint working party to prepare a Central Area Development Brief, mainly instigated by a comment of the Secretary of State in a decision letter following the Page bar Inquiry (concerning a major shopping scheme in the centre, 1974), which had centred on the impact of possible over-provision of shops. The need was expressed for more information about, for instance, the use of buildings, shopping habits, parking etc. to determine where future facilities would best be located.

requirements remains a feature of many Structure Plans.

This has also been true in the office sector. The realisation that too much new office space had been permitted up to the early 1970's (see figs. on office growth p. 68) led to policies restricting additional developments and encouraging the use of old buildings and existing vacant space.

The effects have been varied, or sometimes the policy changes are too late, or so much in line with current trends such as decentralisation, that their effectiveness is difficult to determine. Sometimes policy is circumvented by developers providing token retail or residential uses as 'planning gain', whilst the lack of resources has meant it was difficult for small offices to adapt to old buildings adequately (see Appendix note on pilot studies).

A third type of policies are those on out-of-scale developments and the enhancement of shopping centres. Such policies have sought to protect the visual character of the centre, where a new shopping scheme is built within. For example, Oxfordshire states that:-

"in areas of conservation importance the protection of the character of each area will take priority in determining the form and scale of shopping developments." (1976).

Mintel's recent survey of developers (1980) has shown that they are more conscious now of the need to integrate old and new. In selecting sites for major developments they are recognizing that it is important to try to blend new developments with existing shopping centres.

Policies to protect town centre shopping are often allied to solving some problems of traffic congestion, this being most acute in the narrow streets of historic centres, but also most appropriate in form, for conversion to pedestrian routes. It was therefore significant that the historic centre of Norwich had one of the first 'foot-streets', where initial reactions against it by shopkeepers changed when it was realised that the attractive environment created was probably beneficial to trade.*

2.3.8. The trends & future for retail planning in the historic centre

Lee, in his report of Property Development in the 1980's (1981), circumscribes his ideas of future changes by two significant factors: trends in durable goods spending are critical to central area shopping, and that since shopping relates closely to the sub-region, opportunities for individual centres vary. With this in mind there are some general trends that seem important.

Firstly^{is}, the decline in the single-centre focus.

Dawson (1980) and likewise Berry (1980) have recognized that the traditional centre structure may be considered as an "inertial or remnant pattern", resulting from processes which are no longer important. It is also thought that specialist

* Smith (1971) showed that the physical preservation of small shops along foot streets was related to high income levels in the more densely populated and wealthier side of the town (in the U.S.A.). He attributes this to the demand for a wide variety of goods and type of retail service demanded by such a population.

shops, sometimes in unconventional locations, will prosper where they offer products or services not available at mass merchandise outlets. Yet to understand and measure such changes, the traditional categorisation of shops is inadequate (ref. Bath p.59).

Secondly is the current focus on conversions. This tends to be of two types: one is of large old buildings, a prime example being London's Covent Garden, where the advantage is of the G.L.C. being both landlord and planner. With some other notable examples in the rest of the country, Simon Jenkins (1981) concludes that "what sells urban conservation ... is unequivocally food, restaurants, delicatessens, fast foodshops, snackbars, pubs and stalls." Such large buildings, therefore, are often converted into a number of small units although there are exceptions, with Sainsbury's taking over the old Green Park station in Bath (shown in the photograph below). for car parking in association with the adjacent new supermarket.

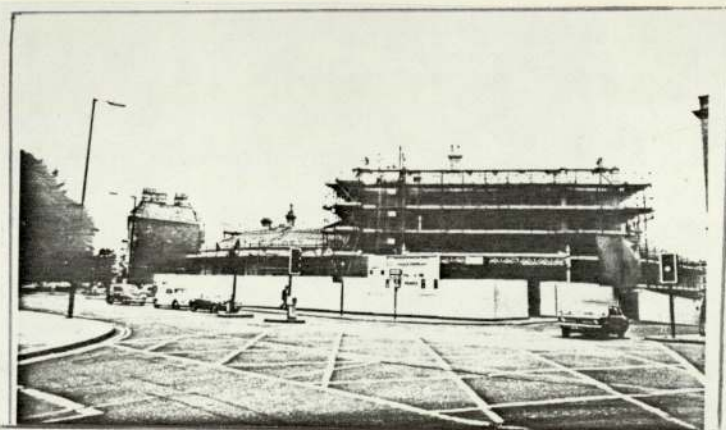


Figure 2.6: Railway Station conversion in Bath

A second type of conversions is of smaller individual buildings, following on from the trend of house improvements and a changing attitude to rehabilitation. A parallel development took place in the office sector. Amery and Cruickshank (1975) noted that for this use, listed buildings have become an asset rather than a liability in a scheme. This is being encouraged in some planning policies, e.g. Derbyshire County Council in their Structure Plan (1977) stated that:-

"provision will be made in the local planning process for the conversion of suitable existing buildings to offices, where such use is related to existing or proposed business centre."

A third trend is the introduction of the Commercial Improvement Area. Where the greatest pressure has been removed from town centres, it may be as Guy contends (1980) that planners will be able to achieve more in enhancing the "specialised nature and attractiveness of town centre shopping". This often tends to mean pedestrianisation schemes for prime areas only, yet recent schemes for commercial improvement areas may offset this. These can favour the secondary shopping areas of cities. Thus the Fulham Commercial Improvement Area is a shopping street and market which had been in decline whilst the Blackfriars C.I.A. by the old town wall in Newcastle, includes wholesale warehousing and industry as well as shops - and otherwise faced competition from the Eldon Square development (Edwards, 1981). Currently these are only being proposed for Inner City Areas where finance for improvements is

available under the Urban Programme (1975 & 1978 Acts).

2.3.9. Other Central Area Activities

Manufacturing Wholesale and Workshops

Central area industry and wholesaling tend to be located around the fringe of the core and are either those which need to be accessible to the centre, but cannot afford a prime site, or are historically located there. They may be sometimes found in former dwellings when this use encroaches upon the older residential property surrounding the core. However, there have been moves to relocate these uses away from the centre. In York for example, the backland areas of warehousing and factories were described by Esher (1969) as non-conforming uses. They were regarded as environmentally unacceptable and it was suggested that they be redeveloped for housing. Now there has been a change and employment has become a priority such that for instance Surrey County Council (1978) recognises the role of small cheap premises in and around the town centre in facilitating the operation of many essential specialist services. It also notes that redevelopment schemes can mean these are now replaced by larger, modern, but expensive accommodation. Thus their policy is that:-

"preference will be given to those schemes or proposals in town centres which in addition to meeting other needs, make provision for small scale industries."

Similarly in Bath, which has a number of Priority Area Plans, the policy for the Monmouth Place area, shown in Figure 2.7, is to promote employment, particularly in

manufacturing jobs and small businesses. So for instance proposals are for workshops to the east side of Monmouth Place with improved rear access and extension of the business uses seen here.



Figure 2.7: Neglected Properties in Monmouth Place, Bath.

Darley and Saunders (1976) had already pointed out that few attempts were being made to encourage small-scale enterprises to "fill old buildings with life" so not just preserving facades. They suggest that more attention is needed to the cost effectiveness of standards imposed, e.g. when new conversion work is so highly priced as to deter many small firms who consequently stay on in poor conditions.

A further problem for planners, with their concern for the preservation of town centre shopping, has been the growth of discount retail warehouses, generally for furniture, carpets and D.I.Y. The West Midlands study on shopping (Erdmann 1979) suggested that they were being established under cover of 'cash and carry'. This is a new element in the concept of large store trading, where it is difficult to impose conditions which will control transitions to other

.../..

forms of retail activity. The location of such outlets is of interest especially the D.I.Y. store, which is often found in former timber yards and builders' merchants, and. As such, it may be isolated on edge-of-centre locations, which can considerably affect the flow of shoppers in an area and parking, but may use a large old building or a piece of vacant land which might otherwise be an eyesore. Essex County Council's policy (1979) explicitly states that:

"Discount retail warehouses and retail cash and carry premises will not normally be allowed unless within or immediately adjoining town centres, or otherwise forming part of an established local shopping centre."

The above refer to the use of premises for industrial/wholesale activity, whereas many old buildings in the centre have been vacated in favour of outer area industrial estates or the industry has closed down. They may be taken over by a completely new use, especially where there is the added tourist potential of an historic centre.*

Community Facilities

The 1970's was a community period^{**} in local government, not just in the provision of facilities, but also in their retention, for instance Conservation Areas designated often included open space. Bath's priority areas have a

* A good example is the quay - side at Worcester where remnants of old riverside industry are seen in a few buildings near the bridge, one still being in use as a mill. The storage facilities alongside now provide an interesting location for Brown's restaurant.

** Community Development Areas and 'Planning for Participation' heralded a new phase in community involvement.

community policy:-

"to encourage the maintenance of community spirit the Council will not normally allow change of use of land and premises used for community purposes." (Bath City Council, 1979)

Why this should be necessary probably reflects two trends. Firstly, a decentralisation and dispersion process as the scope of a facility expands but space is constrained. This includes council offices and hospitals, often following the population to expanding residential areas, but to the detriment of inner area residents and the loss of the cultural/institutional focus of a centre. Secondly, is where they are taken over by more profitable uses such as offices, or where a local-serving shop is replaced by a speciality business such as antiques. However, some changes in recent years in the use of old buildings and industrial buildings for community purposes have added a new dimension for building conservation, although projects are often funded with limited finance and can take a long time. There has also been the controversial aspect of gaining public facilities, i.e. 'planning gain', as part of new schemes.

Residential

With concern being expressed about the centre of cities becoming increasingly 'dead' outside commercial hours and the longer distances from spreading residential areas to the centre, there have been policy moves to maintain or restore the residential element in town centres. The return to the city has been a significant feature where an attractive environment is available, e.g. historic buildings, waterfronts

and squares *. Policy has in fact followed this trend in many towns and initiated it in others. There is a presumption in favour of residential conversion to 'bring back life into the centre' particularly in historic towns where there is a need to use old buildings to ensure maintenance. This may often take the form of either expensive conversions and 'gentrification' (see below) or the provision by the local authority/ housing associations of more small units of accommodation such as flats or sheltered housing either by conversions or infill redevelopment.

The balance of these two, and the resulting changes in the population structure which is likely, can be significant. Firstly, it may bring new types of businesses to serve the new residents (noting that residential and business gentrification are closely linked) but also may help to maintain local services such as a newsagents or grocers. Population changes can also considerably affect the functioning of the centre such as the public/private transport split. Since public transport is often inadequate in smaller centres, people who may have chosen an old historic centre in which to live, but commute elsewhere therefore need cars. However, provision for residents' parking present difficulties in old areas.

* Perloff (1971) has long recognised the 'in-town, new town' concept and the creation of good living areas.

Reservations have also been expressed in this and other countries about the tendency to utilise existing buildings originally used for very different purposes for the creation of new accommodation, i.e. that this contradicts the building structure that is largely characterised by its historical utilisation. Much of the change occurring in 'character areas' on the edge of British historic cores is attributed to gentrification, rather than the resistance of older residents to change. (But see Chapter Three for research and criticism on this point).

Local authority encouragement to residential uses often means the control of conversions from residential. This has not always been effective in the past and the resistance of residential to office conversions may rely on conservation areas or listed building status to give weight in the absence of any explicit policy. It is only fairly recently that authorities have stated the ^{clearly e.g.} policy. In Bath, it was not until 1978 that the Council adopted a policy for dealing with proposals to convert properties into flats and/or bedsitters. (See also notes on the pilot studies - Appendix). Policies have now come to be expressed on this, such as that by Surrey County Council (1978) that it would:-

"resist proposals for a change from an existing or proposed residential use to other uses. Where redevelopment is necessary and involves the loss of residential accommodation, replacement ... must be provided."

Some authorities have also taken the lead in providing residences, new or converted, in centres, which can give the impetus for revitalisation of a depressed area, i.e. not the type of area to attract a natural movement back to the centre. However two problems are involved. Firstly it may satisfy the need for a particular housing group with smaller units, but not specifically for those wanting first floor residential 'character' accommodation. Secondly, it could be questioned how long term is the trend to conversions and improvement grants.

In reviewing the trends in central area land uses, the response of planning to problems arising has been indicated. The following section investigates the nature of the various plans for town centres in more detail and the implications for fringe areas. Therefore having considered the historical and sectoral viewpoints of land use change in sections 2.2 and 2.3, we now turn to the spatial perspective.

2.4 The Spatial/Urban Structure Perspective & Local Planning.

The proliferation of conservation areas, coupled with policies dealing with trends in particular uses, and overlain by a system of different levels of planning has been discussed. Although some of the broad problems and planning consequences have been indicated, it is necessary to ask how these are currently reflected in local planning. The following section therefore shows how some of the general criticisms are substantiated in present practice (specifically in historic centres), so highlighting gaps in the understanding of change and responding to it, particularly on the fringes of centres in relation to the broader urban structure.

2.4.1. Current Planning of Central Areas & Review of Local Plans

Many town centres are now the subject of comprehensive local plans, but have been covered by a patchwork of plans, such as General Improvement Areas, Housing Action Areas, Conservation Areas, the remnants of Comprehensive Development Area Plans, and the non-statutory Town Centre Map prepared by many authorities. As structure plans were approved in the mid-1970's onwards, the preparation of local plans has become more central. Their function is to indicate the detailed application of Structure Plan proposals and policies, provide a detailed basis for development control and guiding public and private development, whilst also drawing the attention of the public to the more

detailed planning issues.

It was the earlier intent of local authorities to produce a large number of local plans. This now seems unlikely especially in view of circular 23/81, which asks Local Authorities to consider preparing local plans only if there is a clear need and where the structure plan provides an adequate framework or where little or no pressure for development is expected. However, it seems likely that most historic centres will require local plans. Given the continuing pressures in most of the centres (as shown in 2.3) there will be a need to co-ordinate the programmes for development and to define precise boundaries of areas of restraint.

However local planning is a controversial area, for instance concerning the length of time taken in their preparation and the need for integration with other district policies. Several commentators point to the dilemma about content, for example, whether it should be a corporate or land use plan, and whether key issues should dominate over comprehensive policies (Underwood 1982). Owen (1982) takes up the issues of specificity v flexibility and selective v area wide coverage, by describing two common approaches and their advantages and disadvantages. Firstly, the district-wide local plan. This deals with policy-making issues which complement and influence housing and transport plans and facilitates a corporate approach. Problems arise in achieving a balance between being superficial and comprehensive. Secondly, is the mosaic approach. An area

.../..

is covered by a number of smaller area local plans, which allows a capacity to respond in more detail to localised problems but involves the further issue of co-ordination. Different styles of approach determine plan content; for instance, the problem-solving/key issue approach adopted by Liverpool, produced a series of city centre statements on major issues. The Kingston-upon-Thames Town Centre District Plan (1981) contains a series of topic policies which can be applied in general terms across the whole of the town centre. Alternatively there may be comprehensive coverage of the borough's activities, as for instance Camden (1977) which has policies on residential, industrial uses, district centres and so on.

Many previous local plans have proved ineffective, with particular reference to the four critical areas of planning noted in Chapter One, especially the need for co-ordination with other local authority policies and levels of plans. The statutory local plans are supposed to form a hierarchy of plans designated to give direction to the way land use change and development occurs. Yet the lower level of plans, especially development guidance has often been delayed because the structure plan had not been approved.* Meanwhile many local authorities are using informal plans and development briefs to deal with,

*Field (1981) in a survey of local plans in London noted the tendency to provide Borough-wide plans, since 14 years of uncertainty when the G.D.L.P. was being produced meant there was little detailed direction. Even where a structure plan exists, there may still arise problems for the district in assessing change locally, e.g. Newton-le-Willow's Local Plan (1981) notes that this is the result of Structure Plan policies that are without a firm commitment to the various roles of the retail centres. A further reason for delay is suggested as inadequate staffing or liaison with council members at an early enough stage. .../..

for example, environmental improvements, together with policy statements on particular topics for development control purposes (ref. Fudge, Lamb & Underwood, 1982).

A review of current local and conservation plans was made with respect to a number of aspects relevant to this research, to bring out the more specific issues and gaps in understanding, as follows:

How the Town Centre is tackled

Whilst there is a vast array of plans dealing with aspects of the central area, very little development appears to be adequately guided by local plans, whilst those currently in the process of being prepared, or completed by Local Authorities differ greatly in their treatment of the centre.

Although sometimes a separate town centre district plan is prepared, as for Maidstone, more often it is part of a wider district plan (e.g. Stratford & Canning Town District Plan includes Stratford Town Centre Plan). Thorpe (1975) noted that where districts had firm policies for town centres, these were generally concerned with the physical limits of the centre, proposals for development or redevelopment, improvement to traffic flows, vehicle access to shops and pedestrian movement. Rarely do they seem to include policies for specific small areas, other than noting 'identity areas', although this depends on the size of conservation areas.

The main issues dealt with

These tended to fall into three main categories:-

Firstly, concerning development pressures, problems arose where there was a lack of demand (resulting in vacant and under-used properties or obsolescent buildings) or where derelict fringe areas resulted from piecemeal redevelopment. Alternatively pressures for change in retailing and office development often meant a need to control changes of use to keep the existing 'character'.

Secondly is environmental appearance. Here the problems causing most concern were 'structural decay', "progressive environmental deterioration" and "blighted backland". Also mentioned was the scale of new developments, particularly large retail units and the often expressed need to make the shopping environment more pleasant.

Thirdly, are traffic problems. Frequently this involves congestion in the narrow streets of historic centres and problems for servicing, car-parking and through traffic. The difficulty then becomes one of how to provide for rear-servicing, and retain the existing street pattern and urban fabric, sometimes by inner relief roads, in themselves creating other problems.

The review revealed little evidence of authorities looking at problems from the traders' point of view or making an examination of the process of environmental deterioration. Neither did they assess the relative gravity of issues between areas or the fact that many of these problems appear worst at the edges of the centre.

The general policy content

In response to the above-mentioned problem categories, policy coverage also falls into three divisions:

Firstly are the policies concerning area development and control. Recent plans may include the designation of additional conservation areas or extension of boundaries, whilst others indicate the location of areas for redevelopment, infill and proposed planning briefs. Cheltenham goes further than many in zoning areas according to policies with regard to development, i.e. ranging from Zone type A - where little change is to be allowed to Zone type C, where some redevelopment would be acceptable (Cheltenham District Council 1976).

Secondly, are environmental enhancement policies. These are generally related to development control conditions with regard to the use of traditional materials, maintenance of appropriate scale, and proposals on landscaping, general improvement areas and pedestrianisation. Most documents follow along the lines of Solihull in their policies "to ensure alterations to existing buildings are in keeping and harmonize with the character of the area". Policies are often included on specific architectural styles, periods or characteristics, if these have been identified in the townscape appraisal. For example in Cheltenham, the Regency character and "unity of purpose" is noted as the special element for conservation (Cheltenham District Council, 1976).

Thirdly, are circulation-type policies which make provisions for instance for rear access and car-parks with the re-routing of traffic generally via circulatory roads and by-passes. For instance in Ipswich the policy is that (Ipswich District Council, 1974):

"whereas part of the proposed road network for the town as a whole, it is necessary to provide a major road through, or close to the conservation area, to ensure that every effort is made to reduce the visual and physical impact upon that area."

In addition, whilst some plans have policies to promote certain functions, or their overall containment, they are vague, with few clear means of implementation. For example Ruthin (1971), in its policy to maintain the agricultural and marketing role and promote tourism, and Pembroke (1972) with its proposed increase in shopping and commercial activity. Others are more pragmatic in their policies to acquire land and buildings and make provisions for natural growth only.

Reports

Dealing with previous policies and strategic
policy context.

Many documents, notably those of the larger districts, now put the plan firmly within the context of Structure Plan requirements and may also give a review of past policies, e.g. Manchester and Newcastle city centre local plans both explain in detail the plan context and previous and existing plans. Others have followed up county Structure Plans with Area Policy Statements, indicating how approved

.../..

and adopted planning policies affect the vicinity of a specific area, although this is often only a geographical interpretation of existing policies in an area.

Few studies consider the effectiveness of previous policies. Owen (1980) also makes this complaint and goes on to suggest the need for more impact studies which also take account of smaller-scale developments or changes of use. Where previous policy effects are recognised, they are generally in terms of physical results and resource costs, rather than changes in values or effects on certain groups, especially for enhancement provisions. Nevertheless some do mention inconvenience to establishments which have to move and the possibility of the policy transferring a problem from one area to another.

The significance given to land use and
how change is dealt with.

Planners seek to identify, measure and explain physical and spatial change in towns on the basis of broad functional divisions, e.g. according to main land uses and their location, and also by building densities and condition, and population movements.

The centre itself is thus defined according to the main accepted uses there, i.e. major offices, banks, shops, hotels and services, as well as high building value, density and population accessibility (see Chapter Three).

.../..

However boundaries to such an area are constantly changing and problems are ill-defined in relation to the rest of the town.

Snapshot descriptions of the past distribution of land uses may be made but usually only the existing land use structure is given. Although many reports give an historical background to the area concerned, rarely is this connected to present problems and policies, only in so far as explaining the types of buildings situated there and not the land use pattern or influences. Tynemouth (1971) is one of the exceptions, where the consultants assessed the changing population and functions of the area over a period of time, with their current implications. Lincoln (1980) is one of the few which divides the central district into sub-areas not only describing land use and building characteristics but giving a history of planning decisions, land ownership and archaeology, together with the existing statutory controls on the environment in the sub-area.

In historic centres particularly, the problems and opportunities of land uses tends to take second place to those of the building fabric. They are only considered in detail where this is an actual or potential absence of building. Thus some plans deal with the land use aspect merely as using vacant land or identifying 'opportunity areas'. Birmingham does have a specific section devoted to land resources, by which areas of potential change are identified, with the analysis concentrating on pressure for change on certain sites

(via a survey of planning approvals) and opportunities (from a survey of vacant land) and notes the role of public ownership as an agency for change. Other plans may not be clear about the land use pattern being aimed at, although Kingston Upon Thames (1981), with a much firmer land use base, states at the outset that:

"the land use pattern that the plan seeks to create, maintains a central shopping core with office development, located near to the relief road, with car parking located to intercept traffic and detailed controls in sensitive areas."

This district plan also discusses topics "along with the resources of land and finance that under-pin them," and is more specific than most in spelling out implementation methods, using joint development schemes and land assembly plans and agreements.

Therefore specific land use data is limited or on a very broad scale, with little on relative change, smaller areas or historical change.

The main techniques and methods used

A survey of local plans with a major conservation element, revealed a variety of methods, to identify firstly issues, secondly changes and opportunities, and thirdly to spatially delimit policy areas. For all three there is a predominance of description, often the architectural analysis of buildings, settings and their listing. With regard to issues, there are many problems in common, for example the obvious threat of traffic, as can be seen from the reports at the end of the 1960's on four historic towns. However this may tend to be identified using a set pattern of survey techniques and

analysis, without probing different causes and effects in specific situations. Concerning changes and opportunities, many use principally a townscape analysis such as the study by Insall of Blandford Forum (1970). This, together sometimes with age and condition surveys and broad land use and traffic analyses, are used to define 'identity' areas to which certain proposals are then applicable or streets for pedestrian priority. However, some have attempted to be more far-reaching such as Cheltenham in its definition of problem areas and analysis of alternatives (1976). Yet there is rarely an attempt to study relative change - especially over time, though admittedly limited by the available data. Chester is fortunate in that a detailed floor use, ownership and occupancy survey had been made in 1967 which was updated in 1977 so changes and trends could be located (1977). The boundaries of policy areas and how they are defined is often not mentioned in plans. Most often in conservation areas this is done by physical characteristics such as building type, land use and natural features, rather than other forms of unity such as social characteristics, problems and ownership (ref. Loew 1979). This may in itself lead to problems especially where the conservation area forms all or part of the central area which may have a different policy 'identity' and about which perceptions vary (see Hereford study pp151), as do official definitions in the Census of Distribution.

2.4.2. The Planning Role & Consequences with
Reference to Fringe Areas.

The planning role as contributing to change is rarely considered. Although Devon has made a survey of planning applications in ^{all types of} Conservation Area, this was mainly in terms of numbers with little interpretation ^{for centres}. Bath, however, in its 'Conservation Review' (1981), stands out in having analysed more thoroughly planning pressures for its 'priority areas'. Chester has also reviewed its conservation policy (1977) discovering for example that the conservation programme has meant the intensification of shopping functions but the contraction in areal extent of the shopping area. It also found that an embargo on new office space over recent years has increased the demand for accommodation in small units, so deliberately furthering the conservation aims. Since the operation of conservation-orientated traffic proposals it has also been noticed that there has been some improvement in environmental quality, although it does not appear to have been measured in any way. Yet it was also found that the minimum car-parking policy in the centre has meant that demolition sites are quickly turned into car parks.

Therefore it has been seen that local plans must function in an existing policy environment, which means looking at consequences of other plans on a broader scale and over a longer time period.

Two general consequences need further exploration in this respect: firstly, relative change caused by central area planning.

.../..

Many of the changes in the problem areas described previously may have been caused by planning. For example Curl's look at the destructive effects of planning in Oxford (1977) considered the St. Ebbe's area, south west of the city as "typical of the disastrous erosion that has occurred in the humbler parts of the city" with areas demolished to make way for roads and commercial development. It is generally the plans for dealing with problems in the centre which affect the edges. Traffic and parking restrictions in the centre tend to concentrate vehicle routes and parking areas around the edge, enforcing an island effect and cutting-off secondary streets (as witnessed in the Hereford Study, ref. p.479). This limits the range of premises available and opens up wider buffer areas between the centre and the inner residential zone, creating a marked contrast between the outside and the centre, especially in historic towns.

In Frome a pedestrianisation plan for an important historical street required that another area had to be cleared for its servicing, with the loss of many fine buildings. In a similar way, the High Street in King's Lynn was pedestrianised at the expense of old streets behind for car parking and rear access, a case of 'selective conservation' (Amery & Cruickshank, 1975).

Secondly - Central Area Shifts & Consequences

This is a phenomenon which may be created by planners or the consequences of which are not fully appreciated by planners. For a number of reasons the focus of a centre may change and its general location shift, so affecting the fringe. With a bodily shift of the central area, there will be a (previously fringe) zone into which central activities are moving - a 'zone of assimilation' and a 'zone of discard' from which the activities are departing (see Chapter Three). Both can form problem areas in historic towns, for example in Wisbech, the old market place is now the centre of the town's declining area (Amery, 1975). Meanwhile in Cheltenham, other areas of old villas are losing their residential character as offices continue to locate and expand in the centre (op. cit.) Yet it may have been a planning decision, which caused the shift, such as the location of a new shopping precinct. Furthermore, Barrett (1973) suggests that fringe areas are too easily recognised on the basis of certain land uses being present, without knowing how and why they have changed.

This leads to doubts as to the type of changes permitted in historic centres. Dobson (1976) found that growth in the historic centre of Cambridge was constrained by lack of space, and in order to protect the area's character from commercial redevelopment, it had been suggested for many years that the centre extend further into an area of the town known as the Kite. It was then found in the Central Area Study (Parry Lewis, 1965) that such an extension would

not effectively relieve the historic core, and would in fact, after ten years, increase the pressure.*

2.4.3. Fringe Area Identification & Issues

The transitional inner fringe zone, as it exists in most larger towns, is generally recognised as the area between the central commercial zone and the inner residential area, being composed of mixed uses and often including obsolete property (this is dealt with more fully in 3.3). It is these areas in which 'left-over land' occurs and residual buildings of historical/architectural interest may be most 'at risk'.

These areas appear particularly vulnerable to road proposals and 'blight' (often linked). Road programmes for the core often mean the intrusion of additional parked and moving vehicles on the edge and severance of the area by existing or planned roads. Earlier schemes for road networks were often delayed by the later designation of conservation areas and lack of resources, which led to blighting of areas on the approaches to, and fringes of, the centre. This has induced a cycle of decay and stagnation. The increased vehicular traffic on main roads through the fringes led to the need to allow different uses

*.i.e. it was thought that if the population continued to grow, the new shopping development could turn out to be too small and then there would be renewed pressure to redevelop the historic city centre, as it is close enough to merge with what it is supposed to relieve.

However this view has proved pessimistic. There has been a lower population growth than expected and the scheme has been successful in regenerating a neglected quarter of the city.

../..

to take over, generally less oriented to pedestrians. Also more wholesale rebuilding than conversion is likely, as properties deteriorate over time.* Whilst the edge of the conservation area may not be of prime interest and receives less attention, there is increasing concern regarding the general appearance of approaches to the town centre, with for instance, the interest in attracting tourists.

Blight is a continuing problem in many centres, and following the analysis by McKean (1977) can be divided into two categories. Firstly, blight caused by delay in the implementation of plans: the effect of development plans, slum clearance procedures, motorways, road widening*, or just a lack of urgency and political delay (or what McKean calls "official neglect through disinterest"). Secondly, blight as neglect caused by private and public owners for a variety of reasons, e.g. development negotiations. However decay and revitalisation in fringe zones can hinge more on planning factors than in other areas and more in historic than non-historic towns. This is suggested, since there is theoretically more control over change in historic towns with the existence of a conservation area, and there is also more likelihood that plans for the town centre have a specific impact on these adjacent areas, i.e. in removing traffic from congested historic streets

* Robson & Pace (1981) found that in these blighted tracts where road proposals were not carried out, certain opportunistic firms found them a cheap and convenient location. As it became obvious that there had been a definite swing away from new roads to public transport some of these areas again became attractive to major developers, land values rose, so forcing out the smaller firms which often employed a larger labour force.

to peripheral car parks and roads.

2.4.4. Policy Characteristics & Effects in Fringe Zones

Fringe areas tend to lie on the policy margin, both spatially and for implementation. Where no clear role, plan or potential is seen for them, as is often the case, they are more likely to be adversely affected by strategic policies such as the location of ring roads, and be at the margin of development control policy guidelines. The achievement of conservation aims throughout the area or only in the prime core could be tested to an extent by a study of these areas. This would enable the more far-reaching consequences of a particular pattern of policies to be established. However, it is only recently that any thought has been given to these particular locations in relation to planning. e.g. Holliday (1981):

"The boundary areas between the Central Business District and the fringes are frontier areas, vulnerable and economically risky. This is a problem which the plans do not touch and the separation shows a failing to develop wider planning concepts, particularly social"

The area may have been stagnating physically, but not necessarily functionally^{*}, its role being one of change, relative to the centre and outskirts, and building adaptation. This goes through cycles, inevitably involving periods of decay, because of its transitional role, yet policies for the historic centre may 'freeze' this process,

Robson & Pace

* The Newcastle-upon-Tyne team ((1981) found that these areas often provided a considerable quantity and range of employment.

or destroy the less tangible character that exists in such zones. What makes a town unique, now that many central areas are becoming similar, with their chainstores and shopping precincts, are the backwaters which retain 'local character'. These are used more by locals than visitors, and serve minority groups such as small firms, specialist shops, single person or old people's housing and local services. Where they once formed an important role in relation to the centre, they may now be relegated to being the back entrance to the main core - disintegrating through a combination of neglect/blight/severance, or suffering a loss of their traditional role due to business or residential gentrification.

In addition, these areas are often of archaeological importance (especially when coinciding with ancient wall-lines, ref. Conzen pp. 158-9), or contain a single important historical site or building^{**} which may tend to be overlooked because of the lower value attributed to the area as a whole. A number of studies on urban conservation have noted that policies often concentrate on the core itself sometimes to the detriment of peripheral areas, e.g. Cruickshank on Bath (1975) notes the setting of the Georgian city being 'ransacked' and in Cheltenham, the consequence of a wealth of one type of architecture, Regency meaning that

^{**} The pilot studies noted two examples: Bewell House in Hereford and the Countess of Huntingdon's chapel in Worcester, both scheduled as part of commercial/public redevelopment schemes, but saved only by the pressure of the local conservation groups.

later periods often most represented in fringe areas, tend to be underrated. Further, in Bristol, he found buildings in such areas which were saved from listed building consent but then left to die by themselves, or as victims of institutional or road building schemes.

The earlier part of Section 2.4, pointed out some of the issues and limitations of local planning, noting especially the need for more studies of smaller area land use and the impact of past plans and policies. The latter part has therefore looked at the consequences of plans in one type of spatial area, the fringe of the centre, where there appears to be a failure to deal with these areas in their wider urban structure context. This leads to a number of points relevant to current local planning.

Local authority conservation areas may have the wrong emphasis, i.e. on those unified areas more easily identifiable as a single use category or recognised 'heritage', which can, to an extent (given checks in the process and resources) get by on their own. Meanwhile those areas on the periphery of which the attributes are more subtle or related to different values, may be more vulnerable to piecemeal change, the off-loading of pressures from the prime area and withdrawal of investment, so therefore require more attention.

Problems may occur where, for example, controls and enhancement schemes are concentrated in one section of the core and devalue other areas or divert pressure to them. However, on the positive side, the spill-over effects of this differential investment or control can mean the areas

benefit by performing an ancilliary role to the enhanced centre. Since the evaluation of townscape (found to be the main methodology of conservation plans) traditionally emphasises physical coherence, visual clarity etc. policies concentrate on what exists in physical rather than social/functional terms, and such areas are more likely to suffer pressures for redevelopment or to decay. It therefore appears that planning decisions are often a major factor in affecting these areas, and inhibiting natural change. Moreover, local authorities are less able to apply controls, because of the lack of a comprehensive policy.

It is not assumed that it is only planning policies which are detrimental to such areas, nor that planning can mitigate the ill-effects of market forces. However, it is asked whether the general economic climate may affect the periphery to a greater degree than the core. This could be by creating more pressure for its redevelopment in prosperous periods especially where there is little room for change in the core (physically and policy-wise) and greater decline during times of recession, whilst planning authorities vary in their ability to intervene.

2.5 Summary

2.5.1. Planning Influences over time

Early development plans set the scene for comprehensive redevelopment which brought a familiar pattern of new office and shopping areas into town centres, sometimes at the expense of historic buildings. Zoning tried to reinforce rigid ideas about land use with particular implications for larger historic centres, where there is a long-established mix of uses which forms part of the character of the centre that is only now being realised. Redevelopment schemes, traffic management and policy provisions all often resulted in blight, especially on the edge of the central area.

Realising the extent of townscape erosion, legislation was drawn up to protect areas. This created a change in planning policy, with a more cautious attitude to change. Later, as economic circumstances changed, an emphasis was placed on adaptation and the full economic use of historic buildings, sometimes implying a relaxation of use controls. This could create problems in preserving the historic land use character of an area. The edge of the central area often appears to be at the forefront of such use conversion attempts, but also suffers from enhancement or control policies which favour the more central or prestige areas of the historic centre.

2.5.2. Sectoral Trends

Although changes were noted in general land use categories, the emphasis was on retailing because of its importance in the centre. The results of increasing mobility and consumer expenditure have had a variety of effects in historic towns to which planning policies have attempted to respond. Whilst shopping development has followed national trends in historic towns, there is a further element of rehabilitation and protection of traditional uses. Therefore, pressures for new retail styles and office development bring conflicts for conservation planning. The trends to self-service have created the need for larger shop units, which often means developments which are out of scale with the historic buildings and which also affect the trading pattern so threatening the traditional character of the historic centre. Similarly the effects of new shopping precincts and the development of superstores have caused ^{problems} for the historic town centre and small independents.

Policies to protect the centre arise from the above-mentioned trends. However historic centres appear more likely to retain their central trade being naturally predisposed to durable/luxury goods. Although protection policies tend to be for symbolic reasons in both historic and non-historic centres, in the former there is an additional need to maintain the use of old buildings. Issues have revolved around restrictions on out-of-town development and the impact of new schemes, both being related to the problem of calculating shopping over or under-development.

Recent trends have indicated a more use-oriented approach and willingness to convert and improve older commercial areas.

In considering other central area activities, it was noted that housing is generally being encouraged in the centre. In historic towns, this appears to be following a natural trend, but which brings in the aspect of gentrification and its various consequences. Meanwhile, policies controlling conversions from residential to other uses have varied in their implementation and effectiveness. Finally, in the manufacturing sector, there have been some of the first changes in ideas towards the re-use of old buildings, when, as with community facilities, decentralisation has occurred.

2.5.3. Spatial/Structural Change and Local Planning

A review of central area and local planning indicated from what basis land use change is perceived, identified and measured. This highlighted a number of issues, but approaches seemed limited in historic towns. The most measured and measurable changes are those concerned with the physical fabric and environment: traffic problems, building deterioration, land dereliction and the loss of listed buildings. Less attention is given to pressures for development and changes in the nature and level of uses at other than the very broad scale. Most neglected are the effects of past and present planning, sometimes coinciding with areas of recognisable change - the transition zones, generally seen as being on the edge of the centre.

Concerning the planning role and centre-fringe relationship, there appeared to be three main types of change: change caused by planning in and for the centre, often redevelopment, change constituting areas of blight at the edges, and change related to shifts in the central core. Examples from a number of historic towns revealed the incidence of planning impacts on fringe areas. This often involved the loss of the building or street pattern in backland areas and thus their traditional uses. Whilst fringe area blight probably exists in every town, it is more problematic in historic centres, where there is less room for manoeuvre, both literally and for policy solutions. Decay or revitalisation of such zones may be directly related to the impact of the planning process over a period of time. Other research has explained how areas may decline or improve, but not always why, so providing no useful guide to future change.

However, there have been studies on many of the aspects mentioned in this section relevant to understanding the process of change in central areas which are reviewed in the following chapter.

CHAPTER THREE: RELATED THEORIES AND RESEARCH

3.1 Introduction

Planners knowledge of the processes of change in central areas has been informed by various theories and associated research. In looking at the role of planning it is therefore necessary to describe these theories and discuss their limitations and relevance to historic centres.

Chapter Two has identified changes in policies and styles of planning related to social and economic change. This chapter now asks how the pattern of planning and the recognition of certain changes has been, or could be, influenced by the development of theories which view and measure the town centre in a certain way. Also identified in the previous chapter were changes in central area activities. For this it is necessary to ask if any of the research confirms or suggests whether processes of change in different land use categories vary in historic centres. This involves consideration of the interaction of spatial and social processes, patterns of distribution and location factors. A number of geographical changes in town centres have been noted and the problems arising for planning. Here the requirement is to find out how planning policies fit into or contradict wider spatial processes such as the direction of expansion, the shift of central area functions and decentralisation tendencies. Finally, the fringe has been identified as of current concern. Whilst there may be many significant land use changes on the fringe which reflect a pattern to be found in many towns, in the historic centre there may be an added element of conflict where conservation policies are also in operation. The analysis

of some typical issues in Chapter Two showed that these involve not only changing planning policies, techniques and styles, but raise questions about locational factors, individual improvement decisions, structural change in the centre, area definitions and land management policies which differentially affect the centre and fringe.

The relevant research therefore ranges from a discussion of general urban structure and central area theories to the detailed behavioural aspects influencing the pattern of change.

3.2 Urban Structure & Process of Change Theories - with reference to Planning & the Historic City.

The proliferation of studies describing and analysing urban land use patterns, reflects the complexity of the influences shaping modern urban areas. Whilst many writers have criticised the various models put forward to explain development patterns, there are elements in each which have not only helped in understanding the spatial configuration of land use, but have also helped form the basis of redevelopment planning and zoning policies. They have therefore had a particular role in relation to the type of planning.

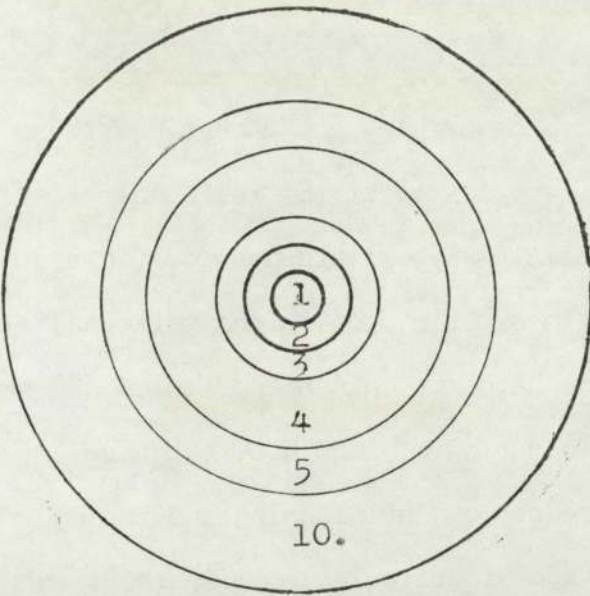
Before looking in detail at theories relating to patterns of land use in the central area in section 3.2.2., it is necessary to see how the centre is viewed in relation to the rest of the urban area, by looking at the more general urban development theories.

3.2.1. Classical Theories of Urban Development and Change

Characteristics & Limitations

The process of change in towns has generally been explained by theories concerning change in the morphological character. Most common were the ecological theories of Burgess and Hoyt, which saw invasion and succession of land uses as a cyclical process; and the economic theories, which recognise for example the more regional forces of concentration and centralisation (Herbert, 1972). In these generalised models, growth and change are governed by certain rules concerning accessibility and competition and as these factors continue to be relevant, this stabilizes parts of the

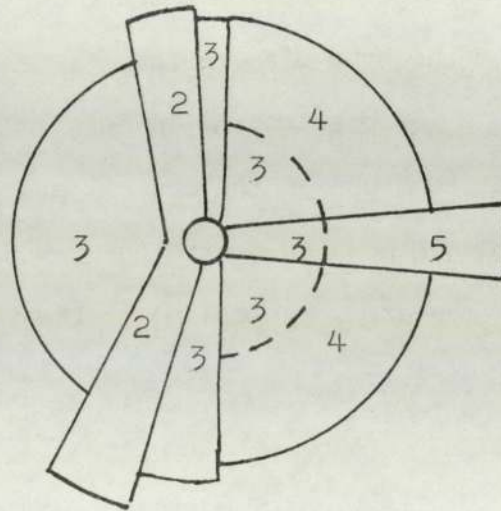
Figure 3.1: Generalised Models of the Internal Structure of Cities.



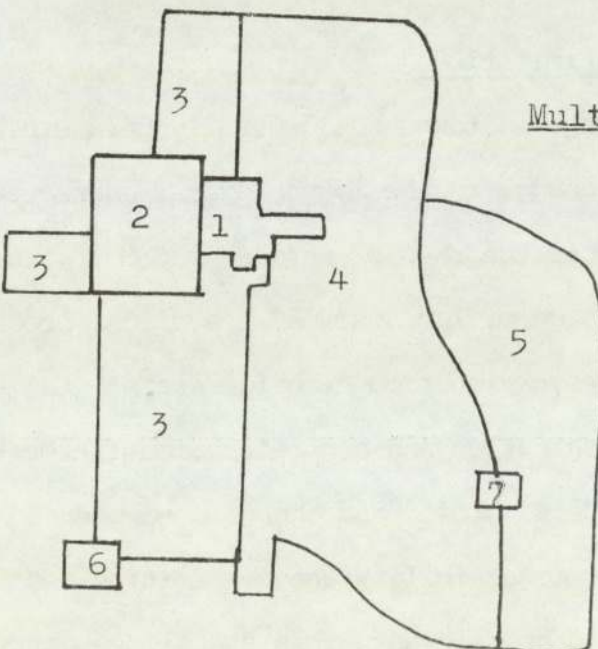
Concentric Zone Theory

District

1. Central Business
2. Wholesale Light manufacturing.
3. Low class residential
4. Med.class residential
5. High class residential
6. Heavy manufacturing
7. Outlying business
8. Residential suburbs
9. Industrial suburbs
10. Commuters zone



Sector Theory



Multiple Nuclei Theory

urban structure especially the centre (see section 3.2.2.).

The micro-economic approach to urban land use patterns concentrates on exchange value, presuming utility-maximising behaviour, and involving the trade-off of space and accessibility although mainly concerned with the housing market. This is often known as the bid-rent approach, which derives from Haig's theory in the 1920's which prescribes that rent is a charge for accessibility, i.e. the saving of transport costs, and later from Hurd, who noted that value depends on nearness, this being relative to urban growth, physical structure and the nature of the use (Carter 1972). However, amendments to the theory note that amenity and topography intervene to distort the relationship between access and land value. The concept of 'special accessibility' also has to be introduced, which derives from the clustering of certain land uses related to external economies.

The ecological theories are seen as possibly more relevant to the discussion in Chapters One and Two, since they are concerned with the role of historical change in the determination of land use patterns and not being static as the bid-rent approach. This historic view sees natural processes of growth over time contributing to the land use structure and therefore provides a base-line for examining post-war planning intervention. Although the early theories of this type really serve to explain population characteristics rather than land use, certain land use factors are associated with the zones or sectors of the models, shown in the diagram, Figure 3.1, and are useful to this research in being concerned with spatial areas and area change.

These models also indicate different spatial expressions which result, given different expansion process. For example Burgess saw growth expanding radially from the centre so that each zone tended to encroach upon the next. An obvious halt comes to this process at the edge, where the constraint of the green belt for example, may cause 'leap-frogging', if this concentric expansion is supposed. Hoyt, however, taking account of the effects of land price, rent and the influence of major transport routes, pointed to axial expansion. Sectoral growth is produced with, for instance, high class residential uses moving towards higher land, often in association with fast road or rail commuter lines. Harris and Ullman further modified these views ^{in Chapin} (1974) by indicating that the city would have a number of centres around which the growth of different land uses takes place (so affecting the concept of fringe zones?).

While Burgess et al. were criticised in seeing the city solely as a product of action on an ecological complex (Johnston, 1971) the urban ecologists did note processes of change which are still the basis of much thinking on land uses today and problems for planning; for example - exclusion, segregation, extension, replication, readjustments and redevelopment, but attributed influences on the pattern of change to centripetal or centrifugal forces*.

* Ref. C.C. Colby (1933) Centrifugal force indicators (from central areas): increasing land values and high taxation; impossibility of acquiring sites near the centre with specialised facilities and difficulties of horizontal expansion; to avoid nuisance complaints, legal restrictions and traffic congestion; the decline in the social importance of the inner suburb; no general provision for the re-cycling of land in central areas when the initial development is obsolete. Centripetal force indicators (to central areas): site attraction; functional convenience and magnetism; improved ability to grade formerly 'poor' central sites (e.g. sloping) and protect other adjacent areas from flood; the general increase of office functions and all forms of quaternary industry.

Some aspects of the latter are still relevant for planning analysis and interpretation of urban change, as will be discussed later. For instance, these include many of the push factors from the centre, such as increasing land values, traffic congestion and difficulties of horizontal expansion. However, the pull of the outer fringe areas may be lessened in historic towns where there is a strict containment policy.

The Effects of Planning

These forces and processes need to be examined in the context of the historic centre and in relation to the British situation, with its land use controls and conservation aspirations. The theories were a product of their times, and changes since have called for their modification, e.g. the growth in car ownership, changes in retail structure and post-war population increases and recent stabilisation.

Less consideration has been given to how the process of internal change is related to either the degree of change in the function of the town and its rate of growth or intervention by the state. However, two aspects of the various theories of urban structure and land use are relevant to this research: Firstly, they describe generalised characteristics of the land use pattern in cities. By relating them to the period during which certain characteristics were emerging in Britain, and noting the perspective of the theorist, a basis can be provided from which to analyse land use patterns. The theoretical characteristics which are still relevant and those which have changed can then be identified. Secondly, they suggest processes which have influenced this structure. We can therefore ask if these explain current changes adequately and how they are modified

by new factors such as planned intervention and external circumstances. Moreover, it can be asked to what extent have they influenced planners' understanding of the processes at work in the city and thus their attempts to control them.

The historic city and the role of attitudes and values.

A major modification of theory results from the breakdown of radial variation because some variables are independent of access to the central city. The historical city is typical of such a variation in the model since activities moving from congested cities may be attracted by the environmental quality or prestige attributed to it even though they may not find the most accessible location. Values and attitudes are therefore seen as significant where the immediate locality or wider environment has architectural or historic character, visible or potential. Where this is perceived as high by incomers, revitalization is more likely despite factors of poor accessibility*.

Firey's work in central Boston (Firey, W.I. 1949), perhaps first illustrated how the role of values, especially with regard to the historic environment could affect the land use pattern process. He suggested that cultural factors such as sentiment and

* Added to this is a change in the view of transportation as a major influence on the pattern. The basic assumption is that economic functions vie with each other for a physical location and that those with the highest financial return per land area have first locational choice. This was assumed to be central, but the energy scarcity and impetus to distribute land use to lessen the transport burden have led to more mixed uses and not specialised enclaves. (Hamnett, O.U.).

symbolism were dominant influences in some parts of the city. He showed how social esteem is created and maintained, in this case within a higher class area of the city which is of "architectural distinction". His study of Beacon Hill was used as an example of the argument against mechanistic processes in city growth. He investigated the motivation of families who acted to preserve the historic area and identified three main kinds of influences such values exert on land use: retentive, recuperative and resistive.* An area can thus be put to apparently uneconomic uses because of the symbolic values attached to the area. However, it has been noted since that these values served to delay rather than prevent change over time and the high status families have gradually abandoned Beacon Hill so that it is now assuming a different character.

Therefore cultural values need to be identified, as they can influence land patterns and broader social and political forces, constraining or permitting the operation of market forces. Assumptions about locational policies and behaviour over time and space can often be unrealistic, for as Dawson notes (1980):

"the deterministic economic nature of the theory allows no room for historical or cultural factors in the process of urban growth."

In the case of retailing for instance, Berry (1959) found that classical patterns such as the central place hierarchy can break down as new locational forces appear. Similarly, as the Stockholm

* Vance (1971) in his summary of Firey's work noted that he concludes that these values are "self-sufficient ecological forces" and that they have a "real causative influence on land use."

Study showed (Ahlberg, 1963) individual motivations can be persistent and businesses that might otherwise have moved to less central premises may tend to stay on in old buildings. However, if they own the property they may convert and adapt if further encouraged by some of the grants that are available.

The various ecological models are useful descriptive tools to illustrate the land use pattern that can be seen in a city, but they do not explain the reasons for the growth of those patterns. Being essentially descriptive, care is needed in making projections based on these aggregate relationships which are specific to a particular set of economic, geographic and social conditions. It has also been noted that other factors may be involved. Most relevant in current historic centres are the sentimental values where public opinion can help to delay a 'natural' adjustment to the process of development. Outstanding in criticisms of the limitations of theory have been references to special area characteristics and non-conforming locational behaviour. Theories dealing with the very general situation must be refined to suit the varying levels, from city to small town, and varying behaviours, from collective to individual.

3.2.2. Central Area Theories

Defining the Centre

A number of models and theories can be drawn upon to define and describe the centre in relation to the rest of the town, which also provide a theoretical link with the three perspectives of change framework.

Firstly, from the historic viewpoint, what Vance (1971) terms the 'inception of the centre' or Bird (1977) 'the genesis' i.e. the original siting and *raison d'être* of the town, can have a continuing influence throughout its centuries of development. The relationship between the past and present central area may be very apparent where the town has a well-developed medieval nucleus. This creates the problem of modern commercial uses having to adapt to a centuries-old spatial pattern: cars in the narrow streets, businesses in narrow fronted plots which were once medieval burgages, and few shops having rear access facilities. Thus, the historical influence is emphasised in historic towns where the initial phase of early urban development now largely forms the historical core of the surrounding modern city. In this situation the central area is synonymous with what Papageorgiou (1971) terms the 'inner city'. This comprises part of the town formerly enclosed by walls, and if it has 'significant architectural qualities' and a 'continuing social life' he would use the term 'historic urban centre.'^{*}

Secondly, from the sectoral/functional and the spatial viewpoints of change, there are theories concerning the centre as related to the rest of the town, whether of the morphological structure or the size/population relationship, transport aspects or changing attitudes to the centre. For planning purposes especially, it is seen as important to establish the relationship between, for instance, the number and space requirements of central area activities and the total population of the town, as change may take place as a consequence of the role the specific core plays at the regional or national level. On this basis a 'functional core' may be defined. Assuming there is a hierarchy of services, the most specialised function, for the whole town or

* see footnote on page 123.

wider region, will be in the centre. The centre could thus be defined by the functions described as central.

However, the spatial definition of the centre relies on a number of other typical features and characteristics. A process common to both morphological and functional aspects is that of adaptation of the physical form to changing functions of the centre. A change of function may be accompanied by a process of dissassociation, whereby for instance the religious function of a part of the centre may decline. A process of re-orientation may also occur, for example where a centre shifts in the direction of a port function which has changed, or towards the direction of maximum growth of the town, but conversely, away from the restriction of a barrier of some sort.

The characteristics used to define the centre may also be according to some critical concepts of ecological and land value theories. One is that of urban rent theory, mentioned in the previous section, whereby each site is occupied by the 'highest and best' use, through a process of competitive bidding and hinging on the main criteria assumed for site utility being accessibility. This is generally seen to be greater at the centre and to decline outwards with increasing distance - a general characteristic substantiated by empirical studies of land values. Although it is recognised that some parts have a higher accessibility than others,

* (from previous page) Papageorgiou (1971) also uses the term to include a) independent and monumental groups of buildings which resemble settlements, b) small rural historic centres, c) medium-sized towns which reached a peak of growth in the past such that the pattern has not been greatly affected by this century's rapid phases of urban growth.

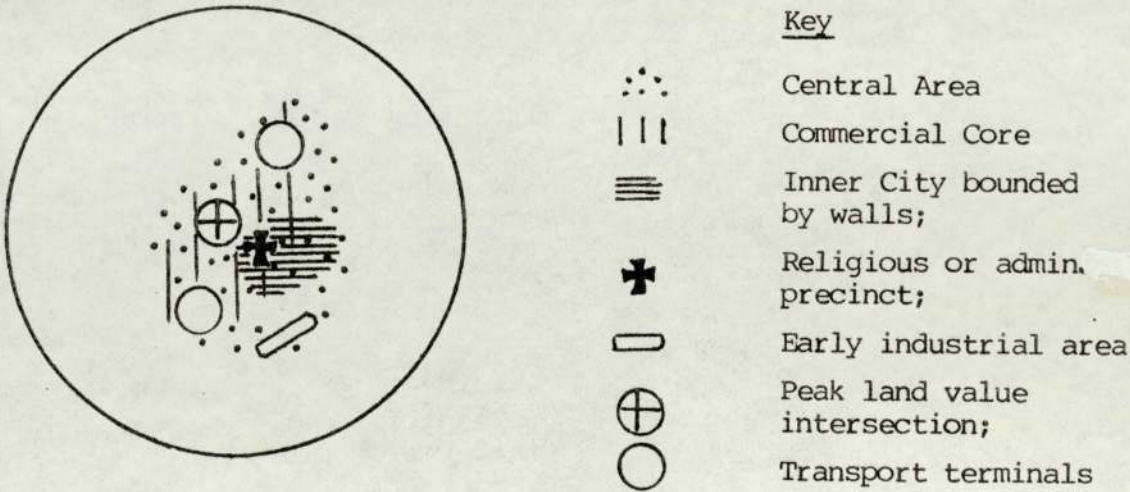
so the land value surface will show distortion in shape and localised peaks. For instance, the road pattern can affect the regularity and an old town nucleus cause considerable variation in accessibility and thus pedestrian flows within adjacent areas. Barrett (1973) suggests that because of the number of twisting and narrow side roads in historic centres, the most intensive pedestrian flow will be channelled into the straighter, wider streets whilst the irregular street patterns also prevent the emergence of a single peak value, so the pattern is more complex than that assumed by rent theory.

Later research has been able to combine this with other factors of centrality. Thus, Murphy and Vance (1954) defined the centre according to both the land value pattern and also the density of buildings and activities (since competition for the use of central area sites increases the concentration of activities in the centre, as a desirable location for activities requiring accessibility). They therefore define the Central Business District^{*} as the area containing the greatest concentration of offices and retail stores, reflected in the city's highest land values and its tallest buildings, whilst also being the focus of transport routes and the highest concentration of people and cars. The latter revealing how the density of interaction may be more representative of the core than any special kind of activity.

* The town centre is variously termed as the Central Business District in America - the somewhat misleading term for the 'hub of retail and commercial activity', (hereafter referred to as the C.B.D.). Rannels in 1956 talks of the 'urban core', whilst Smailes notes (1955) that the 'kernel' is usually associated with a specialised business district, sometimes together with an enclave that has been preserved; Burgess described the centre as the zone of his concentric series, being the focus of commercial, social and civic life. (1925)

Attempts to define the extent of the centre, according to both its characteristics and implicit processes, give indicators of what to include in the zone. It will generally be the area of highest land value and most intensive land use, whilst its boundary will be a gradation towards the surrounding residential areas, early on, termed a 'Zone in Transition'. Bird expressed these aspects of centrality, diagrammatically as shown below and the maps of Worcester and Hereford on the following page indicate the relevance of his model to the contemporary historic town.

Figure 3.2: Spatial Aspects of Centrality in an Urban Area



Source: after Bird J. "Centrality and Cities" (1977)

Characteristic processes of change in the centre

The characteristics mentioned will be modified by various circumstances and public influences in addition to processes taking place in the historic core and with specific regard to the British rather than the American situation. The process of

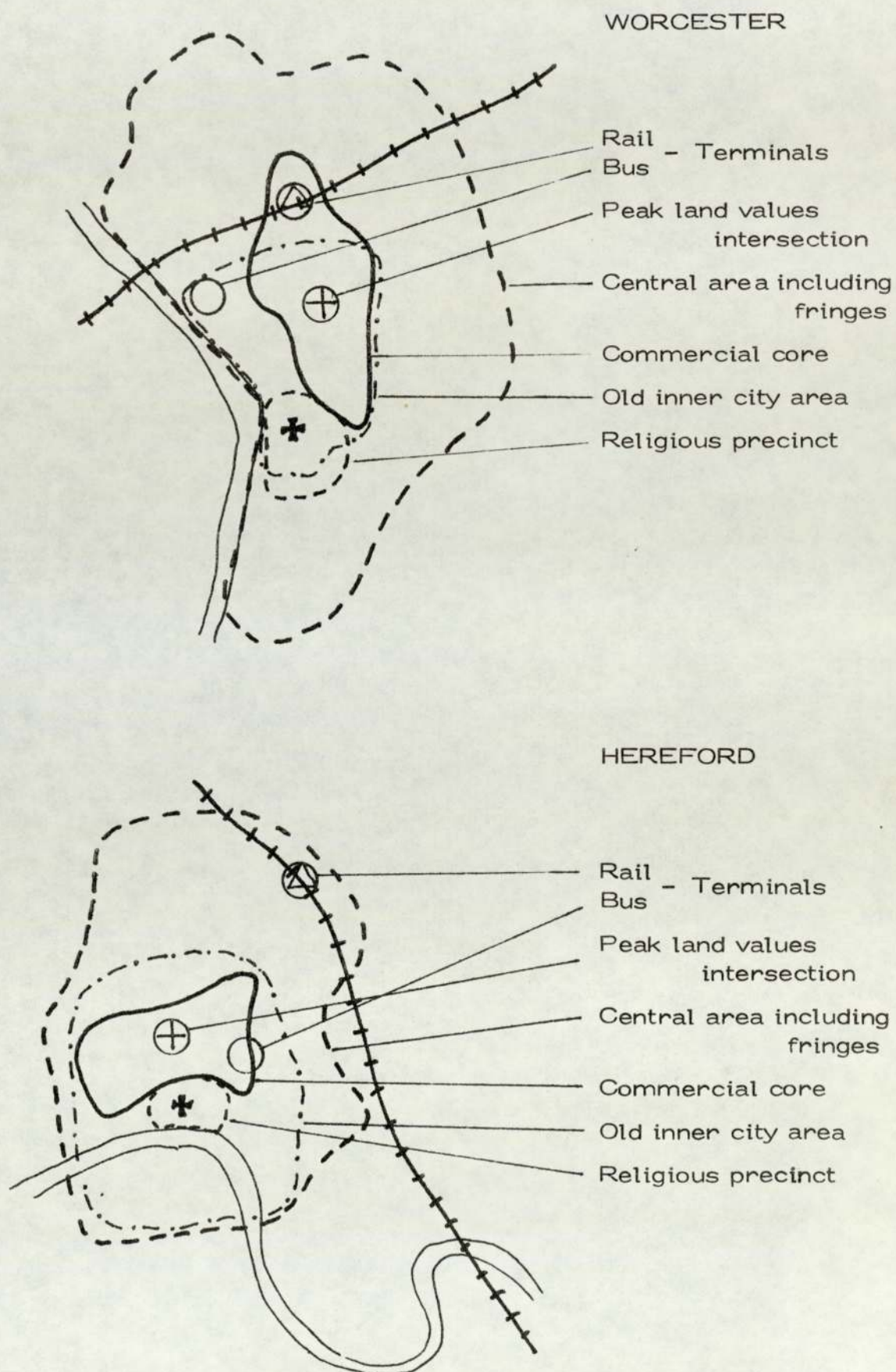
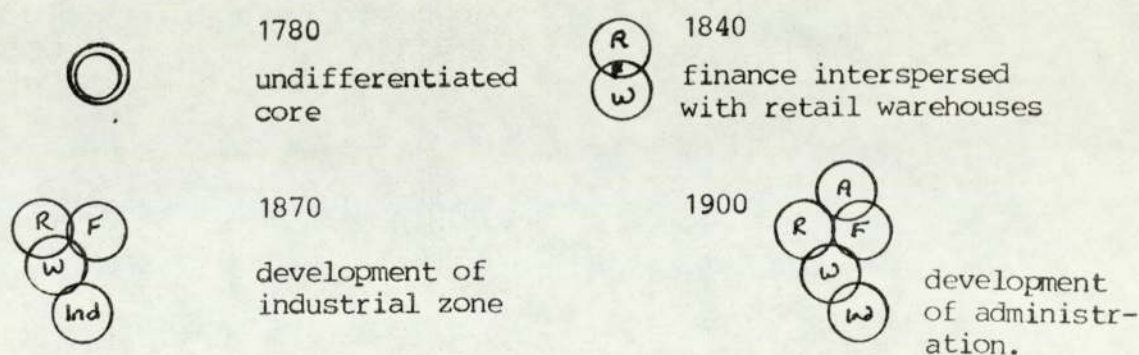


Figure 3.3: Diagrammatic aspects of centrality in Worcester & Hereford

adaptation, for example, is one of continual compromise between form and function, a process of mutual adaptation. This may result in greater complexity where there has been a long history of reorganisation and replacement according to changing circumstances over time and the intense competition among a variety of users seeking central sites. Two other allied processes, particularly relevant in historic centres are segregation and clustering.

Segregation, whereby distinctive city areas were produced, is important in studying historic centres where a long period of development is represented. Dogshon and Butler (1978) report how this was a dominant force in translating what had been up to the mid-19th century, a relatively undifferentiated town centre, except on market days, into a permanent shopping and administrative area. The area and functional effects of segregation over time can be seen by firstly the development of industry and railways in close association which produced distinctive areas and then the rapid suburban growth brought corresponding social stratification. Meanwhile change in the core in the latter half of the 19th century was characterised by locational separation of the functions of storage, distribution and residence.

Figure 3.4: Development of Central Area Activities



Source: after Dogshon & Butler (1978)

A larger town is likely to show greater differentiation as the number of activities grow, relative to the external economies to be derived from clustering. The clustering tendency in the historic centre is a case of 'special accessibility'. Activities which have factors in common profit from being together, such as the business links between antique shops. Certain types of activities may also seek a similar location offering certain advantages such as the prestige value of an area or a tourist attraction (e.g. gift shops around York Minster). As Barrett found (op.cit.), there may be office clusters which may reflect the distribution of residential properties. These are suitable for office conversion, particularly in an historic town where there are constraints on new buildings, not so much because of their layout, but for their size and pleasant setting. This, Procos (1976) would term a 'prestige cluster' and Bird (op.cit.) recognises this consumer orientation as one of the side effects of external economies.

These various processes at work in the city according to the classical theorists may all be happening at different times in different parts of the urban area.

Processes of change and planning intervention

Hall (Vol.1)¹⁹⁷⁷ has shown that different forms of planning intervention produce different effects. Planning intervention may follow ecological theory in 'guiding and rationalising' these natural trends of urban growth,^{i.e.} it will be allied with the demographic and ecological trends in the region. If planning is instead to reassert the social welfare concept, it will seek to promote different social values that will have implications for the pattern of urbanisation. Similarly, interpretations of

the impact of planning vary. Moore (1969) notes that ecological patterns develop when the centre is dominated by private investment, but in-roads into the housing market by the public sector distort these patterns, for instance the comprehensive renewal of the 19th century housing stock in the centre. Now the housing market has taken a different turn with the continual growth of owner occupation and the selling of council houses. Elliot in Rhind & Hudson (1980) suggests further that there has been a 'novel and massive intervention' by the State and local authorities in the organisation of space, but Kirk (1980) thinks that intervention takes place within, and is circumscribed by the capitalist economic system. Yet Elliott indicates that the characteristics of State intervention are the often unintended and undesirable side effects which are unrelated to the set goals.

Planning intervention, however viewed in its aims, tends to cement the segregation process at a certain stage or encourage it in a controlled way, often ignoring the functional dynamism of the urban centre. According to Barrett (op.cit.) the land use pattern has tended to be moulded by various planning measures (e.g. zoning ordinances in the U.S.A. and development plans in the U.K.) into a "preconceived orderly pattern in which the various elements occupy mutually exclusive areas". Thus a reason for not mixing in dwellings in the core was that it increases distances within the core.

Yet the process of retail segregation is continuing as a natural force. This is based on the process of compaction for comparison. The central shopping area is being limited in extent by the horizontal walking distance (especially with increasing car ownership), the development of shopping precincts and the vertical element of department stores. Although this vertical

emphasis may be restricted in historic centres because of planning controls, there may still be concentration, for example by the additional use of picturesque back alleys. Simultaneously, rigid barriers may be imposed to central area expansion in certain directions producing a more clear-cut boundary than might be supposed from Burgess's Transition Zone (see Section 3.4). Increasingly the spatial pattern of town centres has been planned, particularly where redevelopment has taken place. However, in the historic centre these aims may be subject to the constraints of pre-existing land uses which cannot be altered where it affects the physical form. It is often a case of obtaining a compromise between functional needs and the changing viability of the historical heritage. This may also mean the social pattern is affected, such as the characteristics of the core population both those living and those working there.

In historic towns there are two additional aspects of spatial change related to planning influence. Firstly is that of planned "intercept" location. This involves locating a supermarket for example which cannot be accommodated in the centre itself, on the edge of the centre, and so fits in with the policies not to allow these developments on the outskirts of a town. Secondly, is the pedestrianisation of streets, a planned development to which the narrow congested streets of historic centres such as Norwich were ideally suited and which led the way to similar developments in more modern towns.

Recent influences and the historic centre

The urban core has always been undergoing changes, but it is the rapid rate and complexity of these changes which cause additional difficulties for the planning process in historic towns. Patterns of land use change in the centre previously attributed in the theories to centripetal or centrifugal forces are no longer applicable on this simplified basis. The concentration of activities in the centre are said to be influenced by the various advantages to be gained there for a particular use, such as convenience, prestige, and what Colby (op.cit.) calls 'functional magnetism of the site'. However, planning policies can and have had effects on these attributes, reinforcing prestige for example, but sometimes at the expense of convenience. Furthermore, that the centre can be revitalised by improving any one or all of these factors is the basis of much British planning with regard to 'keeping life in the town centre'.

Conversely, the processes of decentralisation and dispersion which can be attributed to certain disadvantages of the centre and attractions of locations away from the centre have been affected by a number of trends. As early as the 1920's and 1930's, suburbanisation of food retailers was noted (Ford 1935 cited by Dawson 1980) associated with the movement of population to the planned suburbs developing around many towns. In more recent decades has been the development of edge-of-town hypermarkets which so far have been largely resisted in historic towns. During the post-war period there has been a pattern of at first population and then employment decentralisation from the urban core. Although office blocks were mushrooming in the centre during the 1960's, many

were just replacing older premises but at lower densities. There is less evidence for this process in historic towns where redevelopment was either prevented early on or where not, it was soon lamented and additional controls imposed on office development. Some, such as London's decentralisation policy "successfully lubricated a market where dispersal was already taking place" (Goddard 1981). By the 1970's this was often to the benefit of county towns, mainly historic centres and rural areas (as shown by the office floorspace growth statistics p. 68.). In addition, institutional factors can affect the processes directly. For instance after the 1974 reorganisation of local government, county councils based on historic county towns often found there was insufficient room at their old central sites. They then either took a number of commercial office blocks dispersed around the town (with the present cutbacks creating the danger of a lot of empty properties being on the market), or moved to a location outside the town such as Hereford and Worcester County Council's greenfield site on the outskirts of Worcester.

Whilst there have been considerable changes within urban areas, the process of rapid city centre growth assumed by the early theorists has now largely passed. Griffin and Preston (1966) have showed how central area processes of invasion and succession have slowed down or been curtailed by ring road developments or intensive land redevelopment, and not accompanied by expansion elsewhere. This has specific effects on the area fringing the centre (dealt with in more detail in 3.4). The processes at work at the inner periphery leading to uneven outward growth, they attribute to a 'leap-frogging' movement out of the centre to the suburbs especially with improved transport. They do indicate some

migration back to the city centre, but assert (as with the 'structuralists', see p.117) that this is only a trickle by those who can afford to isolate themselves from their immediate environment by residence in high rise buildings - although in historic towns this might be instead because they value character as opposed to space. Chapin (1974) sees the result of this slowing of urban growth as creating a receding commercial zone, whereby outer zones remain stable but the inner fringe of the transition zone tends to recede into the commercial district and there is consequently an expansion of the transition area, frequently interpreted to mean the creation of 'permanent' commercial as well as residential slums.

3.3. Central Area Land Use Activities & Planning

The review of sectoral trends in Chapter Two indicated a variety of new influences on the urban structure, especially in the centre, with which the planning process is concerned. Two aspects of importance to planners in this context are: firstly, the relative amounts of space within the urban area devoted to different types of land use, measurements of these in relation to calculated needs of the population and economy give rise to planning controls on change of use and development.

Secondly, the locational requirements and improvement decisions of various activities. These are constantly changing both in relation to the physical nature of the town and to changes in accessibility, attractiveness and land prices. They also need to be set against changes within that particular use category in general throughout the country or region.

The first is problematic for research as comparison between centres is bound to be difficult since the proportions of land in different categories varies considerably. However, the commercial and industrial floorspace statistics (see Table 3.1) give some idea of the relative amounts of space used by industry, ware houses, shops and offices. From these figures it can be seen that the 20 historic towns sampled had a higher proportion of floorspace in shops and restaurants and also offices, than the average for districts in England. Yet the figures do not indicate the distribution of these land uses and cannot be seen in isolation. Goodall (1972) notes that the present spatial structure illustrates the current state of a process of mutual adjustment, affected by such factors as the economic base of the urban area. The generally

TABLE 3.1: % Floorspace in Industrial & Commercial Use 1981

1981	Industry	Warehouses		Shops with		Shops & Comm.		'000 sq. m Total Floorspace
		(Covered)	(Open)	Living Accommod.	Rest's.	Offices		
Historic Towns	37.5	25.8	2.5	2.2	20.1	11.9		18,982.3
England Average	48.2	23.8	3.8	2.1	12.9	9.1		485,795.2
% Inc. 1977-81								
Historic Towns	+2.6	+12.8	+35.3	-5.9	+5.7	+13.1		
England Average	+1.1	+13.7	+29.1	-5.7	+5.8	+10.4		

SOURCE: Calculated from Commercial and Industrial
Floorspace Statistics. Department of the Environment.

economics-motivated land use pattern is modified by public interest or the importance of non-profit uses. Vickerman (1979) further suggests that economic evaluation in urban areas, which tends to be purely sectoral, fails to identify the relevant markets, concentrating on different uses as if they were independent.

This leads to the above-mentioned second concern, that of locational factors and changes within land use categories. This is discussed in the following sections with reference mainly to commercial uses, but also for other city centre activities.

3.3.1. Retailing

Distribution Patterns

Research in this area links mapped land use and aggregate floorspace statistics to help explain patterns of location. As such it can inform decisions on retail policies and problems, especially as the emphasis has recently been away from shopping centre studies (and general regional level analysis) to that of individual trades and locational trends.

TABLE 3.2: Retail Research Approaches

<u>Type of Study</u>	<u>Spatial Elements</u>
PROCESS STUDIES	- examination of market area dynamics via distribution of retail births and deaths.
STRUCTURAL STUDIES	- shop distribution and changes in the functional nature of centres.
STAGE STUDIES	- different types of retail location determining the level of development of the retail system.

Source: Vickerman, R.W.: Urban Studies Vol. 16 (1979)

Vickerman (Table 3.2) gives a number of research approaches some of which are used intermittently by planners but generally

for a specific problem-solving exercise rather than to inform more fully on the process of change. Planning more often draws on broad classifications of retail distribution which do not appear to have been tested for their relevance in historic centres. Davies (1972) for example has drawn analogies between studies of retail location and broader models of the settlement structure. Thus he links sectoral, concentric and multiple-centre models with the locational influences upon retail complexes in terms of access as shown in Table 3.3.

Table 3.3: Land Use Models & Retail Accessibility

	<u>LOCATIONAL INFLUENCE</u>		
	<u>Arterial Accessibility</u>	<u>General Accessibility</u>	<u>Special Accessibility</u>
SETTLEMENT CLASSIFICATION	transport-based	central place	special resource endowed
LAND USE MODELS	sector theory	concentric zone	multiple nuclei
RETAIL CONFIGURATIONS	ribbon development	nucleated centres	special functional area

Source: Davies, R.L.: Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers (1972.)

Other classifications of retail distribution are based on land value theory, derived from Von Thunen, such as Garners model of the retailing structure (1966). He found a differentiation of functions according to land values and bid rents, with a hierarchy of centres below the CBD and within the CBD itself. He notes the following features: Firstly, the threshold size continuum is expressed spatially. Secondly, the core area will be occupied by a group of functions that differentiate the centre from the preceding lower level in the hierarchy. Thirdly, because lower level functions are displaced outwards at each succeeding higher level in the hierarchy, they will occur on lower value land as their order in the hierarchy increases.* Other important factors he suggests are: transport and accessibility irregularities (such as the effects of new

car parks); plot size and the significance of corner sites; and population and income distribution.

Both Davies and Berry (op.cit) have tried specifically to categorize small businesses according to their locations. In Tables 3.4 & 3.5 Berry lists shop types according to the area served, whilst Davies makes his categories according to both location, including area served, and type of business. They could also be further divided into 'up-market' and 'down-market' types.

Table 3.4: Classification by Berry of Shop Type by Trade Area

<u>REGIONAL</u>	<u>COMMUNITY</u>	<u>NEIGHBOURHOOD</u>	<u>STREET CORNER</u>
Millinery	Department Stores	Supermarket	General Store
Furriers	Male/Female Clothing	Bakery	Grocery
Sports Goods	Furniture	Barbers/Beauty Salons	Drug Store
Cameras & Photo Studios	Florist	'Real Estate' Agents	
	Jewellers		

Table 3.5: Classification by Davies of Retail Locations

	<u>COMMUNITY BASED</u>		<u>AUTO-ORIENTED</u>	<u>TWILIGHT</u>
	<u>GOODS</u>	<u>SERVICES</u>		
CONVENIENCE	corner shop	laundrette	newsagent	second-hand
SPECIALISED	hardware	optician	car accessories	antique shops
TRADITIONAL	draper	shoe repairs	cafe	tattoo shop
INNOVATIVE	boutique	hair stylist	motel	sauna
ESSENTIAL	chemist	post office	service station	charity shop
ACCEPTABLE	off-licence	fish & chips	public house	social clubs
QUESTIONABLE	pet foods	betting shop	junk yards	sex shops

These theories provide a basis for the investigation of uses in sub-areas of the centre and to determine how general classifications are affected by both historic character and town planning. However,

* In addition Szuneluk (1968) suggests that the one centre syndrome is breaking down with increased mobility and more information.

they do not relate to the more detailed local level and decisions of individual retailers with which development control is concerned and which constitute patterns of change in areas. This leads to a review of some of the research on location decisions in retailing.

Location Decisions

Pred (1979) draws attention to the lack of behavioural knowledge about locational choices made by tertiary activities. What could be important for example is that retailers respond to the locational decisions of other retailers. As large groups make location decisions based upon considerations such as the location of other outlets in the group, managerial and shareholders ambition, and property and land-holding investments, so individual companies may create spatial sub-systems which do not obviously relate to more overt locational constraints. Therefore for any centre there appears to be a need to distinguish locational factors which relate the firm to the overall retail structure of the town, and those factors of location which are related to the type of consumer demand, including industry and office as well as residential trade.

Sibley (1972) has tried to look at the dynamic properties of the retail pattern and has been able to differentiate between strategy and tactics in the selection of shop location. He argues that environmental uncertainty and the reaction of the entrepreneur to this, varies with the order of the retail function. He distinguishes tactical and strategic decisions, with strategy becoming important as uncertainty increases. He suggests that the greater the levels of uncertainty in the environment, the greater the possibility of improving on initial location. As

information about market conditions is acquired, the decision-makers uncertainty is reduced. So he see that the environmental context is important in studying organisational change.*

With the controversies over planning delay and uncertainty created in fringe areas, the latter work is seen to be of most significance. Noteable too for the historic centre is the clustering of shop locations, influenced by special accessibility. This tends to be in response to consumer behaviour and is encouraged by business links. Barrett (1973) gives the example of antique dealers who specialise within their trade and so can be complementary when clustered together with possibly a strong attraction in common such as a picturesque enclave.

3.3.2. Offices

Office location has some similarities with retailing. Firstly some categories of office use such as building societies and estate agents can be classed as shops with regard to their locational requirements, since they demand a ground floor, shop window site on a main central area street. So their behaviour

* Thus for different orders of retail functions he notes a different environmental system:

1. Where environmental variance is at a minimum the spatial pattern changes little as the initial one cannot be improved upon. Retail^{outlets} may therefore be randomly-distributed, small units in both favourable and unfavourable conditions.
2. Where there is more difference and changes in the environment some locations will be more favourable than others so clustering occurs.
3. Where the retail system is more complex with retailers in greater competition, the spatial pattern moves towards the optimum as retailers gain knowledge about the market and develop appropriate strategies = 'the disturbed reactive environment'.
4. For the most complex system, he describes the environment as 'turbulent' - where the interdependence of traders makes behaviour difficult to predict and organisations rely on 'research and development'.

is more like retailing than other office functions. Secondly, the classification of office activities can also be made according to the extent of the market area in a hierarchical pattern, e.g. Alexander (1979), with reference to the private sector used the following classification: (abbreviated)

Table 3.6: Classification by Alexander of Office Distribution

	<u>Local District Serving</u>	<u>Region/City Serving</u>
1. PROFESSIONAL SERVICES	Doctors, dentists, solicitors.	Architects, engineers, surveyors
2. BUSINESS SERVICES	Employment agency, printing, photocopying.	Advertising agency, managerial consultants, data processing.
3. FINANCIAL SERVICES	District office of insurance and finance companies.	Regional branch office of insurance and finance companies.
4. OTHER	Local office of manufacturing, distribution or transport companies, or building contractor.	Regional branch of manufacturing or distribution companies.

Source: Alexander, I. (1979) "Office Location & Public Policy.

However, Daniels (1979) has pointed out that there has been little research on the life-cycle of office establishments and the role played by different areas within cities as incubators for office-based enterprises ranging from one-man operations to the multi-national, multi-office enterprises. There is also a need for research on the location behaviour of individual office establishments.

This leads to the need to take further the general assertion that the centre forms a vital role as a seed-bed for small-scale

business operations from office premises, especially with the attraction of low cost office space around the fringes^{*}. It may be also that residential areas outside the centre, which once provided opportunities for new offices are less likely to do so if local authorities will not permit the necessary changes of use. Similarly, there may be variations to the claim that once established, office moves are short distance and at frequent intervals, to more spacious accommodation taking into account that distances will be lower with a smaller centre, as alternatives are more restricted.

3.3.3. Residential

The ecological and economic theories discussed previously were mainly concerned with residential land use. Alonso's comparison of how residential change is viewed by the historical and structural approaches is very relevant (1960). The former presupposes urban renewal taking place radially from the centre. It assumes that the affluent prefer to live in new areas and so they will return to occupy the progressively new rings of development. The structural view sees the affluent as preferring the edge of the urban area in general - trading off their preference for space and lower density with accessibility. Thus, it will only be a few who will prefer to live near the centre. In the case of the historic town, elements of both may be relevant, but

* Sim (1980) suggests that morphological change in the centre may have an effect on office links, e.g. the consequences of comprehensive redevelopment; certain types of office in converted accommodation may be unaffected. Others move to new blocks close to the main centre but peripheral to it.

there are undoubtedly social and economic implications of specific conservation policies in historic towns related to residential use.

The concept of a changing population type and location, resulting from planning policy, and planned and unplanned moves back to the centre, has been the subject of recent research both in America and England.

Gick (1973), in his study of Capitol Hill in Washington, noted that the 'post-war downward succession' of inner city housing stock (i.e. older housing left to the poor/older population) was followed by an upward succession brought about by gentrification. Inner city housing stock with perceived architectural character close to the urban core would be taken over by the younger middle class if a number of factors were in operation: a specific type of investor emerged looking for an 'urbane environment'; real estate interests backed the process by marketing the area to potential investors; and lending institutions existed with biases for upper middle class income groups.

Residential uses are increasingly being encouraged to return/remain in the centre in this country, whilst plans for the historic core can also affect the adjacent inner residential areas. However, it is not always known to what extent this type of planning can be expected to affect local communities within and on the edge of the centre. Research does seem necessary to consider how conserving whole areas of the city may modify urban structure theories.

America has seen some examination of public and private preservation efforts according to social and economic characteristics of citizens involved. These focus on the tools and tactics of the programmes and the results achieved. In the U.K. there are

some basic issues which have been researched, mainly in connection with housing rehabilitation in general, through both public and private initiatives. It has been recognised in London for some time that the widespread conservation policies place restrictions on activities and their expansion which could affect the economic vitality of the city centre. At present there are strong conservation policies at the core, particularly Westminster, resulting in an overspill of development pressure towards the fringe of the central area. It was also recognised that conservation area policy may impose additional costs on activities in the area, in respect of renovation and maintenance of listed buildings. This may lead to a modification in the pattern of activities, which has not been tested to any degree and observations are generally made in respect only of residential uses, i.e. gentrification.

Hammett and Williams looked into this process of gentrification in London (1979). Although not specifically restricting their study to historic areas, they recognised that these tend to figure largely in such a process and showed that it was a far more complex process than generally perceived.*

* This study of social change 1961-71, was analysed within the historical context of rapid outward urban growth and the consequences of inner city rehabilitation and renewal and the impact of increasing commuting distances. They note how the idea of gentrification as a physical social and cultural process, overturns the conventional ideas of the geographical distribution of social classes and the implications of such a process for the provision of housing and the operation of the housing market. The analysis of which could also be extended to other areas of the property market such as the commercial sector.

Studies of this process in the U.S.A. have taken a further step by considering urban policy and planning 'in the wake of gentrification'. Previously, analysis had been in terms of causes rather than effects, and if any implications were dealt with, they were in two categories: cultural - takeover by young professional middle class, and economic - the viability of rehabilitation versus renewal. However, a statement by one mayor that he wished "to withhold support for historic designation of additional neighbourhoods until the impact of such districting could be assessed" (Laska and Spain, 1979), showed some of the growing concern for the wider implications. For instance, renovators, because of their higher socio-economic status may make different, unexpected or more costly demands on public sources. They are also organisationally and politically active, often with certain preferences for neighbourhood land uses and class composition (ref. research by Auger, 1979). There is not just displacement of traditional residents, but also a reduction of commercial and industrial land use may result. This has an impact on urban policy in the concentration of re-investment in a limited area, according to Jacobs, 1961.* as destructive as the complete withdrawal of funds? They further suggest that if such areas continue to attract productive capital, this may produce a 'fundamental restructuring of urban space' - although they make no judgements on the advantages or disadvantages of this process.

Both the attraction of commercial and residential premises in conservation areas will create changes in the land and property market. There is a need to distinguish changes in the general level of property prices in an urban area from changes in the relative value of property in different parts of it as it can be
 * quoted in Laska and Spain (op cit).

highly localised. It may be desirable to allow it to stimulate changes in use in the interests of conservation but it must be recognised that this may also impose unequal costs upon property owners in particular areas.

3.3.4. Mixed Use Areas

The sectoral approach tends to ignore mixed use areas. Research on locational requirements rarely takes into account aspects of inter-related uses other than the obvious external economies of clustering. Now benefits are being realised in for example the re-use of large old buildings or the idea of mixed use in a new development. Procos (1976) sees that even where the principle of mixed use is accepted, which use can be permitted and encouraged is often restricted by aesthetic and psychological perceptions of what are compatible land uses. Zoning with a desired land use mix for a certain area further implies enforcement, as some uses will be more profitable or popular than others. This may be the case in shopping precinct schemes where the final phases are not completed, these are usually the leisure/public facilities.

Tucker (1980) however found that there has been some positive promotion of mixed use areas by planners - usually in areas immediately adjacent to the central area, with easy access to the city and ancilliary offices uses.* The benefits of this positive encouragement are seen as including:- provision for

*e.g. Macclesfield Area Draft Plan 1981, states that mixed use areas are to be retained, i.e. the older inner parts with their existing mix of houses, industry, storage and shops.

residential accommodation to be retained close to work and entertainment, retaining the scale and character of older areas and the preservation of historic buildings, providing a seed-bed for small workshops and limiting commuter traffic and parking to an acceptable level.

Finally, it might also be added that whatever sectoral location criteria are used there will always be a behavioural element which can have very different influences. Heinemeyer (1967) studying the core as a centre of attraction noted varying degrees of 'urban core mindedness'. He related the degree of use of the centre with how positive the attitude of the individual was, with the following diagram:

Table 3.7: Classification of Attitudes to the Urban Core

Level of Use of Urban Core	ATTITUDE	
	Positive	Negative
HIGH	<u>Enjoyers</u> : like the centre and are well acquainted with it.	<u>Users</u> : work in the centre but are not emotionally involved.
LOW	<u>Sympathisers</u> : lack e.g. the leisure time to benefit from centre facilities and social contact, frustrated at not taking a more active part.	<u>Abstainers</u> : turn their backs on the centre, perhaps having a strong neighbourhood, family or rural orientation.

Source: Heinemeyer W.F. "Urban Core and Inner City"

3.4 Planning & the Central Area Fringe Zone - Processes of Area Change

The fringe of the central area in historic towns has been singled out for attention. The characteristics assumed by planners to apply to this 'transition zone', as it is often termed, date back to the early ecological theories. These are described before noting the differences in more recent times and in the specific historic town situation.

3.4.1. Theoretical location and characteristics

The core and frame

If a sectoral or zonal pattern of urban structure, as outlined previously, is assumed, there will be boundary zones between major identifiable parts of the structure (defined by quality, intensity or type of land use and building development) which are most susceptible to change, i.e. zones of transition.

They exist on the edge of any defined area in a town, but they are most visible as changing areas when either on the edge of the built-up area, the urban/rural fringe, or on the edge of the centre, the central area fringe. With regard to the latter, a number of writers have considered this area and its attendant problems either as part of the town as a whole or looked at the processes occurring within.

The centre and its edge are seen to possess different relative characteristics which attract different land uses. The centre, with its heavy concentration of activities and frequency of contacts, attracts the big retailing units and speciality shops, top managements and consultancy companies, banking, insurance and culture. The edge, being semi-central

but still making available a high contact level, is said to attract developing industries and manufacturing sensitive to the closeness of the market.

Horwood and Boyce (1959) suggested that the centre could be considered as two inter-related parts, the core and frame. In these terms, the core is an area of intensive land use with the highest concentration of pedestrian flows and no permanent residential population. The frame constitutes an area of semi-intensive land fringing the core, where the use is dominated by warehouses, car sales and services, transport terminals, light manufacturing and some institutions.

Whilst the core is symbolised by its physical features, the frame area is less easy to characterise and has led to various attempts to clarify its component parts and the process of change. Burgess (1925) described the transition zone as:

"surrounding the Central Business District are areas of residential deterioration caused by the encroaching of business and industry from zone 1 .."

He goes on to list the social characteristics of the zone, with the idea, common to both historical and structural theories, that a minority group will be left behind:

"with a factory district for its inner belt and an outer ring of retrogressing neighbourhoods of first settlement immigrant colonies of rooming house districts of homeless men ... In this area of physical deterioration and social disorganisation our studies show the greatest concentration of cases of poverty, bad housing As families prosper, they escape from this zone into the next one and beyond, leaving behind as marooned, a residuum of the defeated, leaderless and helpless."

Therefore, traditionally, the area is of mixed commercial and non-commercial land uses, tending towards deterioration and blight.

.../..

Boundaries of area
described as 'core'
by sample of residents
in Hereford.

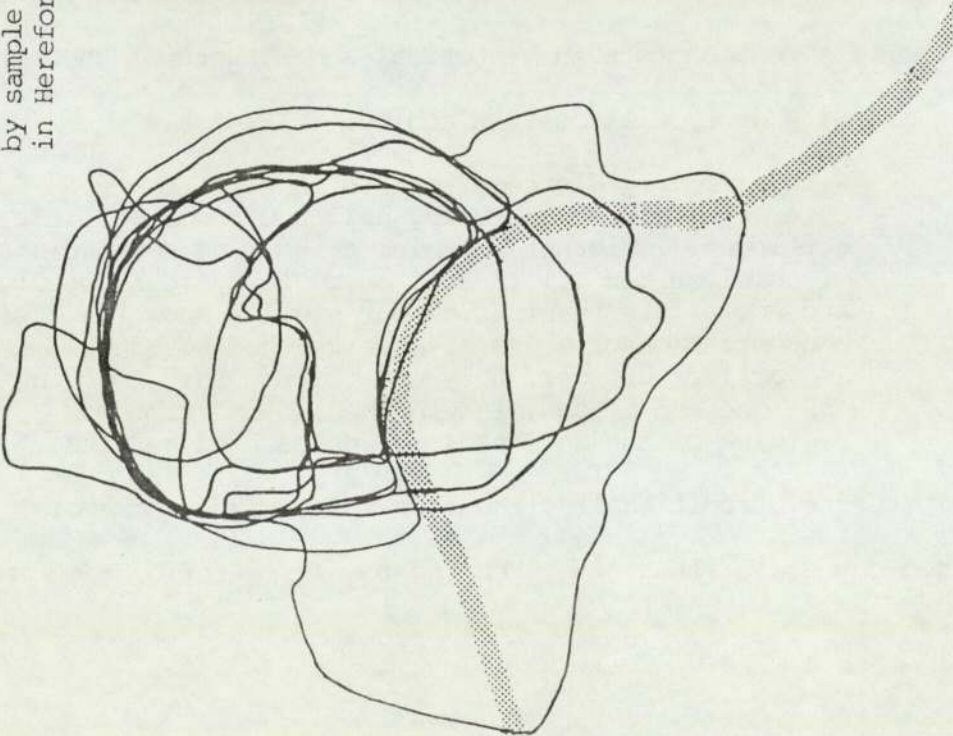
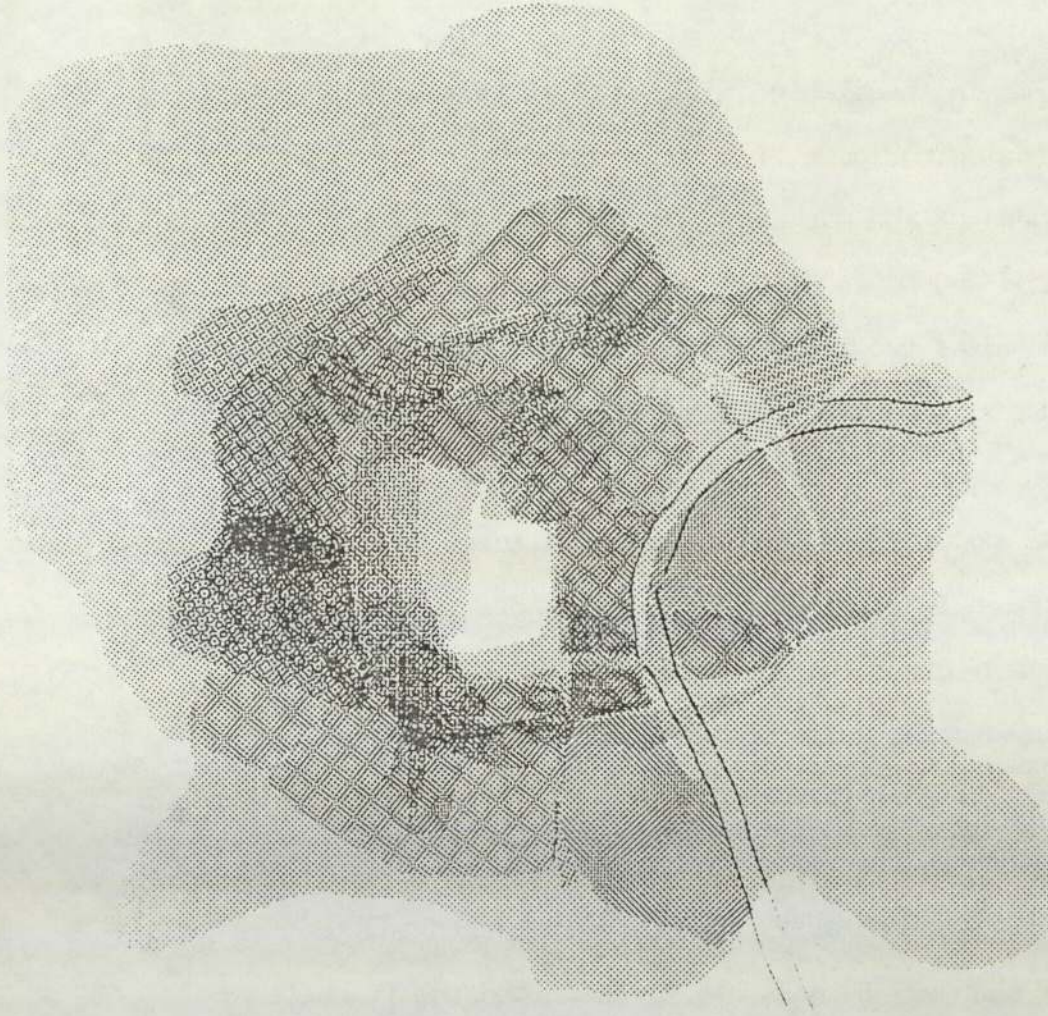


Figure 3.5: Perception of Core & Frame in
Hereford.



Boundaries of area described
as the edge of the central
area, i.e. the frame by
interviewees.

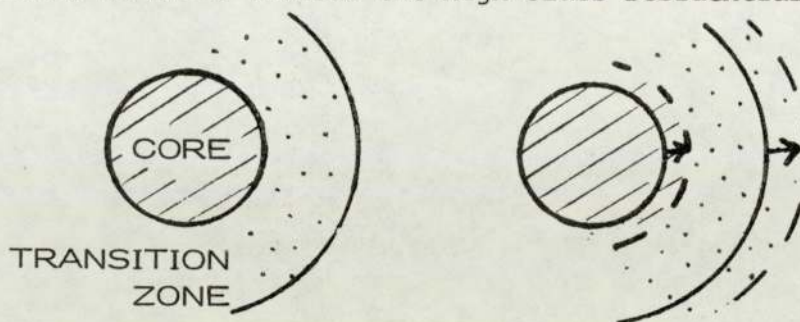
It separates the retail core from the surrounding residential or heavy industry districts and may include off-street parking and special professional and organisational services as well as warehousing light industry and multi-family residences.

Factors influencing the transition zone process

A number of factors have arisen which alter some of these characteristics, particularly inner city redevelopment programmes and the setting out of industrial estates on the outskirts of towns. A survey of people in Hereford concerning the location of the core and frame (see Figure 3.5) showed considerable variations in the perception of the extent of the areas. There was, however, general agreement in locating, within the fringe area, parts suffering from blight and deterioration - typified by mixed land use, ageing structures and general instability of land use. It is the processes of change, within both core and frame, which have brought confusion to the concept and altered some, but not all, of the transition zone characteristics.

The ecological theories assume outward expansion of the centre into the surrounding zones or belt of less intensive land use, i.e. a pattern of centrifugal invasion. It has been shown to be common, in larger towns, for the urban core to have gradually expanded and spread over into what were formerly residential areas especially where accompanied by rebuilding and reconstruction (Ahlberg). This suggests that the whole pattern remained the same, but that the zone as a whole was further removed from the centre and "ecological processes of invasion and succession were keeping the situation fluid" (Griffin & Preston) see diagram overleaf. However, it was noted that the expansion was not uniform in all directions and the core functions, mainly

retail, tended to shift towards the high class residential areas.



Griffin and Preston (1966) in their re-statement of the Transition Zone concept have further described and interpreted the concepts of this zone as an element of the urban landscape. They denote it as an 'undefined problem area' mainly since it has neither the advantages of a CBD location, nor the conditions supposedly leading to a "widely desirable pattern of residential living" and so has been largely neglected by private and public enterprise. As they say that by definition it is an area of spatial variation and temporal change, according to them this means that the area does not have the stability which favours problem solution. They note that the concept was formulated at a time when transport lines were less flexible so both economic activities and workers needed to be near transport focal points and as the city grew it expanded radially into the surrounding area. However, the suggested uniform expansion occurred in a period of rapid central city growth and they point out that this process of invasion and succession has slowed down. Where conversion has stopped short of completion there are areas of actual stagnation "characterised by mixed and incompatible land uses tending towards deterioration."

Therefore processes on the periphery have altered because of these, and a number of other developments as follows: improved transportation and increased mobility; vertical expansion of

the CBD and reduced demands for property at the margin; the trend towards suburban locations; a change in attitude to the advantages of a 'downtown' location. Added to these is the possibility that artificially high land values derived from past expectations of city centre growth may have excluded some potentially stable activities, so depressing the zone and making improvements impossible.*

Further qualifications to the Transition Zone

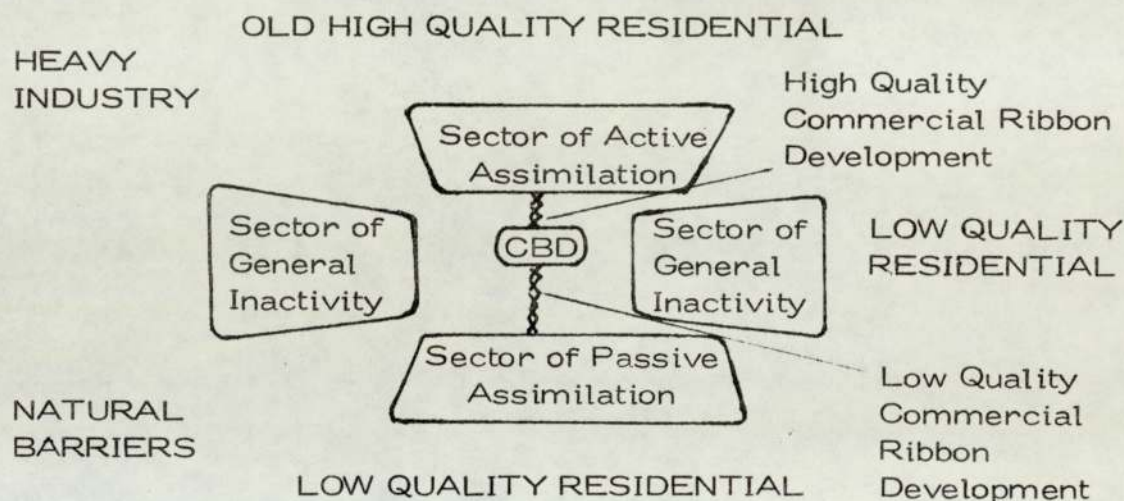
Although some of the factors mentioned so far may still be partially true of some large cities in Britain, there have been many changes which have altered the traditional core and frame idea including planning intervention. In historic towns this may be by constraints on vertical expansion; the character of refurbished buildings may attract back town residents, or a Green Belt may restrict suburban expansion. Ambrose and Colenutt (1975) have stressed how the centre has been the scene of major land use changes in the last decade, characterised by the construction of large-scale office blocks. In the same way it could be said that these and other innovations such as trading estates have also made redundant the functions of the fringe zone as providing cheap housing and premises in a central location.

What is perhaps more useful is to look at how the zone changes rather than its static characteristics. Preston and Griffin's analysis shows the interrupted pattern of central

* According to Herbert, since the outward expansion of the CBD is still viewed as likely by many of the owners in the transition zone, so land is held for future speculation, but meanwhile kept for uses requiring a minimum outlay (1972).

area growth as having three facets: a sector of active assimilation and zone of general inactivity and a sector of passive assimilation as shown below:

Figure 3.6: Facets of the Transition Zone;after Griffin & Preston



The sector of active assimilation was used to describe a 'mixed-use conversion zone' having expanded outwards into a quality inner residential area. Houses would be taken over, firstly by professional offices on the ground floor then with high class apartments over commercial activities such as antique shops, with possibly some new infill blocks of flats. Along the main street serving the centre is high quality retail such as small restaurants and boutiques. The basis for nucleation or 'fixing' in this zone could be a museum or church around which the conversion takes place.

The zones of general inactivity are found on the edges of the other sectors. There is less change here as several land uses such as heavy industry resist assimilation or conversion. They also contain large areas of low quality housing peripheral to the main street along which previous CBD uses are changing to less intensive ones. Although the area is of low quality, .../..

there is not any widespread economic decline or vacancies.

The sector of passive assimilation is similar in some ways to the first area, but the process of change is slower. As the CBD retreats or shifts, this sector is left with blocks abandoned by high quality CBD functions - which are converted to lower order activities in a piecemeal fashion. Land uses often include a rail terminal, wholesaling and storage and light industry. Most of the retailing is on the ground floor and on streets serving the Central Business District. It may also include remnants of small residential neighbourhoods.

However, Preston and Griffin have been criticised as having a compartmentalised view of the nature of change in such zones. It is shown that their emphasis is really on land use characteristics rather than processes which does not demonstrate the 'dynamic' quality implicit in the term 'transition' (Herbert 1972). However, others have added to this analysis to extend understanding of the various aspects they have outlined in the next section.

3.4.2. Subsequent Research & Theory on Various Aspects

Shift of Centre

Movements of the centre location is important in the creation and process of change in fringe areas. Bird (op.cit.) has attempted to explain causes of 'downtown migration' to also take account of values and cultural aspects. He identified three main factors influencing the shift of a centre towards or away from an area.

The first factor is that an area may possess 'latent centrality'. This may be an area on either side of a main road leading to the centre which is often an area of high class residential development, ripe for office conversion perhaps with a prestigious name or postal district and attractive environment. It may also

be because the land ownership is conducive to development in large lots and existing users have alternative locations, for example when a central area market has been removed from land owned by the council. Similarly he suggests that historic railway stations near a city centre are ripe for demolition and conversion.

Secondly, the area may possess a 'pole of attraction' such as a public transport terminal, a parking facility or a cross-route to wealthier parts of the town perhaps with a forked junction which gives access to a wider segment of the city.

Thirdly, the centre will not expand into an area containing a 'pole of repulsion'. This may be a noxious industry, physical or man-made barrier, a declining function of the city - such as a port, the presence of an administrative boundary, or where the landownership is in small plots.

When a centre moves there will be a zone of assimilation and a zone of discard. The latter is often of interest to planners as an area of 'blight', caused by changes in urban technology or socio-economic organisation, or as Wingo suggests (1966) by externality effects. The latter is where properties are caught in an 'interdependence trap'. This refers to the uncertainty which may be caused by planning policies producing a self-perpetuating blight with investment made in property only if neighbours follow suit.

It has also been questioned firstly whether commercial transition is uni-directional i.e. once an area goes commercial (forming part of the CBD) that it tends never to return to residential useage and secondly whether the transition is a regular spatial progression. Furthermore, the contemporary CBD

may be less compact than a few years ago and the transition process quicker and more extensive when occurring at the edges of larger than smaller central districts.

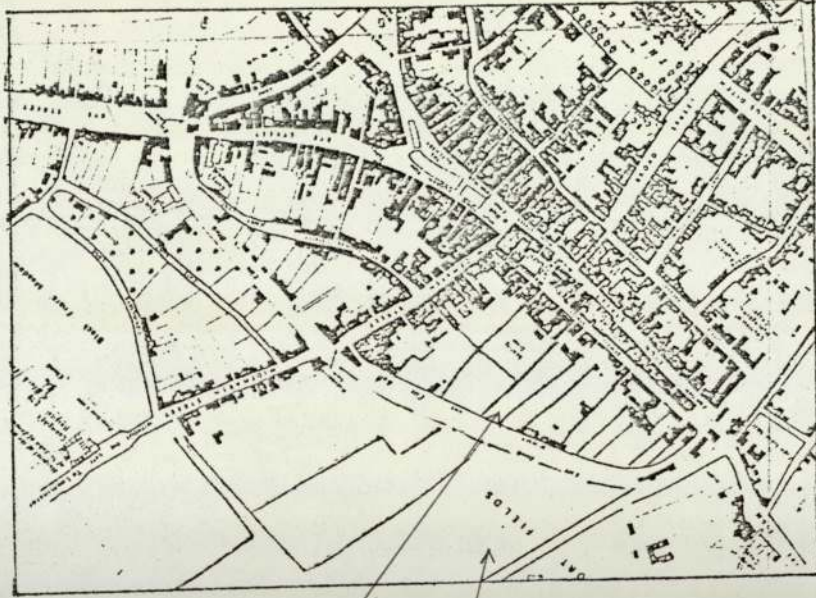
Fringe zone characteristics - morphological evidence

The zone as recognised by current writers, still has the characteristic of a greater variety of use over the area as a whole even if 'like activities still cluster'. It is also seen as a nursery for small specialist firms who are often marginal, being uncertain as to their future and attracted by cheap premises. The upgrading of an area could mean a shift of this type of use elsewhere, although Wreford Watson (1959) demonstrated that 'relict' features could influence growth patterns. He noted various stages of adaptation which are evident where there is some firm resistance to change, such as military land use.

This brings in the twin concepts form and function, the two being closest when the original activity still occupies the building, but generally becomes more tenuous with time. Indications of past functional patterns can be seen in the present urban morphology and two further writers have analysed form and function from this aspect. Outstanding is the work of Conzen. He noted in his study of Alnwick (1960), urban fringes as marking successive areas of growth in the town over the ages with the concept of the fringe as two parts separated by a line of fixation such as a town wall and consequent streets along the route. Around this, he observes a contact zone, with infill within the wall and a process of accretion outside. This has resulted in a pattern of secondary building on tail end plots in the intra-mural area, producing a smaller plan grain. In the extra-mural area the

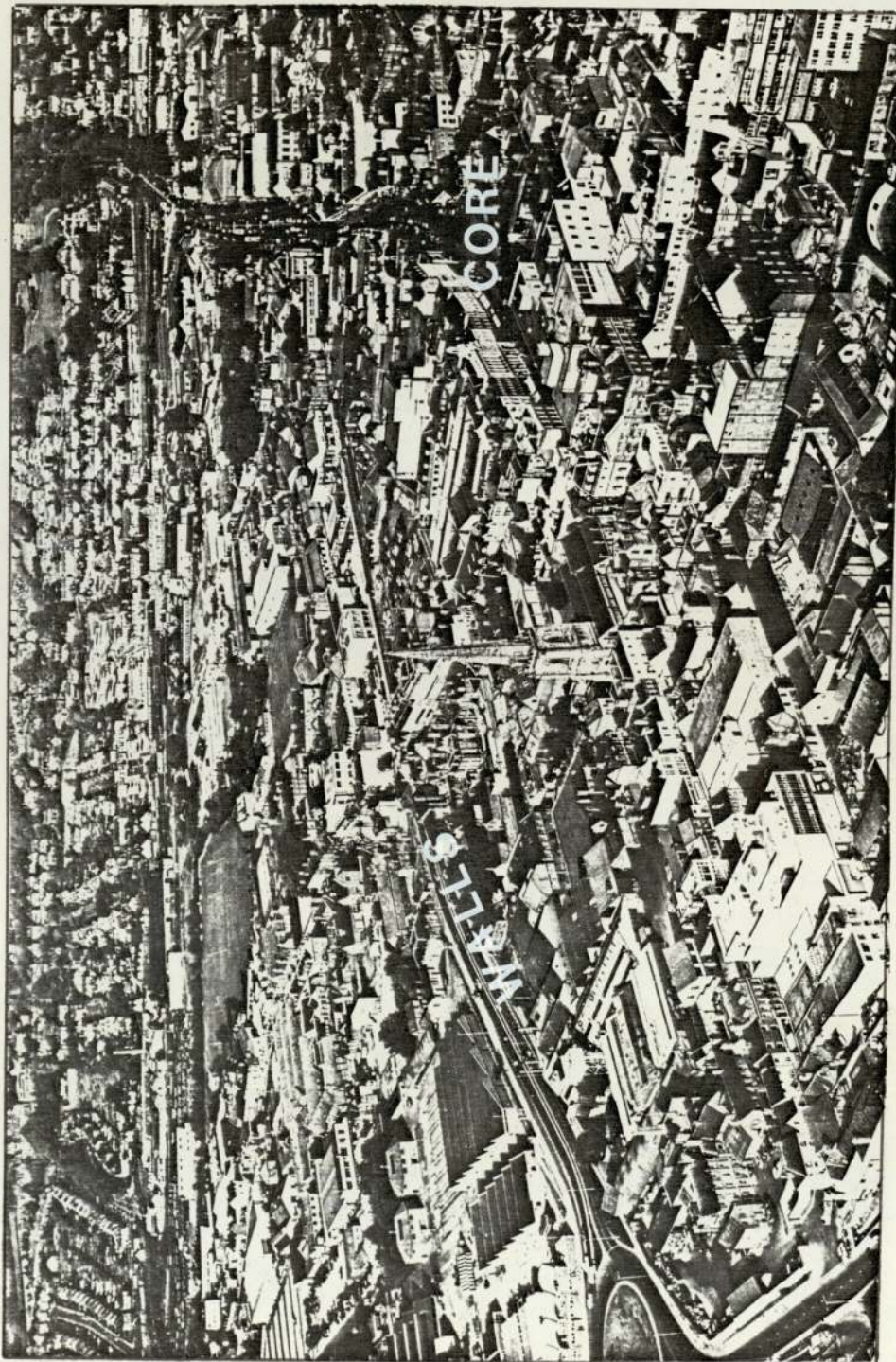
Figure 3.7: Area around the City Wall, Hereford c. 1800

In late medieval times, the city wall formed the boundary of the built-up area. Long garden plots to buildings on Widemarsh and Bewell Streets contrast with the field pattern outside of the walls.



Source: Historic Towns Atlas, Lobel, 1975.

Figure 3.8: Aerial view of part of Hereford centre



The photograph, taken in the mid 1960's, compared with Figure 3.7 illustrates:

The city wall as a 'line of fixation', having become the route for a ring road.

The process of infill within the walls, at a higher density than outside.

The more uniform plan pattern of the core streets and the residential area beyond, compared with the fringe zone around the wall line.

process takes place less intensively being related to the earlier field pattern and so producing a larger 'grain'. The whole zone is in contrast to the more homogenous plan pattern on either side. (see Figures 3.7 and 3.8)

The inner fringe belt thus originated from a definite fixation line which had originally formed the physical boundary of the built-up area resulting in a ring of consequent streets. This is seen as a plan-type, producing, as Conzen found, an interrupted zone around the old town. A more complex plan may include sub-areas; a castle complex and grounds, an intra-mural area and an extra-mural one, including a high building coverage or areas of low building coverage.

The process of land use succession

Barke (1977), showed that the temporal modification of fringe-belt plots is related to the differential effect of the building cycle on bid-rent profiles of residential and institutional land use. The selective nature of land use succession is significant for the spatial pattern of modification. Once a former fringe belt has become 'embedded' within the urban built-up area a process of selective land use succession may take place. He develops Conzen's point that the nature of the original coloniser of the fringe belt plot may affect the subsequent land use history of that plot.

For this he investigated the adjustment of land and building stock to meet changing needs, drawing up a 'transition probability matrix'. He found that not only is there a tendency for land to remain in the same category of use, but also that an intensification of use was likely, e.g. allotments changing to manufacturing use and public open space to community buildings. In addition, the

size and shape of plots was found to be significant, together with the centrality of location and the continuity of ownership.

The particular role of the fringe

Further features which need to be examined are whether this zone is the main location for small and first-time businesses, and if it also has a greater turnover of businesses. Jones (1976) has noted that most small businesses in the city centre are concentrated in the fringe rather than the core. They may be in cheap but fairly central premises providing convenience goods and personal services and often clustered around transport terminals. The increasing difficulties of businesses in ribbon developments prevent effective operation, with regard to parking and delivery work. Meanwhile, they remain as a nursery for small specialist firms who are often marginal and uncertain as to their future, attracted by cheap premises, but also needing access to skilled labour. Innovations such as premises for craft industries within large old buildings and starter units on trading estates may have rendered this function redundant.

It might also be expected that old and converted accommodation should contain a predominance of small young activities with their moves confined to the local area. This may not be the case for historic environments, where there is a lack of alternative newer accommodation, a preference for certain images and values, conversion made feasible and appropriate by grants, or just because of inertia of the individual firm. This means that there are a number of longer-stay establishments in the transition zone so it is not totally an area of continual shift and change. In addition,

.../..

it is becoming more difficult to distinguish activities specific to fringe zones. Uses, once typical of the fringe zone such as antique shops can be scattered throughout the town particularly when it is historic or there are several historic tourist areas. Rather it is different types of businesses within the particular land use category that gravitate to the centre or various fringe locations according to their resources, aspirations, ^{and} market. In this way, for example, 'alternative' records and bookshops, charity and betting shops are emerging from their usual theoretical allocation in the 'twilight zone'.

The high turnover characteristic

In the case of business mobility in the transition zone, the area has traditionally been delimited as one of business replacement during which it becomes an area of maximum mixed use. Business mobility is an important component of the land use replacement process but how it occurs depends on the role of market forces in central areas and the various interpretations of the impact of conservation and other policies. Planned change may promote a higher rate of mobility or it may be merely a function of the natural replacement of uses and the actual rate is unaltered by planning. However where mobility rates are lower within a transition zone this may be in response to indecision and apprehension of potential movers within the zone because of the pending planning development.

A study by Medhurst and Lewis (1969) looked at decay in a 'twilight area' where case studies dealt with the impact of planning blight, the effect of parking restrictions and the importance of neighbouring uses. They found that the main reason for moving was often because of building clearance, the site being

too small or parking and loading problems. Yet they noted that there was a wide range of economic, social and environmental as well as institutional changes which may lead the user of a building to decide that it is no longer suitable. The rate of turnover and degree of stability are related to changes in the trading and physical environments and the individual occupant's sensitivity to location.

Movement within the area tends to be to achieve a better micro-level position or more permanent premises with larger and better serviced facilities. Because of the supposedly greater turnover rate in fringe zones, there are more opportunities for businesses to relocate within. Movement into and out of the zone can be a key to change in the area, but may not be controlled by planning if uses fall within the same category and can mean a subtle change in character.

This section has indicated the nature and degree of land use change in different parts of the fringe. It appears to be affected by four main factors. Firstly, is the location of the area relative to the central core, a redevelopment or traffic scheme and the socio-economic characteristics of its immediate hinterland. Secondly, are the existing types of activity or traditional associations of the area and thirdly, the nature and condition of the building stock and restrictions on changes to it. On these points it is noted that the character of an area can be radically changed by the introduction or removal of certain uses or a change in the level of use even though the built fabric remains essentially the same. Finally, is the behavioural aspect, particularly how the quality of the environment is perceived in relation to the rest of the town and according to individual expectations or

experience.

The next section looks at this last factor in more detail by considering the specific problems of one type of land use activity, retailing, on the fringe of the centre.

3.5 The Trader in Secondary Locations - Behavioural Aspects of Change in Land Uses.

Having looked at central activities and fringe areas in general in sections 3.3 and 3.4, the specific problems of one type of land use activity on the fringe of the centre is here investigated in more detail, which also enables some of the points made previously to be inter-related.

Defining what is 'secondary' relates to the town's pattern of retail location and distribution. Davies (1972) shows that it reflects the levels of accessibility operating in a town with generally the more central location being the prime area. The definition and extent also depends on the various component markets for the core. It would appear that any one spatial location may not seem 'secondary' for every trade. A location may not be very accessible, but may provide a 'prestige environment' appropriate to certain businesses. Smith (1972) distinguishes four different 'markets': shoppers from the catchment area; central area workers, central area residents and visitors to the central area, including tourists and businessmen. However for the purpose of discussion, secondary locations which do not include the main high streets or the outer suburbs will be considered as a spatial context.

A report by NEDO (1971) on the Future Pattern of Shopping referred some ten years ago to the accelerating obsolescence of shops in marginal locations. Shops in "off-pitch" positions in streets radiating from the centre are being affected by the concentration of more important retailing (in financial terms) towards the centre.

The fate of such locations, however defined, seems to hinge on three factors: firstly, are aspects of retail quality which can be generally related to consumer characteristics of the catchment area; secondly, are specific problems for individual shops concerning their trade, building or organisational structure; thirdly, are the results of strategic planning decisions which are linked to changes in the shopping environment.

3.5.1. Retail quality and socio-economic characteristics

It has been suggested that differences in location, usually explained by threshold values and territorial drawing capacity, need also to be explained in terms of the quality status of shops, rather than functional distinctions on lines of trade (Davies, 1976). Some writers have looked at this aspect for the town as a whole, rather than for individual establishments. Schiller (1972) had postulated that retail centres which contain large numbers of high quality hotels and restaurants or those of a pleasant appearance, will attract a disproportionate number of high income consumers. Potter (1980) explored how consumers also make differential use of shopping centres according to their quality characteristics. He found that quality levels of retail areas tend to rise with their increasing distance from the town centre, whilst average quality levels are higher for those areas developed more recently (or recently refurbished?). Quality levels also appear relatively low for retail areas that are located within the lower socio-economic areas of the town, together with retail areas that are situated along main roads, and where there is a lack of 'contiguity' of the fabric.

Quality can vary not just within areas but also within streets: Davies compared the business structure of two streets and showed that there were wide differences in the degree of functional specialisation and quality rating of business establishments, according to income differences among the urban population. Barrett (1973) notes also that the characteristics of secondary areas of the centre may show spatial differences, with a better and a poorer side. The latter deteriorates away from the centre, which he associates with lack of specialisation, poor visual appearance, the mingling in of workshops and storage with shops and vacant properties. There is often a more intricate pattern of use on the poorer side than the limited office/shop mix of the better. However these are often the problem areas, denoted 'action areas' in for example Worcester and Bath, sometimes accentuated by the tendency for the central area to shift towards the higher quality residential side.

3.5.2. Specific shops - problems and potential

On the whole, non-central locations, i.e. the frame, are the stronghold of small-scale retailing, though this may have been changed by the diversion of supermarkets, discounts stores, etc. from out-of-town locations to the inner area. There have been studies of the impact of newer forms of retailing in small shops (Dawson 1979), and their social value and operational characteristics, but there has been less analysis of decision-making processes and their spatial variations.*

* For instance there is a need to differentiate between the character and needs of the convenience local shop and the less conventional but equally necessary fringe area shop.

This is partly a reflection of the difficulty in obtaining accurate data on the motives of shopkeepers.

Variations in types of trade also have to be noted. For example, redevelopment schemes for town centre shopping areas may replace many small, low-cost independent stores by a few large high rent ones. The rate of closure does not affect all trades equally. Whilst the food trade in small shops has declined, it has been offset by an increase in non-food specialist shops. In historic towns the latter may already be well established, its status attracting certain specialist retail uses depending on its image, tourist custom, and type of local residential demand. Further encouragement to such uses may be given by enhancement schemes and the availability of grants.

For shops on the fringe there are two aspects; where the area has the potential to become specialist they may be less affected by the spread of the self-service multiple. However whilst the well-established specialist shopping of the core may be less affected, the fringe shop serving the local community may be affected more unless it is integrated with the centre.

Retail activities in these locations also have to be considered according to the problems and potential of the building in which they are housed and from the viewpoint of the occupant. For the occupier, Smith (1972) suggests that needs vary according to whether they are 'growers, stayers or closers'. This means more information is needed on decision-making which affects spatial variations in the pattern of small shops. Dawson (1979), also distinguishes the 'innovative' from the 'inertive' or traditional small trader, asserting that it is the trader who can turn the focus of his business to the new trends

or technology who will survive.

Building problems may be viewed from a number of different perspectives. The ability of a trader to carry such goods as carpets and 'white goods' (washing machines etc.) depends on sufficient floorspace and shop sizes may often be restricted in the historic centre. Secondly, the location and demand for unit shops, can result in a polarisation between luxury and standardized goods. The West Midlands study (Erdmann 1979) found that some retailers in the more occasional trades such as furniture and electrical goods could no longer afford prime positions even if they could find the dimensions they required. As suitable opportunities in the better secondary frontages are also limited, they increasingly move to more unconventional locations. Thirdly, problems of the lack of rear vehicle access and inadequate parking facilities are also more difficult to solve where conservation is a priority, as is the maintenance of the fabric, especially where special materials are needed.*

3.5.3. The role of planning

Three aspects can be highlighted with regard to the effect of planning on secondary areas.

Planning may have attempted to revitalise run-down secondary locations. However if this is a redevelopment scheme, small shopkeepers may be unable to return. Where areas are upgraded,

* The study by J.U.R.U.E(1979) discussed the tolerance of the building fabric to accommodate change and the nature of the space demands associated with different potential uses. A number of measures were used to determine demand and capacity, necessary to achieve a balance or 'fit' between the form and function of a building.

it may leave fewer premises or locations available for small service or specialised trades which have either been displaced from a central area scheme or wish to establish themselves away from the home. They may thus be diverted to a rural area or to the converted joint-use building, or discouraged from setting up at all.*

Secondly, concerning traffic schemes. Here it is the community and car-orientated retail trade of the fringe which tend to be most severely affected. The location of pedestrian generators such as location of car parks, bus station and precinct development, can also be important, relative to the communication pattern of the town. How these are planned affects the viability of the less established shops in secondary streets, that rely on passing trade and on being on a pedestrian route.

Where the solution to traffic congestion in the centre increases non-shopping distances to be walked from a car park or bus, this also affects the extent of the shopping area.

Finally, Harrison and Kain (1970) note that a retail shopping street, even if well-established can decline, not only through general changes in shopping habits or traffic regulations, but also through any process that interferes with clustering to mutual advantage.

Thirdly is the effect of new shopping precinct schemes within central areas on historic streets which has been investigated by Schiller (1975). Concern is generally expressed that major

* Pointing to the need for rent control/rate relief for such businesses or special help in adapting premises and further consideration of the use of large old buildings.

shopping developments would cause decay to those on the edge of the centre. This would be particularly the case where historic streets were involved, where it would be difficult to maintain the fabric unless occupied by a functioning shop. In his study he notes the difficulty in isolating the effect of a scheme from underlying trends in retailing. He compared towns which had schemes with those which had not and recorded what happened to the stock of shops in historic streets in secondary locations over a ten-year period. He found that the scheme towns had more changes of shops in secondary streets and overall vacancy rates were higher. Financial services had increased particularly building societies, taking advantage of a faster turnover in shop occupancy. Existing specialist shops were unaffected but additional trade from new schemes did not result in an increase in specialist shopping. In scheme towns as a whole the number of shops in use increased, mainly in the durable goods category. He concluded that schemes have had a significant impact on shops in secondary streets, but the picture is one of change and not complete devastation, with some absorption of impact and not such an effect on the secondary historic street as supposed.

3.6 Summary

3.6.1. Urban Structure Theories

The first section on urban growth models described characteristics of the centre in relation to the rest of the town and the processes at work. These theories appear to be less relevant now for three main reasons. Firstly, they applied originally to a past period of urban development, since when there have been some radical changes. For example, as rapid city centre growth is no longer applicable there is not the same process of outward expansion of the centre with all the fringe area consequences as described. Secondly, there has been an increase in planned intervention, not only in land use control and renewal policies, but also in the strategic influence of the building of public institutions and shopping facilities. Thirdly, there is a need to take more account of the role of attitudes and values which can counter the economic theories in the historic centre.

The second section on central areas showed that studies tend either to indicate morphological patterns and planning constraints in the centre according to its origins and growth, or to look at the specific needs and issues generated by the relationship of the central area to the rest of the town. The centre is defined mainly by land value and ecological theories. These describe processes of change in terms of adaptation, segregation and clustering, which can be reinforced by planned zoning, central area shifts and expansion.

Additional influences in historic towns were identified such as the modern emphasis on compaction of the central shopping area. Elsewhere this may mean a vertical element being introduced, but in the historic centre can result in a different type of use intensification. One example is the opening up of back alleys, creating new specialised areas especially with the trends to pedestrianisation of streets. Classical patterns of change, influenced by centrifugal and centripetal forces are modified by planning in historic centres where, for instance, decentralisation is deliberately prevented in order to maintain the economy and status of the traditional centre. Prestige may be important politically with central area show-pieces, but may mean a smaller share of available resources for other areas.

3.6.2. Central Area Activities

Much research tends to look separately at the various activities of the town centre. Yet the spatial use structure is affected by both interrelated location factors and trends within the particular uses. However, the studies do indicate classifications and influences which can be tested for their relevance to planning and the historic centre. The review concentrates on the commercial activities of the centre, on which most work has been done.

Patterns of retail distribution can be related to urban structure theories which help to characterise shop uses typical of the centre. They also suggest various types of fringe areas according to their location, accessibility and quality characteristics. Land value theories provide basic propositions concerning the level of retail function and distance from the

centre which can be tested in relation to planning and historic towns. In both cases this means more attention is needed to the behaviour patterns of retailers in making their choice of location. Also there is a need to consider retail trends and planning reactions as discussed in Chapter Two, to include the effects of changes in the degree of environmental uncertainty, specifically in fringe areas.

For office uses, whilst there is some similarity to retailing, there is less understanding of the role played by different types of areas for certain offices and businesses. The exception is some general work on inter-office links and the explanations of the growth of main business areas. The effect of planning on control in the office sector has not been dealt with, other than that associated with metropolitan decentralisation. A considerable amount of research has been done on residential uses, both in the U.K. and the U.S.A. This mainly concerns gentrification rather than the agents for change and how successful local authorities have been in bringing people back to the centres, and at what cost.

3.6.3. Fringe Area Theory

Chapter Two, in reviewing general planning effects in the historic centre, emphasised the issues arising and changes occurring on the fringe of centres. This part considered therefore how other research and theories have characterised such areas and processes at work. Centre/fringe characteristics are generally explained according to some variation of the 'core and frame' idea. The frame is seen as a 'transition zone'. Since it is being encroached upon in parts by the centre expanding or

shifting in focus, so it is not fixed in location. It is also still generally perceived as an area of mixed use tending towards deterioration and blight. These tend to be fairly static descriptions of what are essentially dynamic areas and do not always take account of other factors affecting processes on the periphery, such as social change or the results of planning intervention.

Whilst the theories do provide some useful descriptive terms for areas (e.g. zones of active/passive assimilation), they do not look at the role of planning or why such changes take place - except by stating that an area may possess certain attractions or 'detractors' causing a shift of the centre. These areas can be identified but not the uses specifically affected or in what way. Neither do they indicate how variations occur at different times relative to the prevailing economic climate.

Use characteristics are often seen in morphological terms. These historical determinants of spatial patterns are of interest and relevant in many historic towns, but are not always worked through to see how they affect present day land uses. Although some processes of change have been studied over a period, such as land use succession, this does not include the effects when policy places restrictions on the succession of uses which might have happened if market forces were followed. The role of the area is traditionally assumed to be the locale for small businesses, often just starting up, and also with a higher turnover of uses than the centre. However, these aspects do not seem to have been fully examined by previous research.

3.6.4. The Trader in Secondary Locations

This section combined aspects of central area activities and fringe area theory in looking specifically at one type of use in secondary areas. Discussion of issues and change is reviewed under three categories. Firstly, the significance of retail quality and socio-economic characteristics. Secondly the problems and potential of specific shop types, relating to wider national trends, local influences and behavioural factors, and thirdly the planning role which is seen as significant in its attempts to revitalise secondary streets, and in introducing traffic schemes and new shopping precincts.

This view of land use change in the centre has shown gaps in the research and indicated variations occurring in the historic context which need to be tested or explored further. The following chapter proposes a method to apply and extend some of the theories and research in analysing change in historic town centres and improve understanding of the role of planning.

CHAPTER FOUR: DELIMITATION & DESIGN OF THE RESEARCH INVESTIGATION

4.1 Introduction

The previous chapters have indicated a range of problems for planning in response to change in the context of historic centres. The task now is to synthesize these various issues and the gaps in the research, to be able to design an investigation which provides some further understanding of land use change and also tests the theories and general trends in historic centres.

This chapter therefore reviews the points made so far and lists the questions arising from Chapters Two and Three. Rather than trying to deal with each point separately, it is noted that four general questions can be derived. The investigation sets out to explore these by the use of a case study of one historic centre. The multi-faceted approach to the study is outlined which provides a frame-work to define the specific research questions. This is followed by an introduction to the methods and information to be employed, particularly the use of a transect across the centre to investigate processes of change in the core and frame. Finally, the choice of the study town, Shrewsbury, is defined and a background introduction given.

4.2 Review of the Limitations of Planning in Historic Town Centre

A major concern of the planning process is the control of development and guidance of change. Many techniques are available to measure and monitor change, but the emphasis is on the short term. In historic centres, these tend to concern the physical fabric rather than the activities housed within. Planning for conservation necessarily involves restrictions on changes to the physical fabric but also now recognises that

adequate maintenance can only be insured when it is occupied by a viable activity.

To be able to effectively control change knowledge is required of the processes in which planning is attempting to intervene. However, planning tends to deal with the complexity of change in a compartmentalised form, both in the scales of operation of the planning system and in problem analysis and policy formulation. There is a failure to see the inter-connections between changes over time and between sectors and spatial areas. In particular, the historic context, including the planning history of a town centre, is not always fully appreciated. This is critical at a time when local planning is searching for a flexible approach to deal with central area change, especially in the historic town, and the specific problems arising on the edge of the centre.

Chapter One referred to general changes in town centres. It identified some of the problems associated with the lack of evaluation of policies and plans, which, in turn, is linked to the problem of integrating policies at different geographical levels and over different time scales. It was noted that the effects of planning are rarely capable of being considered comprehensively and in the depth required. Planning tends to respond only to current changes, ignoring the far-reaching and longer term consequences.

Planning also operates at a number of levels so creating problems in understanding connections between different levels of change, from the strategic to the local scale. Although each may monitor short term effects, very different methods are

used and there is little exchange of information or mutual understanding of the knowledge gained. J.U.R.U.E. (1979) has already pointed to this deficiency and indicated important considerations at each level.

At Structure Plan level monitoring is concerned only with broad scale policies. Computerised methods are generally used from which data is not always easy to extract and may include out-of-date or inaccurate information.

At the District Plan level the current pre-occupation is with actually producing the local plans. There is little attention given to the effects of past and existing policies. If this is done, it tends to be to justify proposed policies or to point to a lack of resources and political restraints. At the site or small area level, there may be detailed knowledge of results in the ground, especially where good liaison is established between different local authority departments. However, it may be too close-up and subjective to see the cumulative results of decisions and the patterns emerging. In addition, planning assessments are limited by the type of information gathered and available. This is not only because of the levels discussed above, but also due to the lack of consistency over a period of time and the problems of the adequacy of staff for detailed land use survey work.

In the historic town centre not enough is known of the process of historic land use change. Too much reliance tends to be placed on architectural aspects of change whilst policies do not appear to be specific enough about changing land uses. Although the need for specialist conservation officers has been recognised, their work tends to be involved with architectural details. Consideration of land use patterns in local plans for historic

centres seems to be based on the concepts and premises which explain structure and change in all types of towns. National trends will be represented in the historic centre, but the application of general policies needs to be reviewed in the light of the special historic constraints and local circumstances.

This leads to the theoretical element. As there is apparently a weak theoretical base for planning in historic centres, the need was identified to establish what are the most relevant theories and research in this context. A number of theories provide the basis for planners' understanding of urban change in general but it is necessary to see how appropriate they are to towns where change is controlled by conservation policies. Fundamental to modifications of the theories is the space/time interaction. A more rapid or slower rate of change found in different circumstances affects the nature of spatial change but rarely is this tested in the local situation or the role of planning investigated.

Chapter Two outlined in more detail the trends in historic centres and the issues for local planning. Chapter Three considered theoretical and other research views of change in the core and fringe zones. Questions arising from these two chapters are listed below indicating the wide range of aspects about which more needs to be known. Two types of question are being asked. Firstly, are those which set out to investigate the general assertions made by the theories and other research and the effects of certain trends in central area activities. Their significance in the historic context and implications at different geographical levels are questioned. Secondly, are those questions which consider how the lack of emphasis or information identified can be remedied representing the methodological element.

It must be noted that the research does not attempt to put forward solutions, only to suggest the information and different levels of understanding required for the better analysis of issues and identification of the consequences of planning action. Inevitably, all the questions cannot be dealt with fully, but by listing them all this helps to focus attention on where information is most lacking and the kind of questions planners should be asking in historic centres.

4.3 Questions arising from the Background Information

4.3.1. Questions from Chapter Two

The review of change in the context of the town centre has established the acceleration of urban change and its complexity. A considerable amount of information is available on retailing but there is limited understanding of the connections between this and other central area activities. Similarly, influences over time and different spatial levels require more consideration and questions from these perspectives are listed:

* Planning Influences over Time

- H1 What have been the consequences of post-war planning ?
- HM1 What additional information is needed to understand the effects of past planning ?

Sectoral Trends

- S1 Are the implications of socio-economic changes and retailing noted, any different for the historic town ?
- S2 What ^{are} the specific local consequences of retail trends e.g. to self-service, diversification etc?
- S3 What have been the effects of changes in the retail structure within sub-areas of the historic centres, e.g. the proportion of independents to multiples ?
- S4 What have been the effects of a new commercial precinct or hypermarket on secondary streets and their role in the centre ?

* Questions are enumerated for cross-reference purposes to the case study questions given on pp.205-209.

- 01 Has the office sector assumed increased importance in the historic town and what does this mean in local terms (i.e. where ? and what are the consequences for the internal structure of the centre and planning policies ?)
- P1 How has the 'centre protection' policy been implemented, has it changed, and what are ^{the} consequences ?
- PM1 How important is a central location to various activities and how can this be determined ?
- M1 What is happening to the manufacturing sector in the historic town, especially the small scale workshops ? Where are they and why ? Are they still on the fringe ?
- C1 What have been the results of the decentralisation of community facilities ?
- R1 What indications are there of central area residential change and how is this measured ?
- R2 What have been the consequences of residential use preference policies in terms of the change in socio-functional character and role of secondary areas ?

Spatial/Structural Change & Local Planning

- LP1 What type of information on the historic centre is appropriate to both the district-wide and mosaic approach of local plans ?
- LP2 What do the typical historic centre issues mean in a specific area and how can the relative seriousness of the problem be discerned ? Is it worse on the fringe ?
- LP3 What is the viewpoint of traders on the issues of, for example, traffic and vacant properties ?
- LP4 What have been the effects of previous policies that can be traced through to current land use influences ?

- LP5 How is land use change identified and recorded at the local level and how could this information be extended to cover relative change, historical change and smaller areas ?
- LP6 How are sub-areas defined, and are any other methods more appropriate ?
- LP7 Where a more positive approach is required for local planning, how can areas with a propensity to 'upward change' be identified ?
- LP8 If consequences for local projects need studying, what indicators are significant and realistic for an impact study ?
- PF1 What are the specific local consequences of a shift or contraction of the centre.
- PF2 Is there a lack of role for the fringe areas in plans for the centre ?
- PF3 Which roles are the fringes assuming in relation to the centre and how are these affected by policies concentrating on the core ?
- PF4 Does the general economic climate affect the periphery more than the centre, in the nature and rate of land use change ?

4.3.2. Questions arising from Chapter Three

One reason for the limitations of planning is that it tries to understand change in terms of out-dated concepts and theories. Concentration on the aesthetic, built form in historic town centres has caused the contextual and land use aspects to be overlooked. Assumptions are made that the same structural processes of change are taking place in every town. Thus the same criteria are applied for instance to changes of use, even

though different criteria are applied to design. This chapter extracted elements of theories and research which are relevant to the historic town and so it provides some frame of reference for the special processes of change which may be taking place there. A number of questions can be posed to test these in fringe areas and with reference to the influence of planning.

Urban Structure Theories

- UT1 Is ecological theory relevant for understanding at least a previous land use structure in the historic town ?
- UT2 What are the distortions to the theoretical structure and are they being further changed by public intervention and processes of centralisation and decentralisation ?
- UT3 If and how do values and attitudes shape change and how can they be identified ?
- CT1 How are central areas being identified for policy purposes and how relevant is this to the changes in theoretical land use/value aspects ?
- CT2 Has the centre shifted, expanded or contracted and if so why ?
- CT3 What is the relevance of the theories at different levels of planning from district to site ?

Central Area Activities

- CA1 Is there any characteristic distribution of central area uses in the historic town, and how has this changed over time ?
- CA2 For retailing activities, when are process, structural and stage studies most applicable and do any of these help in understanding centre/fringe change ?

- CA3 How useful in the historic town is the classification of shop distribution by type/location or nature of area served ?
- CA4 Are these adequate indicators of changes in the role of a sub-area ?
- CA5 What are the significant locational influences re: clustering, uncertainty etc. in the historic context ?
- CA6 Has there been any variation in types of office location - as noted by Alexander (1979)
- CA7 To what extent is gentrification occurring in the historic centre and what is the planning influence ?
- CA8 What is the effect of gentrification on property values, local businesses and the role of small areas of the centre ?

Fringe Area Theory

- TF1 Do fringe areas of historic centres conform to the traditional concepts of location and uses ? 2
- TF2 How do areas of transition emerge, relative to shifts of centre and urban growth ? 1
- TF3 How do variations occur in the location, extent and nature of fringe areas at different times relative to the prevailing socio-economic climate ?
- TF4 How are fringe areas differentiated according to their roles and uses and can characteristics such as a pole of attraction be created to revitalize an area ? 3
- TF5 Is morphological evidence of previous fringes readily determined and how do they influence processes of change ? 4
- TF6 Are the small business, high turnover use characteristics of fringes still tenable ? If and how are they affected by planning ? 2

The Trader in Secondary Locations

- FT1 What is the importance in secondary streets of the quality and type of business and its location within the centre ?
- FT2 Can the specific problems of individual shops in historic centres be categorised in any way ?
- FT3 What has been the influence on trading areas of planning decisions such as the strategic location of supermarkets ?
- FT4 Are there any unique factors influencing location of traders in this zone ?
- FT5 Can zone types be classified:
- a) on a temporal basis, according to their historic nature ?
 - b) on a functional basis, including land use planning policies ?
 - c) on a spatial/structural basis, their transitional nature in the town and relative to area plans ?

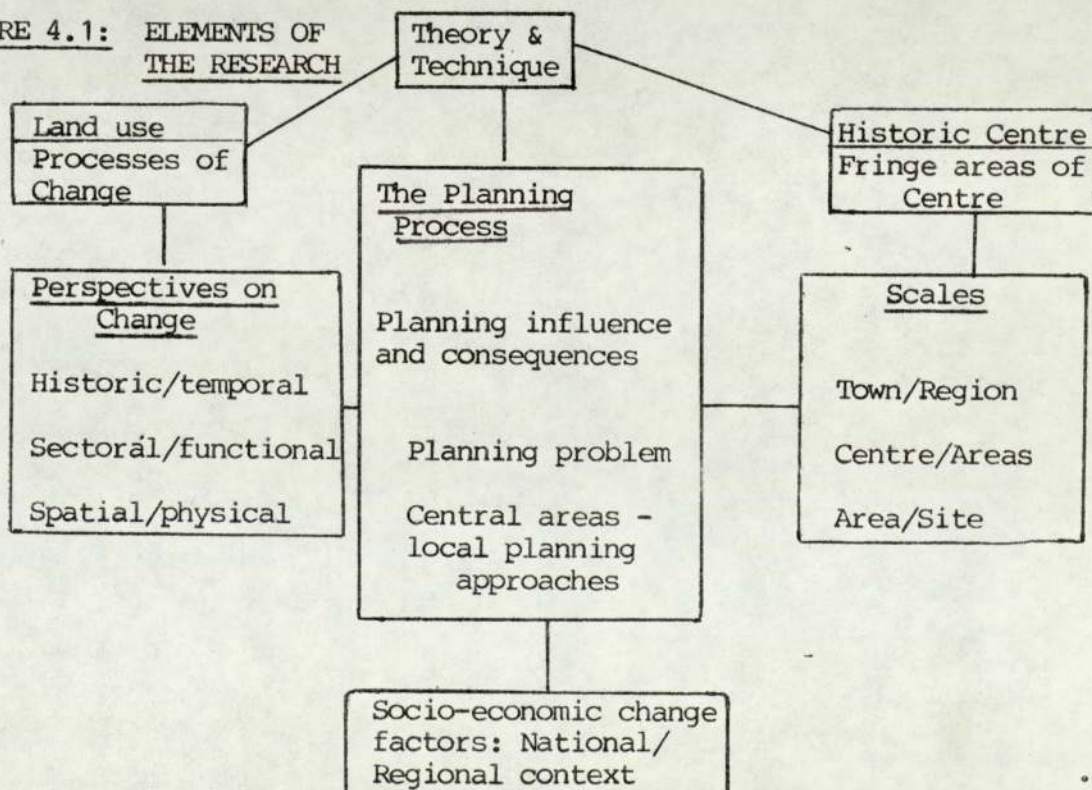
4.4 A Framework for the Research Investigation

The questions listed in the previous section can be grouped into four main questions related to the research requirements set out in Chapter One and to which the investigation phase can attempt to respond, as follows: (for historic towns),

1. How is the process of land use change in central areas explained in relation to change at different geographical scales and from different perspectives ?
2. How applicable are existing land use theories and research in explaining change within areas of the centre ?
3. What has been the influence of planning at various levels and how might it be assessed for fringe areas ?
4. How is change dealt with by current planning measures and procedures, what problems arise and how could the methodology at different levels be improved ?

The various aspects of the research area can also be grouped, as shown in the diagram below.

FIGURE 4.1: ELEMENTS OF THE RESEARCH



It was seen that in providing a comprehensive approach to answer question 1. above, the other questions could be considered within this framework. Views of change have already been sub-divided in the foregoing chapters, into three perspectives: historical, sectoral and spatial change. These incorporate different ways of investigating aspects of change and influence of planning as indicated in the diagram below, which shows various ways that data on change can be viewed and organised.

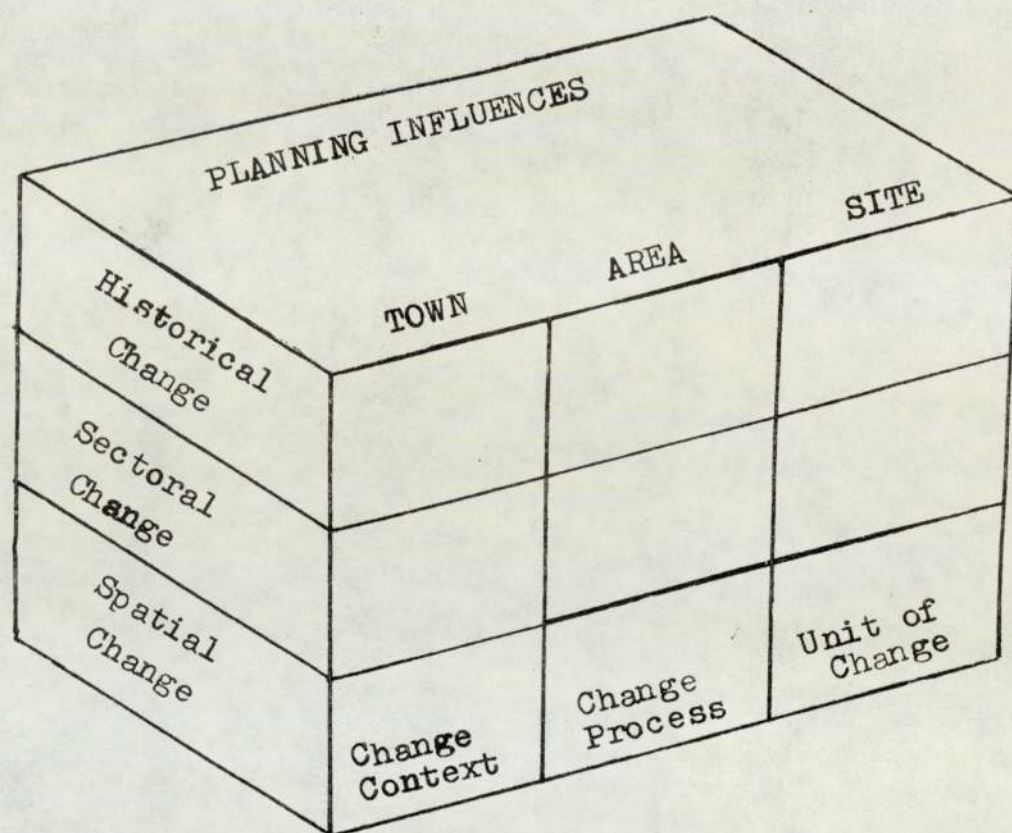
Figure 4.2: Perspectives of Change

Perspective	Consideration of Change - Organisation	Identification of Planning Influences
Historical	Change o ver time - Chronological	Longitudinal - short and long term impacts
Sectoral	Change between sectors - Inductive or deductive	Attention to groups affected
Spatial/structural	Change o ver space - spatial	Iterative process adding detail to a checklist of effects.

(All may include
comparisons and contrasts)

To each of these perspectives can be added different spatial or geographical levels as represented in the diagram overleaf.

Figure 4.3: Three Dimensional Matrix of Change Levels & Perspectives



There are two reasons for identifying different scales of change. Firstly is because of the organisation of the planning system. Given the levels of planning at strategic, local and site (Development Control) level and plans divided into Structure, Local and Action Area types, these can be combined to form three scales relevant to central areas: the centre seen as part of the town as a whole and its region, the centre as comprised of sub-areas, and these sub-areas being comprised of separate sites or properties. Figure 4.4 uses this matrix to analyse some of

Fig. 4.4: Information, Legislation and Critical Issues at Various Planning Levels

		(1) Examples of Issues (2) Data Available	(3) Measures Used (4) Legislation - Issues	
		TOWN LEVEL District & Structure Plans	AREA LEVEL Local Plans - Town Centre/ Action Area/Conservation Plans	SITE LEVEL Area Design Briefs Development Control Policies
Change -over time	Histor- ical	<ol style="list-style-type: none">1. Rate of growth. Relative pressures over periods in the past.2. Statistics available on population/economy and built form for whole town.3. Graphs and statistical analysis of census trends and some floorspace surveys.4. Structure plans - delay in production. District plans continue.	<ol style="list-style-type: none">1. Rate of change taking place. Effect of planning over time.2. Smaller area data less easily collected particularly on a consistent basis.3. Some monitoring of planning permissions - but only recent.4. Action area plans - limited time period. Mosaic or part of district wide approach?	<ol style="list-style-type: none">1. Age of building and length of deterioration re: preservation or redevelopment and 'historicity'.2. Records usually available on building date and use changes and periods of vacancy.3. Variable measures of e.g. costs and benefits of building restoration and assessment of condition.4. Changes in legal status of building (LISTS) can cause problems.
Change in uses		<ol style="list-style-type: none">1. Demand) for a particular use Capacity) e.g. shops + new trends in retailing and office sectors.2. Statistics available on floorspace, number of properties in broad categories.3. Calculations re: population and income spending and future predictions.4. Specific provisions made in structure plan for topics or subject plan policies.	<ol style="list-style-type: none">1. Degree of attraction of area for different uses - changes according to urban structure re: environment; location; facilities; existing uses.2. Means aggregating site data or disaggregating town data for various uses.3. Environment surveys - often dominated by land use zones on ground floor superficial basis.4. Area control within policies e.g. on office development.	<ol style="list-style-type: none">1. Building adaptabilities - potential for a particular use.2. Considerable amount of data available from planning and building regulations records.3. Use of D.C. files and rates records for ad hoc building surveys as required.4. D.C. regulations on uses + health & fire regulations.
Spatial change	Functional	<ol style="list-style-type: none">1. Relative historicity (types of architectural priority) and changing patterns of access.2. Definition of town extent viz. built-up area and municipal boundaries.3. Urban structure studies - proportion of buildings of different types - 'identity' areas, traffic and pedestrian counts.4. Structure plan designation of action areas - indicative approach problems.	<ol style="list-style-type: none">1. Limits to area change - ownership, use types, location.2. Definition problems. Information only collected re: specific problems, not aggregated for small area level.3. Some small area land use and attitude surveys and traffic impact studies.4. Conserved area designation - boundary problems, allocation of grants and other areas, GIA's, HAA's etc. *	<ol style="list-style-type: none">1. Style, size and condition of building - ownership and resources.2. Property boundary = explicit spatial definition ref. maps/deeds, etc.3. maps + building surveys.4. D.C. regulations on changes to building and area. *

* D.C. = Development Control

* G.I.A. = General Improvement Area

* H.A.A. = Housing Action Area

the issues, legislation, information and planning measures available. Particularly notable are the limitations of the area-level data and planning indicators, even though the issues and legislation may be very much area-based. The area thus appears to be the most useful level to concentrate on, with reference to current planning activity discussed in Chapter 2.4 and the lack of knowledge or data to understand patterns of land use change over time, in addition to the problems of how to measure and anticipate possible consequences at this level.

A second reason for the use of different scales is that this is a suitable method for analysing many aspects of urban change, not just land use but also changes to the fabric. Thus, if categories of change are divided into those affecting buildings, activities and occupiers/users, these can be listed for different levels, as shown below.

Figure 4.5 Types of Urban Change at Different Scales

EXAMPLES OF			
LEVELS	FACTOR	TYPES OF CHANGE	PLANNING CONCERN
A. Individual Micro-level	1. Building Unit 2. Activity within 3. Occupant/users	Demolition/Alteration Conversion/intensity of use Tenure/turnover/socio-economic.	Listing, development control Change of use, development control, under-use. Grants, Ownership.
B. Small Area Level	1. Building pattern 2. Activity mix/area role. 3. Owner/usership pattern.	Density, scale. Role, mix, vacancy rate. Socio-economic character values.	Conservation area. Incursion of use, non-conformity. Decline/gentrification.
C. Centre Town Level	1. Urban/character extent. 2. Economic base/functions. 3. Socio-economic population structure/business structure.	Townscape Regional role distribution Residential/employment distribution, transport.	C.A. designation, extent Shop/office capacity/location Development pressures, growth rates.

As the study is concerned with land use, rather than just the buildings and interested in change within areas of the centre, these particular aspects are fitted into the matrix, as illustrated in Figure 4.6. Knowledge of these different aspects can inform where change takes place, what the particular change is and how it takes place.

The first implies investigating areas of change. The key factors here are concerned with location, spatial policy implementation, use characteristics and the role or functions of the area.

The second implies sectors which are changing, primarily retailing and commerce. Key factors to be investigated here are the role of small businesses in historic centres, the effects of new trends in the sector and the physical pattern of use distribution in the centre. Supply and demand with regard to capacity and location of buildings and activities also needs consideration. The third implies processes of change. To determine the areal pattern over time, and change within and between sectors, the theoretical terms can be used to interpret and describe the processes. They can be taken further by referring to key influences and originators of change and its consequences, including attitudes and responses to change.

Although this does not fully explain why change takes place, the role of planning can be assessed to some extent within this framework. Two approaches were considered here. One was to note everything that is happening in an area and then to try and indicate to what extent changes are due to policy. A second approach was to analyse those aspects directly related to policy only, such as planning permissions, rates of change in the

condition and nature of the building fabric. The first is useful from a very general level, but is difficult to undertake at a detailed level because of the intangible influences involved. It was decided to use the second approach as a starting point to enable the survey and data collection to become more focussed by keeping the planning relevance in mind.

The next stage was to decide the form this type of investigation should take, whether a range of historic centres should be studied or just one centre, and how the analysis and measurements were to be made.

4.5 Designation of the Research Method: The Case Study

4.5.1. The Case Study Approach

To study processes and cope with longitudinal geographical change, a detailed empirical study seemed most appropriate. It was recognised that because of the unique features of any area, such as topography and local government, it would be difficult to make comparisons between towns.* By examining one town over time many of these factors remain constant. It was also possible to look in detail at the types of land use change taking place and the planning policies in operation. This level of detail is necessary in order to interweave analyses of the micro and macro-scale functioning of land use for example looking at both individuals behaviour and the resulting patterns.

The case study approach will also permit the testing and revision of the classical theories of core and frame, and transition zones. This will be with reference to the nature of planning intervention, changes in attitudes and values and the relevance of the prevailing economic climate to that town. The basis for the selection of the case study town, Shrewsbury and an introduction to it is given in section 4.7.

It was then necessary to decide the limits of the surveys to be undertaken and the methods to be used. The order of the thesis title wording "Land Use Change and the Planning Process in Historic Town Centres" emphasises the focus of the study. Therefore the study is to look firstly at the changes that have

* Ottersmann (1975) notes that these specific local features also make it impossible to ascertain common causal relationships.

taken or are taking place and then to seek to interpret the role and impact of planning, both being in the context of the historic town. This is undertaken within the matrix framework set out in Figure 4.6 which investigates aspects of change in the centre from different spatial scales, but within the following limits:

Firstly, the period of investigation of planning developments is restricted to the last 20 years, although reference is made to previous planning and historical factors. This period allows sufficient time prior to the conservation legislation of the late 1960's and early 1970's, to be able to contrast the two periods of changing policies and their effects. By limiting how far back the data is collected, a wide enough area can be studied and the information becomes more manageable. A further reason is that older files tend to be incomplete or collected by different methods.

Secondly, concerning central area functions, the main categories of activities are considered but the emphasis is on the commercial sector. By focussing also on the fringe, secondary commercial areas could be investigated, together with the decisions of small businesses in relation to planning and historic towns - of which there have been few studies.

Thirdly, the geographical limits of the study are the central area in general, but with more attention being given to the edges where different types of change can be observed.

4.5.2. Stages of the Study

For the first stage, general information on the town as a whole in its historic and strategic context forms an essential

background. Points mentioned in Chapter Two can thus be contradicted or supported for one particular town, indicating their relevance to historic centres.*

The second stage involved identification of areas of land use change in the town centre and the nature of the problems affecting the core. The spatial extent of the central area was defined and areas of change and planning issues were located particularly those specific to the fringes of the centre. This stage also determined the detailed area studies (see p.371) by establishing the extent of coincidence of the above-identified areas.

The third stage was to assess the extent to which changes are attributable to planning. If this has created significant problems in certain fringe areas it is then asked how and why this is so and how these have affected traders and other occupants.** A more detailed study of the causal links suggested in the first stage is involved here, looking both at how attitudes and perceptions govern behaviour and how planning affects the nature of choice, level of satisfaction with the environment and the rate of change. To achieve this it was necessary to select areas within the centre which represent land use change and areas of apparently greater stability, in terms of both land uses and issues.

* In this case, the type of historic centre is that identified in "Mems en Ruimte" (no date) as the "old historic centre not much changed, but required to function as a modern centre". This is particularly relevant to freestanding county market towns,

** Selection of this group included those affected by planning decisions and those who directly influenced change by their actions to move into an area or improve/change a building/use.

It was indicated in the pilot studies (see Appendix A) that the areas of change are most likely to be on the edge of the central core. Identification is according to the planning issues involved and the amount of obvious change and assumed planning impact as determined via the first stage. They were also to illustrate both where neglect and blight has occurred, and where upgrading of the built environment has taken place, noting that these positive and negative aspects may often exist together in the area. The more stable areas were expected to be in the more central part of the core. Therefore selection of areas within and on the edge of the centre is for comparative purposes, to test the theories of fringe areas and to note spatial change distribution over the centre as a whole and not just the edges.

4.6 Techniques for Obtaining and Analysing the Data

4.6.1. Secondary Data

Documents, reports and local history provided much of the background information, both on the town as a whole and on areas within it which were studied in more detail. Particularly useful were comments recorded by others in the architectural or local press over a number of years, which make reference to the impact of specific planning policies at that time. Surveys such as those by Sherwood (1966) also provided a check of the half-way stage when recording and interpreting change over a 20-year period.

Two main sources of specific data were rateable values information and land use surveys. The first, although having some limitations, provided a useful source of information on property use changes. Some assessment of their significance could also be made from the actual increases in value calculated from the records of changes over the period. The second source was the survey data on central area land uses undertaken by the local authority - in this case in 1968, 1977 and 1979. The changes of use taking place in every property in the sample areas could therefore be documented as fully as possible. In addition, planning decision notices, although recorded in different forms pre- and post-1974 were another source of data. They give individual changes made within an area and indicate the influence of planning policy, both in development control and the provision of infrastructure.

4.6.2. Interviews & Surveys

Interviews with officers, councillors and traders was seen as a useful addition to the background data. They indicated controversial areas, issues of current concern and availability of local authority data. The interviews with a sample of 100 businesses in the centre was the main source of information on location and improvement decisions as indicated below.

From the land use transect across the town (see next section) a full survey of changing uses, values and permissions was made. A number of businesses along the transect were selected, to which a questionnaire was administered with four main objectives: firstly to find out why businesses moved to an area or why they made changes; secondly, to determine the more detailed characteristics of businesses in the area, other than by use category; thirdly, to find out the impact of various local schemes on businesses, and fourthly to document the nature of change they had perceived in the area over the period.

The Transect Study - Alternative methods were considered both to investigate area change, and in order to interview a sample of businesses in the centre. A number of factors indicated that a section through the centre would be better than a random sample of units or areas.* This was because, firstly, data was to range over a 20-year period which limited the number of interviews and data collection possible. Secondly, it was thought

* The transect sampling method allows representation of a distribution of trends over wide heterogeneous areas and is well suited to correlating changes in composition and structure with changes in environmental conditions (ref: Dimartino, 1975).

desirable to include both central and fringe locations (if possible more than one of the latter^{*}) and the desire to show spatial patterns required a full survey of an area or street. Thirdly, a variety of uses in different locations was needed.

The criteria for where to locate the transect was therefore that it extend away from the centre in different directions (the centre here being taken as the area around the primary intersections), extend through areas of continuous primary commercial use but also include other uses and be contained within or close to the conservation area.

1/22/6 The area in red shown on the map^{p2/6}, fig. 4.11 is not a strict transect in the sense of being a uniform grid placed across the area. Instead, the line selected follows streets leading from one edge of the centre out to the other since data is available on a street basis and area policies comprise streets. Also, as morphological patterns and historical land uses were to be considered, boundary lines of properties needed to be retained.^{**}

However, information on one street does not document fully the fringe area characteristics and processes of change required so both the transect information and additional background data and interviews are used to bring together elements of the town level/central area and individual site aspects of change in the detailed Area Studies (in Chapter Eight).

* The fringe areas indicated on fig. 4.11, have been identified as such - in general terms - by land use surveys of the centre and surrounds, their geographical location and history and from local knowledge and observations.

** (see footnote on next page)

Having determined the approach and methodology to be used for the case study, it was necessary to make the research questions on p.189, operative within this framework. The main questions to be answered, and aspects to be investigated are therefore listed in Figure 4.7, according to the matrix framework of perspectives on change at three levels, together with the additional transect and area studies. This also allowed a cross-check to be made with the questions derived from the background analysis in Chapters Two and Three, the lettering in the columns on the right corresponding with those on pages 183 to 188. These are followed by Figure 4.8, which lists the information and sources of data required.

Therefore, the introductory chapters of this research can be seen as a series of stages of comprehensive review - selection of problems/issues, reorganisation and redefinition of detailed research area. The whole presenting an overview of the situation of land use change in historic centres, drawing together aspects of theory and research and testing them to contribute to knowledge of the historic centre and the role of planning.

* (from previous page) A second possibility for the transect location could have been the route from Castle Foregate Southwards. This was discounted since the section was dominated by the 'centre', being along the spine of the main shopping street. Also, the south west end was 'blocked off' by the park and residential areas - with fewer fringe characteristics, whilst the general changes observed were less obvious and interesting.

Fig. 4.7: Case Study Research Questions

Level Change	HISTORICAL/TEMPORAL PERSPECTIVE			Historical and Local Plans and Fringe	Uses and Planning	Theory and Change
T O W N	1. The influence of past land use factors on existing structure e.g. genesis and urban renewal			HM1 LP5 H1 HM1		UT1-2
	2. The urban structure with reference to the ecological pattern					
	3. The historical context for present land use functions of the centre.					
C E N T R E	1. Use of morphological and trend studies to help identify a) significant influences of the historic pattern on sub-areas of centre b) change of use characteristics					CT1 CA2 CT1
	2. Rates of change in the centre with reference to historical/ land value theories					
S I T E	1. The influence of building and occupant history on successive uses					UT3 FT1/2 FT3
	2. Changes in the nature and intensity of use					
	3. How buildings reflect changing uses					
	4. How planning policies affect building change					

Contd./.....

Fig. 4.7: Case Study Research Questions (Contd.)

Level Change	SECTORAL/FUNCTIONAL PERSPECTIVE			Historical and Local Plans and Fringe	Uses and Planning	Theory and Change
T O W N	1. The significance of continued roles of towns – re: land use.			H1 S	S1 P1	CA1 CA2
	2. The trends and planning influence in different sectors, including spatial pattern					
	3. The types of recent changes notable in different sectors, e.g. superstores			H1 LP4	S2 P1	FT3
	4. Policy conflicts e.g. between county and local level					
C E N T R E	1. The existing land use pattern and recent changes in mix and distribution			LP6	O1 R1 M1 C1 PM1	CT1 CT1
	2. Use indicators of relative change – vacancy rates – length of occupation					
	3. Process of change and areas prone to change – extent and propensity to change, by area and use type			LP6		CA5
	4. Measurement of planning influence and spatial impact for centre (1977→)					
S I T E	1. Types of changes of use in properties and businesses			LP4	S4 R1	CA6
	2. Individual decisions relative to general trends					
	3. Historic context relevance – location/user requirements			LP4	O1 R1 C1	FT4 CA2 UT3 CA5 CA2
	4. Influence of planning on use changes					

Fig. 4.7: Case Study Research Questions (Contd.)

Level Change	SPATIAL/AREA PLANNING PERSPECTIVE		
	Historical and Local Plans and Fringe	Uses and Planning	Theory and Change
T O W N	LP6	R1 ₀ 1 M1 ₀ 1	CA1 CT1 TF5 CA5 CA1 CA7
	H1 LP5 H1		
	LP7 LP2 PF1 LP7-8 PF3	S ₃ S ₄	CT1 CA1 CT2 CA7 CT2
C E N T R E S I T E	LP3	PM1	CA1 CT2 TF6-8 UT3

Contd./.....

Fig. 4.7: Case Study Research Questions (Contd.)

	Historical and Local Plans and Fringe	Uses and Planning	Theory and Change
<p><u>TRANSECT - PLANNING DECISIONS & USERS</u></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The influence of periods of time on decisions/uses 2. The influence of spatial location 3. Significant patterns and pressures for development and change - with reference to general town and economic context 4. Ease and Value of transect method to study planning and use change 	PF1	M1) R2) R2 PM1	} TF2-3 CA8 UT2
<p><u>FRINGE AREA STUDIES</u> - to explore and develop factors indicated in the transect and previous level studies. For each area:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Document land use change in the fringe area over time to indicate changing local/spatial patterns at different periods - relative to town and general economic/planning trends (use of maps and aerial photographs). 	HM1 LP6		FT3
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 2. Historic influences on areas 3. Planning issues and strategic influences 4. Establish use characteristics, area role and changes 5. Behaviour/attitude factors of property occupants in area re: business structure, moves in/out, quality/image, location/improvement decisions and planning influences. 	HM1 LP2 PF1-2-3 LP3	C1 M1R2 M1	TF1 TF2-3 CA4-5 UT3 CA7 TF6-8
		Contd./.....	

Fig. 4.7: Case Study Research Questions (Contd.)

FRINGE AREA STUDIES (Contd.)			
Analyse Fringe Areas together:			
1. For fringe types and classification of change			
2. Specific local influences on aspects re: historic context			
3. Planning influences			
Historical and Local Plans and Fringe	Uses and Planning	Theory and Change	
LP8 PF1-4		FT5-7 CA3-4 CT3 CA8 TF4	

Fig. 4.8: Information and Sources of Data

TOWN/CENTRE		CENTRE/SUB-AREAS	AREAS/SITE
HISTORICAL	County and local histories	Historical documents and local studies, library materials	Building Deeds
	Early development plans and documents	Old photographs and news files	Planning & Building Regulations
	Ordnance Survey Map Series c. 1890 onwards	Estate plans and Ordnance Survey Maps	Records of site planning from Local Authority files
	Aerial photographs	Street Directories	Ordnance Survey Maps
SPECIAL	Salop Structure Plan and associated Local Plan	Proportion and types of land uses in the area.	Photographic records
	Discussion documents and monitoring.	Recent changes via trade directories.	Listed Building lists with descriptions
	Statistical data on floor-space, employment, shops	Survey of business structure of various uses.	Rate records - details of property
	Policy & Appeal statements re: retail and office location.	Rate records on use changes and length of occupation.	
SPECIAL	Planning Applications for change of use outside centre from 1977.	Analysis of planning applications re: change of use.	Survey and interviews: existing and previous use of site, floor-space usage and requirements of existing occupant.
		Area policies.	Site and building characteristics for various uses.
			Images of particular businesses.
SPECIAL	Current land use maps and surveys.	Ownership patterns.	Mapping of historic/architectural status.
	Ordnance Survey Maps.	Land values and Estate Agents' records.	Ordnance Survey Maps and Plan
	Town Scheme and other policy maps.	Area/floorspace studies by Local Authority.	Interviews: location and improvement criteria for owners.
	Aerial photographs.	Rate of change analysis for properties between areas.	Planning records on properties.
SPECIAL	Plotting of recent planning applications for change of use in and out of centre.	Census of Distribution.	Movement patterns survey.
<u>Transect Study:</u> Planning applications and decisions for area over past 20 years - Decision Notices Register Files. Rateable Values 1963 onwards.			
<u>Area Studies:</u> Details from foregoing sources where they refer to fringe areas. Planning Decision Notices and selected files. Surveys and interviews re: ownership, land changes, sample of occupants.			

4.7 The Research Investigation - A Case Study of Shrewsbury Town Centre.

4.7.1. Criteria for the selection of a Case Study

Shrewsbury was chosen as it satisfied many of the criteria listed below. The table also shows the basis for the information used to make this decision.

CRITERIA	REASON	INFORMATION OBTAINED FROM:
1. Recognised as historic, officially & by general public.	Basis of investigation institutional constraints = infl. on decisions.	Lloyds list + one of 51 SPAB towns.
2. Major proportion of centre protected as conservation areas & designated prior to 1974.	Similarity to pilot towns. Sufficient time for C.A. policy effects to be recognised.	D.o.E. list of Conservation areas + Civic Trust Review.
3. With a Town Scheme or similar operating.	Not just policy constraint but opportunities for positive encouragement.	Civic Trust Report
4. Freestanding + minimum size c. 40,000 pop. i.e. medium size town.	To avoid complications of influence of another centre too close-by. Lit. suggests minimum for functional areas of urban structure to be clearly differentiated + to be comparable with pilot studies.	Maps & Census Data, with reference also to the analyses of historic towns made in Chapter Two. (Census of Distribution & Floorspace Data on 20-22 centres) 20,000-200,000 pop.
5. Have undergone a certain amount of erosion and change to historic fabric & traditional functions + current pressures.	To observe impact, process of change over time - effect of various planning policies in problem/dynamic rather than static situation (as pilot studies.	Studies of shopping schemes - Hillier Parker. Other studies of erosion of historic fabric. Planning Stats (stat. info. Service)

CRITERIA	REASON	INFORMATION OBTAINED FROM:
Possess fringe areas which might be of interest re. points arising from pilot study.	To test hypo-theses and answer questions about fringe areas.	Survey & local contacts
6. In a different county to pilot studies but still within the West Midlands.	To observe differences in County policies for ease of access to Birm. & for info' obtainable in Birmingham.	(1½ hr max. train time e.g. DOE reg. stats. + regional archives.)
7. a) local auth's who will co-operate in supplying data, if possible having a cons. officer with specialist knowledge + existence of land use data at local level over time. b) adequate local studies library with maps and photos + news records over last 20 years. c) local bodies/societies with records/knowledge.	Availability of secondary data on which to undertake analysis and to select inter-viewees and case studies.	Preliminary inter-views and conversations with officers. Visit to towns. Via Civic Society and local architects.
8. That the town has not been over-studied.	So both authorities and residents not previously overwhelmed with requests for information.	Review of literature + conversation with local officers.

4.7.2. Introduction to the Case Study Town

Shrewsbury, the historic county town of Shropshire has a population of nearly 60,000. It is a well established commercial and administrative centre, strategically located to serve most of the county and parts of mid-Wales. Employment in the town is biased towards services, 70% of employees being in this sector. However, its supremacy has been threatened by the establishment

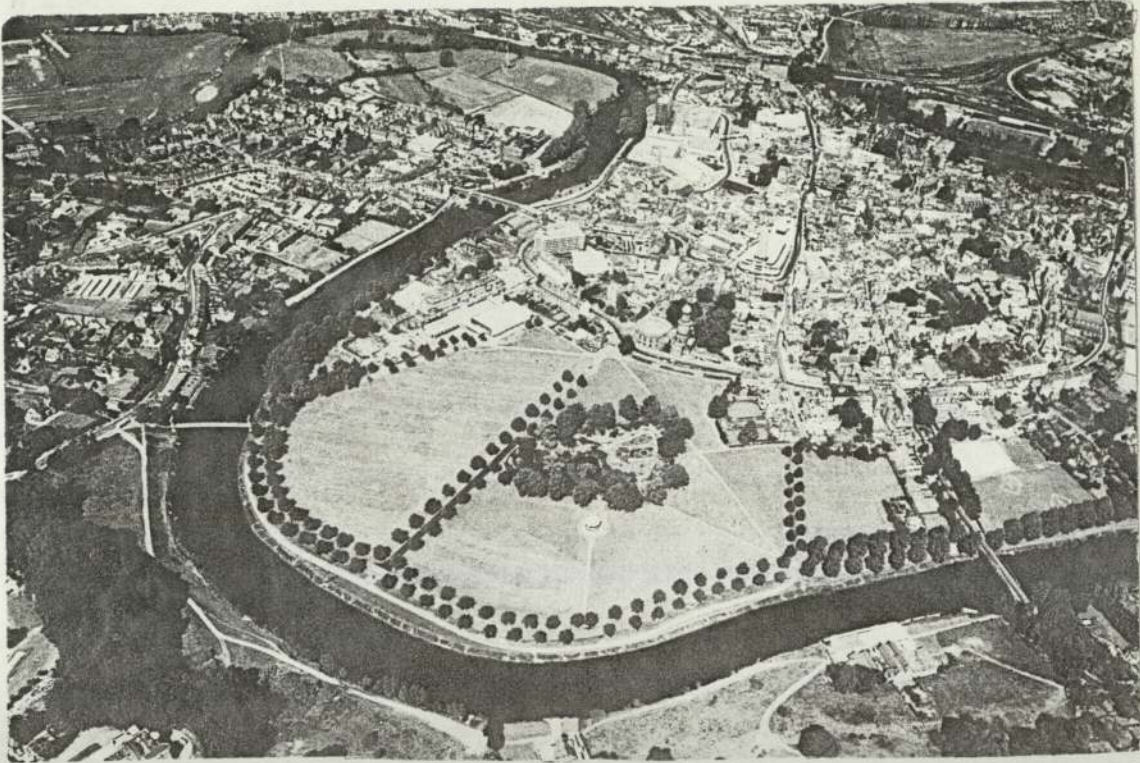


Figure 4.9 Aerial View of Shrewsbury Town Centre

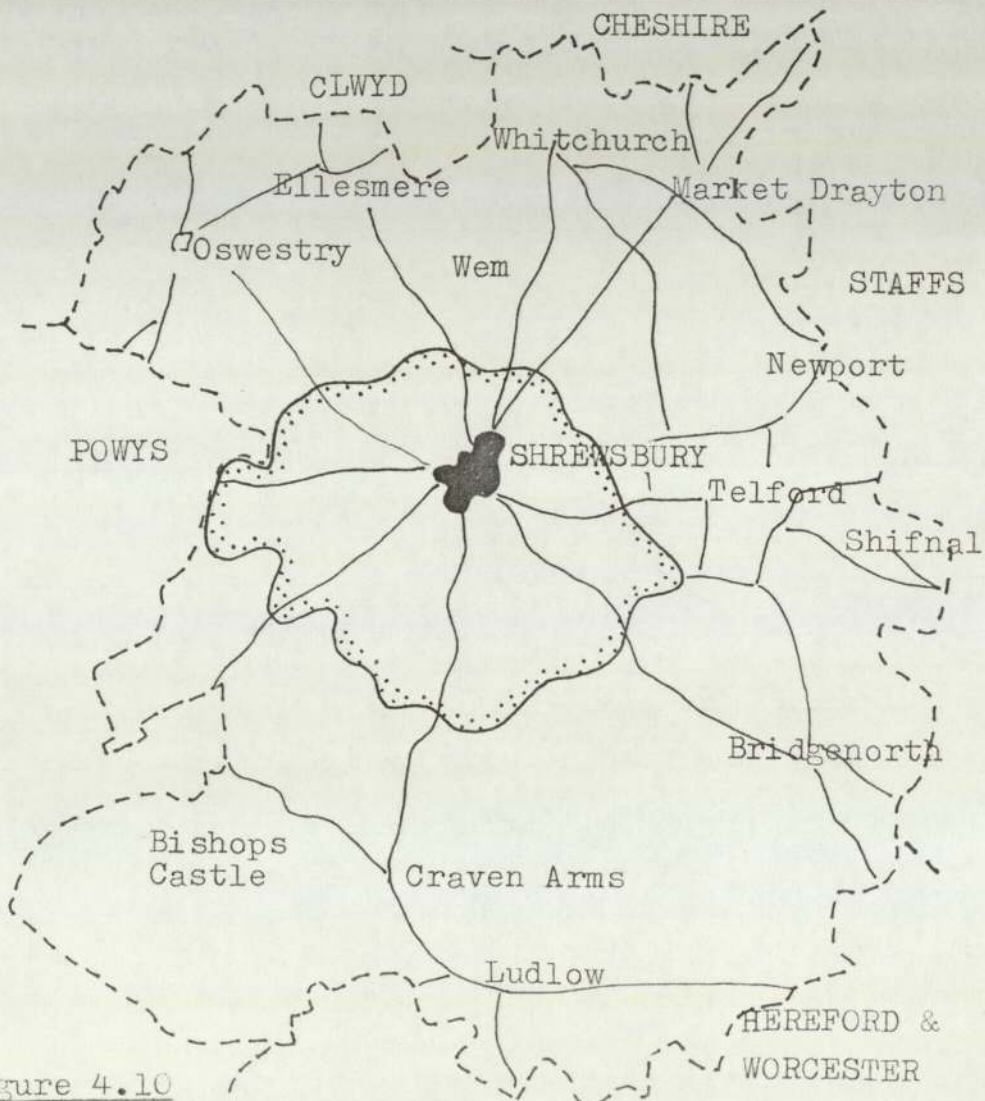


Figure 4.10

The Regional Location of Shrewsbury

of Telford, the New Town to the east, although it has brought additional jobs into the area. The aim is for the two towns to become complementary shopping centres, with Shrewsbury still serving a large area to the west, but assuming a more specialist nature.

A major feature of the town is its historic centre, the medieval street plan having largely survived, together with many fine medieval and Georgian buildings. Designated as an outstanding conservation area in 1974, it was given priority status by the Department of the Environment in 1981 and so being allocated much higher grants for conservation schemes. However, it is somewhat off the tourist routes, having previously attracted little national attention and there has been some neglect and erosion of the historic fabric. Meanwhile, successive councils have sought to maintain the status quo. The little dynamism which has been shown has tended to come from the private sector, for instance, in the conversion of large old buildings.

Many of the problems of the town hinge on the central area and its function as a route centre on the extremely confined site of a river loop (see Figures 4.9 and 4.10). Thus, planning dilemmas focus on the ensuing traffic congestion and parking problems. Cullen noted nearly 30 years ago (Cullen, 1954) that Shrewsbury seemed to consist of two towns; one of trade and traffic and the other of quieter residential squares and a network of footpaths, but with the one destroying the other. Manners (1968) was more cynical in referring to much of the 1960's redevelopment:

"Clearly Shrewsbury has lost its way. Although it lacks sufficient industry to have become a town of

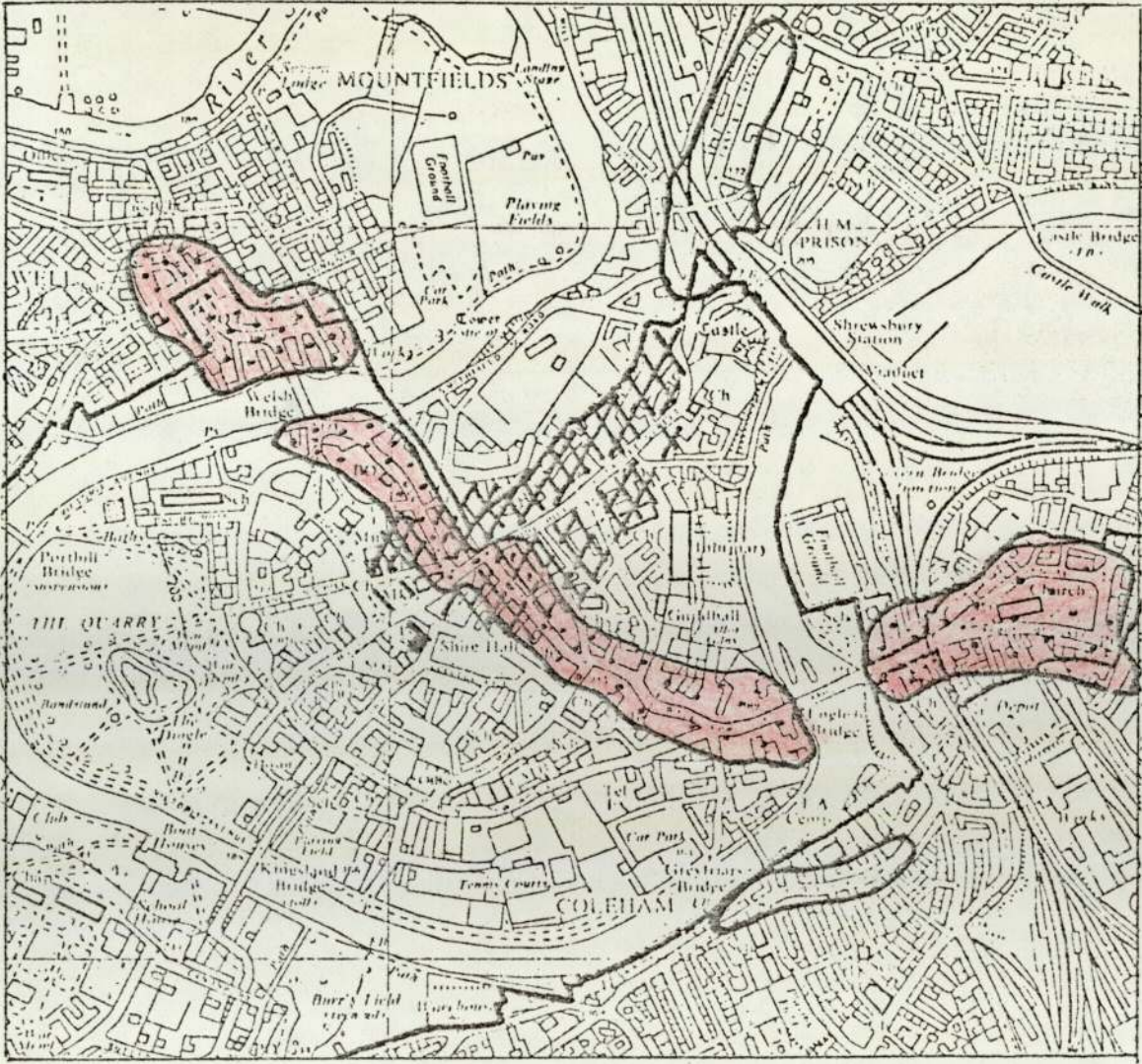
skyscrapers and shopping precincts, neither has it wanted to remain an old-fashioned market town."

The following four chapters explore the changing land use and influence of planning in this particular historic town centre on the basis of the methodology set out in Chapter Four. Chapter Five, Historic Land Use Factors, looks at planning and change over time. It illustrates the continuing influence of the town, area and site histories on the pattern of uses and planning problems, using a variety of methods to analyse the nature and rate of change.

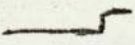

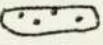

Chapter Six, Central Area Activities, firstly considers the town centre's changing functions. This provides the context to investigate relative change between sectors of the centre, using indicators such as the propensity to change between uses of properties. Looking then at specific activities in more detail, new types of businesses are identified and problems for old ones considered via a sample survey of businesses.

Chapter Seven, Spatial Processes of Land Use Change, is concerned with planning and the urban structure. The existing land use is compared with ecological models and the influence of past planning policies considered. Various central area policies and planning decisions are plotted to determine the significance of the spatial pattern. Finally, 'micro-level' spatial decisions are investigated by interviewing businesses on their location and development decisions. Chapter Eight, Land Use Change and Planning in the Central Area Fringe, is divided into two parts. The first part extends the information on changing uses and planning by a study of planning applications over a period of 20 years, along a transect which covers both the

Figure 4.11: Location of the Study Transect & Fringe Areas in Central
Shrewsbury.



Scale: 6 inches to 1 mile

- Key:
- Conservation Zone 
 - Main Shopping Area 
 - Transect for study 
 - Other fringe commercial areas 

core and fringe, illustrated in Figure 4.11. The second part attempts to interpret the pattern of change by looking at fringe areas in detail and with reference to theoretical characteristics of uses and processes of change.

A summary of findings relating to the processes and patterns of change in the centre is given at the end of each chapter. However, the influence of planning is considered in Chapter Nine, which also looks separately at the Fringe Area findings to draw together the information from all four previous chapters.

CHAPTERS FIVE TO EIGHT:

A Case Study of Shrewsbury Town Centre

SHREWSBURY

CHAPTER FIVE: HISTORICAL LAND USE FACTORS - PLANNING & CHANGE
OVER TIME5.1 The Town Level: Strategic Aspects & Continuing Influences

It has been shown in Chapter Two that area plans tend to document the history of a town, but without distinguishing some of the continuing influences or recognizing the consequences of previous planning. Urban geographers such as Smailes (1955) have pointed out that the whole life span of the town:

"is epitomised in its layout and fabric"

with each addition to the town providing evidence of changing functions over time. Some factors will be unique to that town and help establish its specific land use character, whilst others will be of a more general nature, which allow comparisons with other towns and general trends.

Some towns are more affected by change at particular stages than others; such as by the industrial revolution^{*} or by more vigorous modern activity which in some centres has left only a few residual features, usually just the "religious and monumental buildings."

Considering the long period of development of these centres planning intervention has been comparatively recent.

* Goddard (1981) cites Shrewsbury as a base for firms who have found new premises in pleasant market towns which are often those by-passed by the Industrial Revolution.

It is only by tracing through the history of the town and noting how various phases have left their imprint, that one can see how extensive modern changes have been or how the continuous process of adaptation and replacement has been influenced.

This section, therefore, deals firstly with those factors which have continued to influence land use decisions and secondly areas where state intervention has been a dominant factor, particularly the impact of post-war planning activity. This provides the context for exploring significant factors at a more detailed level in later chapters.

5.1.1. The Historical Land Use Pattern & Continuing Influences in Shrewsbury.

Historical factors in the growth and change of the town are significant in analysing the structural pattern of internal land use, especially the origin of what now constitutes the centre and inner fringe area, and the influence of the changing regional role. Some aspects evident now in Shrewsbury include the topographical influence relating to the site of the town, the regional economic context, the pressures for change influenced by the nature and pattern of population growth and, linking these three, the natural and planned process of urban renewal:

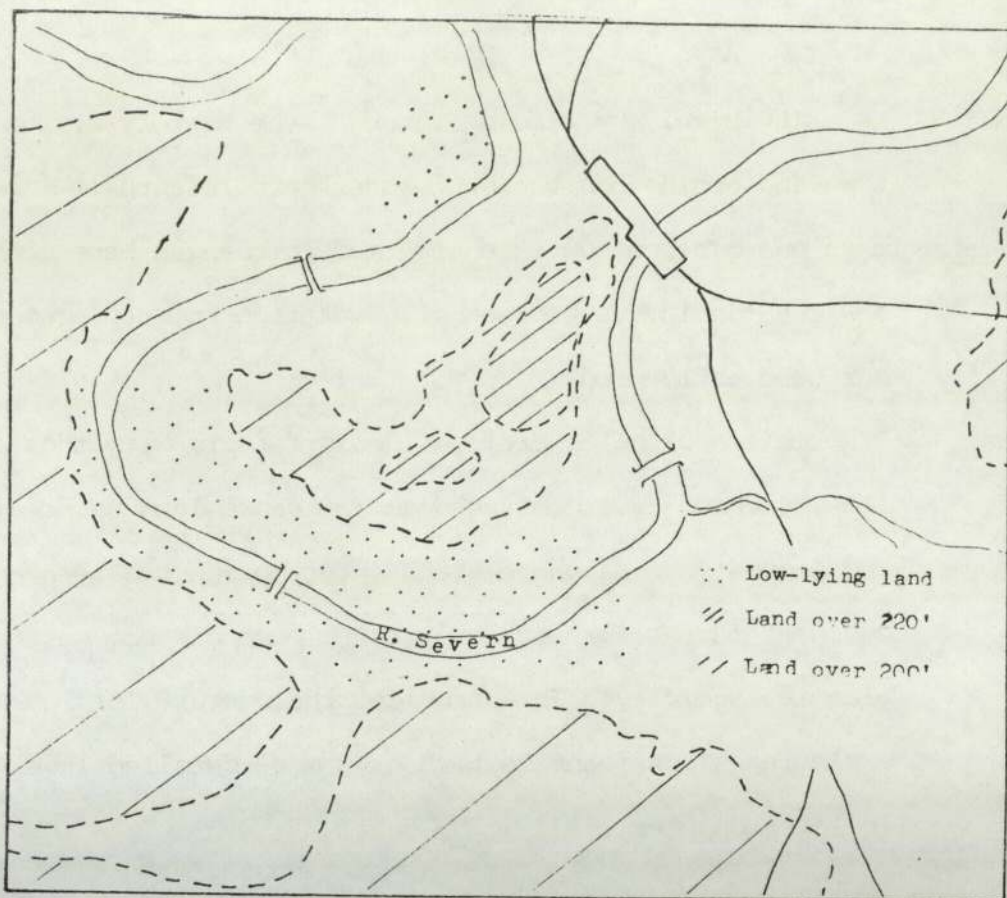


Figure 5.1: Physical Features of the Site of Shrewsbury.

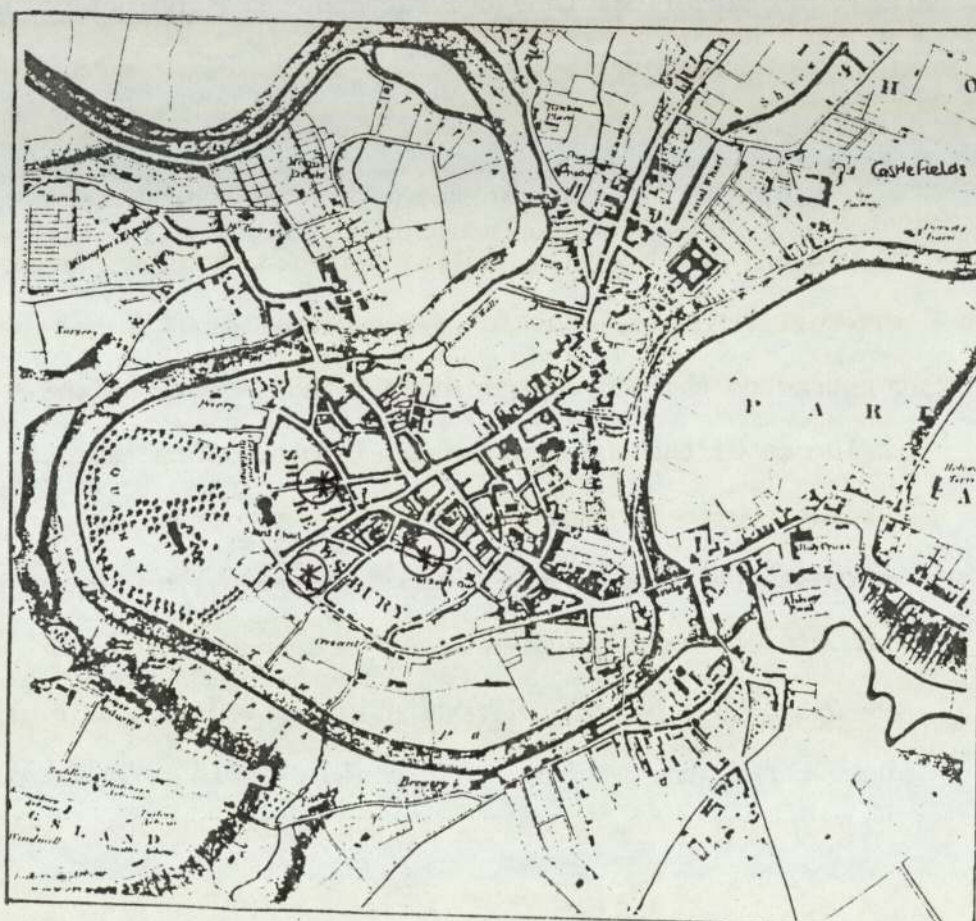


Figure 5.2: Shrewsbury in 1832.

a) The Site

The inception of the centre relates closely to the original site of the town which in turn influences the way the land is later used and the cycle of development. For Shrewsbury, the most significant factor about the site was its position in the loop of the River Severn, resulting in the following features, illustrated in the maps, fig. 5.1 and 5.2.

An island site, which implied a good defensive position so there were fortifications at an early stage with a Norman castle on the isthmus. The 'neck' later formed the site of the railway station and railway line at a tangent, which reinforced the cut-off from the centre of the north and east parts.

The river loop constrained the number of approaches and the early town development was associated with the bridges to the north and south. Improvements to the approach roads over the years to ease bottlenecks affected the suburbs and commercial centres which grew up on the edges, out-side the medieval town.

The topography affected the building pattern in a number of ways. The higher land within the meander was the site of the oldest part of the town and its influence continues, now being the focus of churches and community buildings. The central high land also housed the wealthy medieval merchants and aristocratic families. Of these buildings, the ones closest to the present shopping area have been taken over for commercial use (e.g. Owen's and Ireland's Mansions) whilst others have been converted to flats. A 'high class' residential quarter remains to the North West, but several of

these houses in Murivance, Claremont and College Hill have proved more suitable for offices and flats. ^{fig 5-2.} The lower land, typically left for workers' cottages, storage use and the cattle market, rapidly deteriorated into slums, with Barker Street and Hills Lane "a veritable rabbit warren" (Pilgrim, 1964). Where not redeveloped, these more congested and smaller units influenced later uses of the buildings.

Floodland was often the reason why only the poor lived in the lower-lying areas of many towns. This resulted in cheap rents for properties on Frankwell Quay and Abbey Foregate until recent times, when the risk of redevelopment and renewal was alleviated by the building of the Clwyd Dam. The presence of floodland also allowed the retention of open space which otherwise, given the cramped site, would have been quickly built up. Lands between the walls and river - pastures once owned by the town, have seen some residential development for instance at Castlefields. The current planning problem now is to maintain what remains of this open riverscape within the conservation area.

The restricted nature of the town (physically and politically) determined the presence of early suburbs such as Frankwell. Later development along the access roads to the bridges was preceded by a movement out of the centre by wealthier families ousted by workers flooding into the town. This was followed by the setting out of lands for residences in Coton Hill, Kingsland, Abbey Foregate and Mountfields which are the higher surroundings overlooking the town. Also associated with this edge-of-centre development was the use of the river for commercial trade with the quays

at Frankwell and Mardol attracting associated industry (see 'communications' later).

b) The Situation

This has influenced the town's continuing roles as a 'frontier town'. Being close to the Welsh border^{*} this created the need for a strategic site as a bastion against the Welsh, with the earlier town wall being extended in the 13th century. The town then, closely packed within the defended area, now largely constitutes the central area of the modern town. The close-knit pattern has produced problems and opportunities for current planning decisions.

An administrative centre. This function has taken over the once more predominant religious role. The early monastic influence has left marks around the centre in some ancient friary sites. Several churches which were also built within a small area, obviously of past importance in the town, are now increasingly becoming disused^{**}. The falling congregations reflect a change in the residential pattern, with the movement to live in the suburbs. These buildings present modern-day problems for re-use and a completely different functional focus. However, the

* It is still now the only significant town of any size after leaving the Welsh coast to the west, and Birmingham and Wolverhampton to the south east.

** St. Julian's - converted to a craft centre, the Presbyterian Church for a proposed motel, and St. Mary's to close shortly and perhaps be a heritage centre. see Fig 56, p 237.

administrative role has developed, from being the seat of military government and feudal administration in the Marches up to the present day location for the county council and regional headquarters of firms, although many of these are now less concentrated in the centre. The age of the "monopolist merchant and entrepreneur" (Pilgrim 1964) in medieval times affected the form and pattern of the town, when, for instance, foreign traders were forced to locate outside of the Borough's jurisdiction, as happened in the suburb of Frankwell. The domination of a small administrative group has continued over the years in various forms. At one time it was the Mercers Guild trying to dominate the smaller retailers (up to the Municipal Act of 1835). Later in medieval times, the influence of the Drapers increased and they later came to be identified with the Town Corporation. Various mansions built in the centre of that time mark the wealth and power they held and the changing use of such buildings now is influential in the local context (e.g. Ireland's Mansion now used by Leicester Permanent Building Society, Rowley's Mansion being restored as a museum and art gallery, and Owen's Mansion coincidentally now used by the Owen Owen Department Store). A lot of land in the centre is still within the ownership of a few families, the Morrisons and Fletchers being two, often mentioned by local people.

.../..

A trading centre. The Borderland was a major wool producing area and merchants trading in the nearest market made Shrewsbury a Staple town. During the 16th century, Oswestry competed for the trade of cloth manufactured in Wales, although this declined in the 17th century. However, most of the woollen cloth industry was concentrated around Shrewsbury. Its importance as a centre continued until the mid-18th century when it was overtaken by the rise of the Yorkshire industry.

This trade still has some influence on the land use of the town in two ways. Firstly, in the buildings marking the period, which have been retained or have survived and are now listed. These include not only the Gild merchants' houses, but also for example the Fellmongers Hall in Frankwell, still used up to about 1965 and recently renovated by the civic society for offices and residential use. Likewise, the ancient market hall in the Square (as opposed to the Victorian one and its replacement in Shoplatch) indicates the old focus of the town when this trade was at its height. Secondly, in the activities of the centre the maintenance of cloth making-up skills remains as a legacy. The availability of machinists and the like is useful to the modern cloth manufacture workshops as recognised by some of the small firms interviewed.

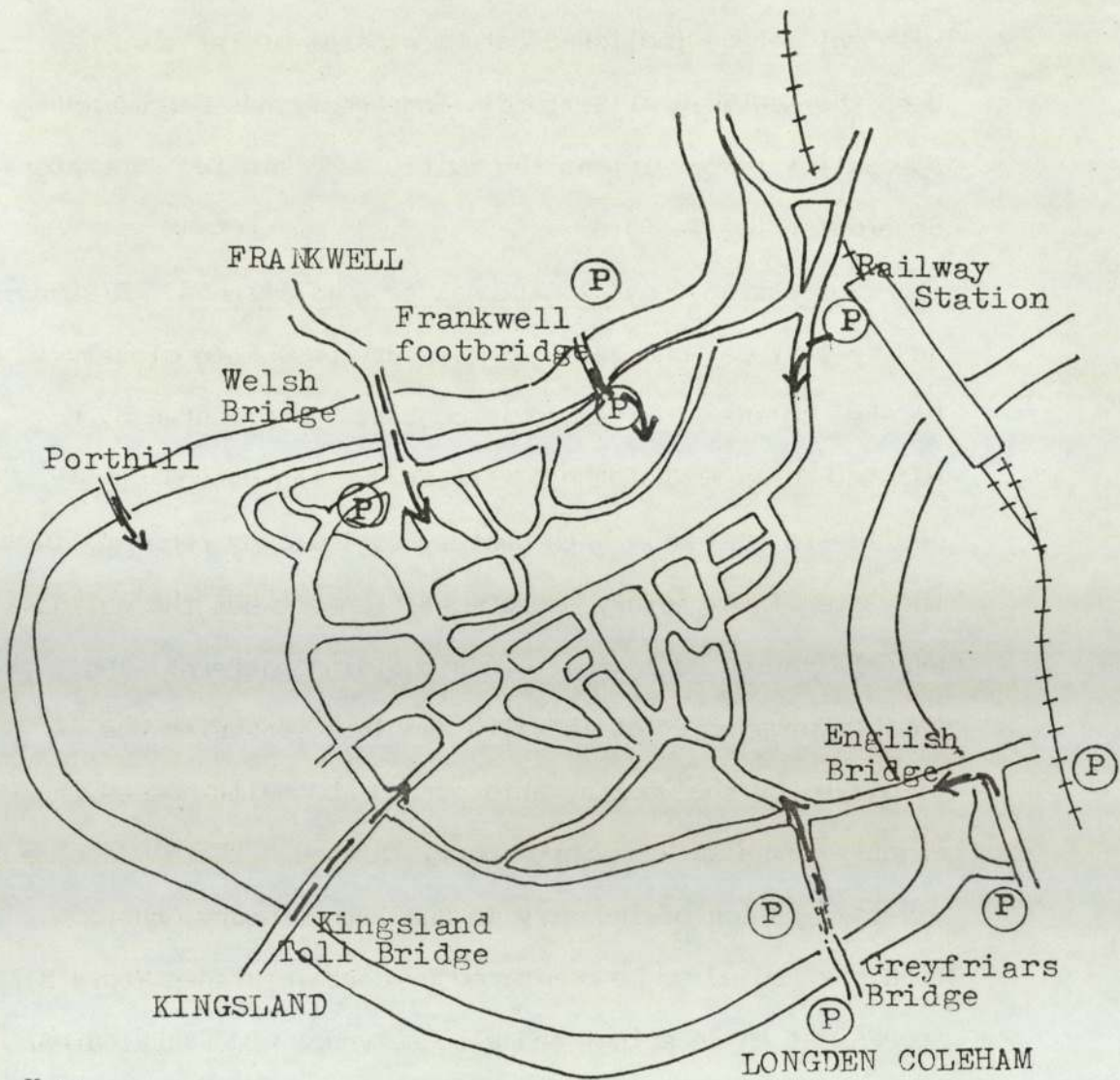
Meanwhile, the agricultural trade developed as an alternative and is still important in some of the administrative functions of the centre which are associated with the surrounding agricultural region. However, the nature and location of some of the trading has changed considerably, for example the cattle market has been relocated out of the town, while

the centre has become dominated by the durable goods trade and commercial offices. Finally, a new factor interfering with the long established catchment area of the town has been the New Town of Telford. Shrewsbury has become more specialist to complement the multiples-dominated superstore development of Telford.

Reflecting general national economic trends. Historical and present day changes in Shrewsbury have been closely related to the wider economic context. For instance, the economic progress of the 13th century, the period of decline in the early 14th century followed by recovery in the later 15th century and competition between the guilds - are all reflected in the town's building pattern. The further prosperity of the 17th and 18th centuries was displayed by the wealthy aristocrats who built houses in country towns such as Shrewsbury. Although there was some diversification of industry in the 20th century, the town has tended to be dominated by certain trades (currently mechanical engineering) and also serves a wide rural area. So if there are problems in either sector, related to the wider economy, this has repercussions for the town (e.g. the decision to locate the New Town in the depressed area to the east of Shrewsbury, affected its domination of the prosperity of the region).

The predominance of communication factors. Since the early 19th century the town's topography and development has created a growing traffic problem. Although there have been minor attempts to cope with traffic pressures in the past, these have together meant significant changes in the pattern and nature of land use, such as the levelling off of

Figure 5.3: Entrances to Shrewsbury Town Centre.



Key:

- P Parking related to main approaches
- - -> Main routes into the centre

Wyle Cop, and the realigning of the Castle and Abbey Foregates which have "contributed to making Shrewsbury more of a Georgian town than is often realised" (Cornforth 1977a). The compact built form led to the construction in the 16th and 17th centuries of narrow passages or shuts, as short cuts for pedestrians at a time when it had become necessary to economise in space in the congested centre of the town (see Section 5.3.1.). These now form an interesting feature of the historic centre and the last ten years have seen several visitor-oriented shop developments alongside of them. e.g. Barracks Passage, Golden Cross Passage and Grope Lane. However, there are also criticisms that the council does not do enough to exploit the potential of this network of footpaths^{*}, but instead reprimands shopkeepers who put up signs on the pavements leading up to the passages to attract custom.

As noted previously, communications to the centre were restricted by the river loop. The existence of only two bridges (one on the English side and one on the Welsh) was important in determining the early built form of the town and suburban development. However, later bridges were significant for varying reasons (ref. map Figure 5.3)

Kingsland (built 1872) as a private toll bridge, serves in quite a symbolic way, the expensive villa development to the south west of the town. The railway bridges (1848-9) and

* A similar complaint was voiced in Worcester, that recent redevelopment and road schemes had destroyed the grain of the street pattern (especially the alley ways) which had been oriented towards the river.

the road bridge for the by-pass (1964) although part of a wider system relating to the main routes to Birmingham and Wales, allowed connections between the centre and outer areas, and between suburbs.

The footbridges include firstly Greyfriars (1880) which forms the busy pedestrian route to Coleham and Belle Vue and has considerably influenced commercial activity on both sides; Castle (1910) links the residential and work areas of Monkwood and Castlefields; Porthill (1951) making a useful link for the riverside walks and Quarrypark emphasizes the residential nature of this side. Frankwell (1979) was constructed not so much to link the suburbs, as to help make the Riverside shopping centre work by this more convenient route to the car park on the other side of the river (with repercussions in other trading streets as reported in Chapter Six).

c) The Population

Firstly, the rate of growth of the population and its size and type are reflected in the role and form of the present town. For instance, earlier in the century the growing tradesmen class and the influx of Welsh labourers for new industries; its popularity as a resort for the retired, and more recently as a residential centre for workers commuting to Telford, have all caused increases in the population. However, except for the early suburbs, the town generally escaped the effects of the industrial revolution on any grand scale. Thus, the main rate of growth has been seen in more recent times.

TABLE 5.1: POPULATION OF SHREWSBURY 1900 - 1981

YEAR	POPULATION	% INCREASE OVER CERTAIN PERIODS
1900	28400	1901-31 + 29.2%
1921	34800	
1931	36700	
1938	38500	1931-61 + 37.3%
1947	43900	
1951	44900	
1961	50400	1961-91 + 29.4%
1971	56200	
1981	59826	
1991 (est.)	(65200)	

Source: Census of Population

Secondly, the socio-economic structure and intra-urban movements of the population have influenced the land use pattern. There has been an overall decline in the number of people living in the town centre, with a corresponding rise in the outer areas. Between 1951 and 1976 the number living 'between the bridges' fell from 3700 to 1600, i.e. a 60% decline (Shrewsbury & Atcham Borough Council 1979a), causing considerable concern. This led to the introduction of planning policies to try to reverse this trend. Some parts of the outer areas have also grown faster than others, often with very separate areas of higher and lower income families. This was analysed by Sherwood (1966) and shown in the diagram Figure 5.4 following Burgess's classification.

.../..

Figure 5.4 - Ecological model zones in Shrewsbury

1. Central Business District
2. Zone in Transition
3. Working Class homes
4. Higher Class Residential

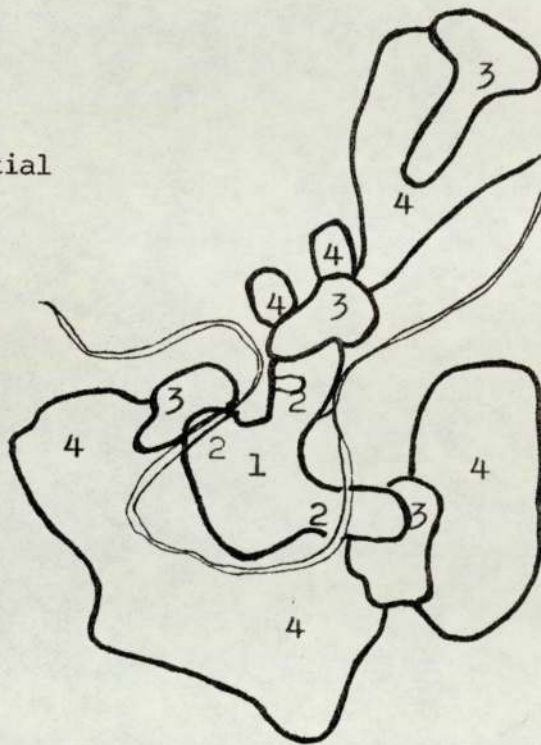
This was not always the case in the centre, for until this century there was more of a mix of professionals, upper class and poorer workers.

Then slum clearance and road improvements

removed many workers'

dwellings (except perhaps

Beeches Lane and St. John's Hill).



In addition, conversion of some bigger properties and use of flats over shops by others than the shopkeepers' family, produced a leavening of the hierarchy, with more middle class and a certain amount of gentrification (the wealthy remaining entrenched around St. Chads, the South Wall area of the town and later around High Pavement, Crippelode and Crow Meole). The areal pattern of the social structure has further influenced commercial developments within, or leading to, various residential areas, as discussed in the next chapter.

d) The Historical Renewal Process

This relates to many of the influences noted in the previous three sections but seems to have been principally affected by three factors. Firstly, physical factors have determined some aspects of the reconstruction of the modern face of the town. For example, the only large flat site available for a new shopping precinct was Smith-Fields, the site of the Cattle Market. Similarly, the constricted centre and suburbs of the wealthy nearby resulted in road by-passes being either a long way out, or if in the centre, technically difficult to construct and therefore costly, and also likely to destroy the heritage. Secondly, land ownership has influenced the pattern of redevelopment. For example, the only municipal land available for redevelopment was where community uses have decentralised such as the slaughter house and cattle market, the fire and police stations and the Shire Hall. Elsewhere national retail firms have bought into the main shopping streets via property owners such as Morrisons. Thirdly, the economic demands associated with different periods have affected the amount of resources available for reconstruction work. There was a considerable amount of rebuilding in the 18th century, particularly in the area between the High Street and the Quarry. Later, demands for offices and accommodation for professionals led to rebuilding along Swan Hill, College Street, St. John's Hill and Belmont. However, apart from the Riverside, there has been no large-scale redevelopment due to there being less commercial pressure on the town as a whole and the topographical constraints on the centre.

5.1.2. Post-War Planning Activity & Land Use Changes

Many of the historical influences on the town and its centre this century are associated with planned intervention, the general pattern following that of many towns accommodating 20th century changes as described in Chapter Two. However, specific local differences are indicated, in the effects on internal restructuring of the town which are then explored further at the more detailed levels.

a) Changes in the structure and functions of the centre.

As the market functions declined, the town became the administrative and education centre of the area. However, some of these activities were housed in buildings which were out-of-date or locations which were increasingly inadequate because of the cramped nature of the centre. Those had to be relocated outside, leaving sites for inner area commercial redevelopment or rehabilitation. This decentralisation process also influenced the area the activities moved to, and the town's structure as a whole. Examples are the Royal Shropshire Infirmary, now being converted for shops and residential units, introducing a commercial shift towards the east of the centre and Pride Hill (see figure 5.5); also the Shrewsbury School moving over to Kingsland and encouraging the development of villa residences, and finally the Shire Hall movement out to Column in the south east, bringing additional office development and trade to existing pubs and shops along this radial route.



Figure 5.5 - The Royal Shropshire Infirmary
conversion in progress.

The office function has grown steadily both by taking over some larger houses and with new developments. Towards the end of the '60's this caused some consternation (see policy controls) especially in the High Street, which in the early part of the decade had just begun to be the office-dominated street it is today. Thus, the town remains primarily a service centre, serving a wide area of north and mid-Wales and Shropshire but more concerned with insurance, banking and professional offices than with agricultural services. Although these and other institutions retain strong connections with the farming community, the relocation of the Cattle Market and associated facilities have reduced the number of farmers and their families coming into the town.

.../..

b) The Influence of Post-War Developments Within and Outside of the Centre.

These have affected the spatial structure of the town in different ways. Firstly, the location of manufacturing industry mainly to the north side of the town and more residential development to the south has created additional cross-town traffic. A car park in the vicinity of the English Bridge is also required to serve the southern area and reduce traffic crossing the centre to the main car parks on the north side. However, indecision over its cost and precise location has blighted this end of the town. Meanwhile, the sub-centres of Coleham and Frankwell - both with good parking facilities, have benefitted from this problem in the centre intercepting trade from the outer suburbs.

Secondly, the location of a major office development at the Column, has provided a focus for the development of Abbey Foregate as a commercial link road. Here, houses which were old and in poor condition at the edge of the centre were demolished to make way for shops and offices. The larger high class residences were also affected, many being converted to offices and flats.

Finally, the opportunities afforded by the movement from the centre of both the Cattle Market and the Shire Hall had further repercussions. The site of the first became the Riverside Shopping Centre. To make this successful, links were created from the car parks and the shopping precinct to the multiple stores on the main street via footbridges, causing considerable changes to the previous pedestrian

shopping flow. The site of the Shire Hall was redeveloped for shops and offices. Although the design was criticised, it has resulted in additional trade being attracted to the old market square.

5.2 The Central Area : Historical View of Activities

This section examines the temporal process of change in the centre by reference to its constituent sub-areas. Planning data does not usually show historical processes for areas within the town other than by a description of change. In order to fill this gap a transect of land through the town centre was used as a method to investigate the changing structure of the centre in more detail than the changes noted in the previous section.

The transect is firstly introduced with photographs and maps indicating some of the significant changes of use this century in each street and also how change has affected different parts of the centre. This leads to an analysis of the rates of change in the last twenty years and how they vary along the transect and between use types - indicating some possible major influences.

5.2.1. Changing Uses over Time

The parts of the transect are shown on the map, Figure 5.6. It follows the old route from the English Bridge to the Welsh Bridge, which was part of the main road from the Midlands to Wales. Changes in the spatial pattern are indicated by overlays on maps dating back to 1927.

Frankwell

Once the outer suburb of the medieval town, this part of the street remains as a secondary commercial area. The main changes have been the loss of low quality housing - now

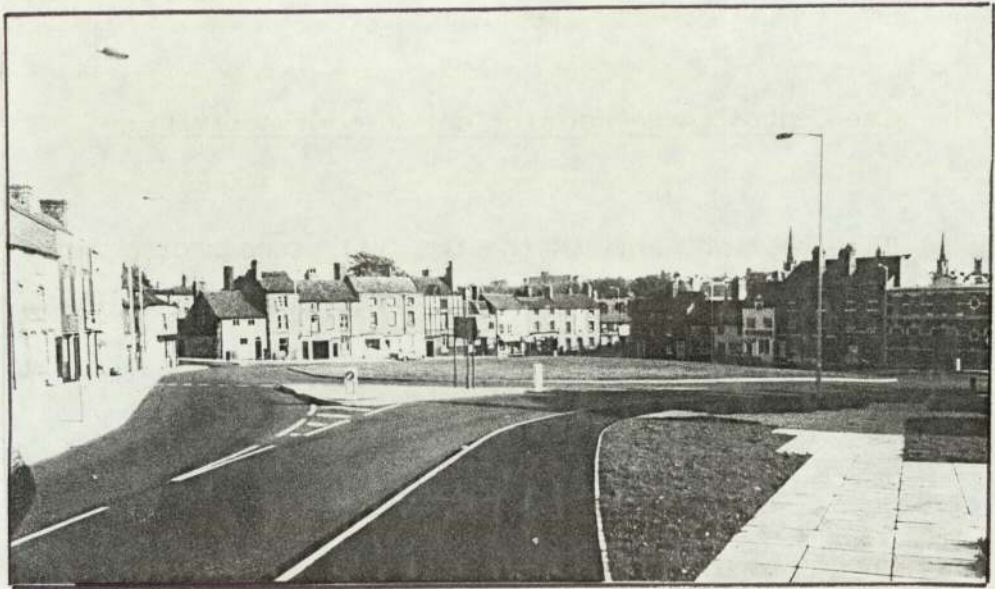


Figure 5.8: Frankwell Roundabout when Newly Constructed

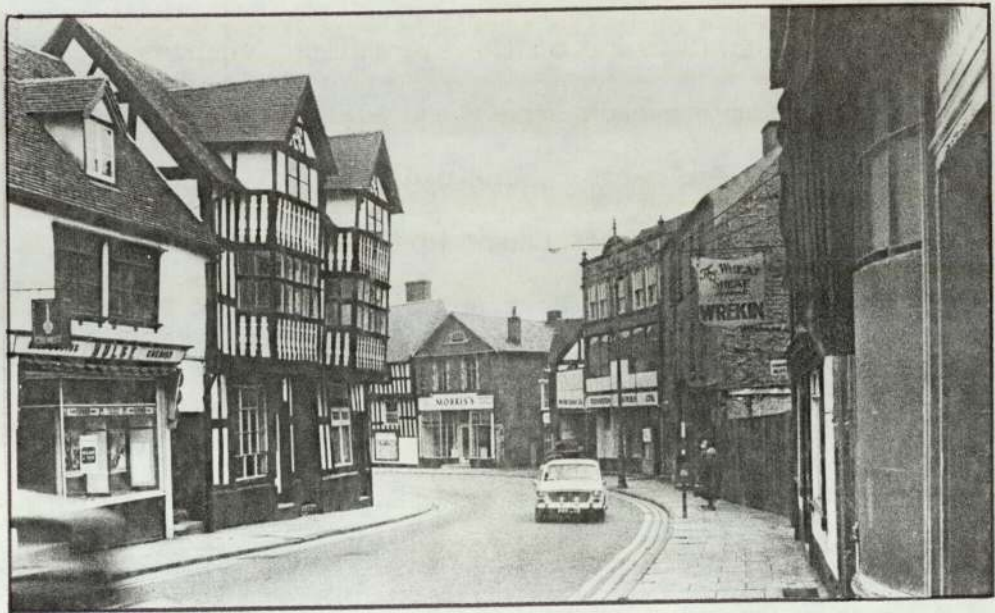
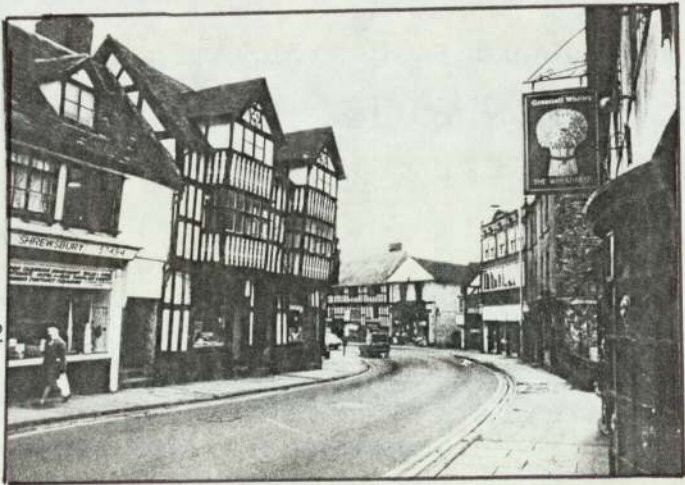


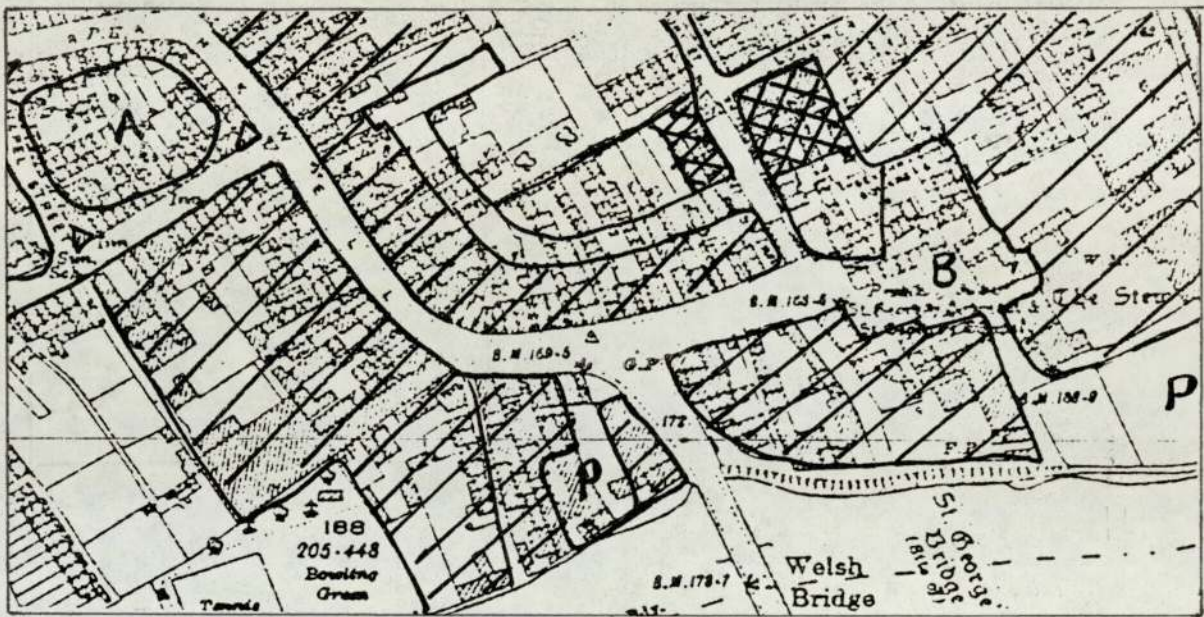
Figure 5.9:
Frankwell in the
early 1960's.

The same view , 1982



the site of a roundabout and car park (A & B on Figure 5.7 below), although the introduction of flats above converted shops has replaced some of the residential losses.

Figure 5.7: Post-War Change in Frankwell



- Key
- /// Built-up area approx. as in 1927 *
 - Redevelopment Areas *
 - P Car Park
 - A Frankwell Roundabout
- B Car Park

Figure 5.8 is a view entering Frankwell, taken when the roundabout had first been constructed leaving a vast space that had once been packed with housing. Other parts have changed less. Figure 5.9 and in setto the south end of Frankwell indicate more changes in uses than building fabric. Hulse the chemist and Morris's grocery store of the 1950's are now occupied by a hardware store and motorcycle shop, with the demolished houses next to the Wheatsheaf forming a car park.

* This notation also used for the maps following in this section.
.../..

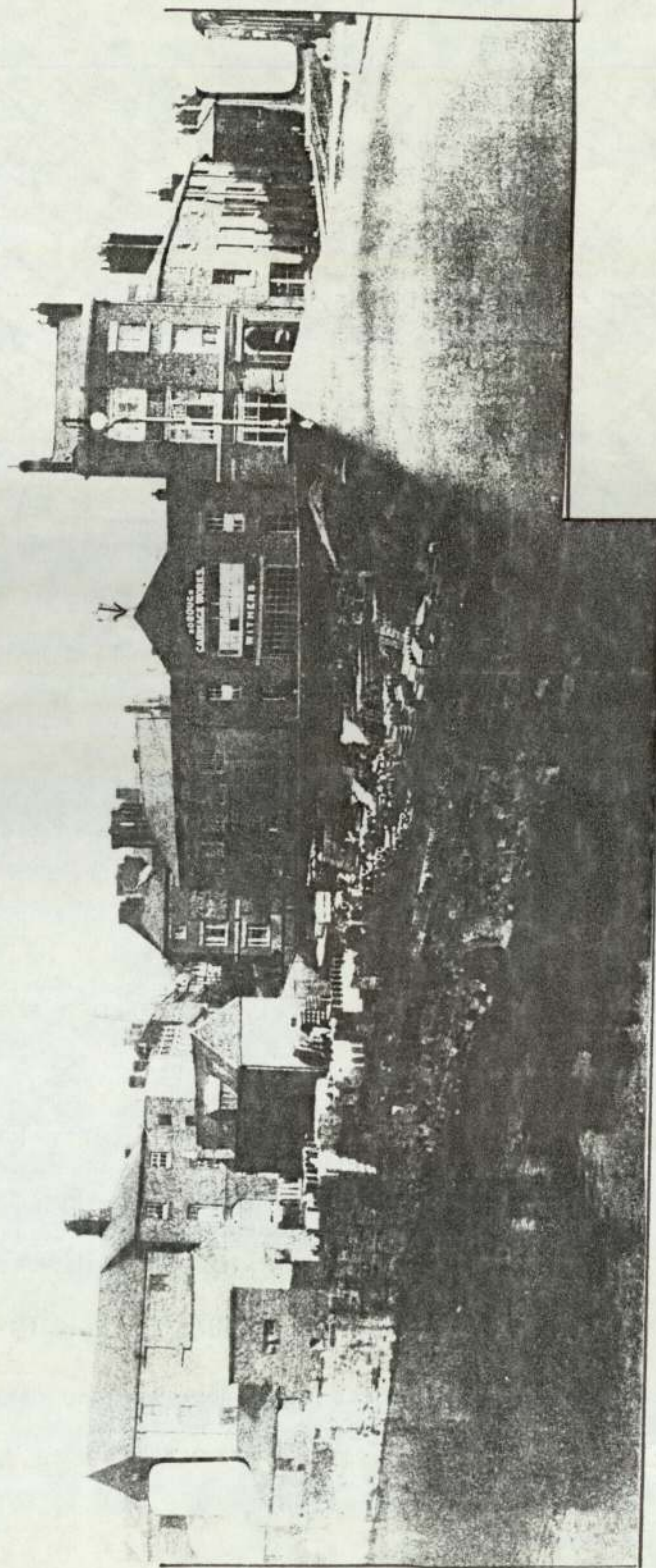


Figure 5.11: Mardol Quay around 1930

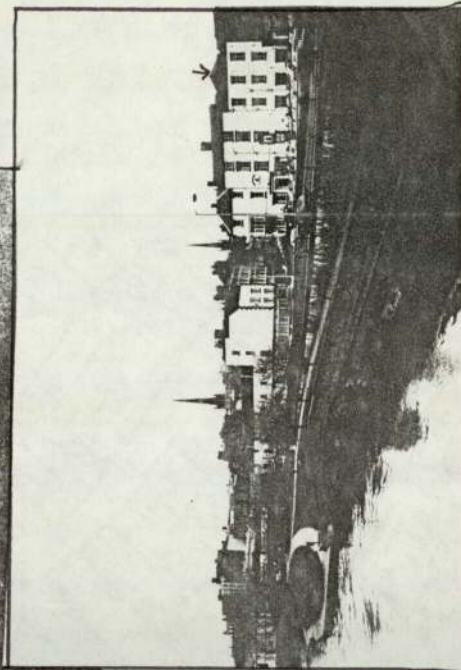


Figure 5.12:
Mardol Quay 1982,
now landscaped riverside.

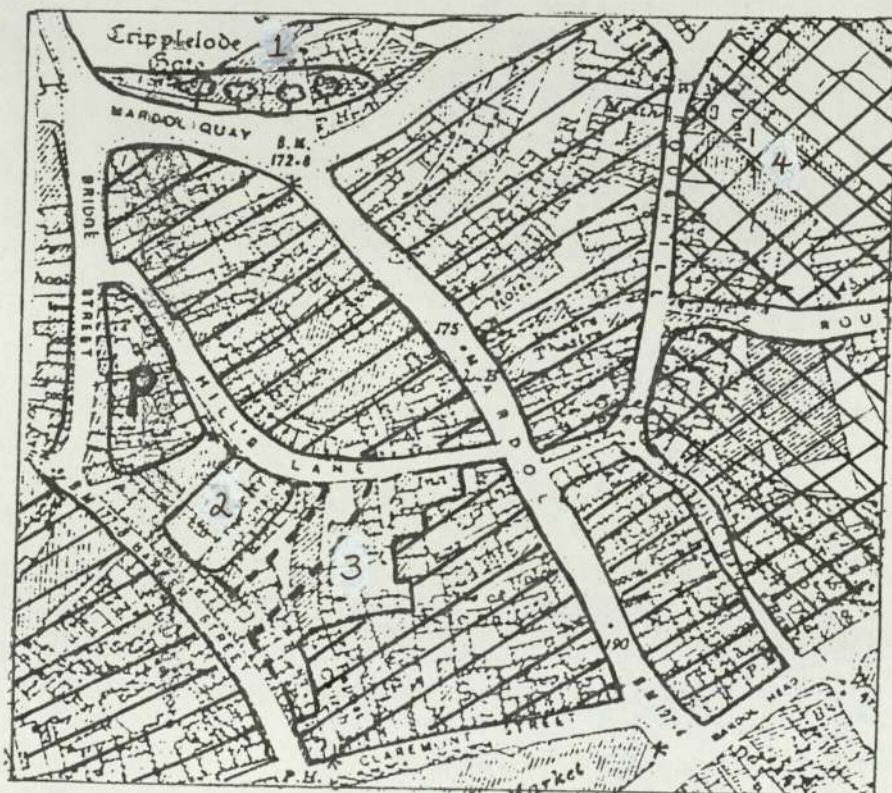
Mardol

This is subdivided into three (see Figure 5.10). Over the Welsh Bridge - Mardol Quay, was once a busy riverside industrial area but was cleared for the Smithfield Road and a small area of landscaped river bank (compare photos Figure 5.11 and 5.12). This has represented a certain turning away from the river, whereas Frankwell Quay opposite, with its Marina and Floating Restaurant has produced a new use for that side.

Up Mardol - now a one-way street, it is less busy than in the past, especially at the bottom, whilst the top end has taken on a different character, being partially pedestrianised (Figures 5.13 - 5.15).

Mardol Head - almost the core of the main shopping area, it is now dominated by the new market hall and multiple stores (Figure 5.16).

Key



1. Landscaping and road improvements.
2. Rowley's Mansion the only historic building left in the cleared area.
3. Bus Station
4. Riverside shopping area.

Figure 5.10: Post-war Change in Mardol



Figures 5.13 to 5.16:
Views Progressing up
Mardol.

Figure 5.16
Mardol Head -
redevelopment with
multiple chain stores



Figure 5.15
From Hill's Lane
entrance, one of the
few on-street parking
areas in the centre.



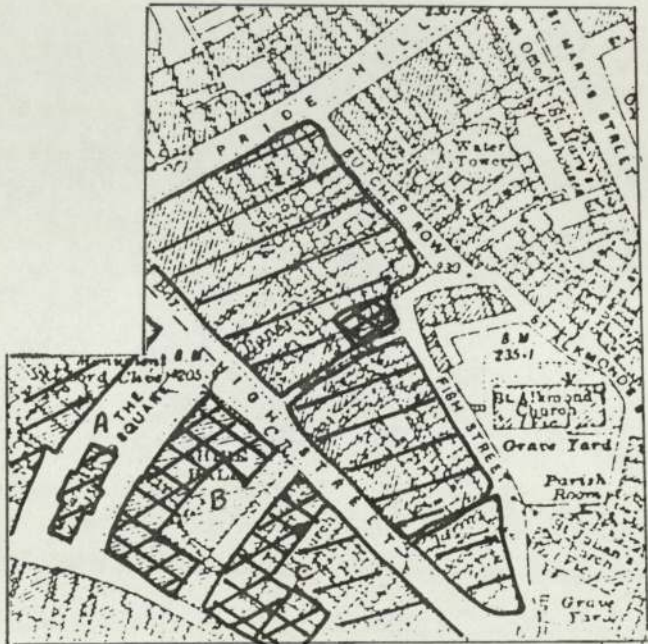
Figure 5.14:
A number of empty
properties lower down
the street



Figure 5.13
From Mardol Quay -
the quiet end, with some
traditional uses
continuing, including
upper floor residential.

The High Street

As the name implies this was once the main street of the town, adjacent to the old market square (see map, Figure 5.17). The latter is now an area of tarmac, overlooked by a major redevelopment of shops and offices on the site of the Shire Hall, which has brought added trading interest to a street long since taken over by banks and building societies. As with many old towns the private independent stores are disappearing such as Maddox Department Store and Cooks, whilst the street itself has become part of the one-way system. Figure 5.18, shows Maddox Store - now Owen Owen on the left and the redeveloped Shire Hall to the right. Figure 5.19 shows two of the many financial offices and banks which have sprung up in the street.



- A Market Square
- B Shire Hall
- C Debenhams
redevelopments

Figure 5.17



Figure 5.18: High Street from Pride Hill.

The department store on the left is housed in what were a number of separate buildings.



Figure 5.19: High Street towards Wyle Cop.

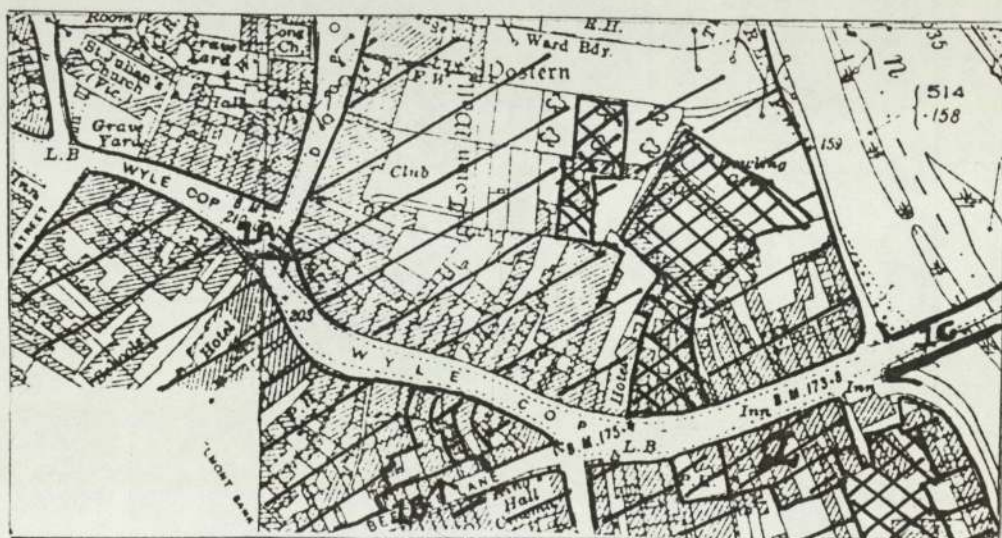
This is the quieter end of the street with increasing office uses.

Wyle Cop

This is probably the oldest part of the town, remembered as the route for farmers to the cattle market at Smithfield and the location of coaching inns (see map, Figure 5.20). Figures 5.21 and 5.22 show some of the older uses which remain unchanged, such as the Hat Box compared with shops lower down, such as the discount store and a shop selling cane and wicker ware. As the street descends the hill, the scene is much the same as it was early in the century apart from the heavy motor traffic. However, towards the English Bridge, old buildings stand neglected or have been replaced by garages and a warehouse (compare with the old photograph of the same view on p.248, 5.24 and 5.25). There have also been several alterations to the road and bridge over the years, affecting nearby buildings either directly or by

.../...

Figure 5.20: Changes in the Building Pattern in Wyle Cop



- 1A Road Widening
- 1B Building Set-back
- 1C Bridge Widening
- 2 Conversion Scheme for buildings blighted by Road Proposal.



Figures 5.21 - 5.24:
Views progressing down Wyle
Cop to English Bridge.

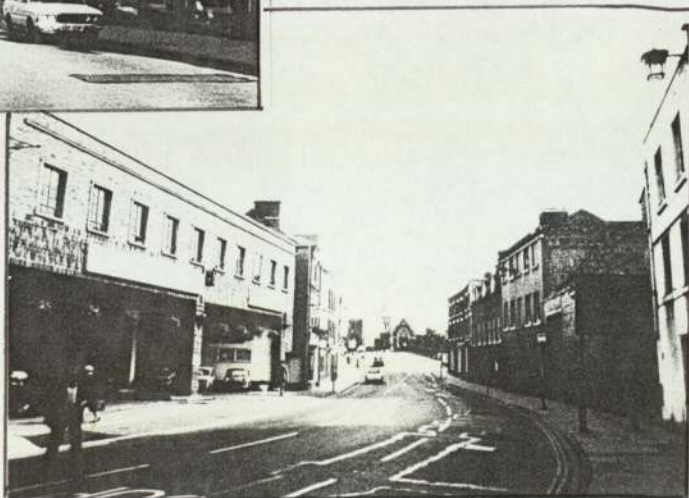
Figure 5.21: At the
junction with Dogpole - a
number of long established,
specialist trades.

Figure 5.22:
Some new uses have
been introduced into
the old buildings.



Figure 5.23:
Lower down Wyle Cop

Figure 5.24:
Towards English Bridge
- visual interest lost
with disused buildings
and garage facade.



blighting an area designated for a proposed road. Only recently has the street seen a revival at this point and a return to its old role with a new hotel conversion near the bridge.

Figure 5.25: View to English Bridge after widening, and inset - 1982.



Figures 5.27 - 5.29: Views of Abbey Foregate.

Figure 5.27:

Abbey Foregate from English Bridge. The bridge and railway separate the area from the town centre.



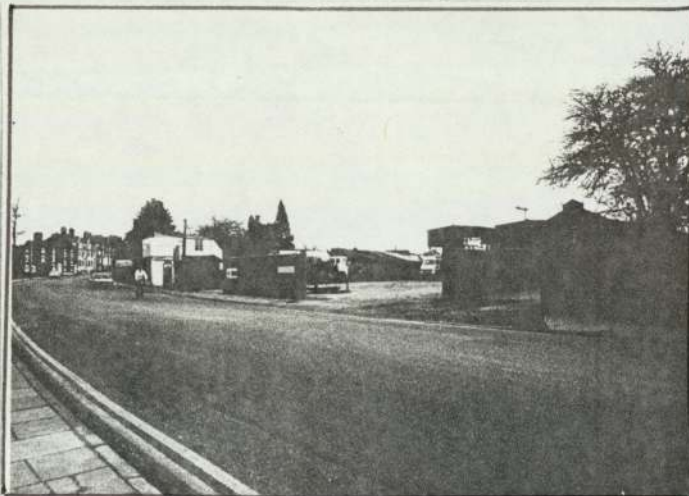
Figure 5.28:

The Abbey, surrounded by roads. A mixture of buildings from different periods is on the north side.



Figure 5.29:

A builders yard and oil depot on the south side (A & B on the map figure 5.26).



Abbey Foregate

This was originally a suburb which expanded during the period 1750 to 1850, when it became a fashionable residential area around the Abbey (Figure 5.26). There has been an extension of the central area into this part with the introduction of some commercial uses. The conversion of large houses to flats, large stores and offices together with garages set back from the road on the site of old houses have contributed to creating a new environment. The area has also been affected by various road and rail developments over the years. Telford's Holyhead road running to the south of the Abbey destroyed many medieval remains, leaving the pulpit stranded on the other side of the road, although accidentally reinstating an older way, long-buried under the Abbey cloisters. The railway branchline not only cuts off the area visually from the centre, but its associated land has influenced uses in the immediate area over the years. The photos, Figures 5.27 to 5.29 illustrate some of the points made as indicated in the map below.

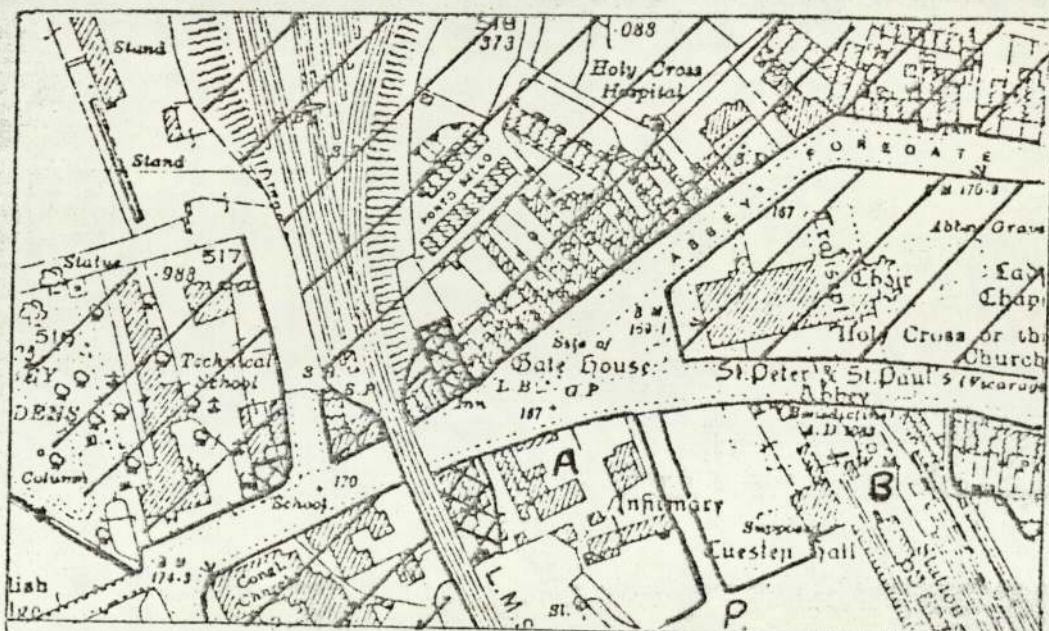
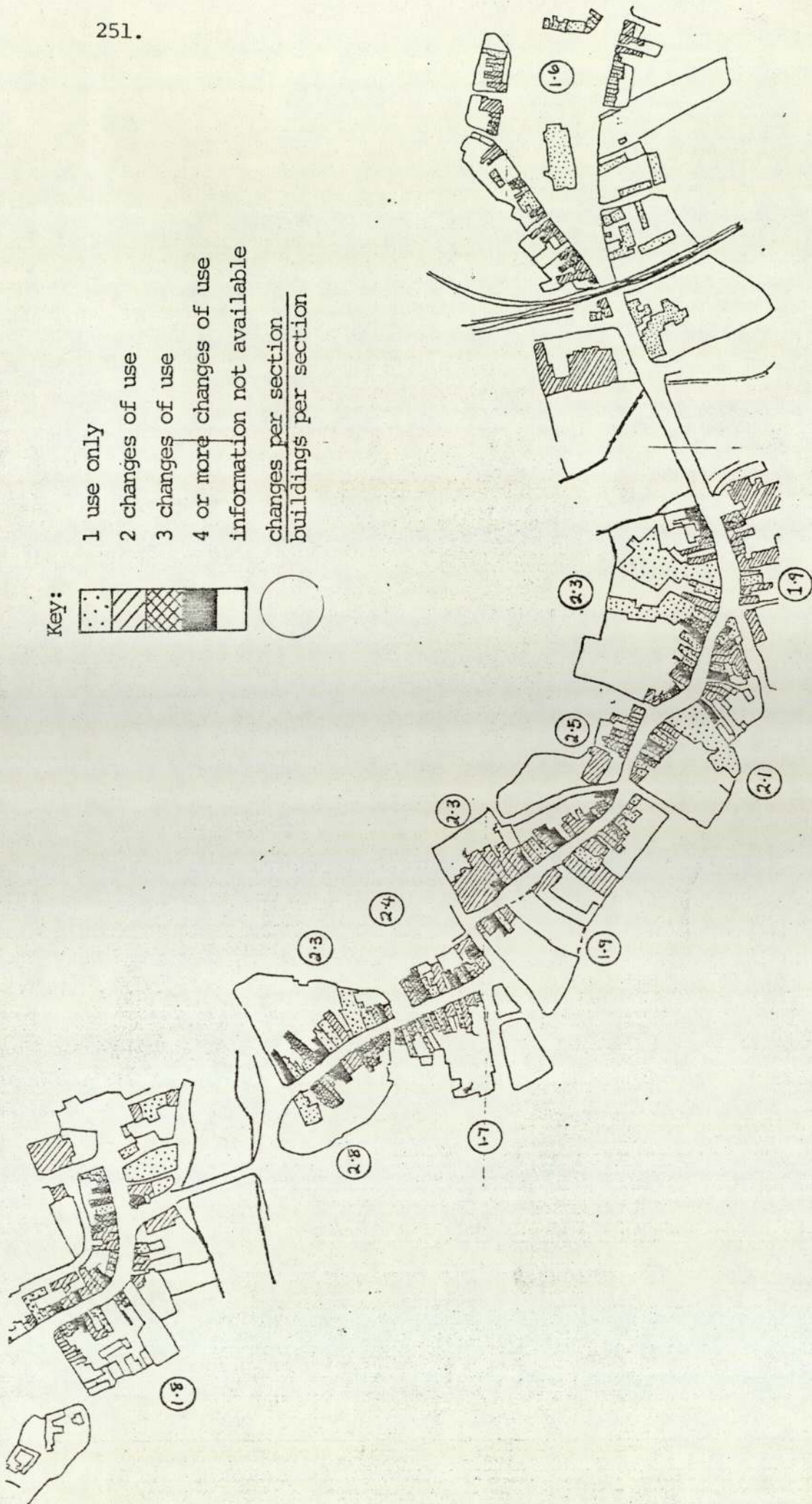


Figure 5.26: Changes in Abbey Foregate.



Business
Figure 5.30: Number of Changes of Use in the Study Transect, 1961-1981.

The cut through Shrewsbury therefore exposes a number of changes which have taken place in the town: redevelopment and the takeover of multiples in the centre; the suburbs affected by traffic proposals; the spread of the central area; the rise and fall of the commercial sector with old uses being replaced by new ones; and the contrasting rapid change in some areas with the slower process of adaptation in others.

5.2.2. Rate of Change over Time

The previous section described some of the changes of use which can be fairly readily seen in any historic centre.

What is less easy to demonstrate is the rate of change.

Using the same transect this has been measured in two ways:

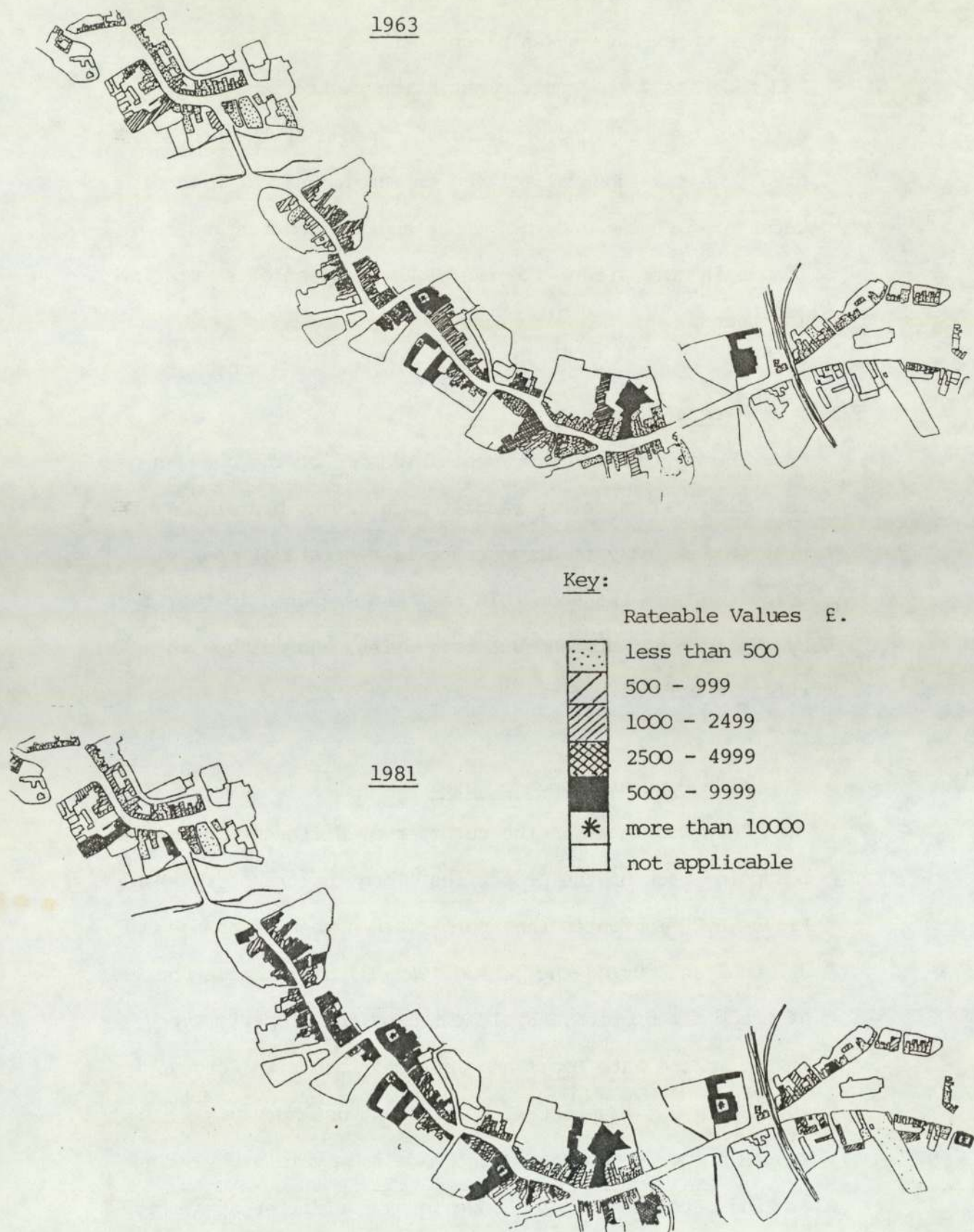
by the turnover of land use activities, and changes in rateable values.

a) Rate of change of uses

This was taken as the turnover of different businesses occupying each of the properties along the transect. Map Figure 5.30 indicates the approximate number of changes of use analysed during the period 1961-81; based on an analysis of trade directories, supplemented by the property types listed in the Rate Books and in Local Authority Surveys in 1977 and 1979, together with a current use survey.

A number of points can be made from this study. The map indicates a rate of change index for different sections of the transect (i.e. the number of changes of use in the section divided by the number of properties) the higher ratio

Figure 5.31: Rateable Values in the Study Transect, 1963 and 1981.



indicating a greater amount of change. Thus, parts of upper Wyle Cop and Frankwell - the so-called "transition zone" are not easy to define on the traditional grounds of being more prone to high turnover rates. Change instead seems to relate to strategic developments or proposals which have triggered change, such as conversion schemes in Wyle Cop and Mardol, either encouraging new uses or causing existing ones to leave.

Although there is a random pattern of change over the whole length of the transect, there are some particular clusters which may be due to ownership of properties, the example of one property improvement affecting others. There are some additional properties which seem prone to change and we return to consider an explanation for this later, using a more detailed survey.

b) Changes in the value of properties

This required an analysis of rate records in 1963 and 1973, each having been up-dated with amendments recorded (up to 1981), so that firstly rateable values at the beginning and end of the period could be shown (map Figure 5.31_{a & b}) and secondly percentage change over a period could be noted (map, 5.32). The former shows, as expected, higher rateable values in the centre than the edges, apart from localised differences such as large institutional buildings and hotels. Surprisingly, there appears to be less distinction between the centre and edges now than 20 years ago. For instance the average rateable value for properties in the High Street north

Key:

Rateable value changes
over the period.

more than 250% increase

200 - 250% increase

areas where majority of
properties have had an
increase of more than
150%.

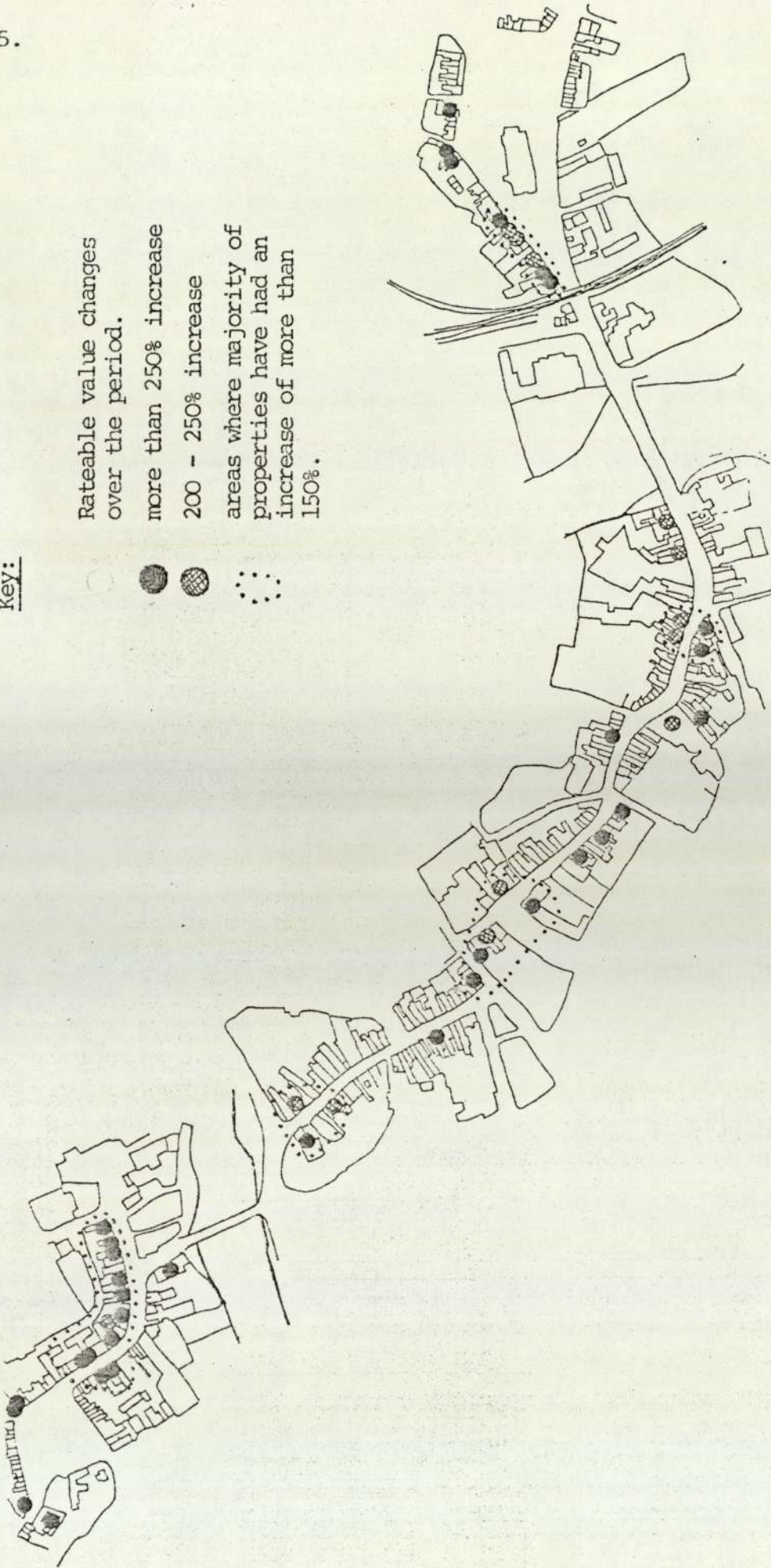


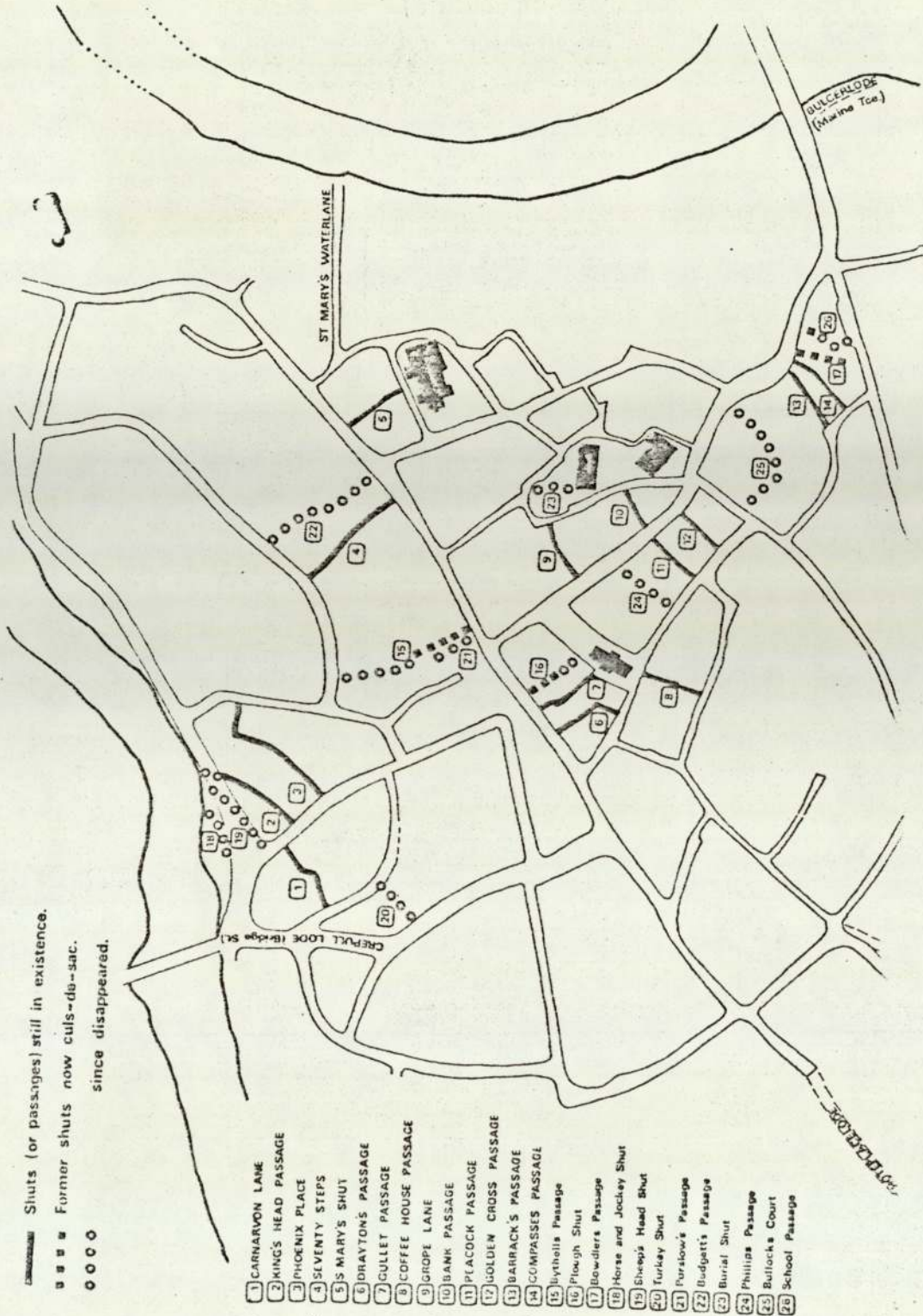
Figure 5.32: High Proportionate Increases in Rateable Values 1963-1981.

was 7.5 times higher than Abbey Foregate North in 1963, but only 4.6 times higher in 1981. A more useful measure than comparing just two points in time is the rate of change. In Map 5.32 can be seen the large number of changes in the Frankwell area, but also some clusters of change in the central core, half-way down Wyle Cop, and at the lower end of Abbey Foregate. In these locations, apart from the centre, the rates of change seem to be related to conversion schemes which have improved the properties, rather than redevelopment. What cannot be seen so easily from this is the timing of the changes related to planning pressures and developments which are investigated in Chapter Eight.

Both these analyses of the rate of change appear to indicate that there is not a straightforward cycle of invasion and succession, neither is deterioration limited to the edges. However, to explain this it is necessary to look at the activities themselves (Section 5.3) and area change in more detail later. Thus, a number of questions have been raised by the analysis so far, which require further consideration.

Figure 5.33:
Shuts Passages & Lodes
in Shrewsbury.

Source: Shrewsbury &
Atcham Borough Council
Guide.



5.3 Site Level. The Influence of Historical Land Patterns on Use Change.

Old photographs, maps and documentation, used in conjunction with case histories of planning applications and general background data can give a much clearer picture of change at the local level and the changing influences on it over time. Significant factors may be indicated so that current land use change can be seen in the context of a longer term perspective. In this respect three main aspects were considered. Firstly, is how the type of building pattern in Shrewsbury has influenced the pattern of use over time; secondly, are the typical changes made to buildings to accommodate changing uses over a long period. Thirdly, is the significance of the planning history of small areas or sites, including changes in policy.

5.3.1. Historically derived building types and influences on uses.

Some specific patterns were observed in Shrewsbury, many of which can be seen in other historic centres, and their current implications noted.

a) Shuts and Passages

In the centre can be found a network of narrow, medieval passage ways. These are usually open at both ends, although some have been blocked off or merely form spaces between buildings or garden walls. Where they do survive they are increasingly becoming a quaint attraction and a pedestrian

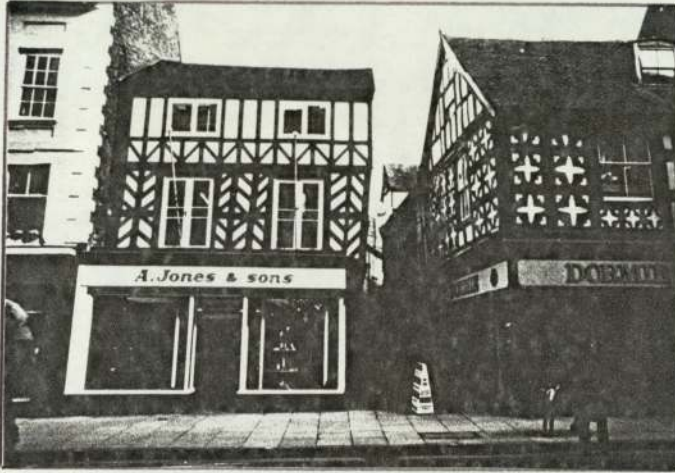


Figure 5.34: Grope Lane from the High Street.



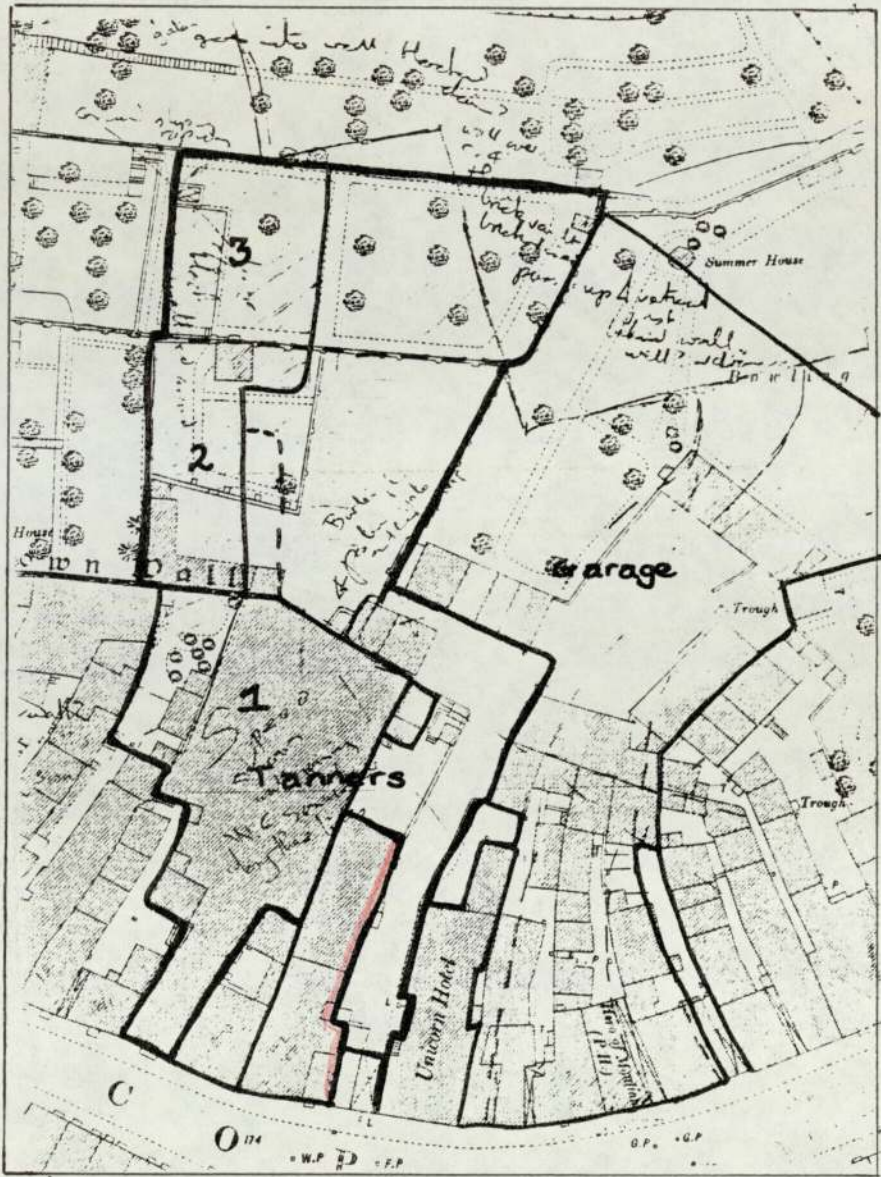
Figure 5.35: Barracks Passage towards Wyle Cop.

route in a town which for a long time was without any pedestrian streets (ref. map, Figure 5.33). Now there are some news-type developments attracting fashion stores and restaurants. Two particular examples are firstly: Grope Lane (Figure. 5.34) - at one time ^{was} lined with important residences, many of the older properties having been built by drapers who were responsible for the woollen trade in the town. The west side also contained a printing works - now converted to shops. Together with the restoration project of the Bear Steps at the north east end, this has become a new trading route. Limitations to changes of use are the small size of some units and the problems of access. However, soft furnishings and gifts, ladies clothes and a hairdresser have been able to use this picturesque position to good effect.

Secondly, is Barracks Passage, leading off Wyle Cop. This wider passage included a cobbled area which is supposed to have been used as a parade ground when the buildings on the southside were used as barracks (ref. Stratton, 1979). For some time it was the location of the Trotting Horse Inn, later to become a restaurant and now standing empty and derelict. However, the developer who has improved buildings on the opposite side, intends eventually to convert this to shops and another restaurant. A new shop front has been inserted towards Wyle Cop, and shops made from the units fronting onto the passage (photo. figure 5.35). It is let to a restaurant and ladies clothes shop/workshop.

b) Depths of Back Plots

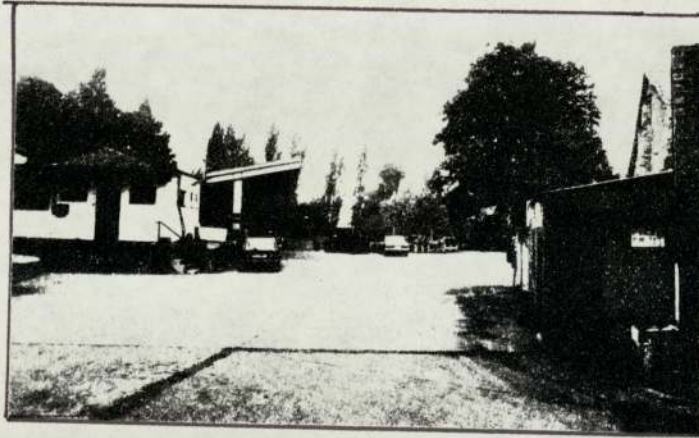
Long rear gardens of the previous large houses have ^{businesses} allowed extensions of the ^{now located there,} such as Tanner's, shown in the map below, or where redevelopment is required they have provided a sizeable plot, such as for Safeway supermarket and car park.



1,2,3 = stages of expansion of Tanners Wine Merchants property this century.

Figure 5.36 Changes made to historic building plots in a section of Wyle Cop.

Figure 5.37 View of Depot to rear of Tanners Wine Merchants



c) Past extension - altering the building line & useage

Examples were found of units being built onto frontages after medieval times, one being at Bridge House Frankwell (Figure 5.39 and 5.40). However, the reverse situation was also noted, i.e. the set-back of a building line in the redevelopment of buildings for a store; Bowers, in Beech Lane, where the demolition of cottages left space for a loading area which later proved useful for those developments able to back onto this (e.g. Laura Ashley and the Sleep Shop). When the store closed in 1981 it was difficult to let as a whole unit but proved appropriate for a music centre which needed a large display space and loading facility, whilst the two top units on Wyle Cop were easily separated and leased individually. This reverses the usual pattern of amalgamation of properties, being a redivision which does not appear to be unusual in the historic town, as found in the interview survey (see Figure 5.41).

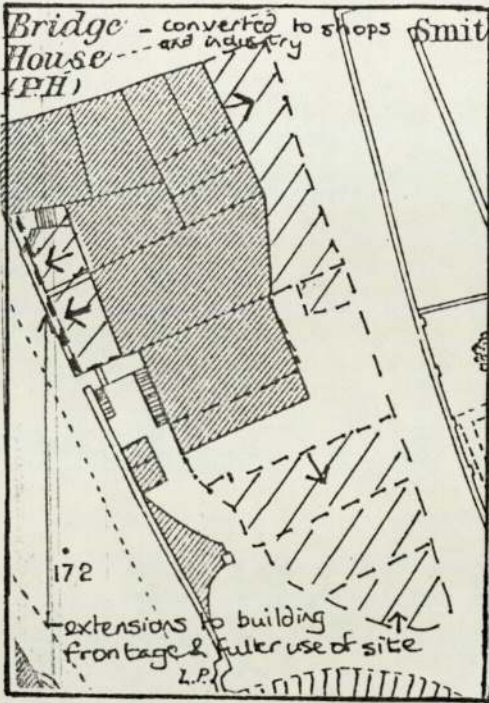


Figure 5.39 Changes to building Boundaries.



Figure 5.40 Bridge House, Frankwell

* 1932 base maps with modern changes.

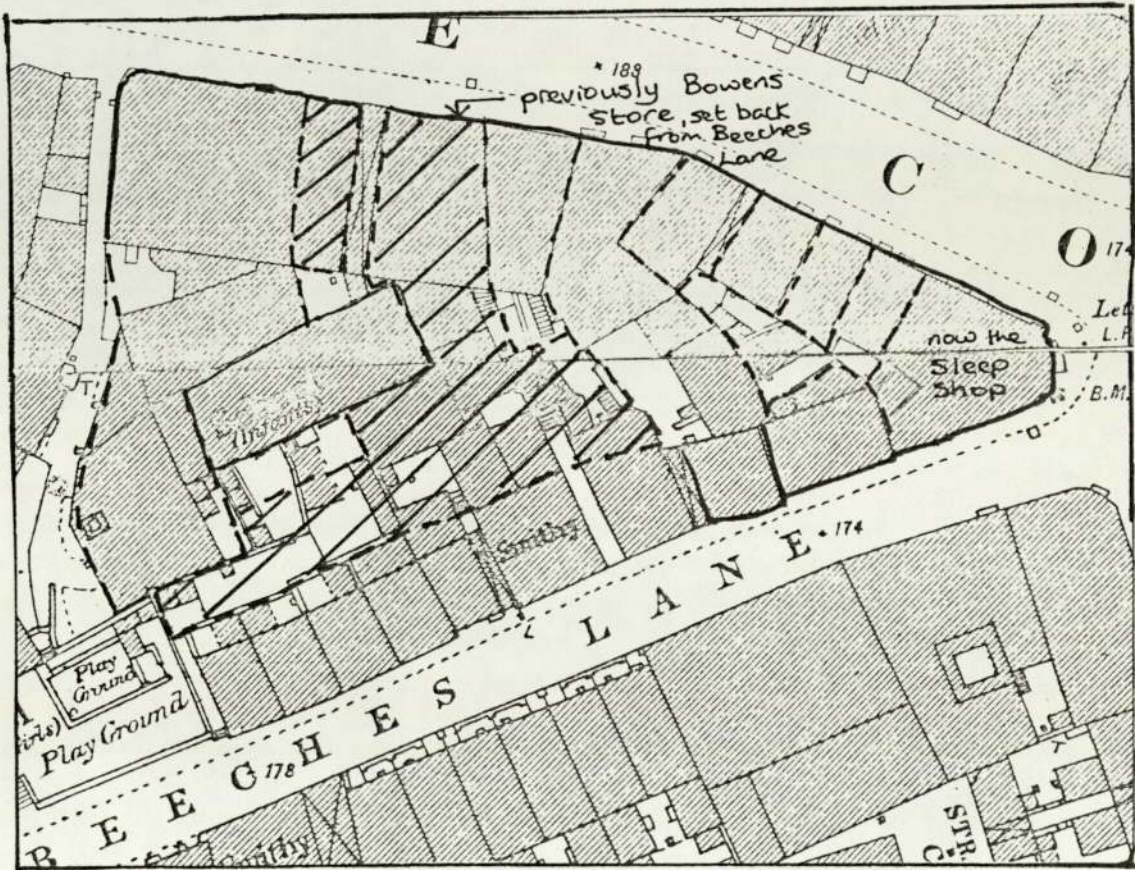


Figure 5.41 Changes to the building pattern on Beeches Lane

d) The influence of historical land use patterns

This was notable in the area around the old town walls. In such a location, a large-scale land use of the past, which has not been encroached by earlier commercial development - as in the more central locations, allows in the modern uses requiring more space, such as the timber yards taken over by vehicle showrooms and workshops as shown in the maps below. It is also noted that problems result for side road exists, whilst this area is often the prime target for ring/relief roads.



1927 Map with major building changes

G = garage

W = Workshops

Figure 5.30 Changing land use patterns on Wyle Cop

e) The pattern of infill development in the past

Where space is limited, as with the site of many historical centres, additional community buildings may be slotted in such as in Shrewsbury some of the non-conformist churches not requiring the large sites of the older churches, or the schools around Beeches Lane. This allows a further mix of use in small areas, sometimes causing problems for planning. It may also mean such buildings remain as relics

in much changed surroundings, when smaller units around are demolished, sometimes finding new uses as they become increasingly redundant. An example is the chapel in Frankwell used as a garage and shown in the photo below and the various buildings in the Wyle Cop/Beeches Lane area, indicated in the maps above.



Figure 5.42 Chapel in Frankwell now used for tyre repair

5.3.2. Building changes to accommodate different types and levels of use over time.

The general land use change survey and the detailed interviews revealed four main types of changes made to buildings associated with changing useage. Whilst representative types could be found in all parts of the centre, the transect revealed a certain spatial variation across the centre - analysed in Chapter Eight.

a) Extensions

These have mainly depended on the land available, and with the constrained central site of Shrewsbury have often

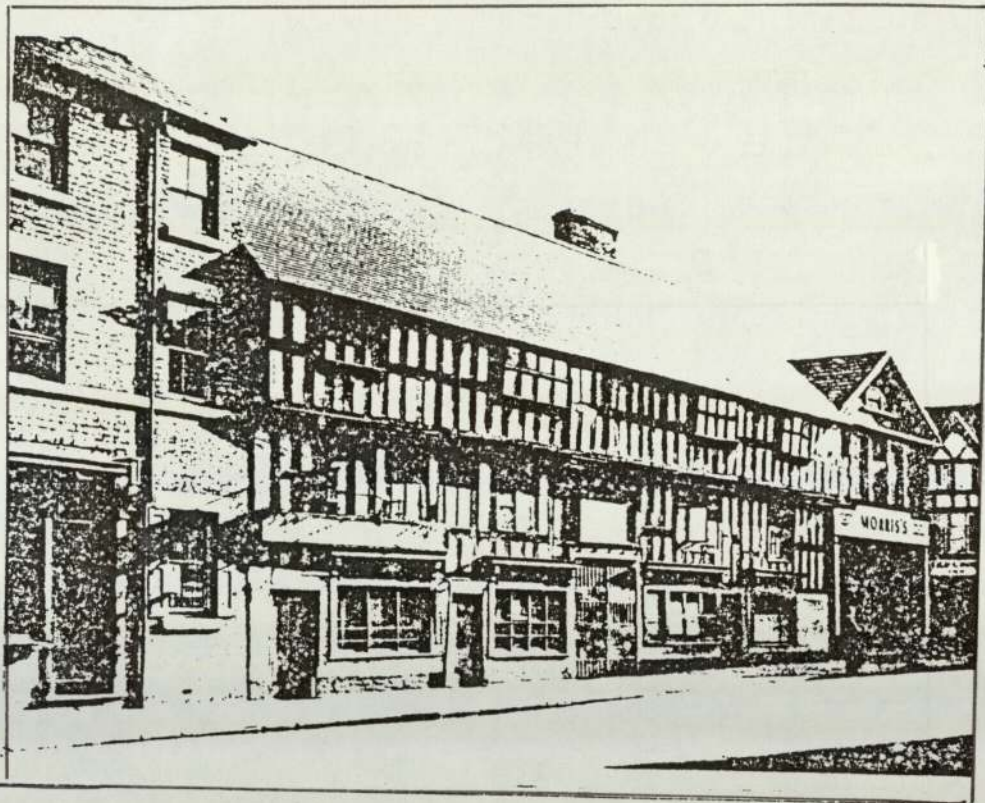


Figure 5.43: The Fellmongers Hall, Frankwell, in the early 1960's



Figure 5.44: The Fellmongers Hall in 1982 - new uses occupy all the building and no. 3 Frankwell adjacent has been demolished.

been associated with the progressive building up of back plots. Tanners (see p. 261) on Wyle Cop, had enough room to the rear of their original premises, together with additional acquisitions of land, to extend their bottling plant and storage facilities, so increasing capacity but still staying in the centre.

b) Conversions

There have been an increasing number of larger historic buildings found to be suitable to convert to other uses, including the Fellmonger's Hall in Frankwell (see photograph Figure 5.43 and 5.44). This is unusual being a building which remained in the use for which it was built in the late 16th century (serving the needs of the wool trade) until 1971. It is now undergoing a radical change of use, having been restored and adapted for offices and living accommodation, with the warehouse to the rear to be used as a community centre. More often, buildings are gradually adapted for a number of uses over such a period, for example the cottages in Abbey Foregate later used as a garage (see Figure D.8. Appendix).

c) Re-arrangements

A number of occupiers were found to have altered their own use of the building to suit changing requirements, so that an apparently stable use may have undergone a number of changes although not actually altering its land use category. To some extent this has happened at 69 Wyle Cop. Occupied by a firm of surveyors for about 25 years, the intensity of use of the building has varied according to the amount and type of business they have received. For instance, they made an

extension over to new offices on the site of cottages along Bowdlers Passage about nine years ago, but later sub-let it to another company. As the nature of their business changed a conference room was added and a better reception area. There have also been adaptations of apparently unsuitable buildings, such as Owen Owen Department Store, which uses to advantage the variety of levels resulting from the takeover of a number of smaller units (see Figure 5.18).

d) Lower level of use or closure

As Exley's survey of upper floor use shows (1981) more shops are concentrating their businesses on lower floors, not finding it worth while to make full use of upper floors. Others, such as the Nag's Head public house have a number of rooms which are not used. Yet this building has long term potential, containing remains of a timber-framed medieval hall, currently being restored by Avoncroft Museum (and could possibly be linked through to the pub and used as a restaurant in future).

5.3.3. The Influence of Changing Planning Policies

The long-term planning history of an area or changing pressures which modify the implementation of a policy can considerably influence the eventual use of a site, and condition/improvement of a building. The most visible effects are often where there has been no action taken on a proposed policy creating delay and uncertainty that results in a familiar pattern of blight. An example of this at the site level is the range of buildings at the bottom end of Wyle Cop (46-52), long derelict awaiting redevelopment associated with

a proposed road scheme* and recently refurbished.

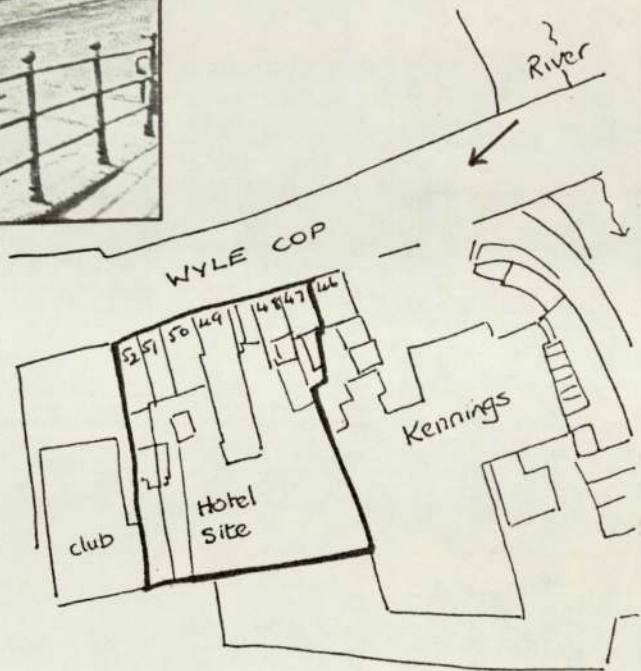


Figure 5.45 Lower Wyle Cop

Figure 5.46 Hotel Development Site

* see also ref. p. 414.

The range of buildings shown in photograph and map (Figures 5.45 and 5.46) are centred on the original Lion and Pheasant Inn, no. 49, which ceased to be used as a public house in 1961. The nearby Kennings garage was using it for the storage of spares for a while and then it remained empty for about three years up to 1977. It was then that the present owner decided to buy the property and convert it, together with 50 to 52 and also 48 (the other buildings were previously used for retail and living accommodation), as the road scheme showed little likelihood of completion. The original idea was to convert to flats, until it was realised that an hotel would be a viable proposition and an application was made in 1978 to convert to a hotel and one flat. Although the council were in favour, highway objections prevented the application going through until 1979 when the A49 was no longer classified as a trunk road. As work progressed, No. 47 was bought and the decision made to let the front units as shops.

Policies concerning changes of use in different parts of the centre, in some cases appear to have been relaxed, so introducing a new element to an area previously 'protected' from such incursions. For example, the areas designated for offices and shops in the 1968 documents (*) are no longer ~~be~~ rigidly enforced although no new guidelines have been made. Thus, No. 1 High Street, where the preference was for shop use, has eventually been let for offices, and similarly No. 13 and 14 Wyle Cop (see Figures 8.36). The effects of these policies are examined further in Chapters Six and Seven.

* Shrewsbury Borough Council 1968

5.4 Summary of Historical Aspects of Land Use Change

This section has demonstrated the influence of historical processes and patterns of land use change found at different levels. Looking at the town as a whole it was found that a number of features in its history have continued to influence the nature and spatial distribution of uses in the centre. Most obvious were the physical constraints of the site of the town and its geographical situation. The relative prosperity and growth of the town at specific periods in the past further conditioned the process of renewal and residential expansion, with repercussions on various parts of the centre. This puts current conservation constraints into perspective and highlights the scale and pace of change in recent times.

When the centre and its sub-areas were considered, an important aspect of the process of changing uses was the rate of change. As is the case in many centres, a rapid change of use-character was found in some areas, but a slow process of adaptation was identified elsewhere. The use of different 'change indicators' suggested some of the reasons for differential change in this centre. For example, measures of the turnover of properties showed it to be greatest in the core of the centre. This appeared to be influenced by the location of redevelopments and strongly visible conversion schemes. The historical perspective also suggested that each street underwent a cycle of change and redevelopment, relative to its location, physical character and functional role at different times - a theme which is developed in Chapter Eight.

At the site level, the historical knowledge of previous uses of properties indicated the flexibility of the fabric in general and also where there has been a reversion back to a former use. A long term view of locational behaviour of occupants in the past showed how length of occupation was related to the type of business and the location of redevelopment schemes. The effect of the general economic climate at different times could also be seen in both the introduction of new uses and the changing pressures for development which are explored further in the transect surveys. However many land use patterns at this general level cannot be said to be specific only to the historic centre.

A variety of methods were employed to explore the historical aspects. General historic data is usually provided for District Plans - Reports of Survey, but research is not always so thorough at the smaller area level. However for this research, background data from scales other than the central area itself enabled it to be placed in the context of broad urban change and also to see the patterns emerging from individual property/site changes.

From the town perspective, information was gained from general historical sources interpreted with reference to the existing land use and layout pattern. This was supplemented by the O.S. map series, guides to and critical commentaries about the town. From the site level, the study of old maps, recent surveys and knowledge of current changes of use, suggested influences that have been and will continue to be important at area level as

constraints or opportunities. Therefore patterns discerned in the rateable values, and property turnover surveys could be explained.

The historical perspective has provided insights into the composition and location of central area uses. The next chapter looks at trends within these activities in relation to planning policy.

6.1 Town Level Functions

The functional aspect of change in the town centre is considered from two viewpoints: firstly, the strategic role of the town in the past and in recent times, and secondly the influence of planning on these changing functions.

6.1.1. The Changing Roles of the Town

Shrewsbury has prospered in the past from the wool trade during the 16th century, the agricultural boom in the 18th century and from the growth of services in the 20th century. Indeed, the town's attractions as a business and tourist centre are long founded. Tarbuck wrote in 1787 (ref. Walburgh Ward 1935):

"Shrewsbury, having been the established road to Ireland from London, Bath and Bristol, causes much business to be done here and is the means of an influx of money, as most of the travellers make a point to stop here to view the beauties of this delightfully situated town."

Whilst the post-war period has seen its role as a market town diminish, there has been no decline in its commercial importance. During the 1960's it was described as a centre of administration, further education, specialist medical treatment and culture (Ginsburg, 1963). However, it was thought that the growth of nearby Telford might affect this role. This concern has proved unfounded as Shrewsbury has extended its service functions. Services occupied 70% of the workforce in 1975* having increased

* Dept. of Employment, Census of Employment 1975 in Salop County Structure Plan written statement: 19% in manufacturing, 6% in construction, and 4% in primary industries.

by 2000 between 1971 and 1975^{*}. The increase has been mainly jobs in the professional and scientific category, which is also reflected in the increase in office floorspace shown in Table VI, Appendix.

The Structure Plan later attempted to clarify the role of the two main Shropshire centres with 'natural trends' to be reinforced for Shrewsbury:

"Shrewsbury and Telford should be encouraged to develop as complementary centres, Shrewsbury will maintain its existing role as the County Town and main administrative centre. Telford will develop as the main area of employment growth in the county" (Salop County Structure Plan 1980)

Although Shrewsbury is known as a county market town, it does possess some heavy industry such as mechanical engineering employment being in a few large firms. Most of this industry is to the north in the Harlescott and Sundorne areas, whilst the majority of office and retail jobs are in the town centre. The higher proportion of floorspace devoted to these two categories are indicated in the Table 6.1, in comparison with the average for England towns 1981, (ref. Table VI, Appendix).

The historic development of the town has helped define it as a specialist retail centre^{**}. With reference to retail figures in Tables II & III, compared with other towns in the West Midlands, Shrewsbury has a lower than average number of persons per shop, taking the town's population, but a higher than average turnover per shop, which implies that the town serves quite a wide

* Discussion Document on Employment by Shrewsbury & Atcham District Council 1979.

** The District Discussion document on employment also suggests that as an attractive historic centre, this would be a draw to firms wishing to start business in Shropshire.

Table 6.1: Commercial & Industrial Floorspace Statistics 1981

Shrewsbury & Atcham	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1967	160.2	101.9	0	—	116.5	33.1	411.7
1974	214.4	132.8	7.6	11.5	132.0	56.8	554.7
1977	233.6	144.7	17.9	10.8	135.6	59.2	601.8
1981	246.9	155.8	20.9	10.3	140.3	62.7	636.9
% increase 1967-1981	54.1%	52.9%	—	—	20.4%	89.4%	54.7%
Prop. of total space in different types 1981	33.8%	25.4%	3.3%	1.6%	22.0%	9.8%	100%
Prop. for England in different types 1981	48.21	23.8%	3.8%	2.1%	12.9%	9.1%	100%

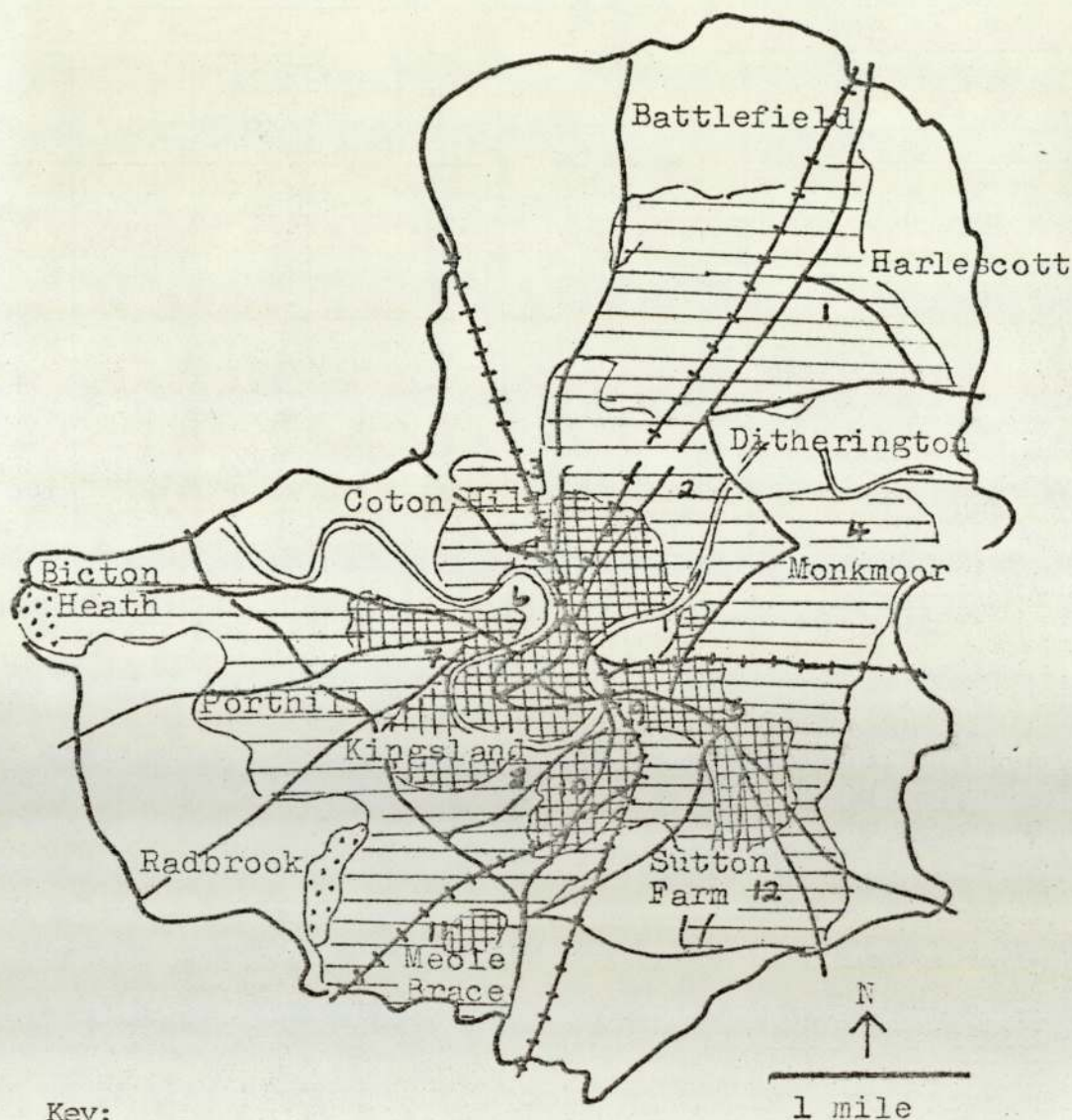
Key: 1. Industry '000 sq. m.
 2. Covered Warehouses
 3. Open Storage Warehouses
 4. Shops with Living Accommodation
 5. Shops & Restaurants
 6. Commercial Offices
 7. Total
 — not applicable

Source: D.O.E. Commercial & Industrial Floorspace Statistics 1981

catchment area, indicating its continuing regional role. Its role as a tourist centre is less prominent than one would expect and a survey in 1971 (**) showed that most tourists stayed one day or less which reflects both the nature of its attractions and its strategic location. Situated on routes between the West

** Plans for more positive promotion and development of tourism facilities are proposed in the District Plan Discussion Document on Conservation and Tourism (1981).

Figure 6.1: The Growth of Shrewsbury.

Key:

The size of Shrewsbury in:
1900



additions by 1976



additions by 1980

Residential Area TypesKey

1. Harlescott - interwar development + post-war council housing
2. Castlefields & Ditherington - property pre 1900 + some inter-war
3. Greenfields & Cotton Hill - pre 1900 + some inter-war
4. Monkmoor - small pre 1900, rest after 1929 by the council
5. Abbey Foregate - mainly pre 1900 with later infilling
6. Frankwell - mostly pre 1881
7. Copthorne/Shelton - mainly post 1929 semi-detached, oldest near centre.
8. Kingsland - large semi's pre 1900 + later additions
9. Coleham Head area - early settlement most pre 1881
10. Belle Vue - mixed residential of varying ages
11. Meole Brace - village redevelopment pre 1875 & inter-war private
12. Springfield & Sutton Farm - post-war & 1950's

Source: Shrewsbury & Atcham Borough Council (1979)
and Town Map 1965.

Midlands and North Wales, and Merseyside/Manchester and South Wales, many use the town as a stop-over on their journeys, probably for similar reasons to those quoted in the 18th century (see above).

6.1.2. The Influence of Planning on Sectoral Change

The three main categories of central area land uses were reviewed in relation to the planning policies for the town as a whole, concerning residential, retail and commercial uses.

a) Residential

The location and age/type classification of the main residential areas is relevant to the extension or shift of the activities of the central area and its overall structure (ref. map. Figure 6.1). The direction and extent of the residential development has been constrained both by physical factors, such as land drainage and the existence of good agricultural areas, and by planning factors - the location of the by-pass and industrial development areas. Recent estates and the routes by which they are linked to the centre have affected developments on the adjacent central area fringes, discussed further in the fringe studies.

Within the town a major factor over the years has been the decrease in residential population in the centre and corresponding increase in the suburbs. Exley (1981) in his study suggests that the decline in attractiveness of the centre was due to increased traffic and ensuing problems. In addition the poor condition of many buildings, a number of redevelopment schemes and the loss of family businesses, often associated with the decline of the residential use of upper floors over shops, also conspired to produce

Table 6.2: Population in the Centre & Two Suburbs of Shrewsbury

Population	Central Area	Battlefield	Meole Brace
1951	3700	670	2740
1976	1600	7960	7465
1951-1976	-2100	+7290	+4725

Source: Shrewsbury & Atcham Borough Council 1979.

a decline in central area population.(see above table 6.2).

As early as the 1960's Shrewsbury joined the ranks of many other towns in its concern that the centre should be:

"more than just the commercial heart of the town during the daytime and an empty museum after business hours" (discussed in Exley's study, 1981).

The Structure Plan incorporated this in the policy so that:

"where possible, encouragement should be given to introducing additional housing ... especially in the town centre, both by conversions of existing premises and by new developments." *

The District Council also stated (Shrewsbury Atcham Borough Council 1978) that it proposed:

"to increase the amount of residential accommodation in the central area by a) refusing planning applications for change of use which would result in the loss of existing residential floorspace; b) encouraging the use of vacant and other non-residential floorspace as appropriate for residential purposes, unless this would result in properties remaining empty, in which case alternative uses are considered on merit."

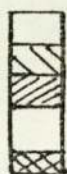
b) Commercial Uses

Shrewsbury has a larger than proportionate level of demand for office employment for a town of its size, probably because of the lack of alternative centres to the west. Yet

* (Shropshire County Council, 1980)

Figure 6.2: Office Development Policy from 1968.

Key:



no office use allowed
on upper floors only
ground floor according to
type of business
office use allowed on all
floors

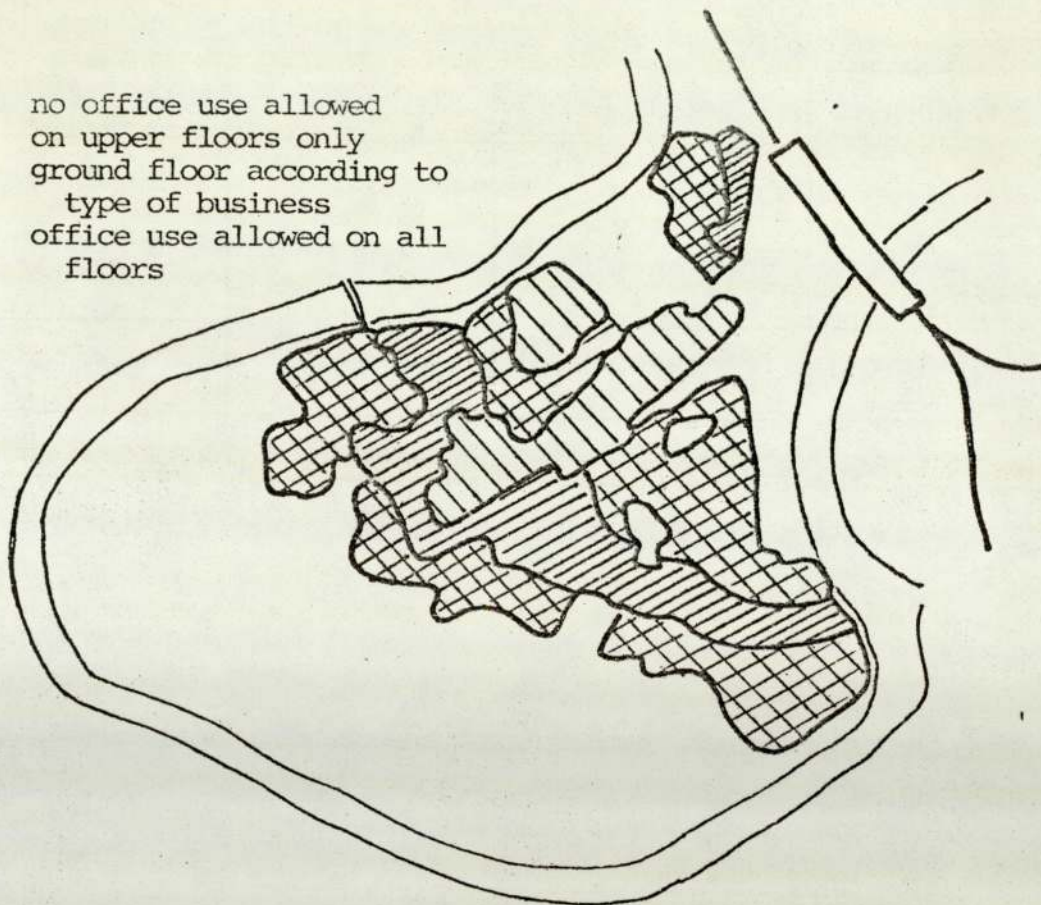
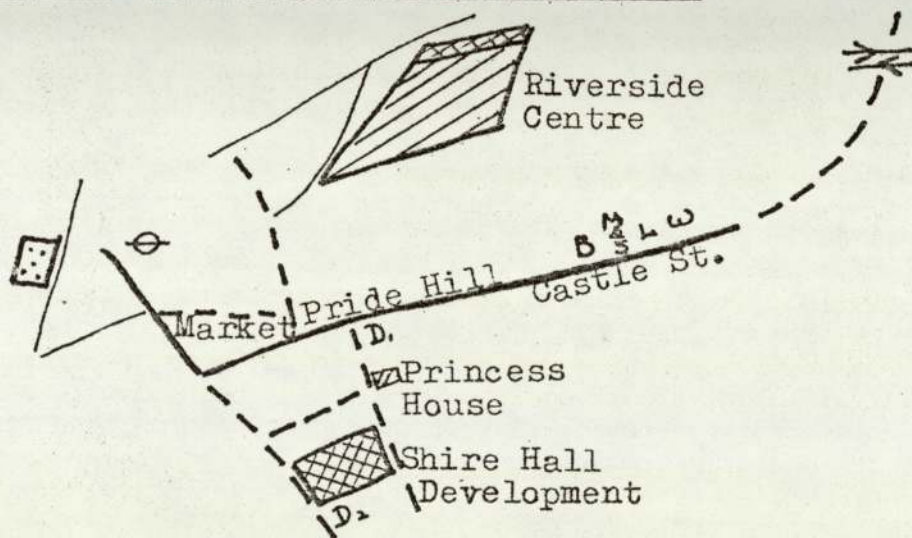
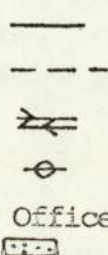


Figure 6.3: Commercial Features of the Centre.



Key:



— Main shopping streets

- - - Secondary shopping

⌵ Rail Station

⊙ Bus Station

Office

Shop

Shop & Offices

Shop & Offices

Key multiple traders

B Boots

M&S Marks & Spencer

L Littlewoods

W Woolworths

D, 2 Department Stores

in recent years there has been a surplus of office space. A survey in 1966 revealed that 1/9 of all floorspace in listed buildings was vacant and much of this was unused office floorspace. This led to a more detailed survey of shop and office accommodation in 1968, which found 139500 sq.ft. unused and suggested no new office space was needed and that it was unnecessary to extend the office sector beyond its existing location (part of the centre and Abbey Foregate) to which new developments would be directed. (Shrewsbury Borough Council, 1968)

The policy restricting office development in certain areas of the centre is shown in the map Figure 6.2 and this continued as a major land use policy controlling commercial development in the town for the next ten years. The diagram Figure 6.3 indicates the location of some of the more recent major office schemes in the centre, together with the main features of the shopping centre as assessed in a survey on potential towns for commercial development (Buckley, 1975).

c) Retail

The general policy for shopping has been to restrict developments outside the central area to protect the trading viability of the centre (apart from promoting local shopping centres). There appeared to be an over-provision of floorspace in the early 1970's which threatened to reduce the overall prosperity of the centre, which was reflected in the considerable number of vacant shops scattered throughout the town. Policies were therefore mainly concerned with protecting the prosperity of the town centre shopping from large-scale development on the outskirts of the town (see footnote on the next page).

The discussion document on shopping (Shrewsbury & Atcham 1979b) has looked at the general trends and found firstly an increase in the number of shops and gross floorspace in the town centre; secondly, closure of foodstores in the town, especially in the centre because of higher land values and problems of such retailing in a congested centre; thirdly decentralisation mainly of convenience shops. Together with these trends have been controversial issues concerning improvement of the shopping centre involving car parking provision and pedestrianisation. Meanwhile, the last decade has seen both the clarification and undermining of retail policies from the strategic viewpoint. The consequences and implementation issues of these policies are highlighted at the local level in two ways: firstly, public local inquiries into a proposed superstore development to the north of the town and secondly, by reference to the review already being carried out by the County Council in monitoring its structure plan policies on retailing.

An initial application for a superstore at Harlescott by the C.R.S. was refused in 1974 and again in 1977. This was on the grounds that the development would undermine the Council's policies to sustain and conserve the town centre. In the former application, concern was expressed about the amount of additional shopping provision required, coupled with indecision regarding

* (from previous page) How seriously the centre was threatened is questionable as the Census of Distribution shows that the proportion of shops in the centre (out of the town as a whole) was 42% in 1961 but 53% in 1971. The total central area shopping floorspace in 1971 constituted 74% of the town total, higher than the average for the historic towns in Tables III & V and the 60% average for towns in England.

the effect of Telford and the forthcoming Structure Plan proposals. The appellants' argument was that the estimates of potential turnover had produced erroneous figures of 'slack'. The second case in 1977 brought forward more arguments concerning the impact on the existing historic centre. On this occasion the C.R.S. made a study of the number of listed buildings, which would be adversely affected by the proposal in terms of drawing off trade. They amounted to a maximum of 24 out of 231 listed buildings these being food shops and few of these being seriously affected. One of the main reasons for the refusal this time was also that the proposal:

"would adversely affect the town's shopping centre, which it is the Council's policy to sustain in order to provide effective use and support of many of its historic buildings." D.O.E. (1975)

The District Council noted at the appeal that:

"the improved appearance and fuller occupation of buildings in the centre is thought to be testimony for the success of this policy over the last ten years."

The inspector decided in favour of the appellants despite the policies of the Structure Plan being clearly against such developments. He stated that whilst he appreciated the importance of protecting the historic centre, he did not consider it should be done by "interfering with the normal pattern of free fair trading competition" and that the advantages to the public, particularly because of the physical constraints of the centre outweighed the disadvantages to the town centre shops.*

* The inspector also noted: "over the past few years considerable changes in shopping trends and policies as well as in methods of forecasting expenditure. Such changes are reflected in the Council's attitude of opposition in 1971 to any shopping development on the Harlescott industrial estate, to their approval in the last year or so of a total of 10,000 sq. ft. of additional retail use on an adjoining appeal site."

The proviso to the granting of permission on appeal was that sales of durable goods were restricted (to 6000 sq.ft. out of the 26000 sq.ft. retail selling space), although no evidence was given that restricting the sale of particular non-food goods could have less effect on town centre shops.

Secondly, the consequences of Structure Plan retailing policies are currently being reviewed by the County Council, mainly by monitoring planning applications and completions.* An attempt has been made to calculate changes in shopping floorspace, but changes in survey methodology make it difficult to compare data. However, some indication of change can be seen from the food/non-food ratios for the two survey years of 1975 and 1979.

Table 6.3: Shopping Floorspace 1975 and 1979.

	Net Food Floorspace m ²		Net Non-Food Floorspace m ²	
	1975	1979	1975	1979
Shrewsbury	14700	19208	46500	75416

Source: Shropshire County Council 1981

Figures indicating the general split between centre and suburban shopping floorspace are particularly relevant to the policies.

* See Note, p. 287, for limits of this analysis

Table 6.4: Shopping Floorspace in Centre & Suburbs

Shrewsbury	1979 Town Centre* Floorspace	As % of whole town		1979 Suburban Floorspace	As % of whole town	
		1971	1979		1971	1979
Food	9709	35.8	51	9379	64.2	49
Non-Food	60691	86.0	91	6020	14.0	9
Service trades	3129	-	61	2022	-	39
TOTAL:	73529	74.2	81	17439	25.8	19

Source: Shropshire County Council, Structure Plan Department. 1980.

*The Central Area was defined according to grid squares (see Fig. 6.4) and so included a much wider area than that within the loop of the river alone.

The review looks at each of the policies in the structure plan with reference to shopping.

For instance, Policy 25:

"Shopping developments will normally take place in existing shopping centres and will be of a scale and type which accord with the size and function of the centres."

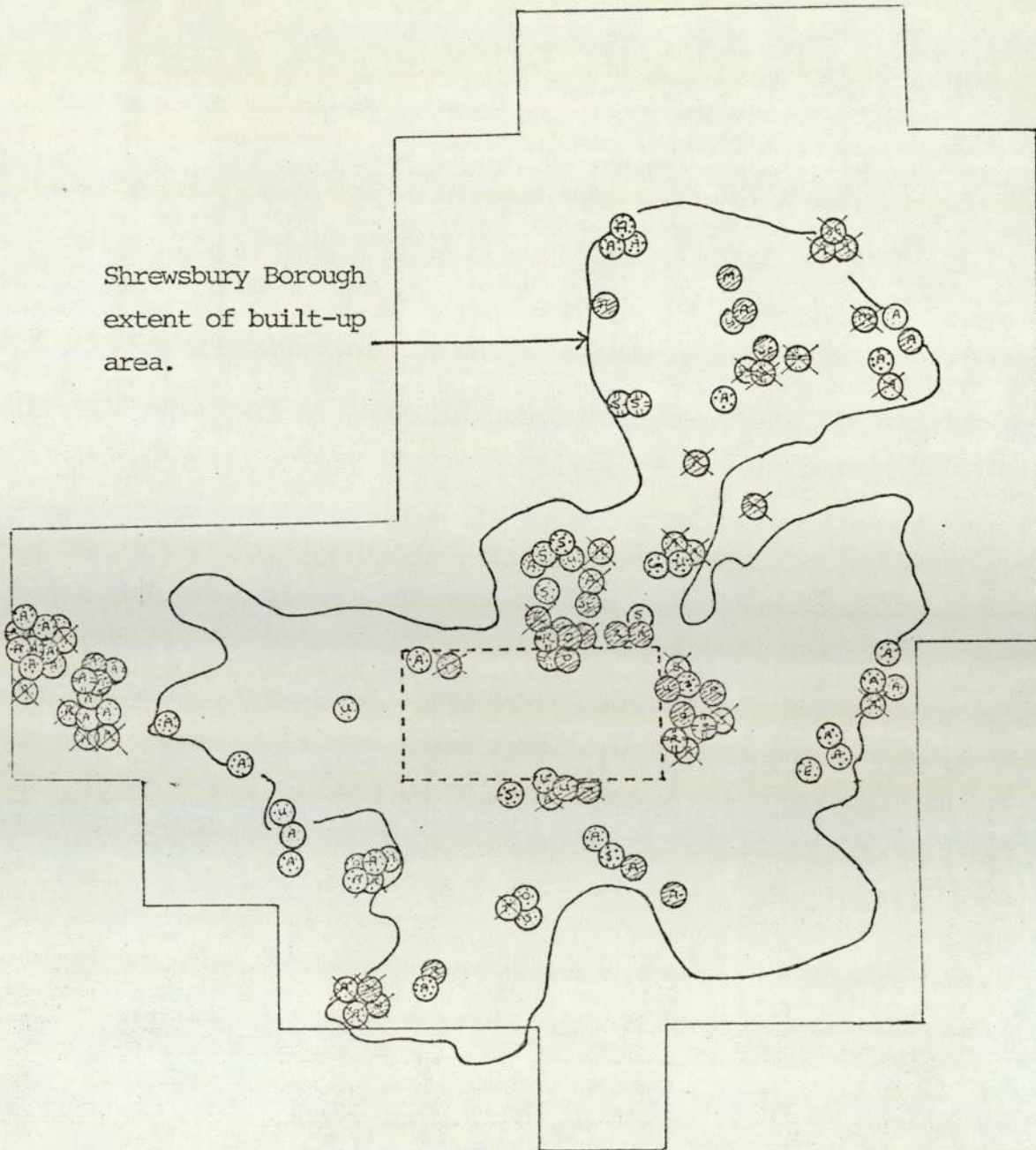
For the county as a whole it was found that those applications refused were mainly outside the centres. However, for permissions granted there appeared to be little difference in the amount of space granted in or out of the centre.

The pressure for outer area development was especially notable - 10,000 sq.ft. being approved.* The report concluded that because of the extra floorspace already granted, there is a need to follow policy 25 or accept that it is no longer tenable.

Policy 26: "Shopping development which might have an adverse effect on the maintenance of the character and physical fabric of the centres of historic town of Shrewsbury ... will normally be discouraged."

* About half being at Harlescott and the rest retail & warehouse developments.

Figure 6.4: Planning Applications for Changes of Use Outside of the Centre 1977-81.



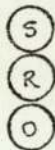
Key:

Change of use to:



Shopping
Residential
Offices
Permission Refused

Change of use from:



Shopping
Residential
Offices

[] Area of Town Centre

Policy 26 recognizes that to assess the effect of shopping permissions on the character and physical fabric, totals cannot be used alone but there is a need to see if they involve demolitions or alterations.

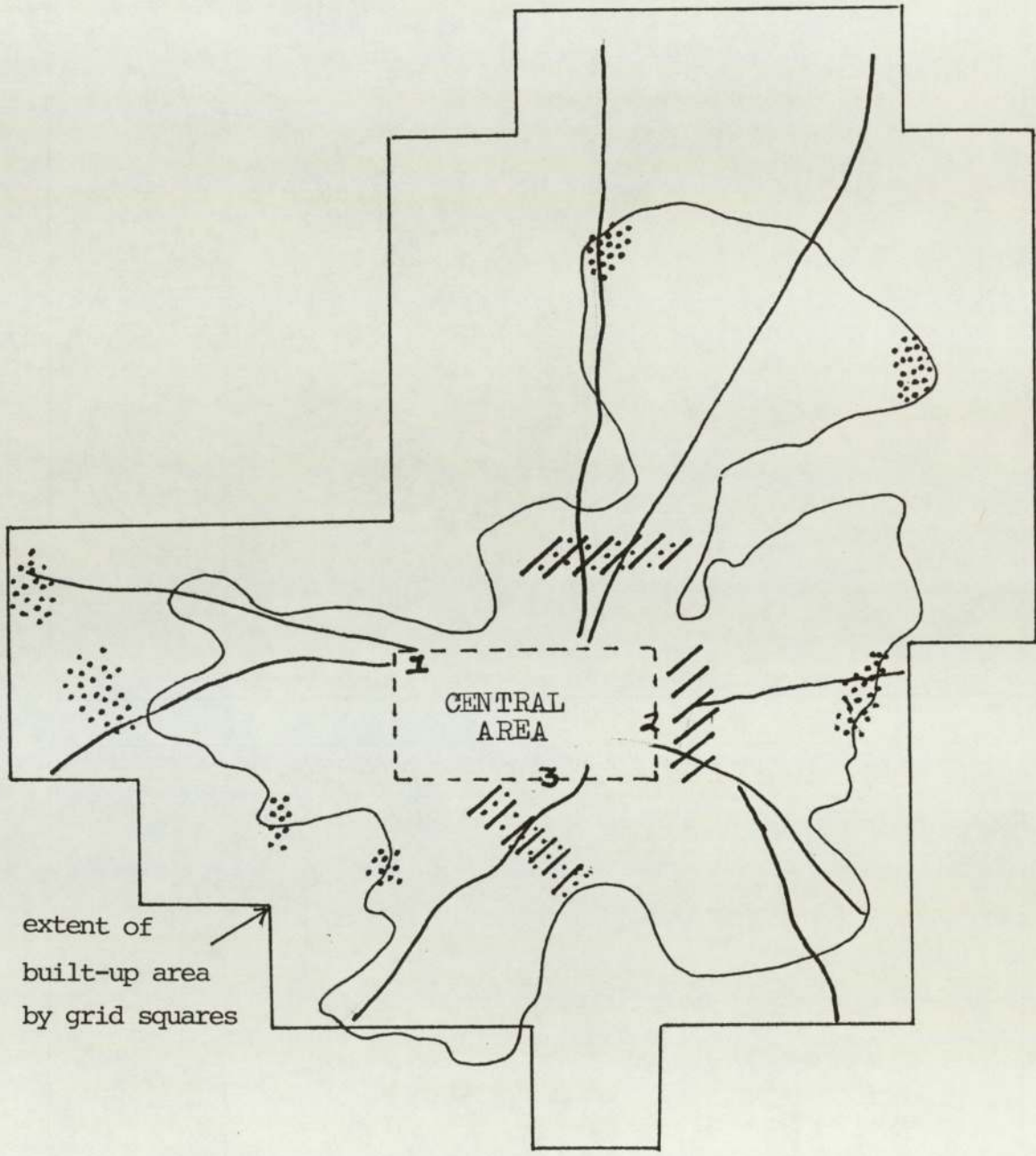
Policy 27: "Shopping development outside the established centre will only be acceptable if:

- i) there is a need for the extra shopping floorspace;
- ii) the development will help to support the overall function of the associated town centre;
- iii) the additional traffic that will be generated by the development can be satisfactorily accommodated by the surrounding network.

In all cases ... should be of a scale and type that cannot be more appropriately provided in the existing town centre."

The review admits that more data is required on the amount and nature of the required extra space to test permissions against these conditions. However, it could be seen that the average size of development was less in the centre (169m^2 compared with 676m^2 outside the centre). It was also suggested that vacant shops need more careful monitoring. The review did not consider the spatial impact of the various pressures for development and therefore the computer print-out on changes of use for Shrewsbury within and outside of the centre was obtained and the location of permissions and refusals plotted - as shown on map Figure 6.4. This emphasised firstly the peripheral areas with most pressure for residential development and associated services, secondly, new retail locations and thirdly, inner area use mix, illustrated in Figure 6.5.

Figure 6.5: SUMMARY OF PLANNING APPLICATIONS in FIGURE 6.4



Key:

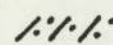


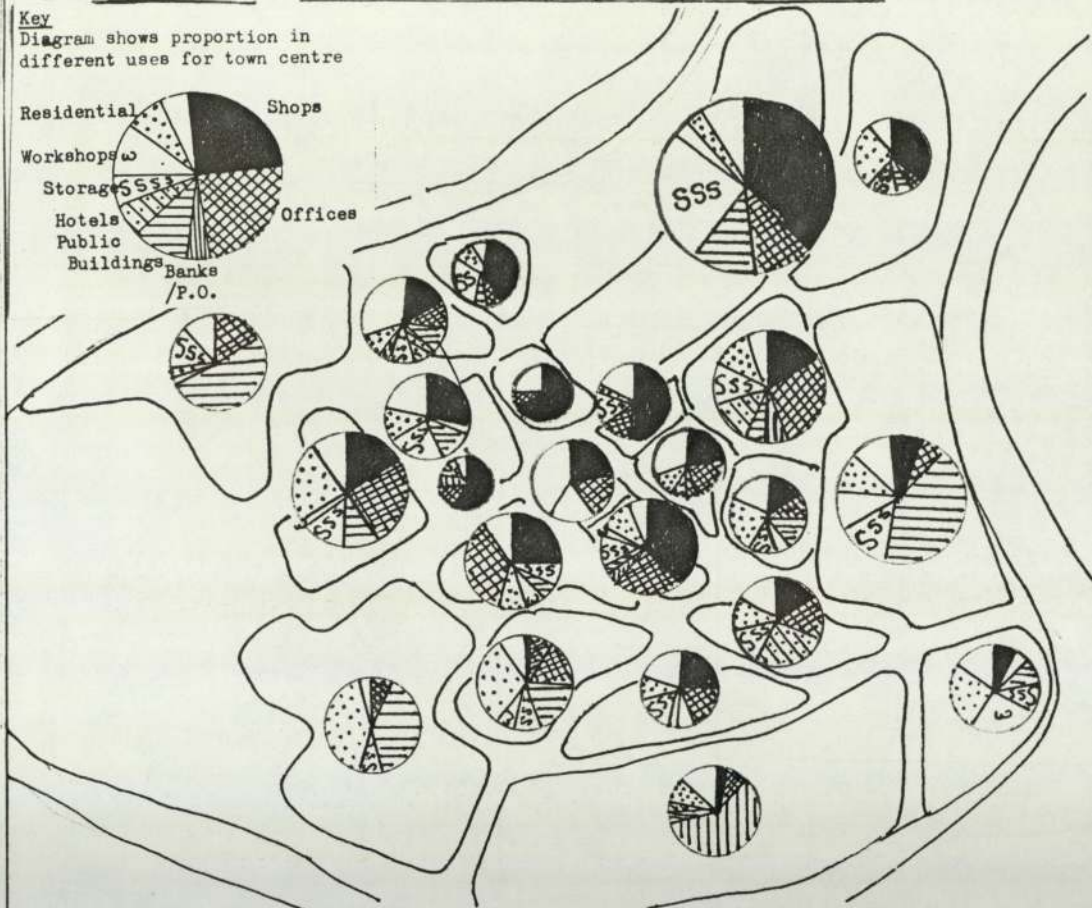
-  Areas of residential conversions
-  Areas of change of use to commercial
-  New residential areas
- Central area fringes affected by peripheral developments:
- 1 Frankwell
- 2 Abbey Foregate
- 3 Longden Coleham

Figure 6.6: Land Use Floorspace Proportions 1979.

Key

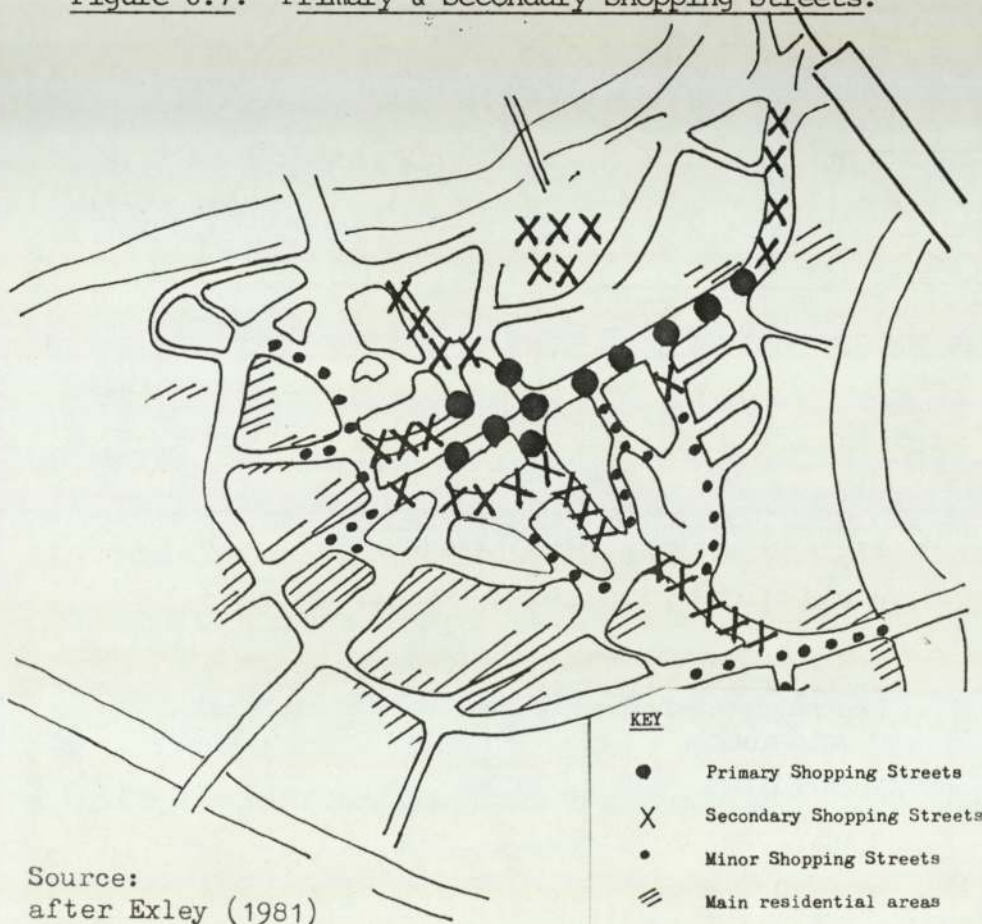
Diagram shows proportion in different uses for town centre

Residential
Workshops
Storage
Hotels
Public
Buildings
Banks
/P.O.
Shops
Offices



Source: Local Authority floorspace figures for blocks

Figure 6.7: Primary & Secondary Shopping Streets.



Source:
after Exley (1981)

6.2 Sub-Areas of the Centre - Use Characteristics

The functions of the town centre are here dealt with in more detail, concentrating on relative change in different parts of the centre. Various aspects of use changes over the past twenty years are examined by the use of historic records and graphic techniques.

6.2.1. Changes of Use 1961-81

Data for blocks within the centre, used by the local authority is checked and supplemented by information from the transect study. General trends in uses are discussed, the length of occupation of property is studied relative to use and location and finally the propensity for certain uses to change more than others is considered.

a) Central Area Land Use

Map, Figure 6.6 shows the proportion of land in different uses for central area blocks, derived from a land use survey made by the District Council in 1977. This survey found that about 13% of the total space was empty. The unexpectedly high amount of storage use (18%) was accounted for by the fact that a large amount was probably disused or underused. When the empty properties were analysed by their last known use the highest proportion (22%) had been residential but with 15% also having been offices. Map, Figure 6.7 shows the main, secondary and minor shopping streets. Whilst the main shopping street of Pride Hill retains its importance, the top end of Mardol has assumed greater importance than previously for shopping, and offices are more important around St. Mary's and Claremont Hill.

Table 6.5: Numbers of Businesses of different types
in Shrewsbury 1964 and 1980

Activity/Trade	1964*	1980-81**	% Change
<u>Manufacturing:</u>			
Builders	12	46	+266
Cabinet Makers	5	2	- 60
Clothing Manufacturers	1	4	+300
Electrical Engineers & Contractors	10	23	+130
Photographers	1	4	+300
<u>Offices:</u>			
Architects & Surveyors	7	11	+ 36
Estate Agents	6	13	+117
Banks	10	6	(24 branches)
Building Societies	11	15	(24 branches)
Credit & Finance Companies	5	15	+200
Insurance Brokers & Cos.	43	44	
<u>Retail:</u>			
Bakers	12	10	- 17
Butchers	13	29	+123
Dairymen	4	5	+ 25
Fishmongers	6	4	- 33
Grocers	45	20	- 63
Greengrocers & Fruiterers	5	5	
Wines & Spirits	7	11	+ 57
Clothing & Footwear	41	40	
Electrical (TV & Radio)	12	8	- 33
Arts & Crafts	3	6	+100
Antiques	11	16	+ 45
Builders Merchants	6	9	+ 50
Chemists	10	7	- 30
Cycle Stores	5	3	- 40
D.I.Y.	1	9	+800
Fishing Tackle	4	2	- 50
Florists	5	9	+ 80
Hardware	3	8	+166
Office Equipment	3	5	+ 66
Travel Agents	3	6	+100
Carpet Merchants	7	9	+ 29
Drapers	4	5	+ 25
Glass & China Merchants	6	1	- 83
Paint & Wallpaper	11	4	- 64
Motor Accessories	5	9	+ 80
Motor Agents	11	17	+ 55
Motor Engineers & Garages	25	50	+100
Vehicle Hire	9	21	+133
Tyre Distributors	3	1	- 66
Department Stores	3	6	+100
<u>Services:</u>			
Decorators	10	42	+320
Dry Cleaners	9	4	- 35
Gents Hairdressers	10	6	- 40
Ladies Hairdressers	29	56	+ 93
Laundries	2	5	+150
Restaurants & Cafes	19	28	+ 47

Sources: Compiled from - *1964 - Trade Directories
- **1980-81 - Yellow Pages & Telephone Directories.

However, there have been a number of changes within these broad categories which in some cases have affected the character of activities in the streets. Table 6.6 gives the total number of businesses engaged in various activities in 1964 compared with 1980/81.

Although Table 6.5 refers to the town as a whole, it does give some indication of trends in the centre. Firstly, offices in general have increased, notably estate agents and branches of building societies. Secondly, shopping increases have been mainly in the durable goods trade, the home improvers making trade for the D.I.Y. and hardware stores, decorators and builders merchants, together with other indicators of rising consumer incomes - photographers, wines and spirits and a number of new restaurants. Thirdly, losses as expected were seen in the grocery trade, although some food is now incorporated in the department store category. This trend, as noted in Chapter Two, could also be the case for other specialist trades such as dry cleaners, now with launderettes, or paint and wallpaper in with D.I.Y., whilst the decline in Gents hairdressers might be accounted for by the growth in mixed salons.

The locations of outlets for certain activities in the centre have changed in a less predictable way. The locations of antiques and motor businesses were two uses investigated because they are traditionally thought of as occupying fringe area/ribbon retail developments, or in the case of the former, grouped in enclaves. Antique shops have increased since 1964, with a grouping around Wyle Cop and Milk Street continuing, but others are now scattered around the edge although Abbey Foregate is not as popular as previously. Motor cycle and parts shops have

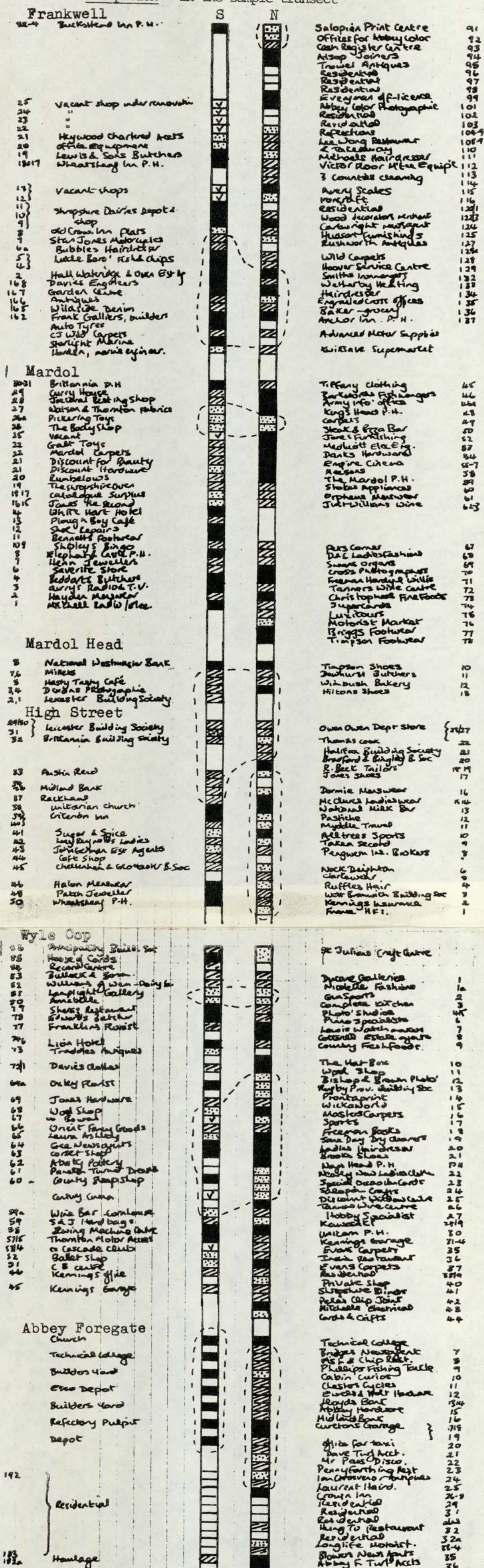
considerably multiplied as expected with the increase in car ownership and with Frankwell and Longdon Coleham as new locations (influenced by the new outlying residential developments on approach roads passing through the areas ?). The proliferation of restaurants recently in all parts of the centre contrasts with 1964 when they dominated the High St. and Pride Hill/Castle Street, the current distribution including a number in secondary and fringe locations.

b) Land Use and Length of Occupation

This analysis enables some of the general changes to be explored further, by using the transect to show the current use for each property and the length of occupation, derived from trade directories, local authority surveys and sample interviews. The results are illustrated by diagram (Figure 6.8) regarding occupancy rates, which shows that streets with the highest proportion of recent occupants are the High Street and Wyle Cop. In the former, newcomers are mainly on the north side including offices, clothes and food shops, whilst in Wyle Cop, there are clusters of new uses on both sides of the street (the top end involving much refurbishment). Meanwhile the oldest established uses are to be found on the south side of Abbey Foregate and in parts of Frankwell. These findings are both contrary to the theoretical characteristics which usually indicate less stability on the edges than the centre.

Areas where businesses have been in the property for between five to fifteen years are in two noticeable groupings, one around the High Street and Mardol Head and the other to the north of Abbey Foregate. There were redevelopment schemes in both areas during the mid-60's which could account for a change of use at

Figure 6.8: Current Ground Floor Use of Properties by Length of Occupation - in the sample transect



that time - but none since because of improved facilities.

A mix of medium and long-term occupants exists on the Bridge side of Frankwell and the top end of Mardol. Both are in relatively good trading positions for the type of goods or businesses in each. Finally, a number of vacancies can be noted on the fringes, but there does not appear to be a high degree of overall change of occupancy on the edges as might be expected (the rate of turnover appears to be higher in the centre).

Secondly, with regard to the nature of land uses, the transect allows differences between the centre and edges to be discerned especially when compared with data on previous uses^{*}. For example, in Frankwell, there appears to be more food/catering and engineering firms than before and more specialists such as in photography, antiques and garden equipment. Mardol has seen an increase in durable goods such as shoes and hardware, whilst the High Street surprisingly has more clothes shops mixed in among the offices. Wyle Cop has gained household goods and services and Abbey Foregate some additional garages, builders yard space and institutional uses - in this respect assuming many of the traditional fringe area uses.

c) Propensity to Change of Use

Linked to the above analysis it is also useful to note the specific consequent changes of use for each property which have taken place within this cross-section. These changes are shown in the matrix (Figure 6.9) which was compiled in the following way:

* from which length of occupation calculated with the use of street directories and Local Authority Surveys.

Figure 6.9: CHANGES BETWEEN
DIFFERENT USE CATEGORIES FOR
TRANSECT PROPERTIES 1961-1981

KEY

FRANKWELL
MARDOL
HIGH STREET
WYLE COP
ABBEY FOREGATE

TOTAL NET CHANGES FOR EACH
USE OVER THE PERIOD

SUMMARY:

NUMBER OF CHANGES OF USE

Properties	Change From	Change To
■	40	43
×	68	68
●	50	51
+	94	84
□	33	34

FROM TO	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	TOTALS FROM
1 COMMUNITY EDUCATION	①																	3
2 RECREATION/LEISURE	×	③																6
3 MANUFACTURING			⑤															5
4 OFFICES - General				④		+									+			6
5 OFFICES - financial					×	⑥		+										11
6 RESIDENTIAL						⑧												15
7 RETAIL food & drk							⑦											44
8 conf/news/tobacc								⑤										13
9 clothing footwear									⑩									33
10 elec/TV/radio										⑦								20
11 other non-food ret.																		65
12 household goods		×																33
13 vehicles													④					7
14 dept sto/superstore														⑪				5
15 SERVICES household															⑤			27
16 PUBLIC HOUSES				+												③		4
17 RESTAURANT/CAFE																	⊕	6
TOTALS TO	2	9	0	10	23	5	20	8	35	16	73	28	11	6	22	2	12	7

includes
all other categories

- each known change of use over the last twenty years is recorded indicating the specific change between categories of land use. There may thus be several changes for one property, but no indication of when the change took place;
- a separate row and symbol are used for the five streets in the transect;
- the totals at the side of each row indicate the number of changes from a particular use;
- the totals at the bottom of each column are the number of changes to a particular use;
- the numbers diagonally are losses and gains, i.e. net changes to a particular use (N.B. groupings of uses roughly follow the National Land Use Classification);
- where the last change has been to vacant this is given but no intermediate vacancies are noted as the length of period empty is not known.

The following points can be noted with regard to this Table:

1. The main loss of shops has been from the food and drink category, particularly from Wyle Cop and Mardol although the latter is balanced by changes to new activities within the category, e.g. bakers to delicatessen (see Figure 6.11).
2. Losses from residential have been mainly where redevelopment has taken place, i.e. a change of use of the whole site rather than a single building, and from fringe areas of Frankwell and Abbey Foregate.
3. Losses from manufacturing, confectionary/news and tobacconists, and household goods indicated the nature of change in the Frankwell, Wyle Cop and Mardol areas respectively, although noting that this refers to totals over the twenty year period.

4. The main gain in the number of shops has been in the 'other non-food' retail category. This is not surprising since it includes a wide range of uses, but gains were notably high in Wyle Cop.

5. Net increases were also found in the financial office sector, mainly located in the High Street but with some additional general offices in Mardol. If office-type uses such as travel agents are included (generally put in the retail category) the total increase would be higher.

6. The number of restaurants and cafes has increased in these streets in common with the rest of the centre. If the adjacent areas had been included the totals for High Street and Wyle Cop would have shown the predominance of these parts of the town.

7. Finally, there is an overall tendency for properties to remain in the same use, although they may change ownership. This is particularly the case for financial offices, and also clothing and footwear, food and drinks, vehicles businesses and restaurants. Those more likely to change to different uses are general offices, electrical, T.V. and radio and 'other non-food retail' shops.

Many of the changes analysed over a period of time reflect both national trends and specific user characteristics. The question of why a certain activity is located in a particular position is explored further in Section 7.3. The following photographs (Figures 6.10 - 6.12) illustrate some of the points noted above in one of the streets, Mardol.

Figures 6.10 - 6.12:
Change in Mardol.

Figure 6.10

Some old established uses have remained such as Cross Photographers. However grocery and general stores such as Mason & Lipton have given way to either durable goods such as Swans pianos or multiples such as the shoe shops.

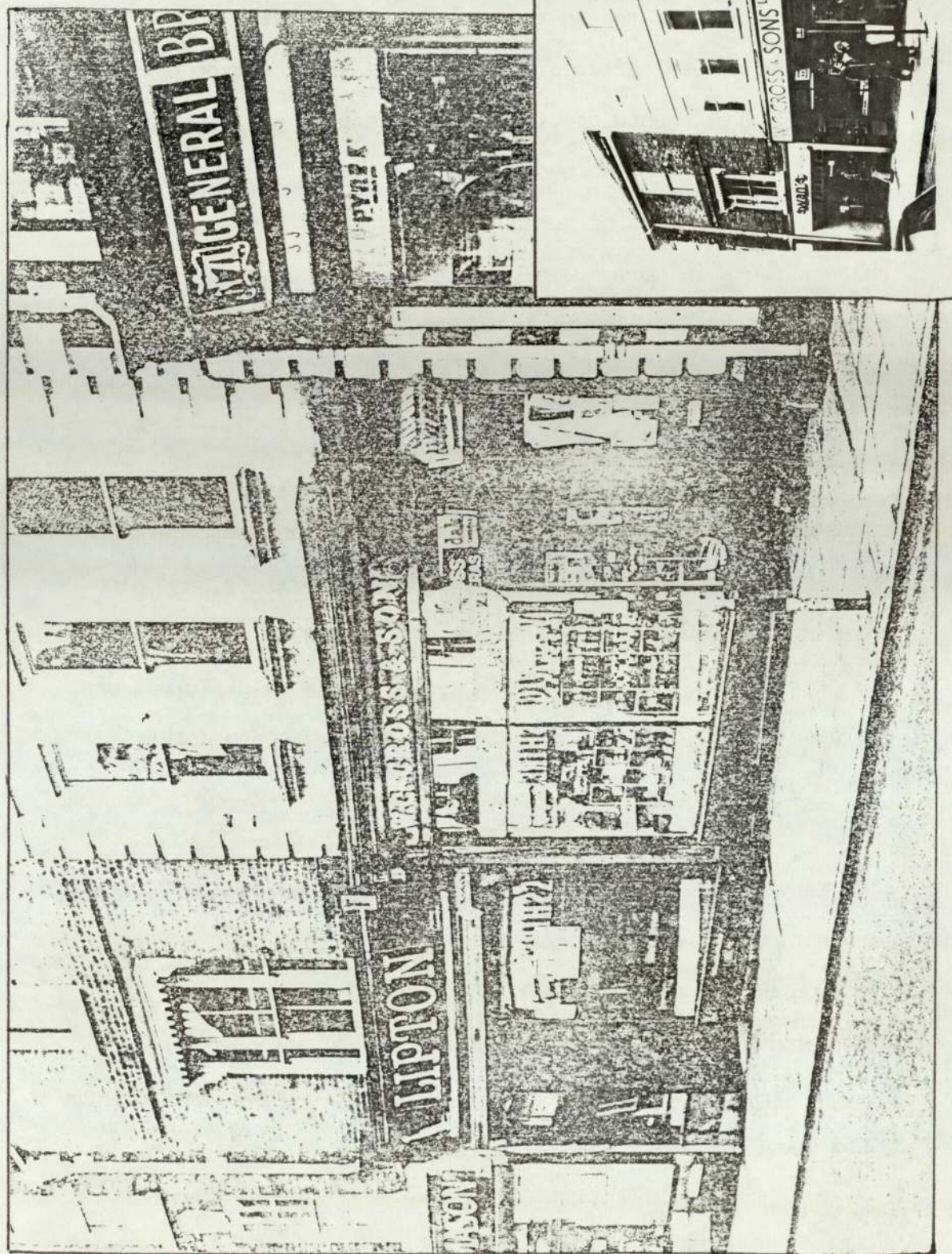




Figure 6.11

Some of the more recent shops in Mardol which include a delicatessen.

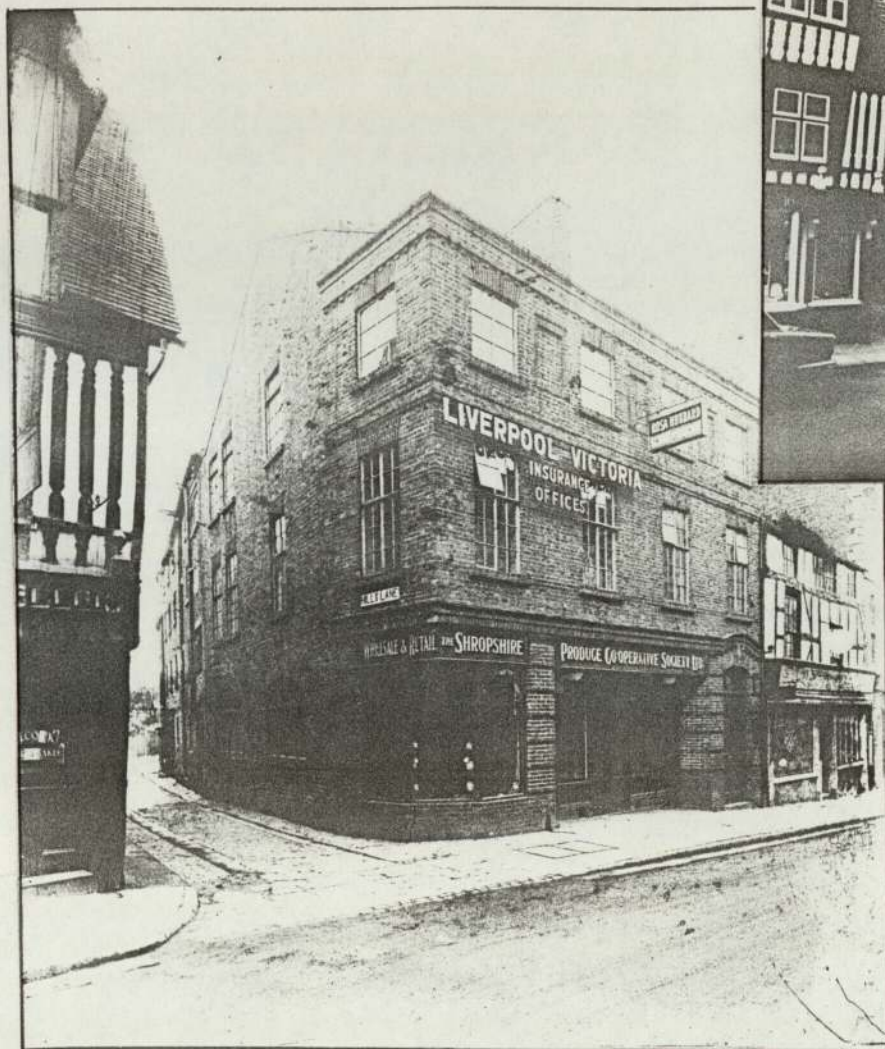


Figure 6.12 + inset: Although still documented as shops and offices, Mardol has changed in the nature of its uses since the 1950's shown in the main picture above, with the loss of food stores replaced by discount clothes and hardware. The LiverpoolVictoria offices remain but the top floor has become disused. The factory to the rear is to become shops and housing.

6.2.2. Planning Influence 1961-81

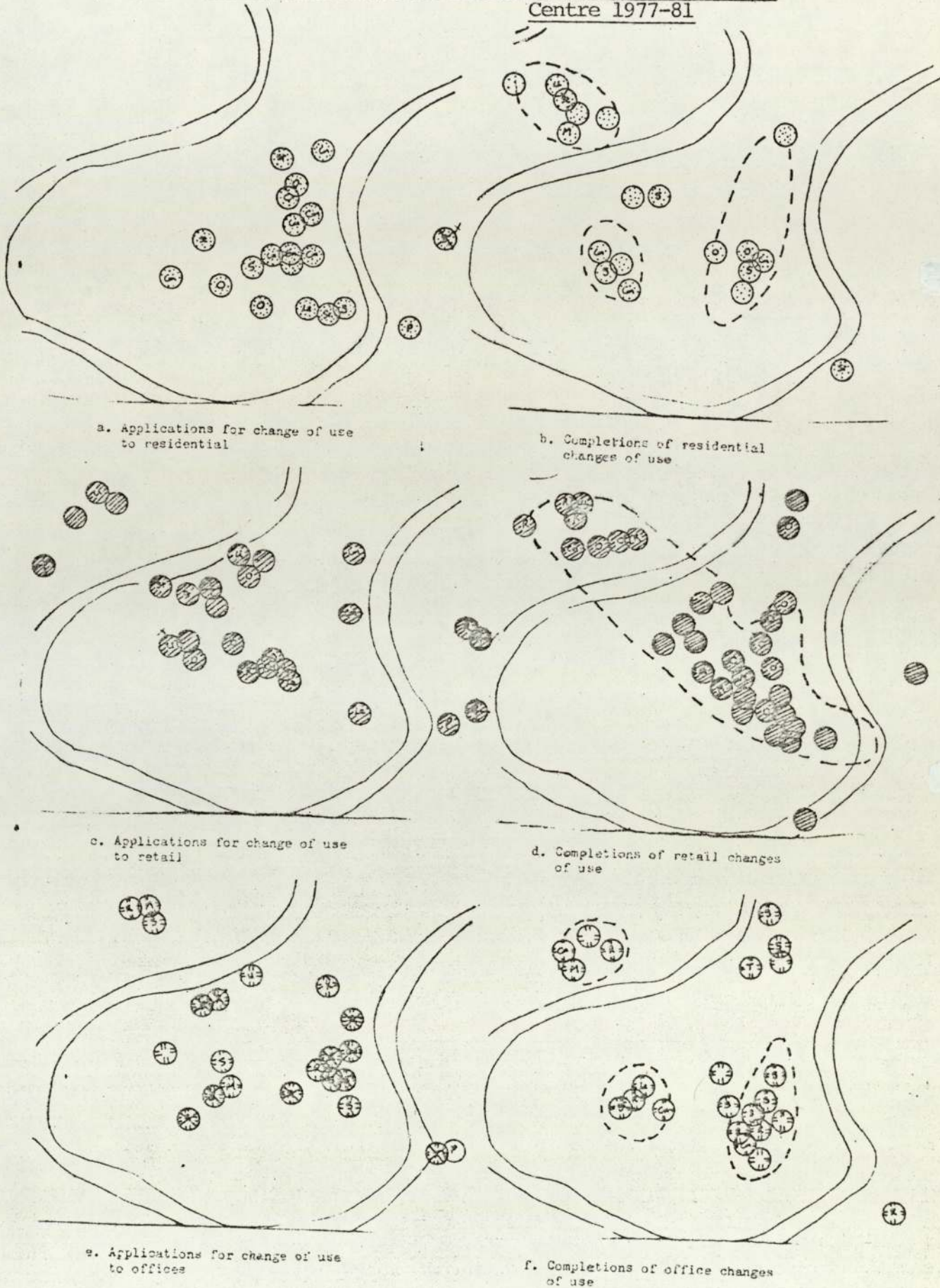
Obviously the changes in the previous Section cannot be seen in isolation from the planning developments and policies operating over the period. Two policies are seen as significant: the one governing office development and the other aiming to retain central area residential use. These policies were outlined in Chapter 6.1.3, but further evidence relating to the impact of planing in the centre can be seen from a study of planning applications for changes of use. However, these are only available for the last few years as such data has only been collected by the County since 1977.

Some patterns of change can be seen by plotting applications for changes of use to residential, retail and office uses for at least recent trends. These are shown in Maps 6.13 a) to f) the results being generalised in Figure 6.14 which shows:

a) A band following the transect from Frankwell to Wyle Cop, but then including Coleham, where there have been most changes of use to retail, indicating a new axis for the shopping area other than the east-west one which is generally assumed.

b) Three areas where changes of use to offices predominate are in lower Frankwell, around St. John's Hill/Swan Hill, and an area bounded by Dogpole Upper Wyle Cop and Princess Street. These can be compared with the office policy map (Figure 6.2) from which the following points were noted. There were several new offices in Frankwell, an area not covered by the policy on office development. Applications in the St. John's Hill/College Hill area appear to conform to the policy, with an application falling just outside having been refused. A number of changes of use to offices were refused in Dogpole, an area designated

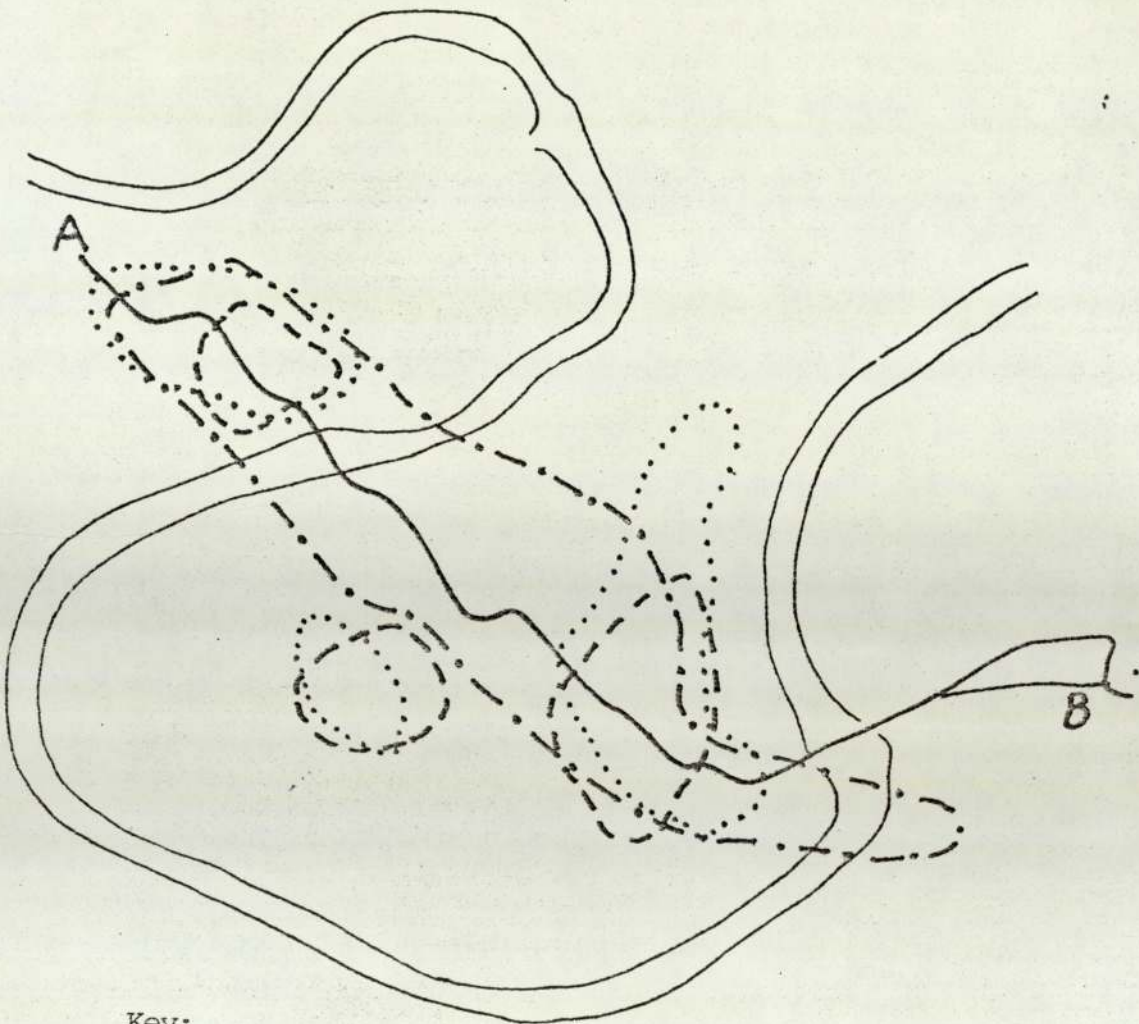
Figure 6.13: Changes of Use Proposed and Completed in the Town Centre 1977-81



Previous Use:

O	office	S	shop	R	residential	M	manufacturing
Cu	community use	St	storage				
							○ vacant or 'green field' site

Figure 6.14: Summary of Trends in Changes of Use, 1977-81.



Key:

Main areas of change of use to:

- Offices
- Residential
- .-.- Retail
- A — B Location of Transect

for office uses, yet changes were permitted in the adjacent Wyle Cop where a policy restricting office use had previously been in operation. This reversal may have been because the existing use in the Dogpole applications was residential and the overriding policy is to avoid the loss of housing in the centre wherever possible. However, in Wyle Cop, the change was from the existing use - retail and here the decision appears to have been to maintain the use of the building itself (listed) rather than insist on retaining a shop use.

c) Areas where there have been a number of changes of use to residential are approximately the same three areas as noted in b) above. The change has not always involved a loss of commercial uses, but from a variety of other uses such as manufacturing, storage and community uses. The most significant area of change to residential is to the east side of the town, largely through conversions of upper floors on Dogpole, coupled with an increase created by the Royal Shropshire Infirmary providing flats as well as shops.

Two examples of the failure of office policy and preference for residential use in the centre can be cited.

The first example concerns 15 Castle Street. International Distillers and Vinters Ltd. appealed against a refusal to allow the use of the first and second floors of the Peter Dominic Shop as offices. Grounds for refusal were that it lies in the central area where the policy was to encourage and retain residential use of properties and that alternative properties should be considered, given the high level of vacant office space in the centre (1979). The appellants' case was that the property had remained empty for five years and this suggested that there was limited demand for the housing in the area. It was also contended

that the area was not a pleasant living area and there were no residential units nearby. Moreover, the applicants had looked unsuccessfully for office accommodation of 1500-2000 sq.ft. elsewhere in the town. The appeal was allowed on the grounds that the proposed offices would enable the premises to be put to beneficial use in a location on the fringe of the main shopping area, where most of the other upper floors were either unused or in commercial use, so it would therefore not be out of place.

The second example is at 5 St. Alkmund's Place. Originally in the 1968 policy, this was in an area allocated for office use. However, Associated Capital Corporation Ltd. were refused permission to use the existing premises as a Finance House on the grounds that it would adversely affect the attraction of the conservation area, and that there was empty office floorspace elsewhere. In the event the company took alternative premises in Market Street which had formerly been in retail use.

The trends reveal to a certain extent, either an apparent lack of control over changes of use in certain areas, or perhaps greater flexibility in the application of policy - with the aim of increasing the level of usage and retaining residential use as a priority.

6.3 Site Level Changing Uses

Measuring the change of functions within buildings over a period of time is not always easily established, for example where the change lies within the same category of land use for planning or rating purposes. Other aspects of change are not always recorded, such as the nature of the business structure and the changing character when a shopping street is taken over by multiples. However, some general points can be made from the transect survey concerning the different types of businesses in the centre by investigating specific examples and consequences of the more general trends discussed in Chapter 2. Many of the individual changes noted have had effects on the immediate surroundings and character of use in the wider area. This is often associated with factors of land ownership, examples being given from two fringe areas, where detailed interviews were undertaken (Summary, Appendix

6.3.1. New Types of Businesses and Trends

The transect survey of recent changes of use indicated a number of trends outlined in Section 5.2 which were explored further in the interview survey. Examples were noted of several new activities in the centre. These included wholefood restaurants and cafes, such as those in the High Street/Wyle Cop area and delicatessen and take-away shops such as in Mardol. Both of these types of food and catering establishments are often associated with 'upmarket' shopping centres; although often suited to the historic street, they may be replacing the more

.../..



Figure 6.15 (above): A wine bar in
Mardol, previously Boots Chemists



Figure 6.16 (left): A wine bar and
restaurant in Wyle Cop, originally a
mill converted to a shop.



Figure 6.17 (above): an
antiquarian shop in
Frankwell.



Figure 6.18 (Left): a
recently converted antique
shop in Wyle Cop.

general food shop serving local needs. Decor and luxury design furnishing shops have also appeared in the centre whilst D.I.Y. shops are doing well in many locations. The steadily rising population in the area with much new housing and converted properties has benefitted this trade.

Another category of use to have emerged are the bistros and wine bars such as the Cornhouse and Just Williams, both situated in old buildings using their historical character as part of the image. (See Figures 6.15 and 6.16).

6.3.2. Problems for Older Types of Businesses

Different effects were noted with regard to three problem areas depending on the adaptability of different types of businesses. The first concerned competition from new styles of trading. Newsagents and food shops in the centre and fringe faced competition from large supermarkets and loss of local trade with the population moving further from the centre. They adapted in some cases by extending their hours (e.g. Everyman in Frankwell) or trying new lines (e.g. Gee newsagent in Wyle Cop specialising in maps). A second aspect was that of changing shop locations within a town. Whilst many vehicle showrooms and garages have moved from the centre, it was indicated that motorcycle sales sometimes have problems in obtaining premises. The trend to move to the suburbs was less suitable for the small dealer who has problems in finding any central site to which there are no objections. A third aspect is that of changes within a particular trade. An old established trade in the centre, the antiques business, now varies a great deal in the type of outlets operated. These range from the antiquarian

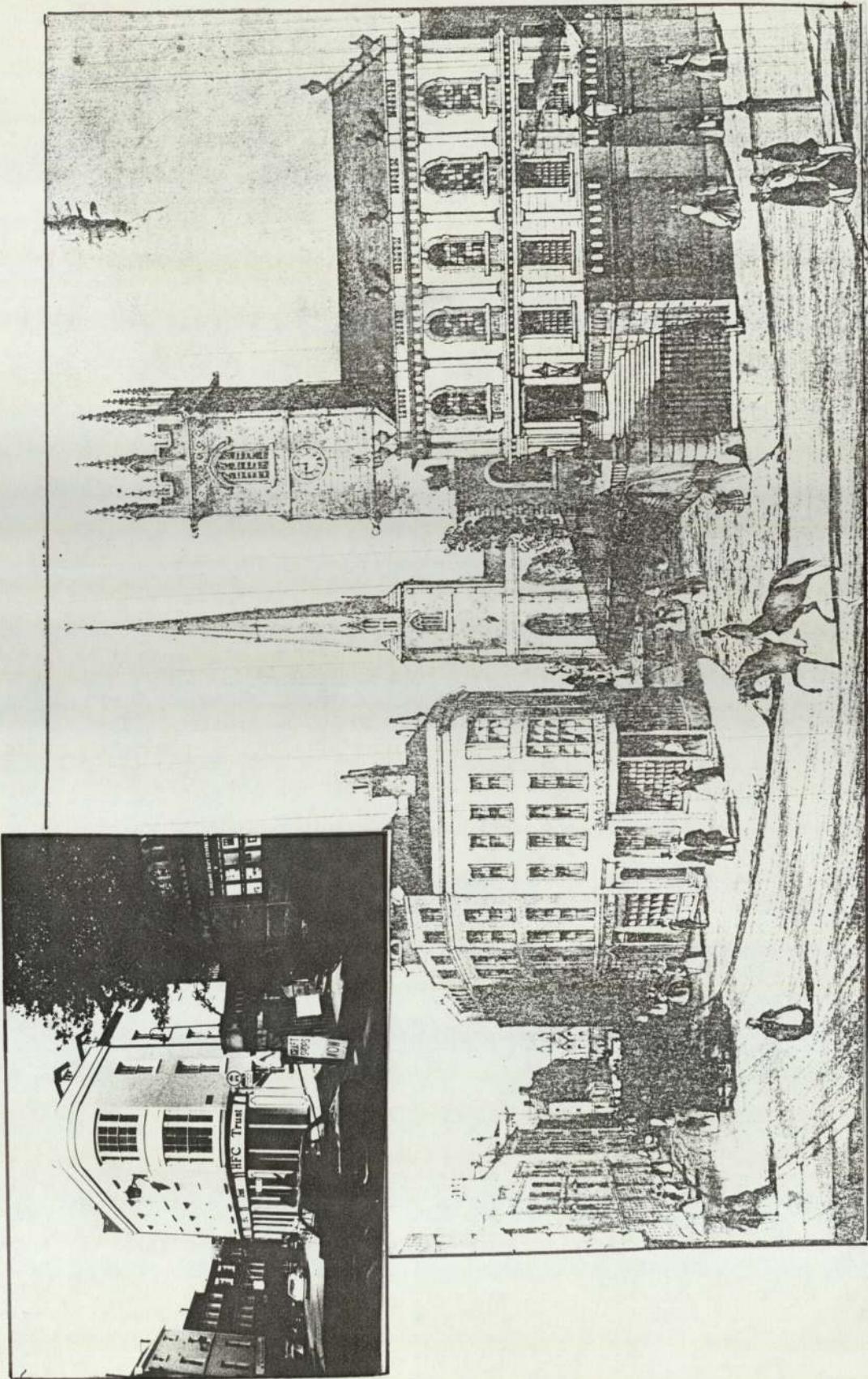


Figure 6.19: Changing Uses in the High Street _ the corner property has undergone several changes of use since the nineteenth century and the church is now a craft centre (see inset).

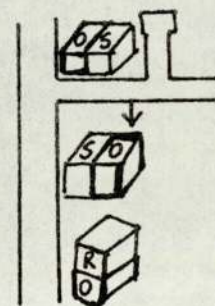
continuing to run a small business on the same line for years and not relying on the profits to make a living, to the specialist dealer having the resources to afford a prime site in newly restored premises (see Figures 6.17 and 6.18). Others may use the premises for restoration work and not be so dependent on a good shop frontage location.

6.3.3. Mixed and Multiple Uses

A mixture of uses within an area was beneficial to several traders, such as service facilities available in Frankwell for people working in the area. Within single buildings there are a number of examples of multiple use such as the Royal Shropshire Infirmary scheme for shops, offices and flats and shared use such as St. Julian's Craft Centre, (see Figure 6.19).

A variety of combinations of the traditional office/shop mix was found, for example:

- office in the front and shop to the rear
(where there is a back lane entrance)
- office to rear of shop
(approached via a passage or alley)
- office with residential above
(usually with separate stair access)



Although the introduction of a number of uses in a scheme may not be part of the original concept, it may be adopted to make it a viable proposition. For instance, for the hotel conversion on Wyle Cop, it was later decided to include a number of shop frontages. These could therefore be let out prior to completion of the whole restoration scheme in order to recoup some of the costs.

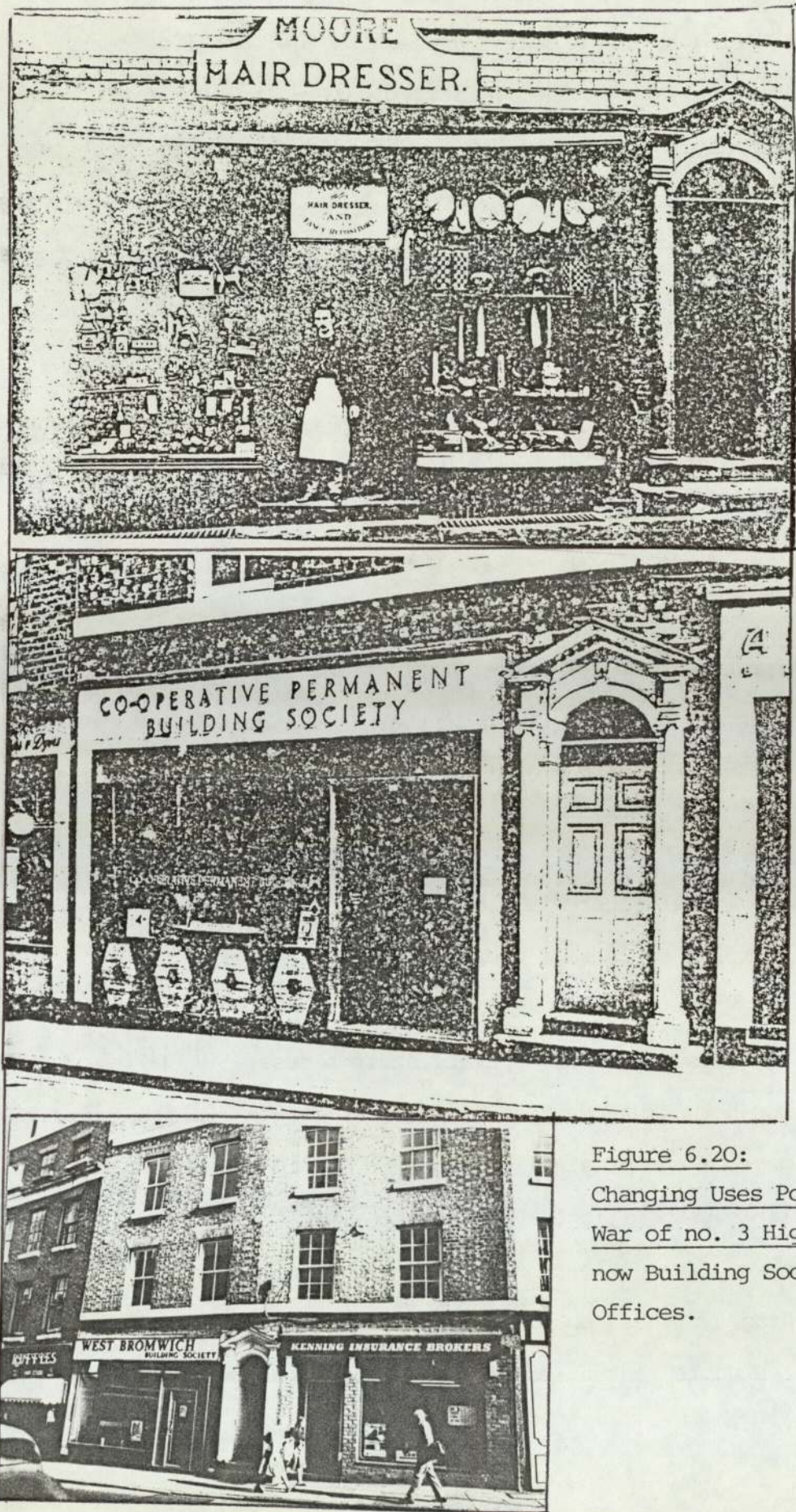


Figure 6.20:
Changing Uses Post-
War of no. 3 High St.,
now Building Society
Offices.

6.3.4. Rates of Change of Businesses

Several examples of conversions to new uses were found in the High Street, often involving office use at some stage and also with varying changes of use on upper floors. When a property undergoes a number of changes of occupant in a short period it becomes something of a liability such as No. 1, High Street which has had a succession of uses over the last 20 years (see Figure 6.19). No. 3 High Street has also had several different occupants of both ground and upper floors, but with less change in the type of use having changed hands in recent years between different financial offices (see Figure 6.20).

Properties which have remained in the same use include the Lion Hotel (see Figure 6.21 below), which in the 18th century was remodelled and "expanded downhill as business from London to Holyhead increased". This century has seen many further changes which have extended its capacity and improved facilities. For this particular activity, the historic location and building was seen to be of major significance, so ensuring its continuity of use.



The Lion Hotel from
Dogpole

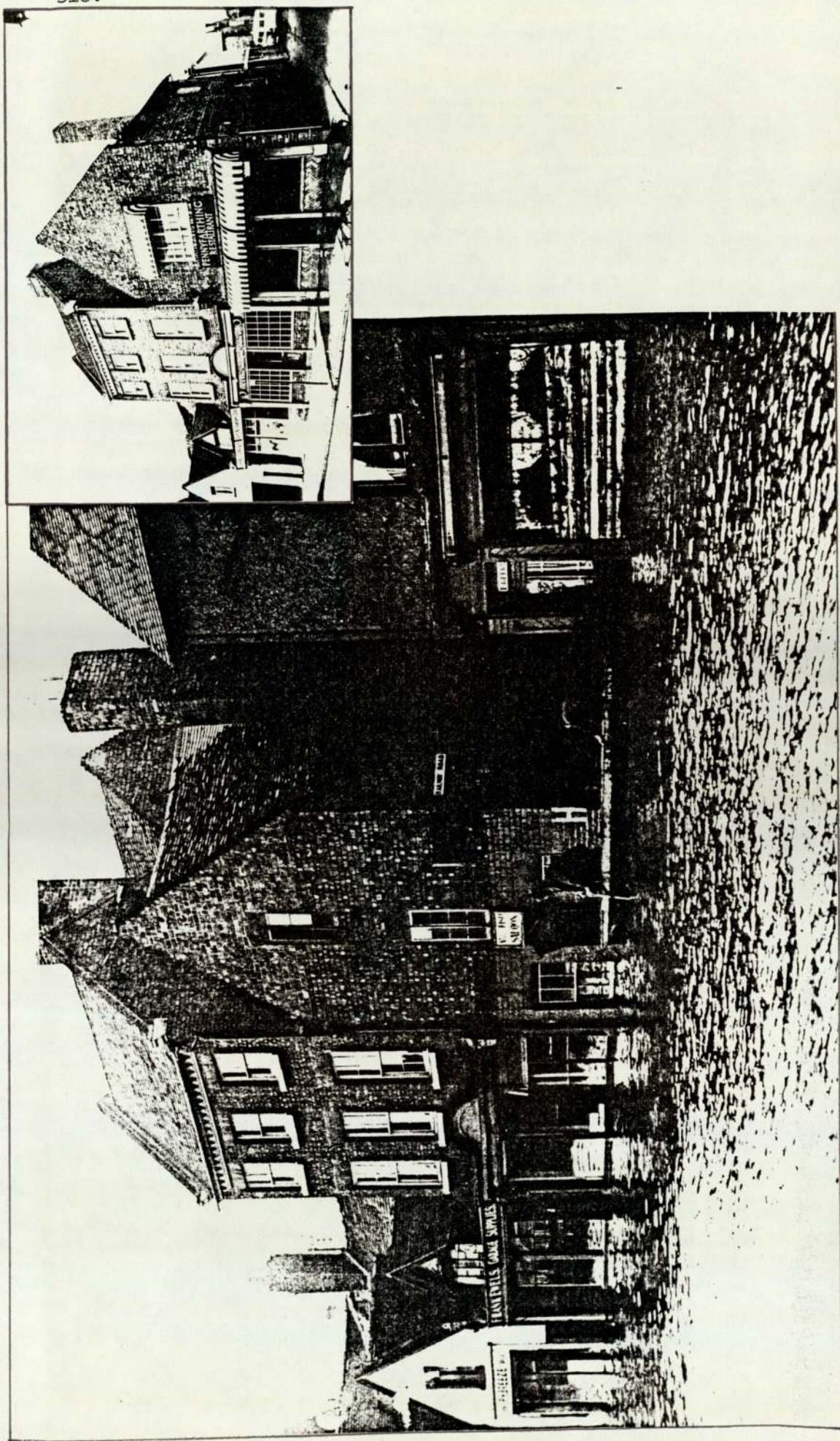


Figure 6.22: Abbey Foregate in the 1940's and 1982 (inset).

6.3.5. The Influence of Particular Uses on Change

There appear to be key site factors which are an indicator to change in an area or of considerable significance in themselves. Notable is where a local property owner decides to improve his premises and also to invest in other property in the area. The owner often has local ties or allegiance to the area and wishes to contribute to its general improvement and is more certain than outsiders on the potential of the fringe areas. Two examples are firstly Abbey Foregate and the property owned by the Greenhough family, which initially had an antique business at No. 23. They then created a wine bar in the next property, and moved the antiques to a third property, No. 24 whilst the original building became a restaurant. Most recently they have begun conversions of two cottages.

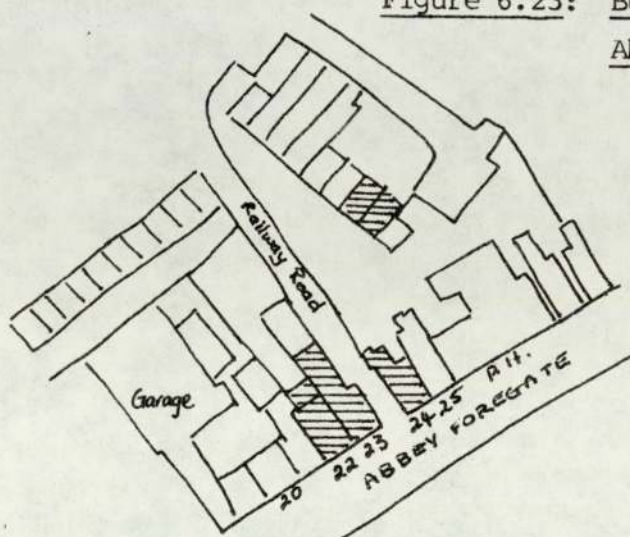


Figure 6.23: Buildings converted in Abbey Foregate by one owner

The photographs Figure 6.22 show Abbey Foregate at the time of a flood and the same buildings converted to more upmarket uses, compared with the previous more locally associated uses.

Secondly, in Frankwell, the builders Galliers have proved a dominating influence in their acquisition and rehabilitation of property (see Chapter 8) and following suit to a lesser degree has been West Midland PhotoServices, which firstly extended their own premises, then obtained an additional studio and

finally No. 92 converted for use as an office. There is also the influence of

an 'outsider' locating in a less obvious fringe position and improving the property setting an example to other traders, and attracting trade. An often quoted example was



Laura Ashley in Wyle Cop (ref. p. 349.)

Figure 6.24: A property restored and converted by F. Gallier & Sons.

Conservation and Use Types

The importance of the centre or building itself being historic and affecting the use of the building varied a great deal. It was generally the more luxury/tourist/specialist businesses which reported that they had been positively attracted by the historic character such as James 2nd in Mardol which incorporated a number of internal features into its display space.

6.4 Summary of Sectoral Aspects of Land Use Change in Shrewsbury

Changes to specific activities taking place in the town were considered. It was seen that Shrewsbury has retained some of its ancient functions and traditional industries, which form an essential part of the character of the centre. Current trends in retailing, commerce and residential uses, noted in Chapter Two, were identified in this centre. For instance a general process of decentralisation has taken place with suburbanisation of food retailing and an element of gentrification. There has been a definite policy to protect the trade of the town centre by restricting retail developments elsewhere, in addition to an office development policy to maintain the retail character of certain parts and the use of older buildings - both with limited success.

Meanwhile, employment decentralisation has occurred over a long period, partly spurred by the physically cramped nature of the central area site and the number of institutional moves. However the role of Shrewsbury as the historic county town has been reinforced by the development of a New Town nearby. Specialist, regional functions therefore continue in the historic centre, supported by tourism. Although Shrewsbury is not a major tourist centre, the historic character attracts visitors, reflected in the orientation of some of the shops and services.

Consideration of areas within the centre enabled specific changes in types of shops and offices to be investigated. The changing location of certain uses was indicated and how the traditional activities of the old centre are changing. The potential of the historic centre to adapt to changing trends could be seen, for example the loss of foodshops in the centre

is partly replaced by specialist food stores.

An historical view of the changing occupancy of a sample of properties in the centre enabled the process of use changes to be observed over space and time, i.e. noting which were both the more stable activities and locations. Processes described by the theories in Chapter Three could be broadly identified such as the invasion of an area by a new use and the continued process of segregation in the retail and commercial sectors. Finally, the study of planning applications showed pressure for changing uses in certain areas and the effect of policy on such change. Both of these aspects are taken further in the transect and area studies in Chapter Eight.

At the site level, some of the new uses and the mix of uses developing within individual properties and sites were indicated. It was also noted how certain properties underwent several use changes, the specific problems for planning and the influence of significant occupants on the changing land use character of an area. It appears that the presence of established 'anchor' uses and the emergence of new activities both affect the character of an area and influence other traders - a point which is discussed in the fringe area studies.

The methodological emphasis in this was on identifying and measuring processes of land use change at the small area/street level. As expected, there were problems in comparing statistics of floorspace devoted to certain uses over time, although it was possible to make some generalizations on the basis of ground floor use only, from the local authority Land Use Surveys.

The picture of the different uses taking place in one area over a period of time was drawn by using a series of trade directories and telephone directory together with maps available for different dates. Rate Records can chart main categories of use for individual buildings over a period of time. Length of occupation of each use could be deduced using a combination of rate records and trade directories, but these were tedious methods as there have been a number of rate revisions to many properties over the period. Therefore it would be unlikely that more than a cross-section of streets or areas in a town could be examined in this way.

It was found that by recording the nature of each change of use, i.e. from use in a base year through each succeeding use, it was possible to determine both the likelihood of particular uses taking over from others or staying in the same category, and the general losses and gains for specific trades, overall and for particular streets.

Computerised data on land use changes, via planning permissions enabled a check to be made on the trends identified, although only available since 1977 in this county. The analysis was also further developed by the use of old photographs of streets and shops, which enabled properties to be distinguished which, although nominally in the same use over a period, actually changed a great deal in their character. By these methods the spatial presentation of land use data indicated relative change in areas of the centre and allowed further analysis of the effects of land use policies.

- - - - -

CHAPTER SEVEN: SPATIAL PROCESSES OF LAND USE CHANGE & THE PLANNING ROLE

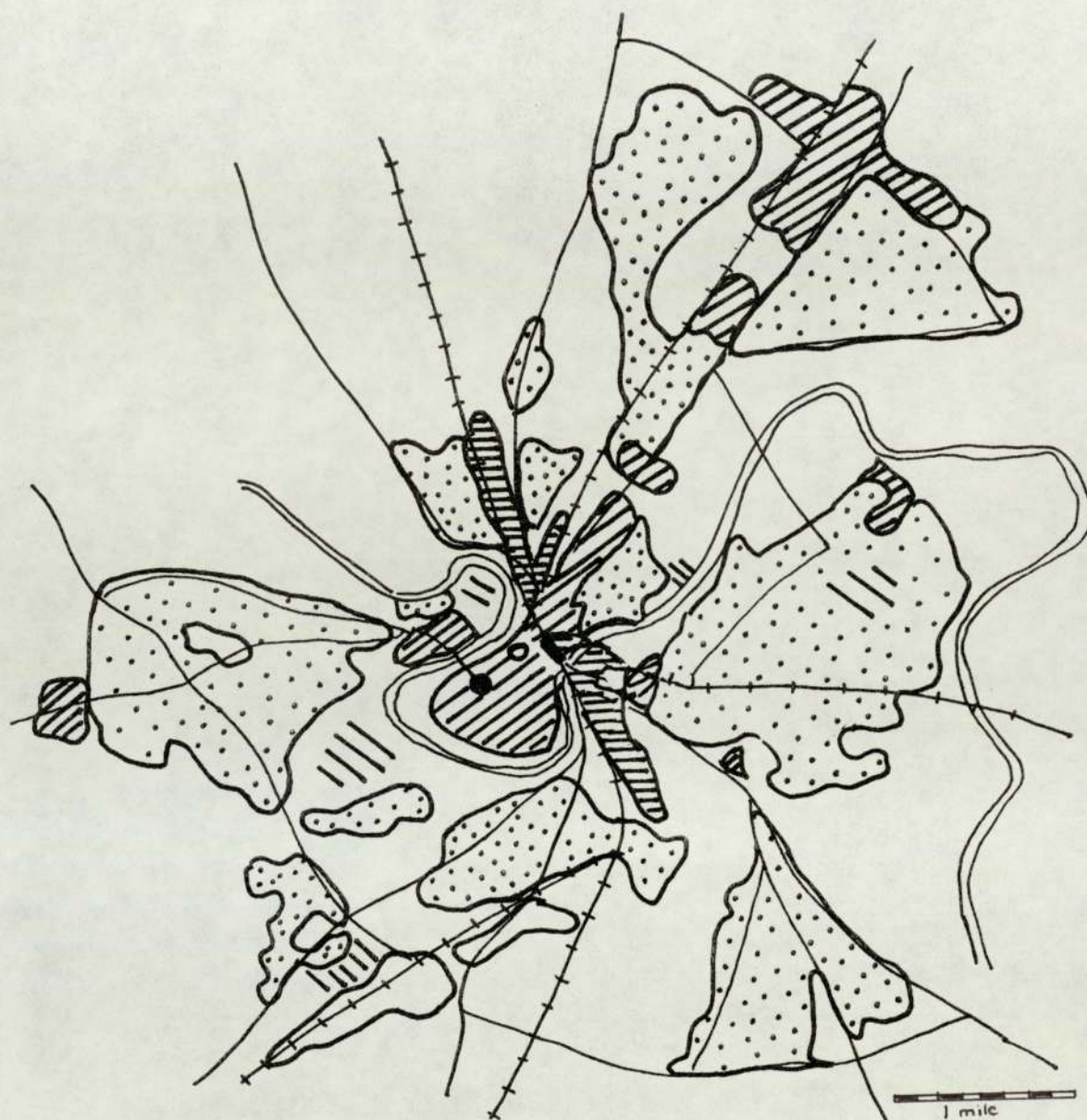
7.1 The Spatial Pattern of the Town's Development & Planning Policies

7.1.1. Spatial Land Use Pattern










Turning to the spatial/structural perspective on change, the centre is considered in the context of the whole town. Urban structure models discussed in Chapter Three are of some relevance to the pattern of the town's growth and its present land use structure. Figure 6.1^{p277} showed the phases of Shrewsbury's development and Figure 7.1 indicates the general land use pattern. From these, the theoretical core and frame according to classical definitions can be broadly identified. However, the core possesses a strong directional component, north east to south west, not completely encircling the centre. It also includes some of the earlier residential areas of Abbey Foregate and Frankwell. The process of sectoral growth can be detected such as the high class residential area of Kingsland to the south east. The office development along Abbey Foregate also suggests the existence of a zone of "active assimilation" as defined by Preston and Griffin (Chapter Three) with "latent centrality" as noted by Bird.

Since industry in Shrewsbury is mainly light manufacturing, it tends to be more mixed in with housing than assumed by the models, except for the industrial estate at Harlescott. Yet here, with the erection of a new super-store, the area has also become something of a sub-centre as conceived by the multiple nuclei theories. Meanwhile, the influence of the first industrial growth point at Castle Foregate is notable, with the railway land and A49 providing the space for later industrial development.

Fig. 7.1. The General Land Use Pattern in Shrewsbury.



Key to Major Land Use Locations

	Residential		Railway Station
	Employment Areas		Bus Station
	Public Open Space		Country Bus Station
	Railway Land		Trunk Roads
			Railways

7.1.2. The Consequences of Planning

As a factor influencing the land use pattern, planning has created change in the town or parts of the town in a number of ways; either in its response to specific problems, its control over the location of major developments or by plans/resources for specific areas.

a) Planning in response to specific problems

Two issues are discussed as examples of planning responses.

e.g. Flooding of the River Severn: This problem has existed throughout the town's history. Originally it influenced the location of buildings, then when space became short, affected the type of building and occupancy. The nature of the building pattern and prices and the cycle of decay has therefore been influenced. The suburb of Frankwell on the North West side of the river was subject to serious flooding in the past. In addition to river-side industries the low-lying area was therefore occupied by poorer housing. Early planning solutions were to build basements with steps up, foreseen in 1944 by the Borough Surveyor writing of Frankwell:

"a very great improvement could be wrought by recognising that the day will inevitably come when the properties from the foot of the Welsh Bridge half way towards New Street will fall into decay and be rebuilt - but at such a level as to make it practicable to raise the length of road and buildings concerned above floor level." (Ward 1944)

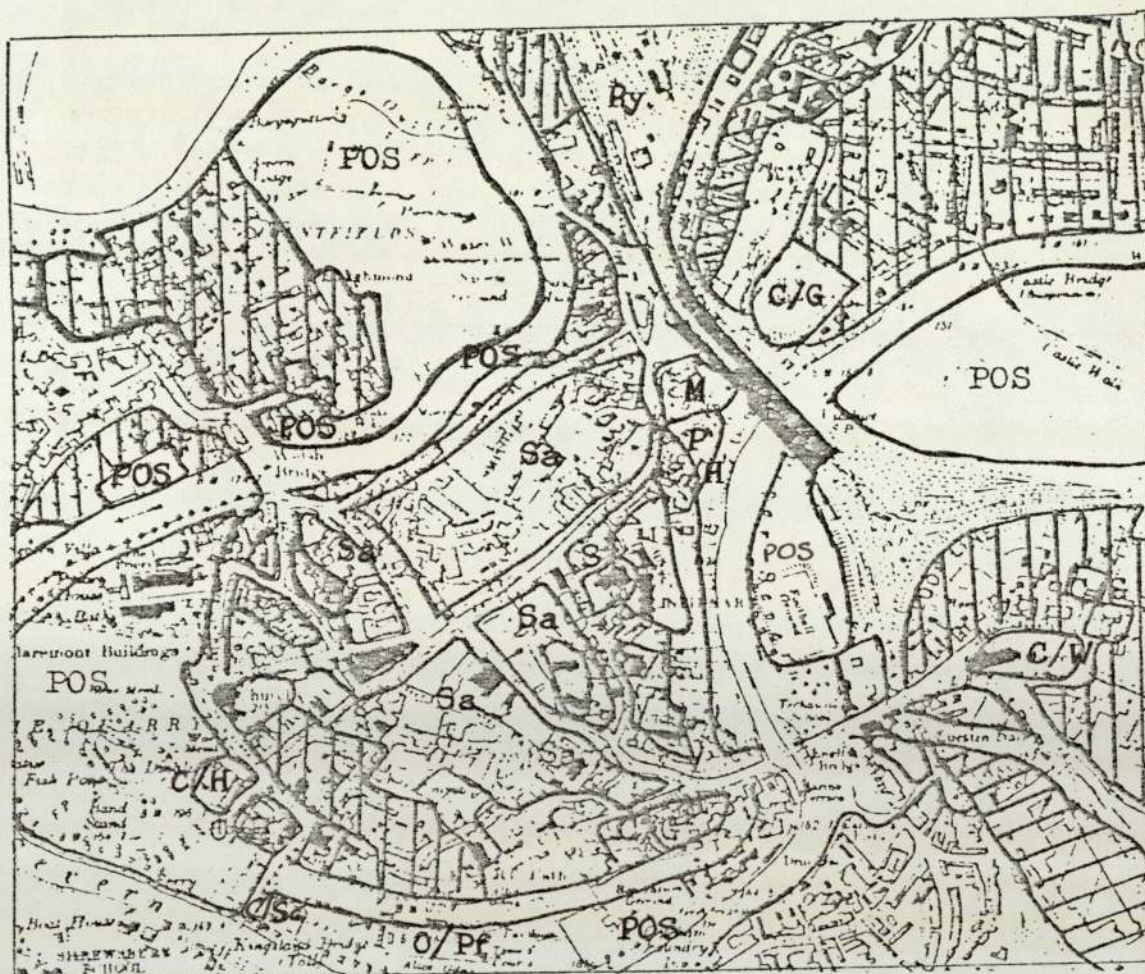
Later, strategic flood control work and improvements to the river itself meant property in the area was less of a liability and owners could think of spending money on improvements.*

e.g. Traffic congestion & Pedestrian/Vehicle conflict

Various responses have been made to deal with the increasing amount of traffic. A by-pass route for the A5 was conceived

* see footnote on next page

Figure 7.2: Extract from Shrewsbury Town Development Map
(1960).



Key

Areas designated for:



Industrial



Residential

Sa Shopping Area

POS Public Open Space

O/A Allotments

O/Pf Playing Fields

Ry Railway Land

Community:

C/H

Health

C/G

Government

C/W

Worship

C/S

School

M

Monument

P

Car Park

B

Bus Station

in 1931-2, to relieve the town from the North Wales and Midlands traffic. It was seen then as the only way 'to obviate the tearing out of the core of old towns' (Ward, op.cit.) Main problem areas were the bottlenecks at the bridging points and there was an early proposal to gather routes to the Welsh Bridge via a new traffic island at the centre axis of the bridge. In the process, the old property was cleared away since it 'blocks the river and deflects its course when in flood' (Ward 1944). The Town Development Plan (see map) noted that any widening of the central area streets to relieve the extreme traffic congestion would affect the character of the town. An inner ring road was suggested starting with the Smithfield Road (see Figure 7.2) through a cutting south of the castle along the river to the English Bridge and west via town walls. This policy was still being restated in 1978:

"A primary route will be devised around the town centre which vehicles with definite business within the town centre will be channelled. They will be encouraged to leave this route at points which will afford access to the area of the town in which they have their business."
(Shrewsbury Atcham Borough Council, 1978)

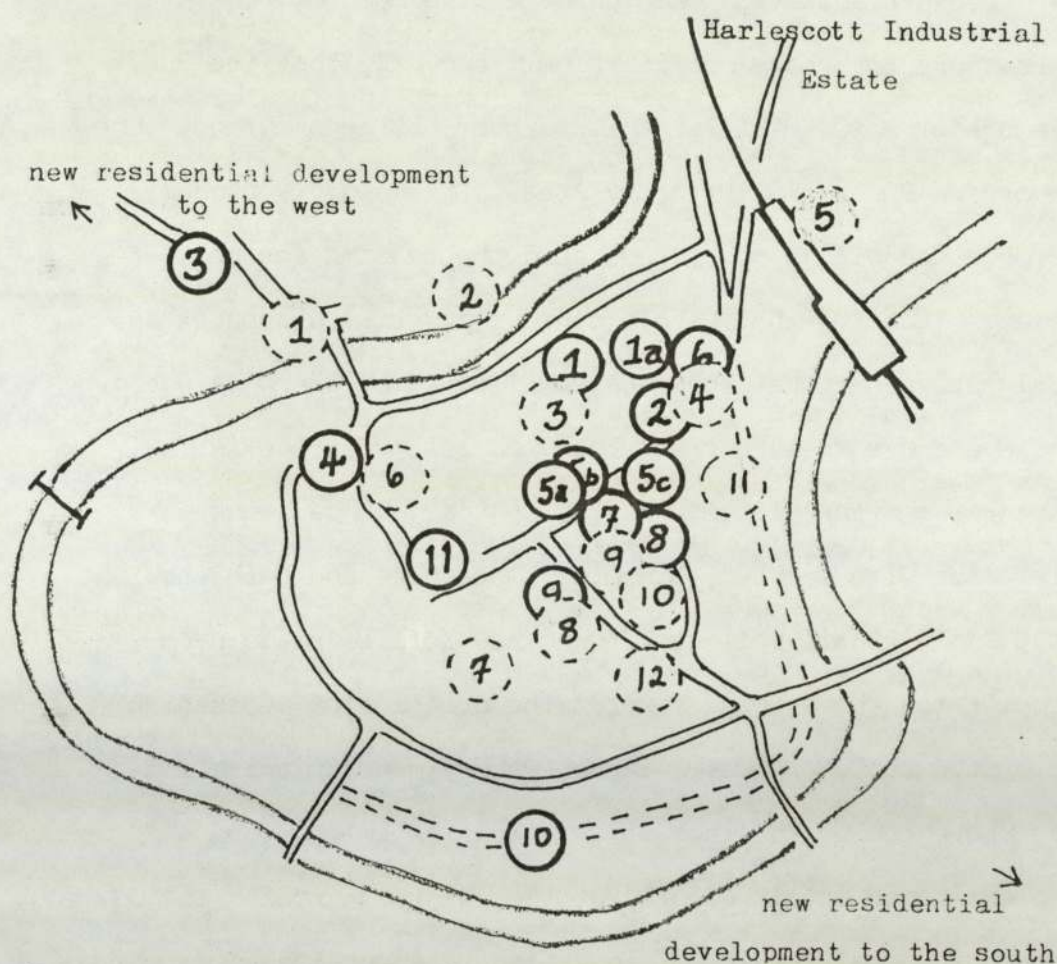
Parking facilities around the edge of the centre have been developed but they are insufficient to serve the south of the town. In 1978 the council decided to pay consultants to do a feasibility study on alternative sites for a car park near the English Bridge, an idea which had already been talked about for ten years.

* (from previous page) Flood control along the river itself could possibly affect the townscape scene and negotiations about this are currently being held with the Severn Trent Water Authority.

Pedestrianisation schemes have also been mooted in Shrewsbury for years but it is only recently that the closure of Pride Hill for this purpose has been agreed. The report on Pedestrian Priority Areas (Shrewsbury & Atcham Borough Council 1979 c)) indicated the reasons for this delay. It noted that Hereford had a pedestrian area at an early stage but that this was facilitated by a new bridge over the Wye and easier rear servicing because of the existing road pattern and the flatness of the centre. Comparisons were also made with Chester, Lincoln, Canterbury and Bath showing that "In virtually all such towns new relief roads have accelerated the process towards the creation of pedestrian priority areas." However in Shrewsbury pedestrianisation was prevented by the lack of an effective relief road and the existence until recently of the A49 trunk road. In addition, there is the difficulty of inserting rear service roads which with the medieval street pattern and hilly terrain would be "extremely destructive of listed buildings in the environment generally."

Policies then followed for pedestrian priority areas which were to eventually mean the establishment of a broad zone in the central shopping area where pedestrians have priority. The incremental development of the priority area was seen as consistent with the policies for maintaining and extending the status of Shrewsbury as 'a sub-regional shopping centre and increasing its attraction for tourists'. It is also interesting to note that the approach to pedestrianisation is on an area basis and not on individual streets.

Figure 7.3: Significant Developments in the Town Centre during the Last 20 Years.



Key to Developments & Proposals

1960-1970

- ① Laing development at Smithfield
- ①a Footbridge link
- ② Two new multiples
- ③ Frankwell roundabout
- ④ Multi-storey car park
- ⑤a John Colliers
- ⑤b Richard Shops
- ⑤c Offices & Shops
- ⑥ Library & Museum
- ⑦ New Post Office
- ⑧ Site to be redeveloped
- ⑨ Old Shire Hall Site
- ⑩ Proposed New Road
- ⑪ General Market

1971-1981

- ① Fellmonger's Hall restoration
- ② Frankwell footbridge and car park
- ③ Riverside shopping
- ④ Library restoration
- ⑤ Howard St. warehouse conversion
- ⑥ Hills Lane scheme
- ⑦ Old persons housing
- ⑧ Square - pedestr'd + Shire Hall redev.
- ⑨ Grope Lane & Bear Steps
- ⑩ St. Julians Craft Mkt
- ⑪ R.S.I. conversion
- ⑫ Barracks Pass. conversion

b) Planning and the Location of Major Developments

Figure 7.3 indicates some of these schemes which have considerably influenced the spatial structure of the town: For instance, the location of peripheral residential development, especially to the south and west has affected the demand for facilities geared to these parts of the town. The movement of the County Council offices to the south east of the town probably influenced the spread of commercial development along Abbey Foregate. Meanwhile, the Riverside redevelopment scheme within the centre has had a broader impact.

This followed hard on the heels of some out-of-place redevelopment on Pride Hill and the movement of the cattle market, the former being linked to the new scheme via an overhead walkway. Lloyd (1975) voiced the comments of many:

"Marks and Spencer, Littlewoods, and Woolworths follow each other in dreary succession ... the latter, faceless at the front and execrable at the back, car parking, small shops and banal offices all of recent construction."

This scheme together with the location of car parks considerably affected the pedestrian circulation pattern in the town and to an extent the relative prosperity of various parts of the centre.

A pedestrian movement study (Shrewsbury Borough Council, 1966) had noted the domination of certain generators such as the bus station and car parks and that the development:

'now underway at the old Smithfield site will, in conjunction with existing shopping streets, create a new circulatory pattern of pedestrian movement - the area to the east of Pride Hill, with its wealth of unique streets and passageways will remain relatively neglected. The proposed redevelopment of the old Shirehall site is the type of development that will attract pedestrians to this relatively neglected area east of Pride Hill.'

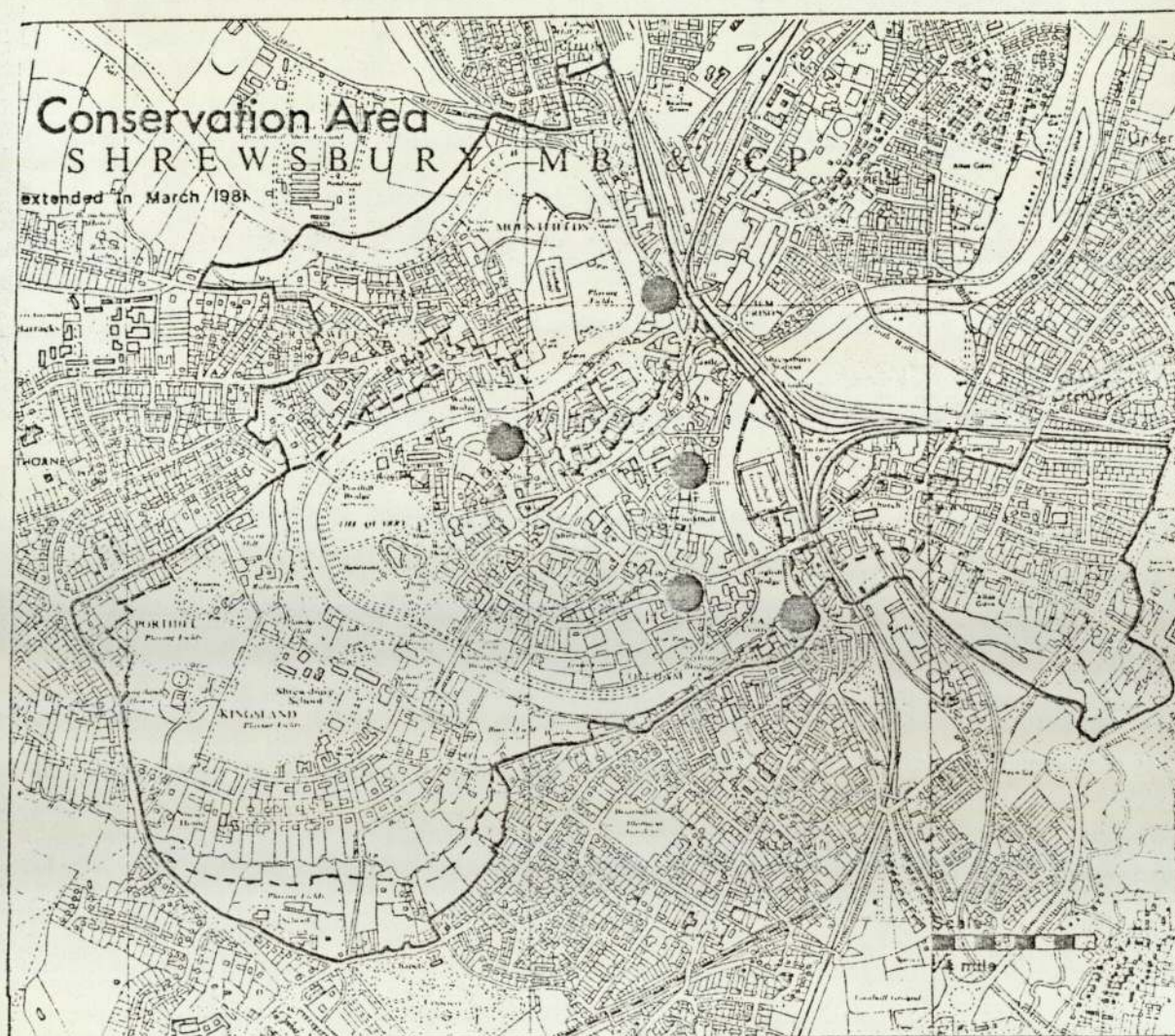
Since then, however, the completion of the Riverside Centre and Old Shirehall site whilst not altering the main pedestrian movement significantly, has intensified the linear concentration between Mardol Head and Castle Street. From the bus station to the main stores a circulatory movement has been ^{introduced} including Rousehill and the Riverside Centre to the Raven Meadows Car park, the emphasis being a loop to the north (see Figure 7.9)^{p337}. Meanwhile, the centre triangle has gained much in terms of pedestrian attraction compared with its being described in 1966 as just a short-cut zone. The increasing use is largely because of the restoration of the Bear Steps complex and the subsequent opening of several shops, boutiques and cafes, together with the presence of a larger hotel as the focal point for tourists.

c) Planning via Area Controls

The rapid post-war growth of commercial activities and pressures for redevelopment have brought about the development of certain area policies over the years which have affected the land use pattern to varying degrees.

One example is the restriction of office development to certain parts of the centre and Abbey Foregate. Acceptable uses within the centre were also defined (in the Town Centre Study Statement of Principles, Shrewsbury Borough Council, 1967). These were shopping, offices and some ancillary workshops, public and residential buildings with car showrooms later being deleted from the list (1978). All non-conforming uses in the central area of the town were to be identified and removed to more suitable locations when circumstances permitted.

Figure 7.4: Shrewsbury Conservation Area



Source: Department of the Environment, Historic Buildings Division.

Key:

- Conservation Area, extended in 1981
- previous boundary of conservation area
- Development areas - design briefs prepared.

A second area policy arose from the designation of a Conservation Area as shown in Figure 7.4. The general policy for the historic core was set out in "The Challenge for Conservation" (Shrewsbury Borough Council, 1970) which aimed to strike a balance between preservation and change within the framework of the existing street pattern. Exley notes however (1981 op.cit.) that although a number of objectives were drawn up to conserve, protect and improve the Conservation Area, a significant proportion of bad development had already taken place which reduced the effectiveness of the objectives.* The Conservation Area was designated in 1970, covering the central area of the town, Kingsland and parts of Frankwell and Abbey Foregate. The area was extended in 1981 after considering a number of factors, so that it should include additional groups of buildings of historic or architectural interest, and landscape features or open space which contributes to the townscape and setting of the area. Thus, areas around the River Severn and features of the main approaches to the centre were included. Further boundary adjustments were made to cope with property boundaries and irregularities (Shrewsbury & Atcham B.C. 1981).

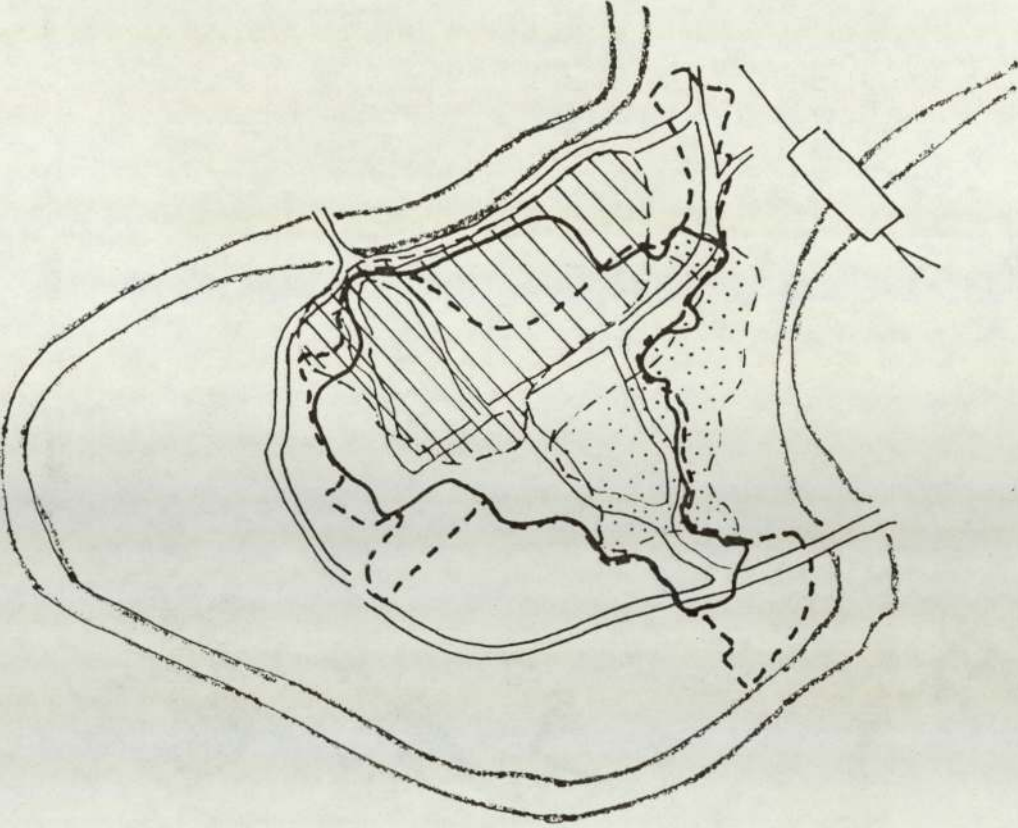
Guidance for smaller area development was suggested in 1971 (Fig. 7.4.). The planning committee and local amenity bodies were to prepare design briefs for sites in or on the edge of the central area where it is known that redevelopment or development proposals are being considered. So far reports have been prepared

* 52 listed buildings had been demolished between 1956 and 1970, 27 of these being in the centre.

for Hill's Lane, the Southam Brewery site, Carline fields, the Century Cinema, Sandpit Pengwern Road and a note on alternative uses for the Royal Shropshire Infirmary. These sites are indicated on map 7.4, and it can be seen that many are on the edge of the central area.

Finally, controlling the allocation of grants for the maintenance of buildings of architectural or historic interest, the Shrewsbury Town Scheme was introduced in 1969. When mapped (see Figure 7.5) the distribution appears haphazard, although those areas regarded as of outstanding historic importance have been allocated a considerable proportion of the total amount.

Figure 7.6: The Main Shopping Centre and Areas of Change.



Key:

- | | |
|-----|---|
| --- | Census of Distribution definition of shopping boundaries 1961 |
| — | 1971 |
| \\ | Major area of redevelopment schemes |
| ... | Main area for rehabilitation and conversion schemes |

7.2 Spatial Change in Areas of the Centre

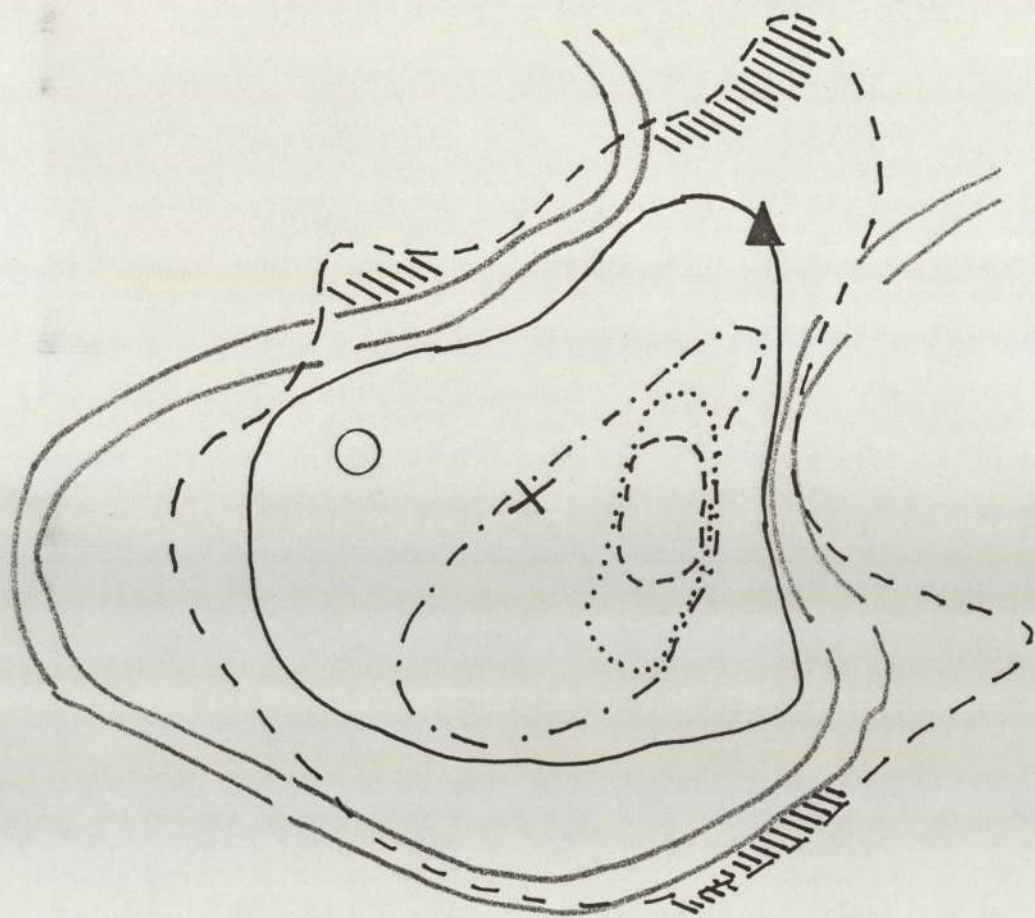
The identification of land use change depends partly on how the centre and its constituent parts are recorded and identified. Shrewsbury is no exception to the typical situation where such areas are defined on mainly physical features. This is now discussed with reference to theoretical indicators of what should be included in the central area and how shifts in the focus of the centre arise, with data plotted spatially wherever possible.

7.2.1. Area Definition


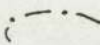






The central area has usually been defined in planning policies as the area ^{within} the loop of the river, with Pride Hill being recognised as the main shopping street. However, there have been shifts in the focus of the centre and in the delimitation of its extent both because of changes in the location of activities and changes in definition. Figure 7.6 for example shows the boundaries of the shopping centre as defined by the Census of Distribution in 1961 and 1971. The area was more compact in the latter year, but also indicated a new focus with the inclusion of the Riverside Shopping Centre. The lower section of Wyle Cop was omitted from the defined area in 1971 - possibly due to the number of vacant properties existing at that time. The latter area, being the site for further car parking would probably be included in a future redefinition, as would an area to the east side currently with several buildings being renovated for shops.

The various aspects of centrality, as identified by Bird (reported in Chapter Three) can be determined for Shrewsbury and show some of the features which can influence the changing

Figure 7.7: Aspects of Centrality in Shrewsbury Town Centre.



Key:

- | | |
|---|---|
|  | Religious Precinct |
|  | Old Inner City |
|  | Main Shopping Area: CBD |
|  | Central Area, including fringe commercial areas |
|  | Inner Area Industry |
|  | Railway Station |
|  | Bus Station |
|  | Peak Land Value Intersection |

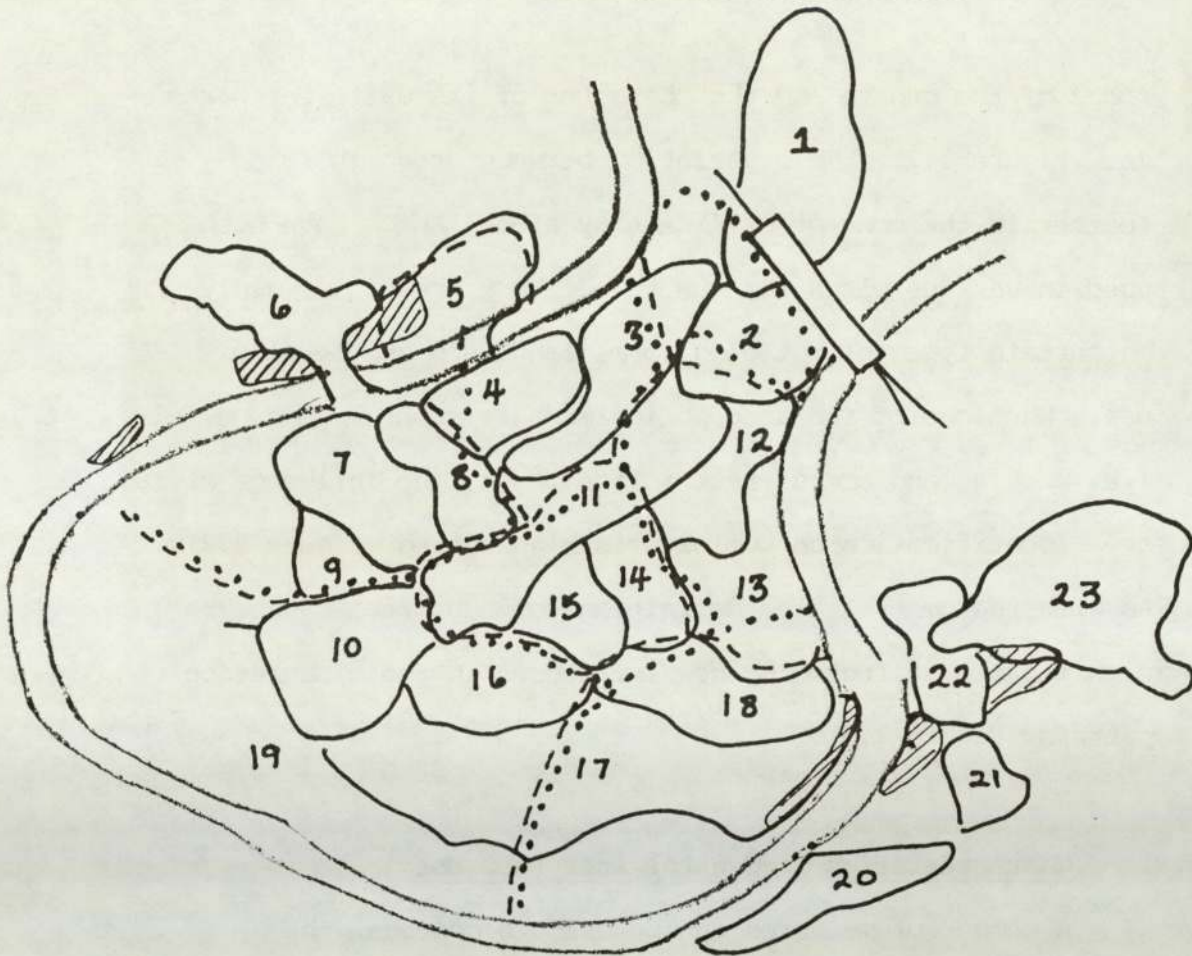
focus of the centre and the character of its different parts (see Figure 7.7). This variation between areas is taken further in the concept of 'identity areas' which have been used in various plans for the town. They are based mainly on certain types of building form, land uses and level of use. When one of the area policy maps is superimposed on this, i.e. parking and access restriction zones, the influence of such area identification on policies is highlighted (Figure 7.8). As with the central area definitions of sub areas can be significantly affected by new influences in the circulation pattern (Figure 7.9).

7.2.2. Characteristics of Central Area Land Use

A number of measures can be used to consider the characteristics of the centre, derived from the theoretical models. Three indicators which were tested in Shrewsbury were the amount of vacant floorspace in different parts, the building density and the business type/land values aspect.

The vacancy rates shown in Figure 7.10 indicate the highest proportion of vacant floorspace to be in the Mardol area, a fairly central street part of which could be regarded as a prime shopping area, lower High Street and Dogpole. Fairly high rates were also found in Wyle Cop and by the riverside south east of the centre. Therefore, while there are a few vacancies around the 'Peak Land Value Intersection' (Figure 7.7) there appears to be no relationship between centrality and the level of vacancy.

Figure 7.8: Identity Area and Other Policy Zones.

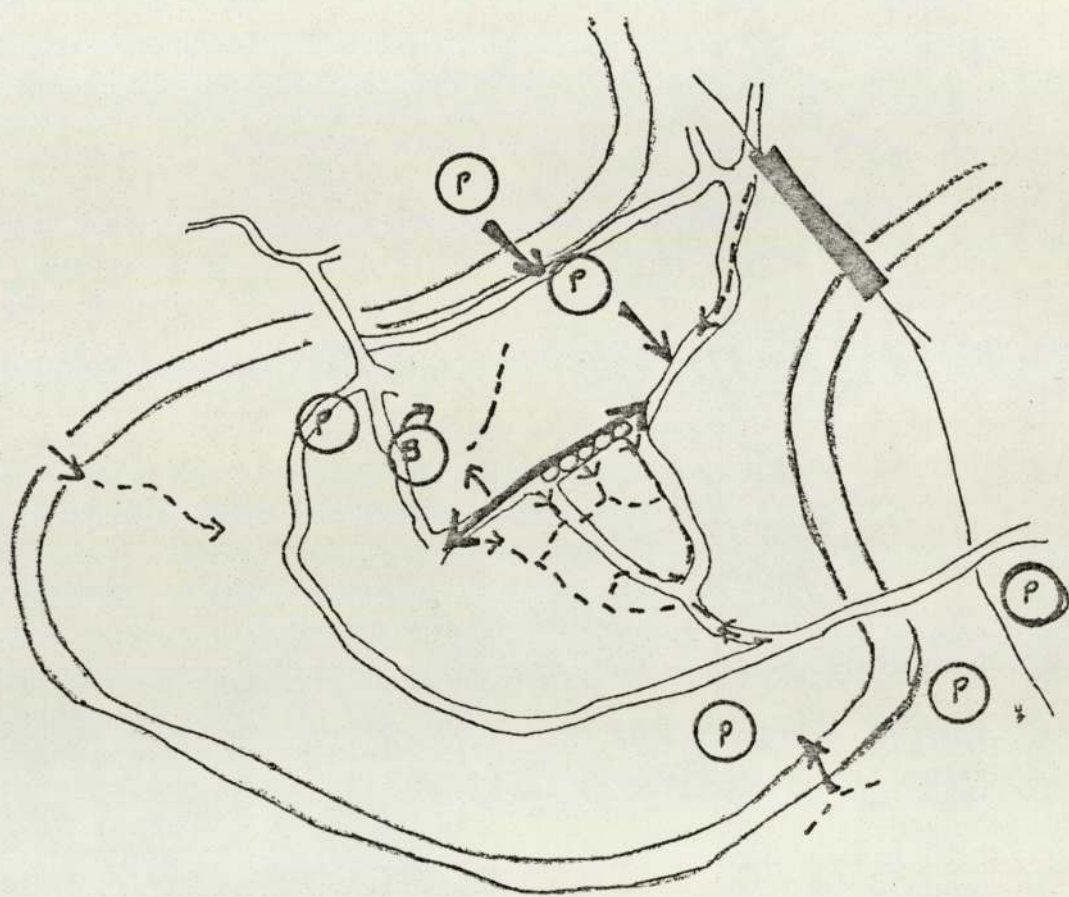


Key:

- | | |
|-------|----------------------------------|
| — — — | Pedestrian Priority Policy Areas |
| | Car Parking Zones |
| //// | Opportunity Areas |
| — | Identity Areas |

- | | |
|--------------------------------|---|
| 1. Castle Foregate | 13. Guildhall/riverside |
| 2. Castle | *14. St Marys/Dogpole |
| 3. Smithfield | *15. High Street/Square |
| 4. Riverside Precinct | 16. Old St Chads |
| 5. Frankwell Quay | 17. Town Walls/St J |
| 6. Frankwell | 18. Wyle Cop |
| 7. Bridge Street | 19. Quarry Park/river |
| 8. Mardol | 20. Longden Coleham |
| 9. Belmont Bank/St Chads | 21. Coleham Head |
| 10. St Johns/Swan Hill | 22. School/Church |
| *11. Pride Hill/Castle Street | 23. Abbey Foregate |
| 12. Royal Shropshire Infirmary | * Central Commercial -
parking & access controls |

Figure 7.9: Circulation Patterns in the Centre.



Key:

- | | |
|--------|---|
| == | Main roads in the centre |
| ooo | First stage of Pride Hill pedestrianisation |
| ↔ | Main axis of pedestrian movement |
| → | Routes off to secondary streets |
| - - -> | Approaches to centre shops |
| P | Car Park |
| B | Bus Station |

Figure 7.10: Vacancy Rates 1979.

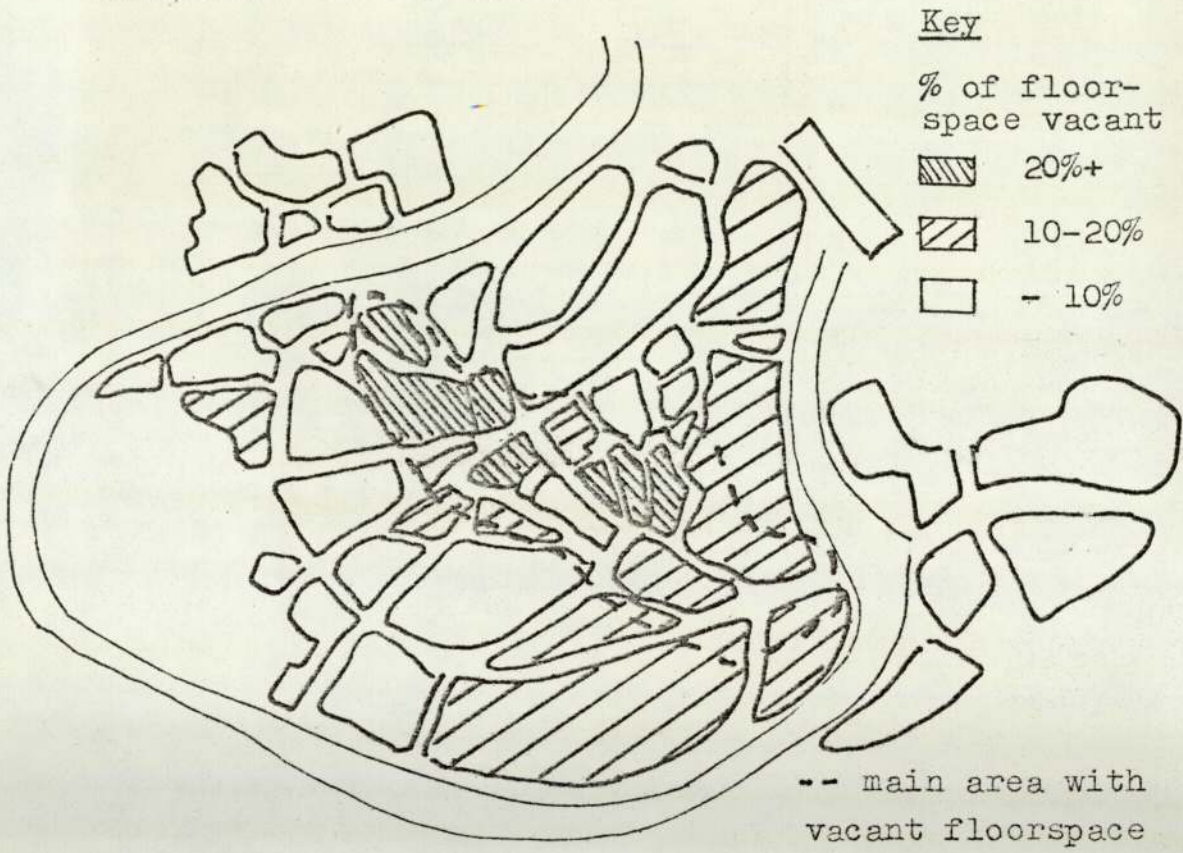
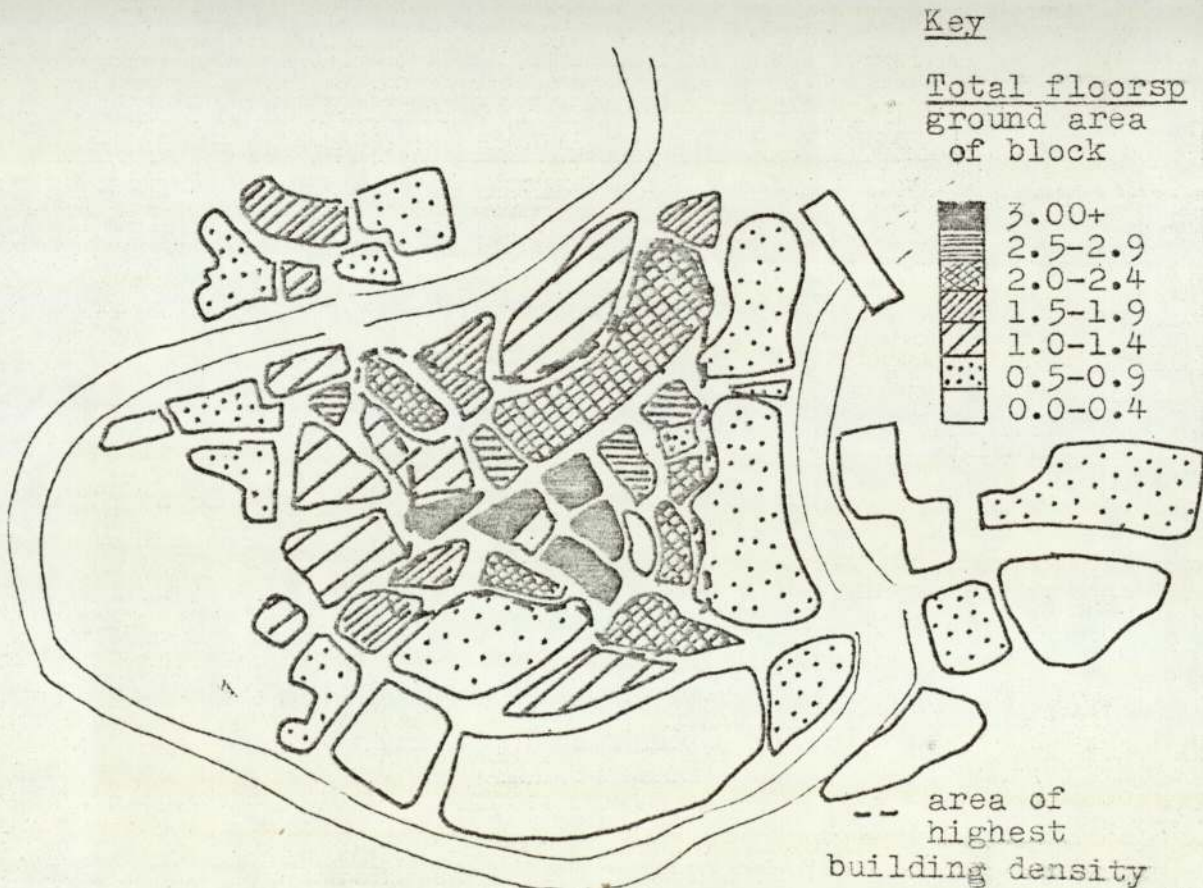


Figure 7.11: Plot Ratios 1979.



Source : drawn from Shropshire County Council Land Use Survey 1979.

Secondly, as an indicator of building density, plot ratios are shown in map, Figure 7.11. for the main blocks in the centre. These show a pattern as expected with the highest density towards the centre, especially the banking and department stores area.

Thirdly, the business structure pattern and property values (Figure 7.12) show that more of the businesses in the centre of the transect tend to be national or regional multiples as suggested by previous research. However, there is an area of shopping and offices quite close to the core which has a higher proportion of single outlets. Property values partly account for this pattern which are indicated on the map by the current average rents per sq. ft. as estimated by a local estate agent, together with some of the rents of properties being advertised in that area in 1981. These show some variation from the general pattern of decreasing values from the centre.

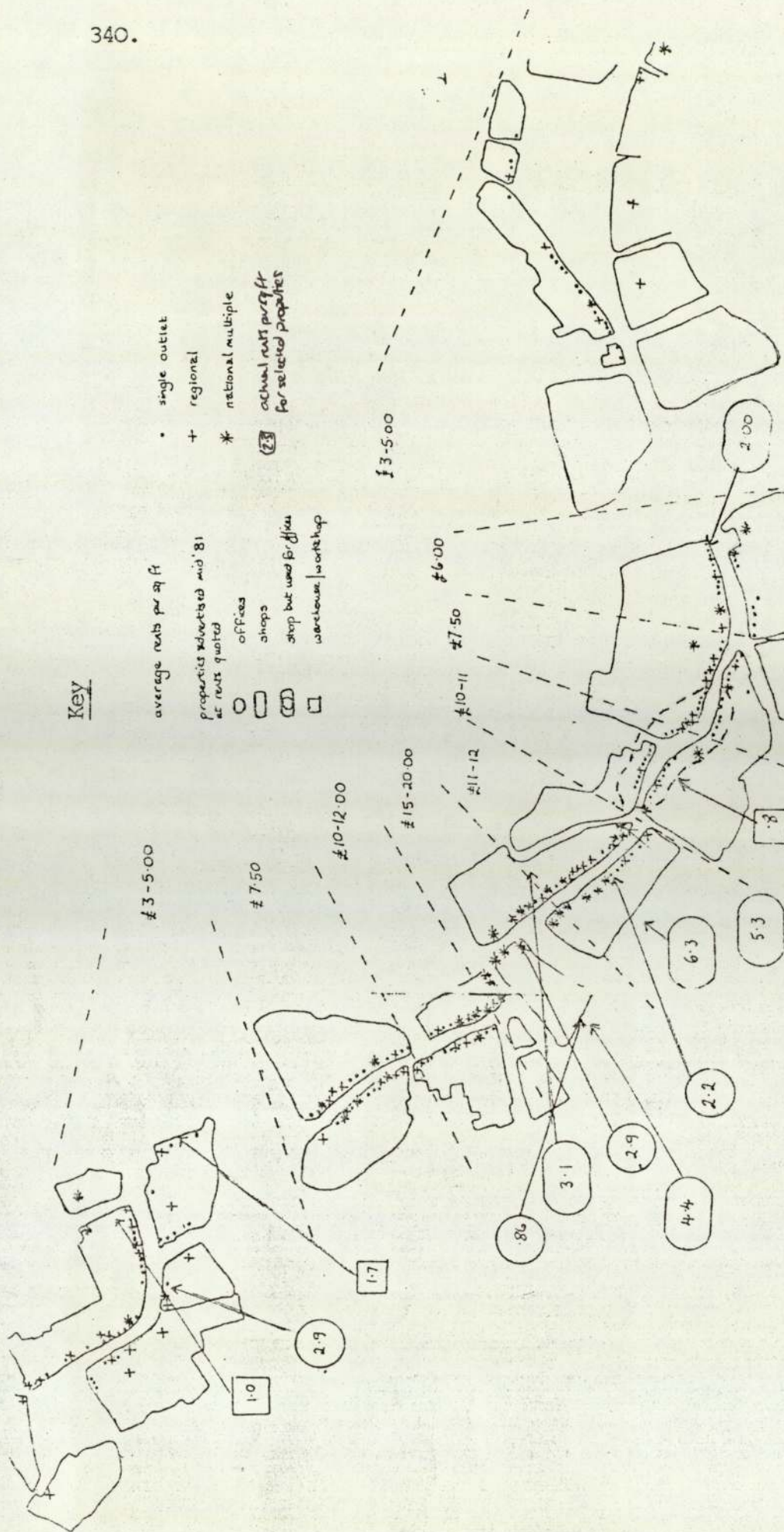


Figure 7.12: Business Structure and Property Values along the Central Area Transect 1982.

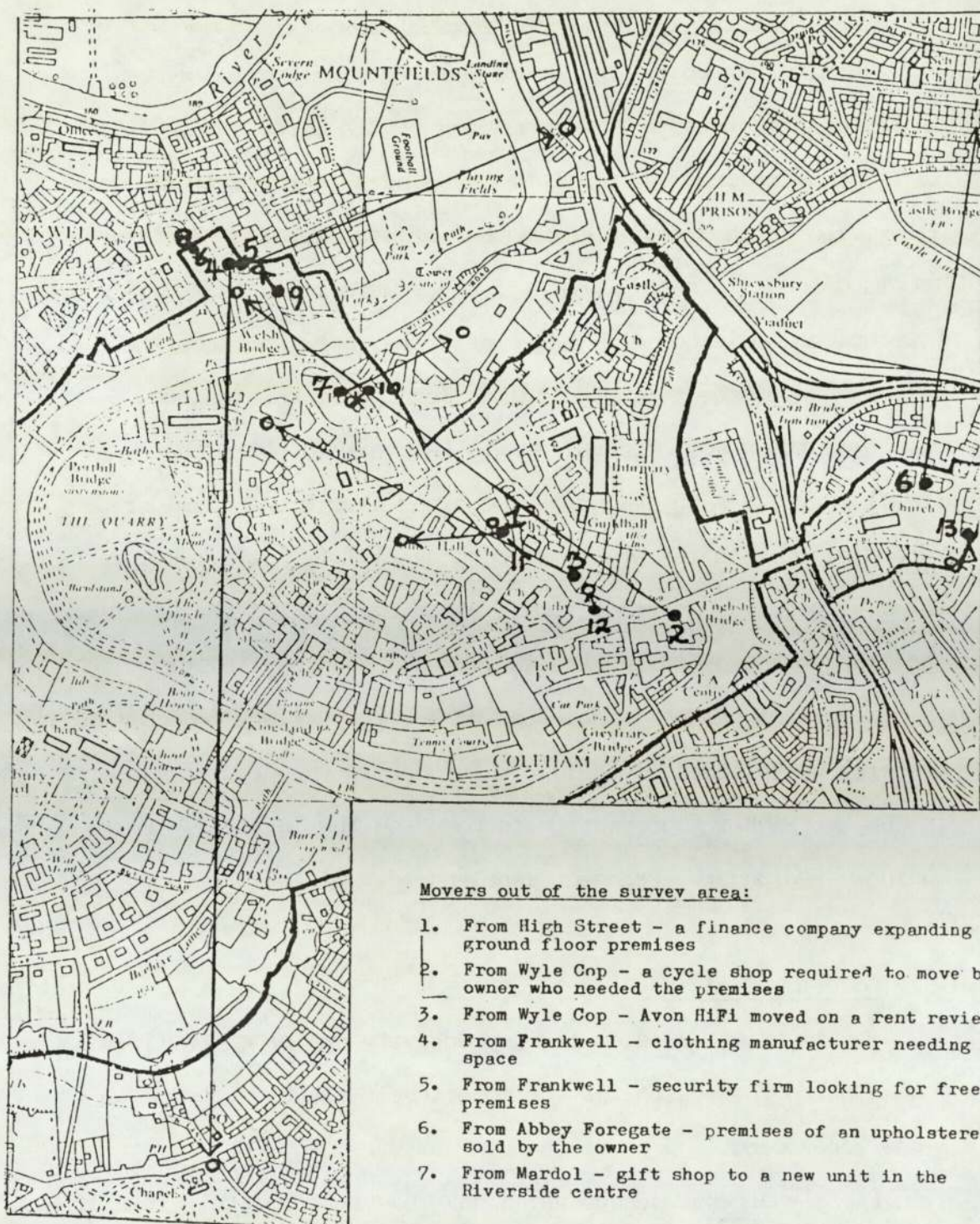
7.3 Site Level: Location & Development Factors

Turning now to the behavioural aspects of spatial change in the centre, this section considers at the micro-scale the types of decisions made which cause changes in the land use activities in an area. The reasons for particular activities locating in certain buildings and areas were investigated. Development decisions are then considered, not just from the actual change made to the building, but how it relates to a change in the use of the building. Chapter Two noted that retail activities in secondary locations have to be considered according to both the problems and potential of buildings and the view point of occupants. The bases for some of the location and improvement decisions are indicated. How they influence the pattern of change in an area and how they relate to planning are also noted, then investigated further in the area studies in Chapter Eight. Information is based on the interviews with businesses along the transect (see Appendix C.)

7.3.1. Location Decisions

The location decision for any activity can be categorised according to the reason for the move itself of which four main types were found.

Firstly are businesses which have had to relocate. This is generally associated with the inadequacy of their previous premises, rather than their displacement by a redevelopment scheme. Some of those relocating had been in the town centre but faced rising costs or constraints on expansion and found more suitable premises on the fringe. Others had premises which

Figure 7.14: Movements Within and Between Areas.Movers within areas:

8. In Frankwell - Lewis Butchers offered new premises as conversion work being done by owners (Galliers)
9. In Frankwell - Hudson drapers to gain better premises with rear access (still owns previous premises)
10. In Mardol - Pickering Toys move to spaller premises but as a long term resident did not wish to move from the area if possible
11. In High Street - Nock Deighton Estate Agents on amalgamation with another firm
12. In Wyle Cop - Sports shop moved to more convenient and spacious premises (sold previous shop to Laura Ashley)
13. In Abbey Foregate - Newsagents moved on redevelopment to far end of the street then back again later

were not appropriate to their changing needs, for example a business wishing to combine a workshop and retail outlet (see Figure 7.13). Some specific relocation decisions are illustrated in the map, Figure 7.14 and it was seen that many of the moves were within a small area or between fringe locations.

Secondly are those setting up in business. Their location requirements can be further subdivided into four types. There are firstly those who had previously been in the business itself as an employee and then took it over. They appeared to be mainly in the fringe areas such as Phillips Fishing tackle in Abbey Foregate and Bubbles Hairdresser of Frankwell. Secondly were newcomers starting out in a business, but who did not appear to have the necessary knowledge of an appropriate location in the town. One example is a Card and Gift shop which opened and closed within six months. This was in a fringe location with little of the required 'passing trade', so that other businesses there were either long established or specialist dealers. Thirdly, were some specialist trades trying out the market. This includes both those introducing new lines to an existing business and those who have been in business elsewhere. Their motives for choosing particular locations were very varied. However, six of the businesses interviewed in Wyle Cop considered themselves to be in the category of 'creating demand', a common factor being the need for low cost premises, such as in St. Julian's Craft Centre. Finally were those occupants attempting to establish a business but who had also made an assessment of their particular market. An example is the Good Life Restaurant (see Figure 5.35) which considered itself fortunate in obtaining a suitable building in the required type of location.



Figure 7.13:
Rushworths Antiques
- combines a showroom
with workshop for
upholstery and
renovation on the
first floor



Figure 7.15: Pastiche
- a luxury decor shop, intending
to use the upper floors as a
workroom and flat.



Figure 7.16: Take a Second
- moved in from outside the region.

A third category are occupants who take over a business as a going concern. Location decisions are obviously restricted here where it is a question of the use of the building rather than finding a vacant property. A fair proportion fell into this category such as Kennings Cars on the site of an existing garage, Bishop and Brown continuing the photographic business and 'Step Inside' a second-hand clothes business, all in Wyle Cop.

A fourth category are those cases where a firm is opening a new branch in the town. This seems to happen either when a trader moves up the retail hierarchy, having previously been situated in an area with a smaller catchment, such as James 2nd Gift Shop and Discount Jewellery; or when a national company decides to open a branch in the town - often to serve the wider region. Likewise a firm originally established in another region may decide to expand into the Shropshire area such as 'Pastiche' or 'Take a Second', shown in Figures 7.15 and 7.16.

7.3.2. Planning and the Location Decision

Planning controls such as ^{on} the location of redevelopment schemes, may have had a direct impact on the locations of other activities. For example, a newsagent's business interviewed in Abbey Foregate is relocated almost a mile from its original location as a result of a redevelopment for old people's housing. With other developments such as the Frankwell Footbridge it is less easy to demonstrate their impact. In this case, some respondents did mention their concern at the decision and the resulting change in the pattern of pedestrian movement which affected their trade in opposite ways. Similarly, opinions



Figure 7.17: Frankwell Roundabout - has opened up the area to provide a setting for shops and a restaurant on New Street.



Figure 7.18: Reflections Gifts and Crafts
- a recently restored shop in Frankwell.

Figure 7.19: Ironcraft
a new retail outlet for a local business making fireplaces and accessories



about a scheme may vary over time. For instance, there was some initial adverse reaction to the Frankwell roundabout with the loss of parking. However, now the mature landscaped area is seen as improving the setting of some businesses (see Figure 7.17).

Planning in response to private initiatives is not always in the form of constraints but may be active encouragement and advice such as that received by the owners of 48-52 Wyle Cop from the District Council, which was happy to see the re-use of an old building. However, planning considerations did not appear to be a major factor in the location decisions of those interviewed. None of those questioned had approached the Planning Department when looking for a property. They only came into contact with the Local Authority when seeking a planning permission. Moreover, in two cases the intervention of planning was seen as particularly negative. For instance the firm of Thorntons, a well-established firm of motor component distributors in Wyle Cop, negotiated to buy the old Century Cinema nearby from Granada. They were refused permission for a warehouse activity on the grounds that it would generate too much traffic. They appealed against the decision and although this was allowed, the time taken for this procedure meant that the firm's circumstances had changed and it was no longer feasible to take up the permission. A second example was a craft shop set up in Frankwell, which never obtained a fascia sign (see Figure 7.18). When the first shop-front design was refused the occupier was unable to afford further design work. As this business was particularly precarious such constraints appeared to aggravate the situation. More satisfied with their building and location was a firm making and selling fireplaces and accessories (see Figure 7.19). They had a workshop in Frankwell for some years,

but needed a retail outlet and were lucky to find one close by which they rent from the Council.

Certain types of use have specific problems to which planning is not always responsive. These include firstly, workshops and craft studios, which often have to consider whether it will really pay to obtain a retail outlet. In addition, those placing reliance on the tourist/visitor trade are potentially in an insecure position since Shrewsbury has not established itself as a major tourist centre. A second category are heavy goods retailers, such as Discount Stores selling bathroom fittings in Wyle Cop, which have a number of problems with traffic arrangements in the central area, for both parking and loading. This suggests that dealing with the problem of congestion in historic streets does not always meet the needs of the traders. A third type are the larger stores which wish to establish themselves in the town centre or expand there, but are constrained by a policy to locate such units on the edge of the centre. Consequently a Debenhams store has decided to locate in Telford rather than Shrewsbury and other large firms have taken over smaller units in the new precinct and amalgamated them. A fourth type are certain industrial activities in the central area which are non-conforming according to planning policy but are not easy to relocate. Included here could be the Atlas Foundry in Frankwell, an area long scheduled for redevelopment with a superstore and landscaping.

.../..

Figure 7.20: Laura Ashley
shop, no. 65 Wyle Cop entrance.

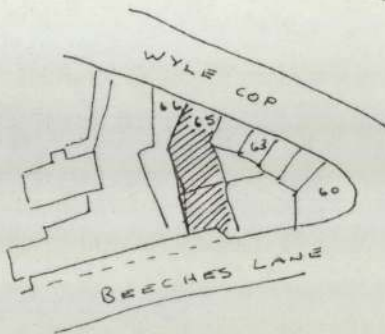
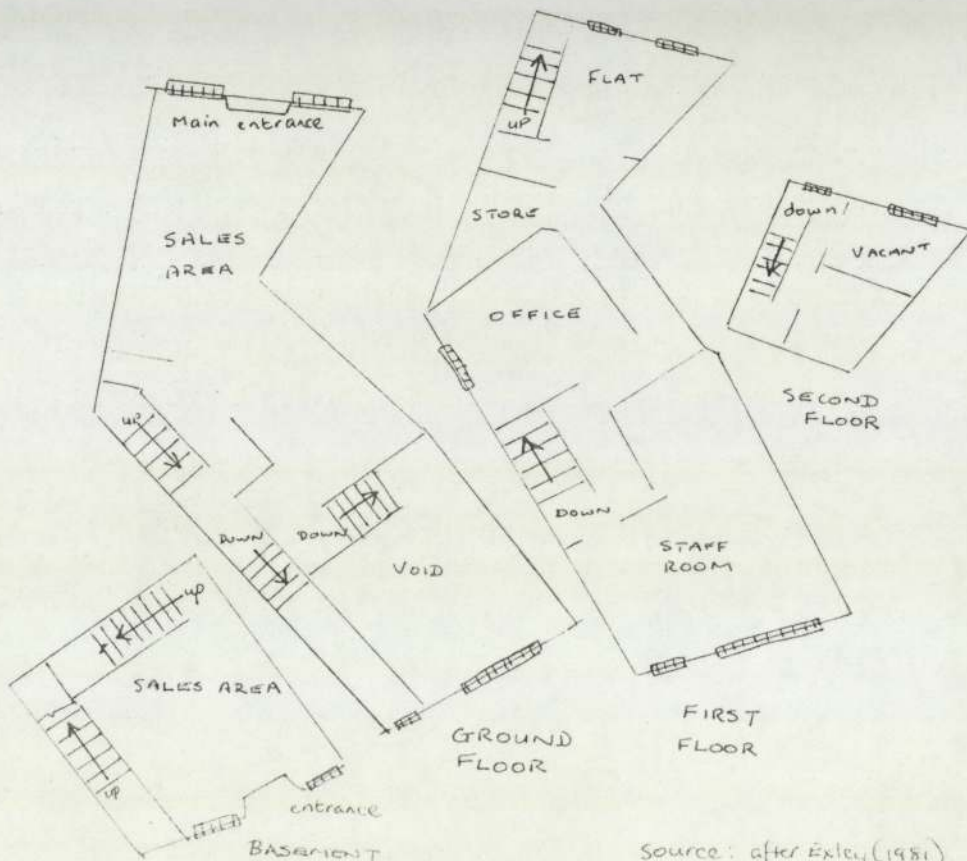


Figure 7.21: Plans of the
Laura Ashley Shop - showing
the use of different levels.



Source: after Exley (1981)

7.3.3. Improvement and Conversion Decisions

There are a number of factors which seem significant influences on physical change in the historic centre. Individual owners may have no interest in using a building and so it may be left empty thereby adding to the arguments to redevelop, even when they are listed such as 11,12 and 13 Frankwell.

Upper floors have been identified as a major problem in many historic centres. It was found in Shrewsbury that several were not economic to bring into use mainly because there was no suitable access now available. For example, in Wyle Cop, no. 62 having no access to upper floors and no. 15 with only internal access so generally limiting residential use. In addition, where the building uses the upper floor for retail the problem of security was noted for small businesses with only a few staff. Also found in Wyle Cop was that buildings may be on different levels, which sometimes requires more imaginative re-use. This can be positively exploited such as the Laura Ashley Shop (see Figures 7.20 and 7.21) which uses to advantage the split levels for its different departments, having a ground floor entrance on Wyle Cop and a basement entrance on Beeches Lane.

Large old buildings pose many problems for re-use, as identified by the Montague Report (1981). This is not only because of the bigger initial capital outlay required for restoration or conversion work, but also the continuing maintenance needed. In Shrewsbury an example of the former is the Fellmonger's Hall for which the Civic Society had difficulty in raising the necessary finance. An example of the latter was the Craft Centre in St. Julian's Church (see Figure 7.22), which requires a considerable amount of internal repair. Furthermore, even when a new use is found, it may not always be compatible



Figure 7.22: St Julians
Craft Centre.

A new use has been found for the church by internal division into craft studios.

Figure 7.23:
Owen Owen Department
Store

- shows the amalgamation of a number of separate units.



with neighbouring uses. This was seen with the warehouse building in Wyle Cop, which had to be closed down when it was used as a night club because of complaints - there being more residents in the area than it would appear from its commercial aspect.

The size of the unit and patterns of ownership are also significant factors. The smaller unit size of the historic centre and physical constraints on expansion preclude this as a location for some trades. However, where adjoining properties are owned by the same person, this may allow amalgamation, such as the News Centre in Abbey Foregate and James 2nd in Mardol. Alternatively, the splitting of a single unit into two, such as the 'Gun Shop' and 'Complete Kitchen' in Wyle Cop, may be more appropriate. These cases illustrate how important ownership is in the adaptability of the building fabric to changing use requirements (see Figure 7.23).

Finally, is the importance of design control in terms of the pattern of development. For instance, standards for the size and design of buildings in a redevelopment, if successful, can provide an example for other schemes. An example in Shrewsbury was two lots of housing for old people next to Georgian Terraces in Abbey Foregate.

7.4. Summary of Spatial & Structural Aspects of Land Use Change in Shrewsbury

Taking a spatial perspective, changes in the urban structure over recent years were noted. A combination of theoretical classifications and terms relating to structural processes was found useful to describe broad land use changes. However any one model could only describe a pattern up to the immediate post-war period, as there have been many new factors distorting the model since then. Although some radial expansion of the town's area could be seen this was very uneven, the deviations being explained by physical factors and planning constraints. There was in fact an actual contraction of the central zone in parts as had been observed for other centres by Chapin (1974).

The influence of planned developments on the functioning of the centre was noted, especially those affecting the pattern of movement in and around the centre. Research on how the centre shifts within the town via directional motivation factors, disassociation and re-orientation was found to be useful in establishing changes to the centre and the continued role of some of the older parts.

Considering the centre specifically, the importance of the genesis of the town in morphological terms was demonstrated when the historic town became the modern urban core. The various aspects of centrality which include this historical element as identified by Bird, were useful concepts to describe the basic structure of the core. Land value theories were considered in analysing changing uses within the centre. Although a 'highest land value intersection' could be discerned,

dominated by national firms, considerable local variation occur especially for secondary streets in the centre. Thus groups of single, independent outlets were identified in an area which one might have expected to be taken over by multiple chain stores.

The spatial pattern of use change was noted. There were less obvious changes of use, according to planning definitions, taking place in secondary streets, which caused a gradual but distinctive alteration in the character of their use. This was particularly the result when there was a change in the circulation pattern which affects the nature of use of a street, although the buildings may remain the same. Key factors, common to most centres, were the location of terminal points, such as the bus station and car parks, and the traffic restrictions both affected accessibility. Alterations to the communications pattern and road widening in and around the centre were found to affect the buildings and the pattern of movement in specific areas, adversely affecting some secondary streets.

At the site level research on behavioural factors helps explain differences in the land use pattern to those which might be expected. Thus individual motivations and consumer preferences may support a business in what might appear as an unpromising location. The influence exerted on land use by personal values could be identified in Gick's terms (ref. Chapter Three) - the retentive, resistive and recuperative types. The symbolic value of the historic nature of the centre was not found to be particularly strong for any one part of the centre or group of traders.

The study did confirm the differences noted in general between the location decisions of multiple and independent businesses. However, because of constraints on new buildings in the historic centre, the assertion that only small young local businesses are to be found in old converted premises is often contradicted. Meanwhile, the requirement for larger premises which cannot be met in the historic centre tends to force certain trades such as carpet sales to choose more unconventional locations, often on the inner fringe.

The behaviouralist insights into the division of occupants into 'grower', 'stayers' and 'closers' was fairly apt. Of the moves documented, they were found to conform to the trends in all types of centre, for example short distance office moves to more spacious or prominent accommodation. Many business moves may also be either within the same area, probably because of familiarity with that area, or between areas identified as similar to the original area, as long as they are not perceived as areas in decline.

The planning influence at different levels was noted; firstly in certain redevelopment schemes which have affected the structure of the town. Secondly in the attempt to control certain types of change in different parts by area policies and thirdly in indirectly constraining the location decision for businesses moving or wishing to set up in the area. The following chapter investigates these points within the transect and fringe areas studied.

The methodology of this section concentrated on plotting, graphically and diagrammatically, changes of use and their nature at both the town level and within the centre. Use of the transect

sample enabled detailed spatial data across the centre to be analysed. Thus the spatial impact of pressures for change could be seen - of what are predominantly physical and area policies in the historic centre. Area change is therefore identified from a broader perspective than just change in the physical appearance.

- - - - -

CHAPTER EIGHT: LAND USE CHANGE & PLANNING IN THE CENTRAL AREA FRINGE

The previous three chapters have indicated the issues and background to land use change in fringe areas of the centre, but from separate viewpoints and geographical scales. To focus more specifically on change in fringe areas, the various levels and time-space data were interrelated. This has been done in two stages. Firstly, using the sample transect, a more detailed analysis of planning decisions and use changes was made for the period 1961-81, reported in Section 8.1. Secondly, fringe areas based on the transect were examined in detail, Section 8.2, combining context, transect and interview data. By employing both an analysis of development proposals and behavioural factors and a broader view of the area in its historical and geographical context a fuller picture of fringe area change is gained.


















8.1 Transect Study of Development Proposals & Property Uses

Information on the central area so far has indicated certain patterns of land use change in different parts. To investigate these further, this section analyses the use of properties along the transect related to planning applications during the past 20 years, with the following objectives:

1. To determine the spatial pattern of uses over time and note if either space or time is more important and why this might be so.
2. To identify periods with more pressure for development over the transect as a whole and in different sections.
3. To discover if any trends can be linked to planning factors.
4. To note the type and rate of change in the use and mix of uses in the different parts, related to theories of urban structure and processes of change.













Key to Figures 8.1 to 8.5.(1) Use of Buildings along the Transect 1961-1981.

main use, all floors:

	residential	
	public buildings	
	shop & premises	
	public house	
	cafe/restaurant	
	motor sales/garage	
	office	
	bank	
	building society	
	warehouse/storage	
 M	workshop/manufacturing	
	vacant	

Symbols indicate where a change of use is involved. (The original analysis used colours to distinguish the patterns of activities).

(11) Planning Permissions & Refusals 1961-1981.

	New building		Change of use from:
	demolition		shop
	extension		office
			residential
	internal alterations		Change of use or development on a specific floor
	change to shopfront		
	Refusal of permission.		Residential conversion.
			no change of use

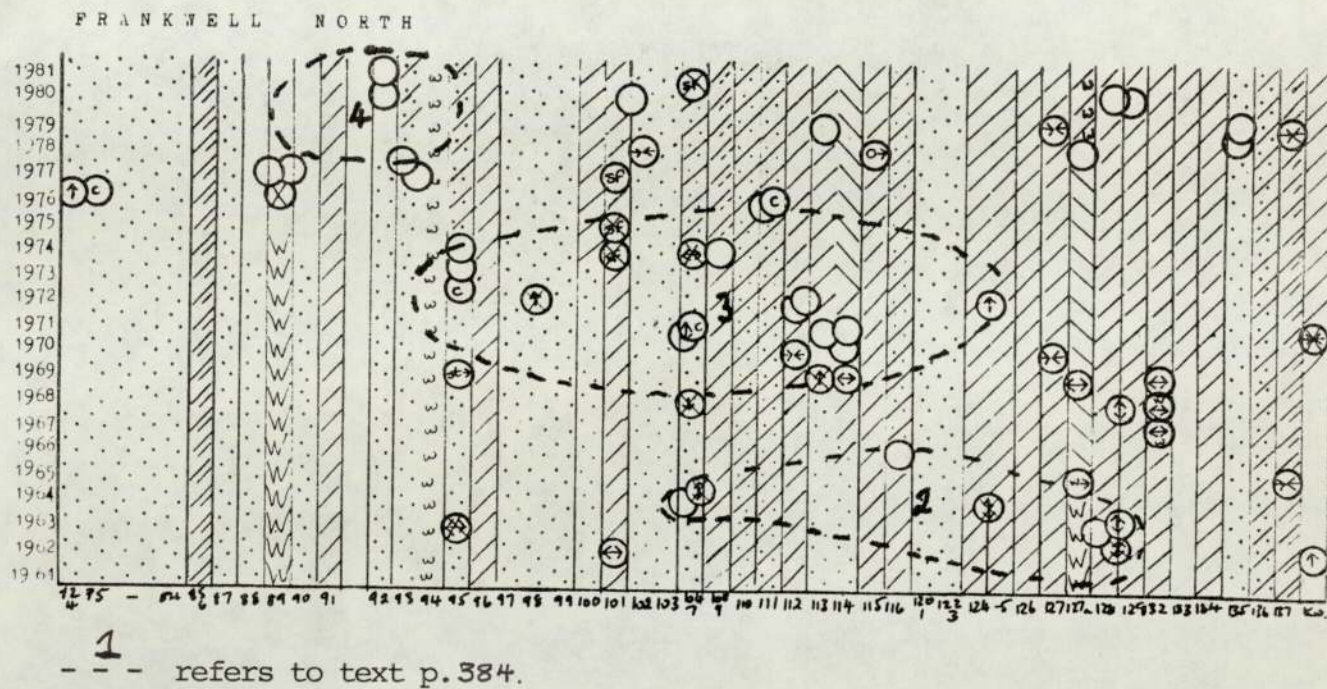


Figure 8.1: Use of Properties & Development Proposals in Frankwell, 1961 - 81.

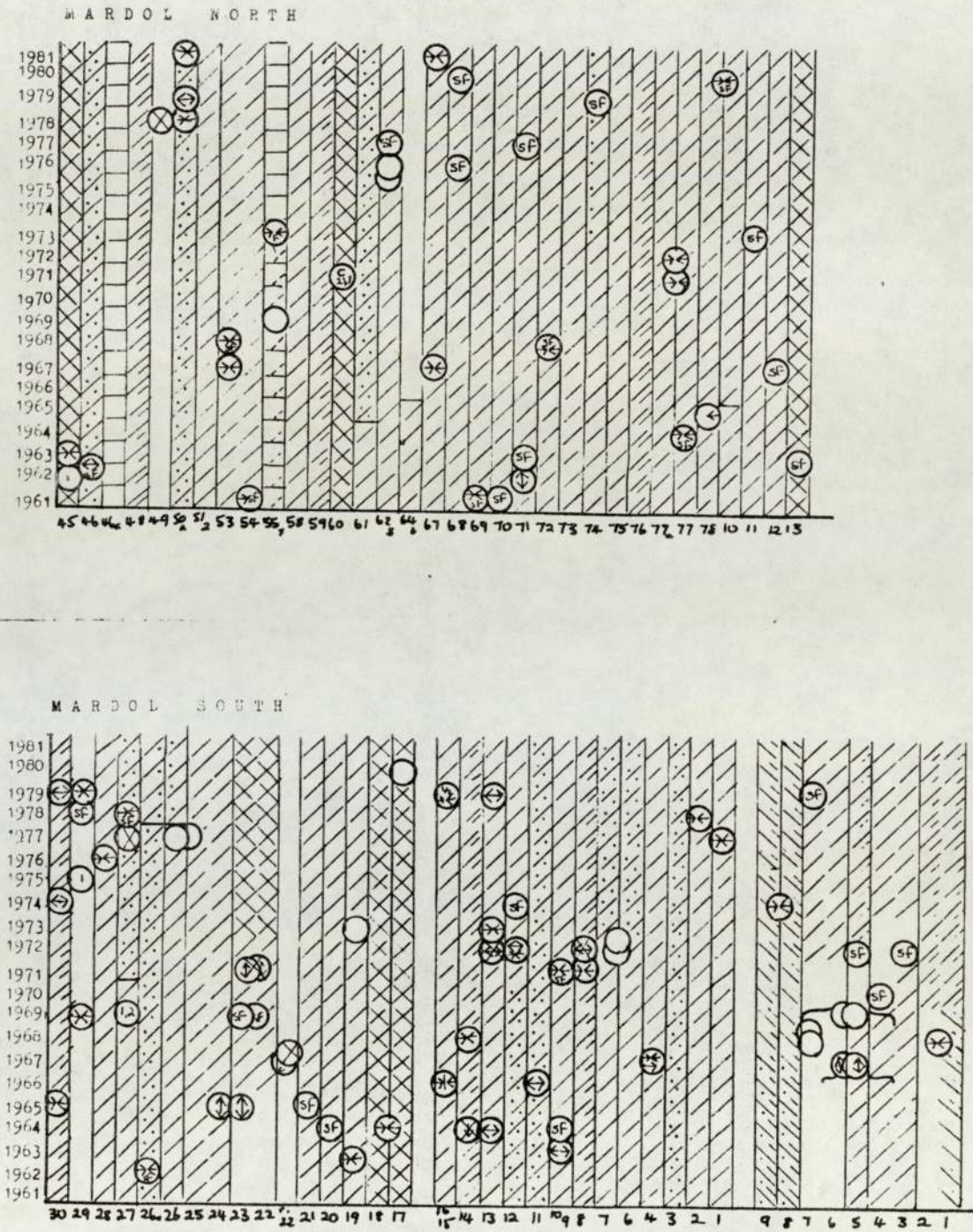


Figure 8.2: Use of Properties & Development Proposals in Mardol,
1961 - 1981.

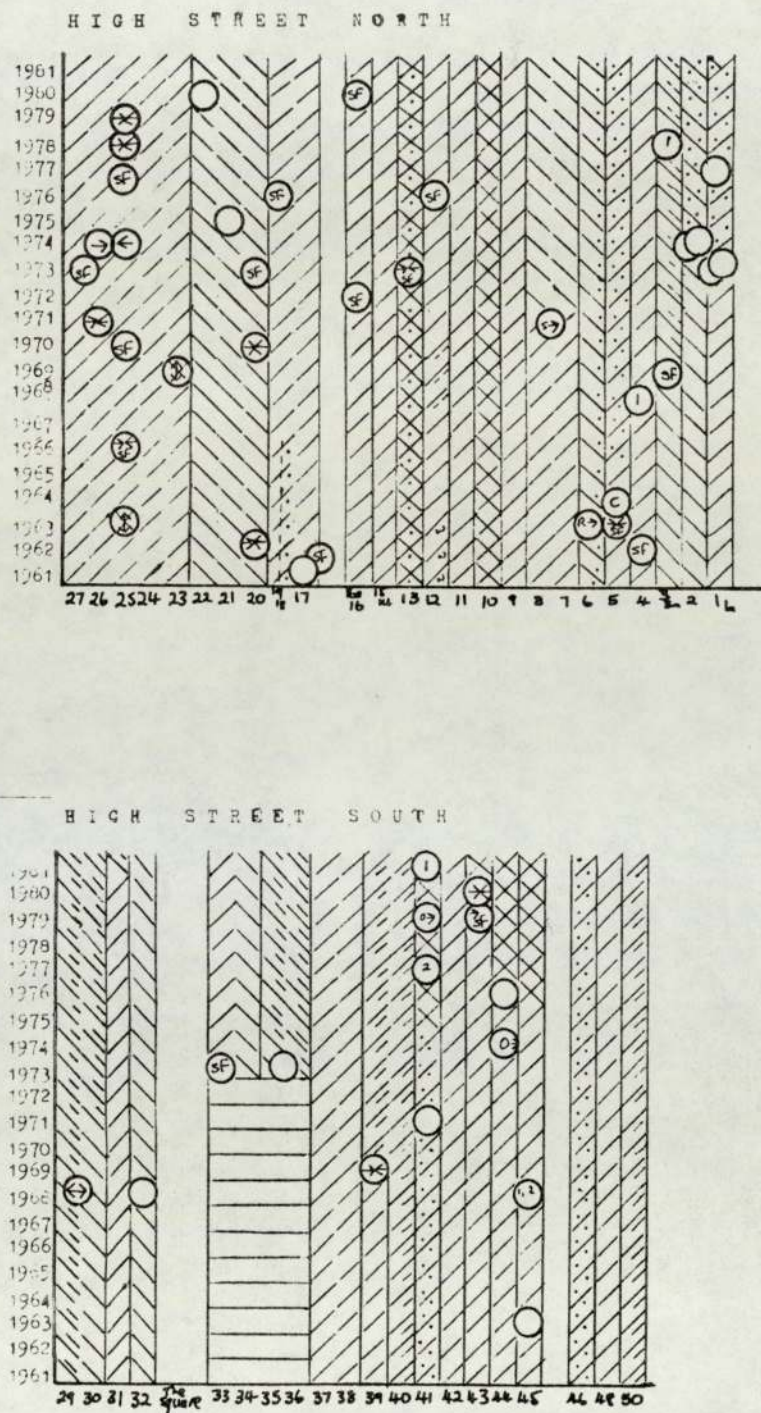


Figure 8.3: Use of Properties & Development Proposals in High Street, 1961 - 1981.

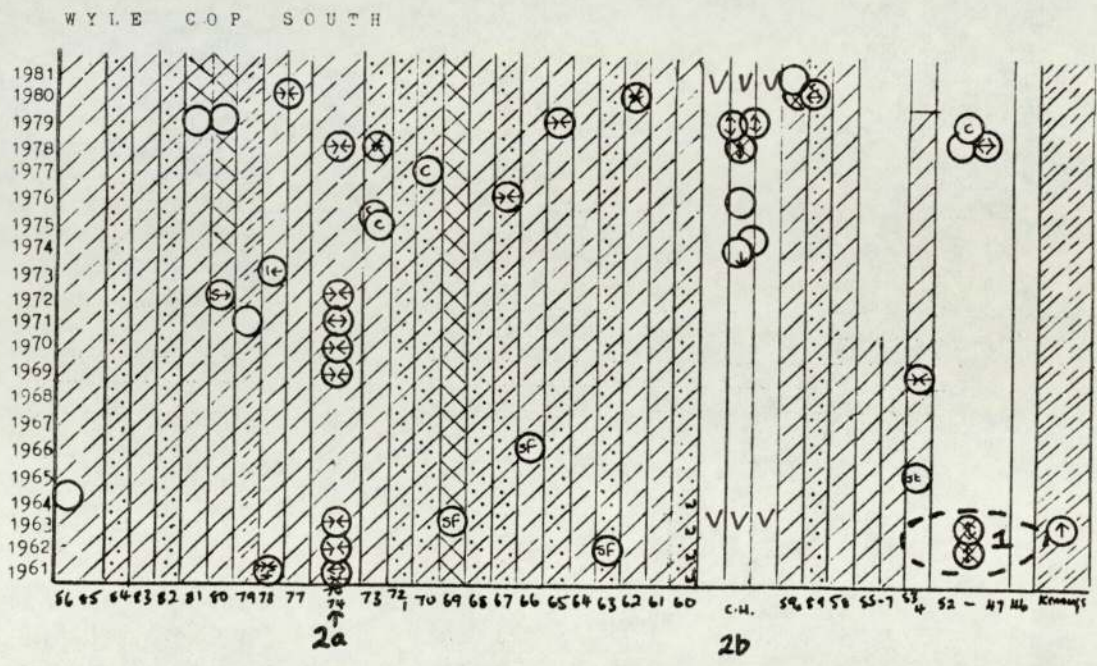
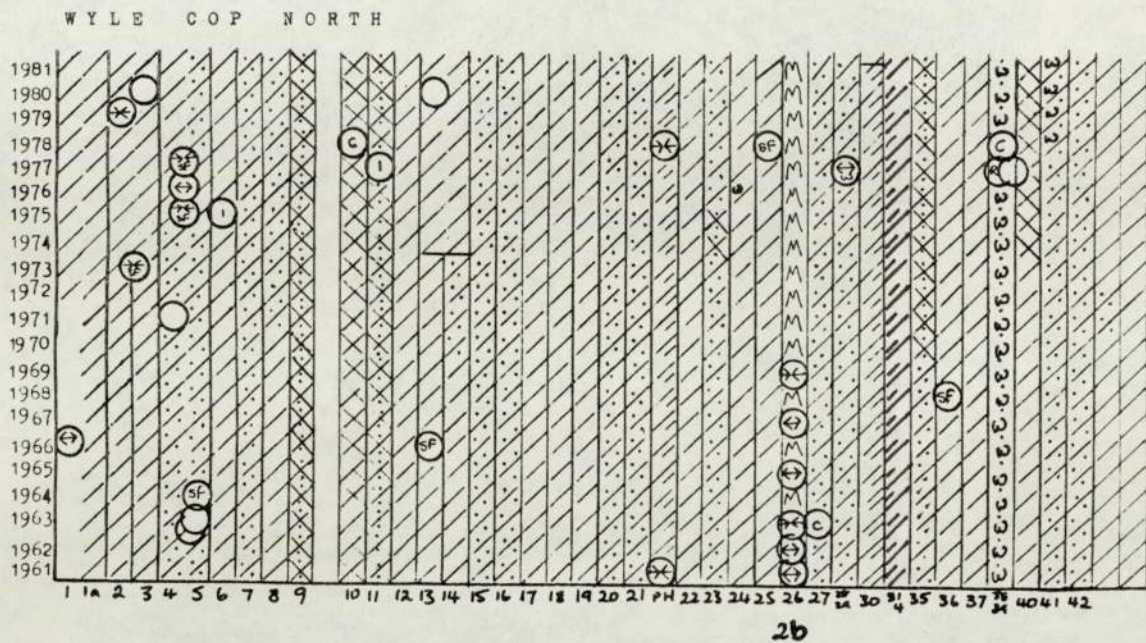


Figure8.4: Use of Properties & Development Proposals in Wyle Cop, 1961 - 1981.

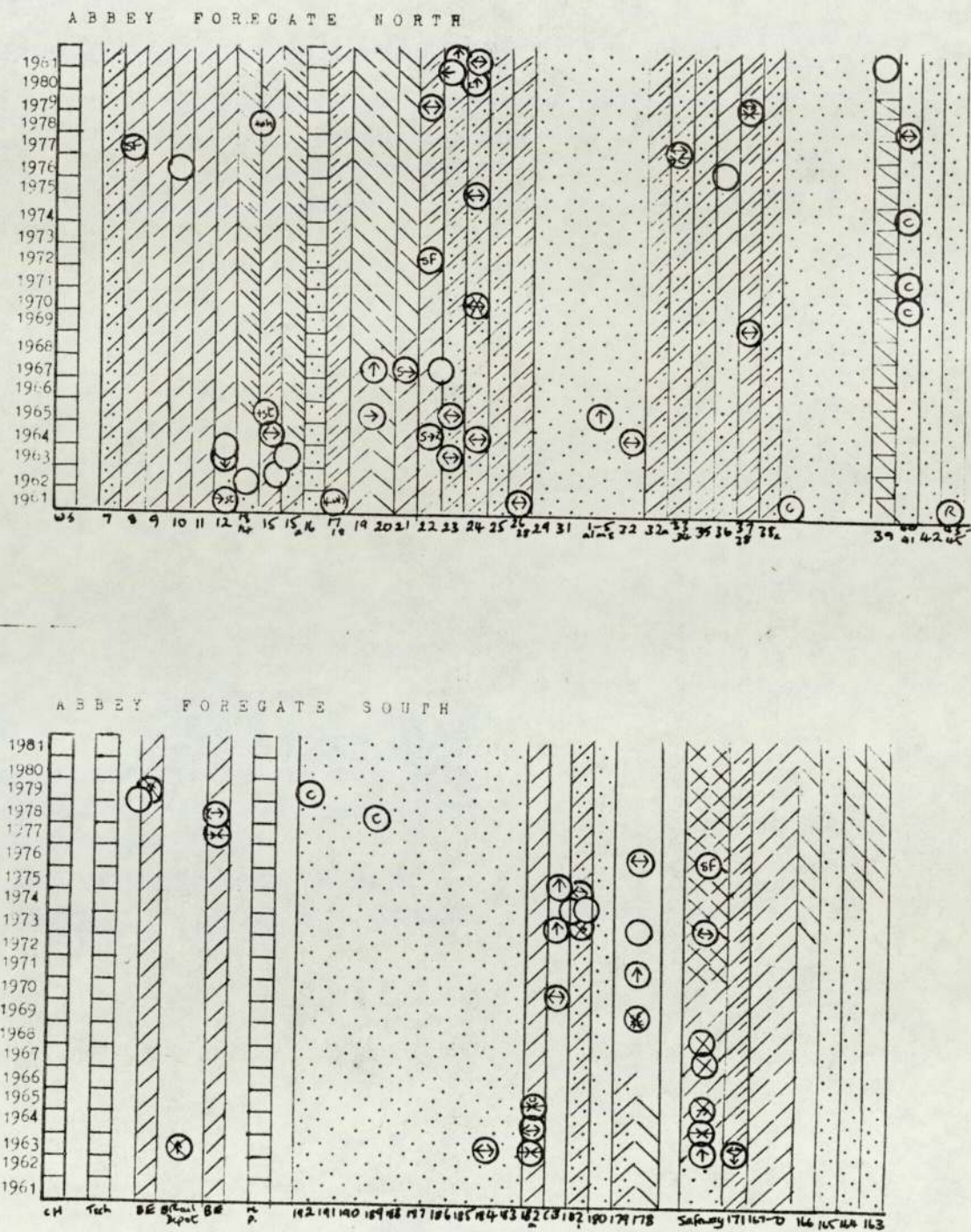


Figure 8.5: Use of Properties & Development Proposals in Abbey Foregate, 1961 - 1981.

Information indicating the pattern of land use activities was derived from rate records, local authority surveys in 1971 and 1977 and a current use survey (1981). Details of planning applications for all properties were obtained from the register of decision notices (Shrewsbury & Atcham District Council) pre- and post-1974, and categorised according to the proposed use or change to the existing property. These two sets of data were plotted in graph form for both sides of the streets forming the transect, as shown in Figures 8.1 to 8.5.

Analysis of the data led to a number of findings:-

8.1.1. The General Land Use Pattern

As expected, a mix of uses other than offices and shops was found towards the edge of the central area. In the core, the vertical office/shop mix was found in the High Street Area and Mardol, but rarely in the lower Wyle Cop, where upper floors are, nominally, in storage use and more buildings are used for residential purposes or wholesaling. Although several amalgamations of plots were noted, there was no particular concentration in any one part of the transect, but more seemed to have occurred during a particular period, 1974-5. Thus the time factor seems more important than differences in location.

8.1.2. Changes of Use 1961-81^{*}

There was some early loss of residential uses in Abbey Foregate and Frankwell, then later in Wyle Cop. These appear to

^{*} A problem noted here was in using rate records for the period around the early 1970's which was the end of the first rating assessment and the new one in 1974. A loss or gain of a use suddenly appears on a new assessment and it cannot be seen exactly when the property came into or fell out of use.

be balanced by gains in the High Street and Mardol, which together with conversions have provided more intensive residential use in some parts of the transect. Uses within buildings appear more mixed in recent years with the introduction of offices, either as part of the business or as an upper floor conversion. This could reflect both trends in the administrative role of the centre and the policy restricting ground floor office use in some parts.

8.1.3. Pressures for Development

Two aspects were analysed, firstly the types of development proposed and their location, and secondly the variation of proposals over a period of time. Table 8.1 indicates the applications of different types for the total period in the five streets of the transect.

A number of points can be made from the Table:

1. There appear to have been more developments taking place in the more central streets of Mardol and High Street than secondary streets. However, rateable value increases show that the types of change in the latter may have been more significant in value terms.
2. Although most changes of use were in Frankwell, the higher proportion was in High Street.
3. There were more internal alterations in the centre and extensions on the edges, probably associated with differences in the density of development.
4. More interest was shown in improving shop fronts in the central streets, possibly reflecting competition with the multiples, but also a high turnover of businesses. On the edges there was more 'other work', i.e. erecting or demolishing

Table 8.1: Development Proposals for the Study Transect 1961-81

	1		2		3		4		5	
	a	b	a	b	a	b	a	b	a	b
Change of Use	1	1	14	1	20	-	16	1	10	-
Internal Alterations	13	1	32	-	10	-	28	-	8	1
Extensions	12	1	10	-	2	-	8	-	21	1
Shopfront Change	4	3	32	-	14	-	11	2	3	1
Conversions	7	-	2	1	1	-	8	-	7	-
Other Works	9	8	5	3	-	2	5	4	13	2
1. Total Permissions	46		97		47		77		71	
2. Number of Properties			59		38		85		65	
Index of Change $\frac{1}{2}$	0.7		1.6		1.2		0.9		1.1	
Change of Use Index from Section 7.2, Fig. 7.11	1.8		2.1		2.1		2.2		1.6	

Key: 1. Frankwell
 2. Mardol
 3. High Street
 4. Wyle Cop
 5. Abbey Forgate

a = Development Permitted
 b = Development Refused

buildings or works done on surrounding land.

- The category of conversions could be misleading since the term tended to be confined to residential uses. This type of conversion was more predominant on streets towards the edge of the centre.

The following Table 8.2 now looks at how the pattern of these development proposals varied during the 20-year period, also distinguishing the two sides of the streets involved.

Table 8.2: The Timing of Development Proposals in the Study Transect

	Frankwell			Mardol			High St.			Wyle Cop			Abbey F.			Total		
	N	S	T	N	S	T	N	S	T	N	S	T	N	S	T	N	S	T
1981	1	1	2	2	0	2	0	1	1	0	1	1	1	3	4	4	6	10
1980	2	3	5	2	1	3	2	1	3	2	4	6	-	-	-	8	9	17
1979	4	1	5	2	5	7	1	2	3	1	5	6	2	3	5	10	16	26
1978	5	1	6	2	3	5	2	0	2	4	5	9	2	2	4	15	11	26
1977	4	1	5	2	3	5	2	1	3	4	1	5	2	1	3	14	7	21
1976	2	5	7	2	1	3	2	1	3	1	2	3	2	2	4	9	11	20
1975	2	0	2	0	1	1	1	0	1	2	3	5	1	1	2	6	5	11
1974	1	1	2	0	3	3	2	1	3	0	1	1	1	2	3	4	8	12
1973	5	1	6	2	2	4	4	3	7	1	1	2	0	5	5	12	12	24
1972	0	1	1	1	6	7	1	0	1	0	2	2	1	0	1	3	9	12
1971	4	4	8	2	3	5	2	1	3	1	2	3	1	1	2	10	11	21
1970	5	3	8	0	1	1	2	0	2	0	1	1	2	1	3	9	6	15
1969	3	2	5	1	5	6	2	1	3	1	2	3	1	1	2	8	11	19
1968	1	0	1	2	3	5	1	3	4	1	0	1	0	1	1	5	7	12
1967	4	2	6	3	3	6	1	0	1	1	0	1	3	1	4	12	6	18
1966	1	0	1	0	2	2	1	0	1	2	1	3	-	-	-	4	3	7
1965	2	2	4	1	4	5	1	0	1	1	1	2	4	2	6	9	9	18
1964	2	0	2	1	5	6	1	0	1	1	1	2	4	2	6	9	8	17
1963	1	4	5	2	1	3	2	1	3	3	4	7	3	5	8	11	15	26
1962	3	3	6	3	2	5	2	1	3	1	3	4	2	0	2	11	9	20
1961	0	1	1	3	0	3	1	0	1	2	2	4	5	0	5	11	3	14
Totals	88			87			50			71			69			184	182	366

N = North
S = South

The figures above are analysed with reference to knowledge about significant developments in the town at particular times, the following points being noted:

1. It appears that redevelopment/renewal sites encouraged improvements in adjacent properties and are often associated with changes of use. For example, Mardol, affected by the Riverside Development, saw the introduction of several new uses in the early 1970's.
2. In Abbey Foregate there were most changes at the end of the 1960's. These were associated with banks and supermarket redevelopments suggesting an expansion outwards of C.B.D. uses.
3. Frankwell experienced some developments in the early part of the period, but redevelopment proposals prevented major change. The new service road built in the late 1960's brought a number of changes, followed later by improvements to other property as uncertainty in the area, caused by delays in redevelopment, was reduced.
4. In the High Street the main development has been on the Shirehall site in the early 1970's. However, the total period has seen activities jockeying for position along the street and some improvements at the east end.
5. Wyle Cop has had no major developments. There has been a decline in the condition of some properties but also some significant rehabilitation schemes.

.../..

To put these findings within the wider perspective, figures for the transect are compared with the total number of applications submitted in the Shrewsbury District over this period. These are illustrated in graphs Figure 8.6 and Figure 8.7. The former shows a decline in the number of applications in the central area, as represented by the transect, from 1963 to 1966. There was then an increase up to 1973, followed by a decrease in 1974/5 corresponding to the national economic situation. Since then there has been a steady pick up. Figure 8.7 shows a less sharp reaction to general change over the district as a whole compared with the central area sample. For instance, the fall-off in 1974 in the centre was only reflected by 1976 in the district as a whole, which has also seen no overall increase in the last few years.

Figure 8.6: Planning Applications for Sample Transect 1961-81

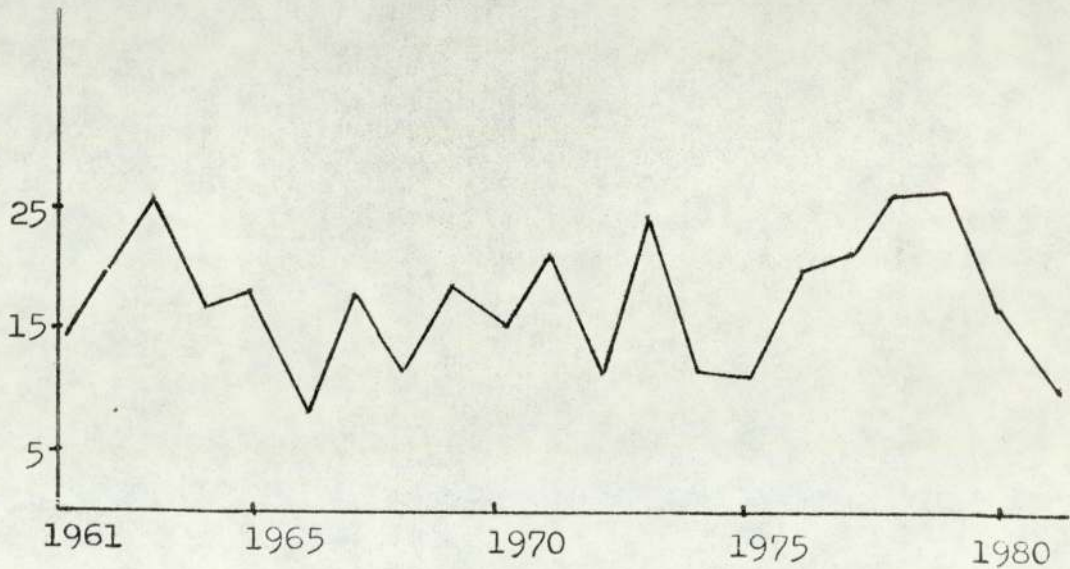
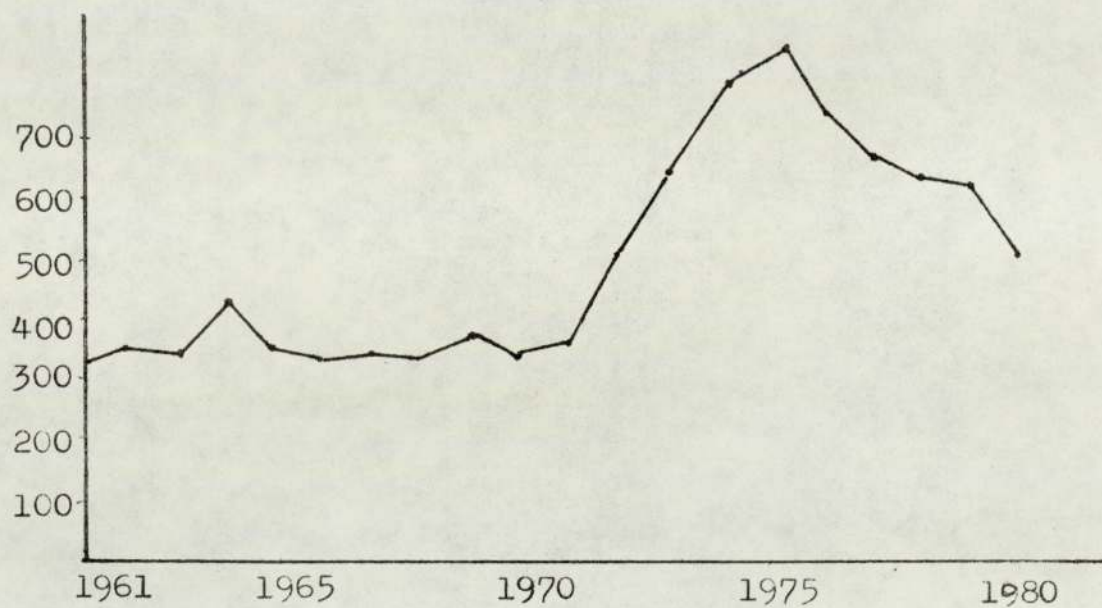


Figure 8.7: Planning Applications for Shrewsbury District 1961-81



8.2 Fringe Areas Study

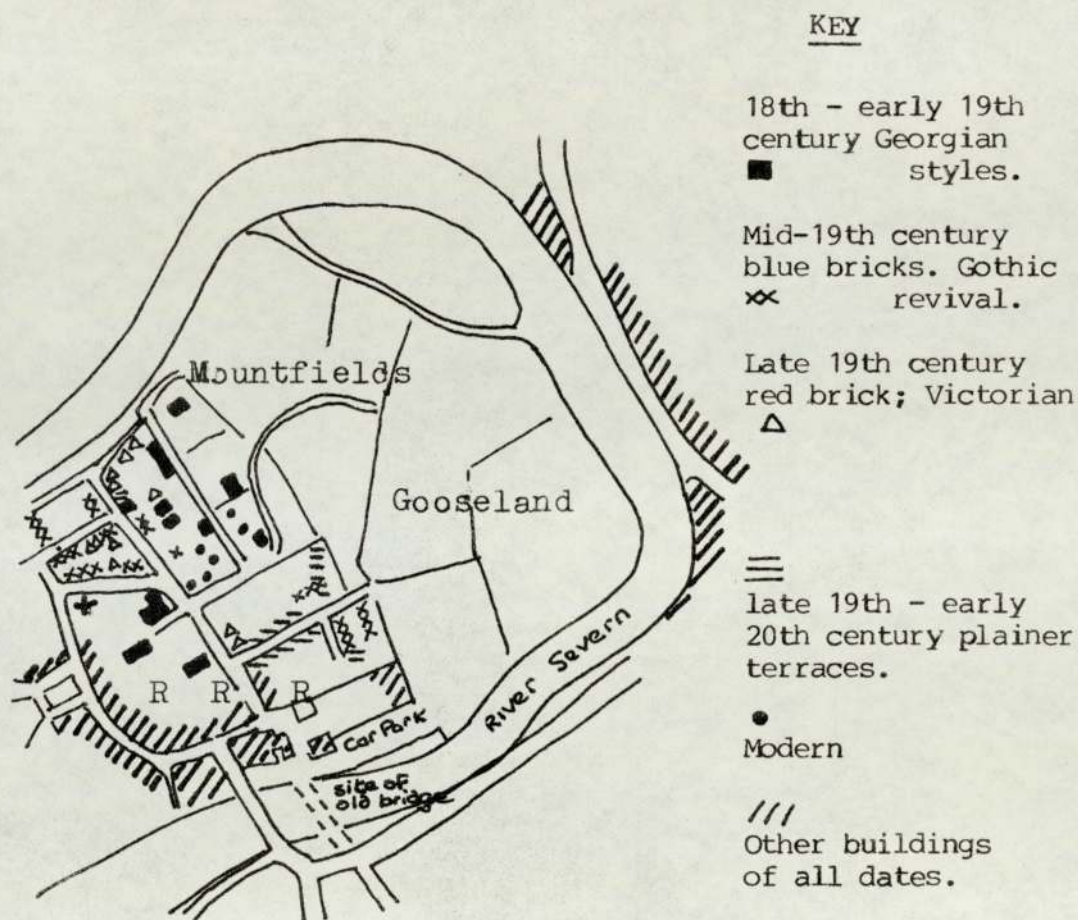
The transect study not only covered areas already identified as having undergone change in recent years, but also pointed to the contrasts between areas and the influence of planning. Studies concentrating on some of the sub-areas of the centre help to explain further the patterns emerging and test some of the theoretical processes selected in Chapter Three. The two main areas chosen are both secondary shopping streets, Frankwell and Wyle Cop, but the former lies outside the loop of the river. A different emphasis is placed on the information used in the two areas in order to explore a variety of methods to analyse change at area level. The study of Frankwell incorporates more historical evidence, especially the use of photographic records, whilst the study of Wyle Cop uses the additional spatial data available from a recent survey (Exley, 1981). Information on other fringe areas is used for classification and general analysis of such areas in the town.

8.2.1. Area 1 - Frankwell

a) Historical background - changing roles & uses over time

Frankwell is both the name of the main road leading northwest from the Welsh Bridge and town centre, and of the medieval settlement around it, of which several timber-framed buildings of the 16th and 17th centuries still remain. The area was at one time called Frankville - a quarter for foreign traders outside the jurisdiction of Shrewsbury itself and the Lord of the Castle. It has continued as a 'tradesman's suburb' until modern times. Although now its trade is more road-orientated, at one time the Quayside was the busiest

part with the river trade centred around the approach to the old Welsh bridge. The Quay, built in the early 17th century was located on the route to Wales by which wool was brought, but the decline of the river trade meant Frankwell did not grow at the same rate as the rest of Shrewsbury.



Source: Sinker & Pannett

Figure 8.8: Historical Development of Frankwell

However, it has retained its independent spirit up to modern times. It is still known as "the Little Borough", and was reported in a Shrewsbury Chronicle article in 1978 as a "complete shopping centre with a friendly personal service."

The main street now has a range of shops and offices interspersed with workshops and housing which represents a long established mix of uses. The main change is that the street is now split by the heavy traffic approaching Shrewsbury via the Bridge. Also, as the transect study showed, there has been some loss of manufacturing industry. The area surrounding this main street was at one time laid out in small gardens for town dwellers, but as the population of the 19th century increased most of the plots were built up.

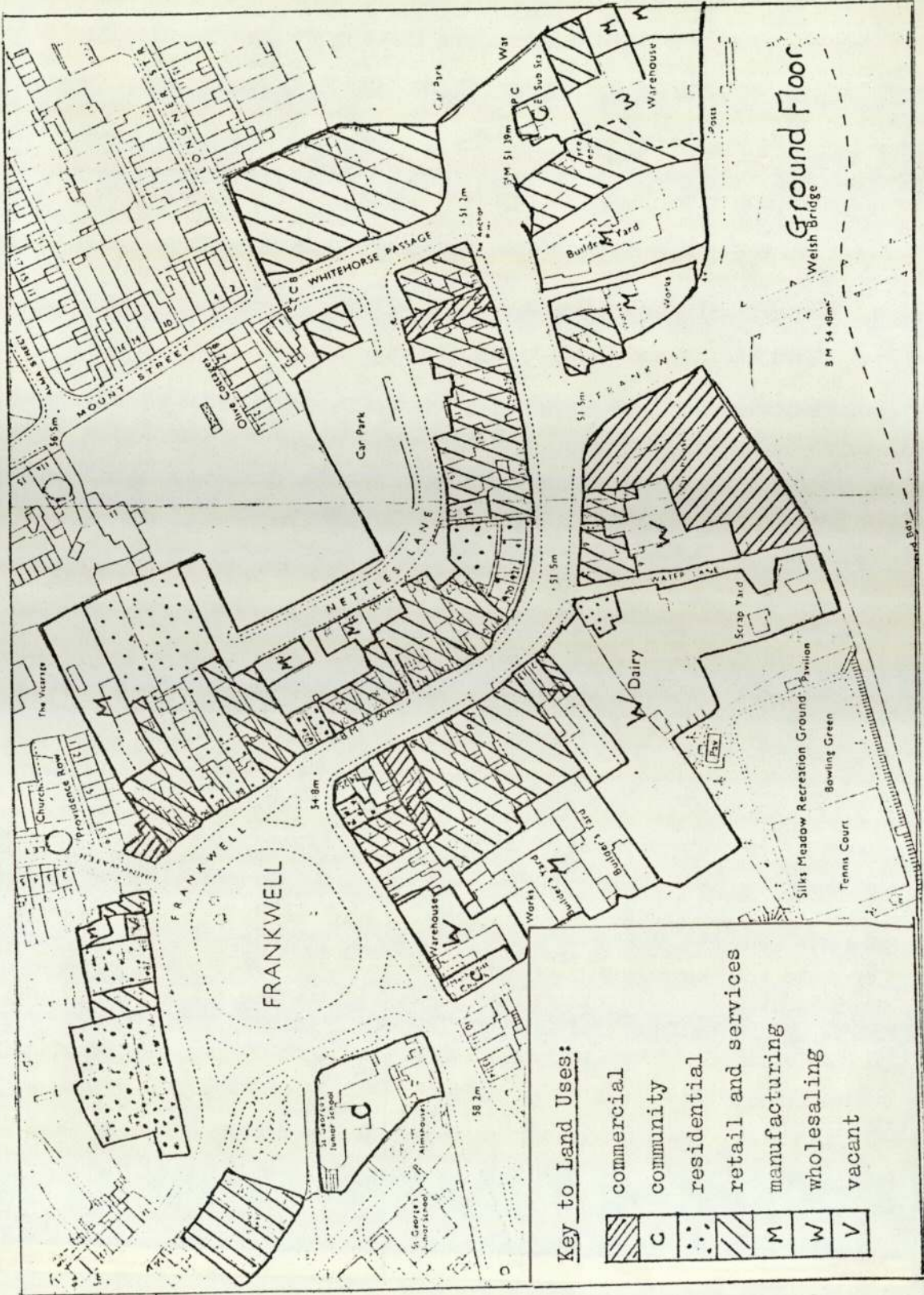
The following Table indicates some of the changes in activities which have taken place in more recent times, indicating that it is still a compact shopping centre with most services available but now with additional offices and small businesses.

Table 8.3: Business change in Frankwell 1960-1980

Type of Activity	No. of Properties/Businesses	
	1960	1980
Offices	1	6
Industry	11	6
Residential	68	34
Retail - Food & Drink	7	4
Newsagent/Tobacconist/Confectioner	3	2
Household	2	6
Clothing & Footwear	1	1
Other Non-food	5	4
General Stores	3	0
Vehicles	2	2
Public Houses	6	3
Restaurant/Cafe	1	1
Services	5	4
Wholesale/Distribution	2	1
Total No of Business (ex Residential)	49	40

Source: Trade Directories and Survey of Current Users.

Figure 8.9: Land Uses in the Study Area of Frankwell in 1982.



However, these figures do not indicate the changes in the pattern of land use over the area. This is shown in map, Figure 8.9 which identifies the study area, covering the main street and land immediately to the rear, with the general use of land and properties shown. First floor uses are indicated where appropriate.

The study area needs to be seen in context of the centre as a whole and other fringe areas. Local authority data on floorspace indicated firstly (Table 8.4) the location of the shops and houses and the density of development in the various blocks, within Frankwell itself (with reference to diagram 8.10). Secondly (Table 8.5) shows the proportion of space in various land use categories - and how to some extent the uses are characteristic of the theoretical central area fringe, when compared to the average for the town centre (1970).

b) Problems for Planning & Change in the Area by the Local Authority

Three issues have been predominant in the area for some time and provide the context for change. Firstly, flooding has been a serious problem in this area for centuries, especially the lower parts which often suffered much damage. Some buildings this century were raised up above the flood level (see Figure 6.22), including the Old Chapel, whilst further building on the floodland to the North East was avoided. Secondly, the problem of traffic congestion on the busy approach road from Wales was alleviated somewhat by the roundabout, opened in 1970, but not without the loss of some interesting buildings. Meanwhile the parking problem was solved by the further extension of the riverside car park.*

* also indicating a problem for such a fringe area, having to deal with overspill uses from the central core.

Table 8.4: Floorspace and Density in Areas of Frankwell

Blocks	No. of Shops	No. Resid.	Total Floorspace	Total Block Area	Plot Ratio
			'000 square feet		
47	0	0	1982	2334	0.85
(48	1	32	8333	13575	0.61)
49	3	1	1593	2130	0.75
50	3	0	2812	2731	1.03
51	15	21	7241	4575	1.58
52	12	12	5479	9582	0.57

() Not in the study area.

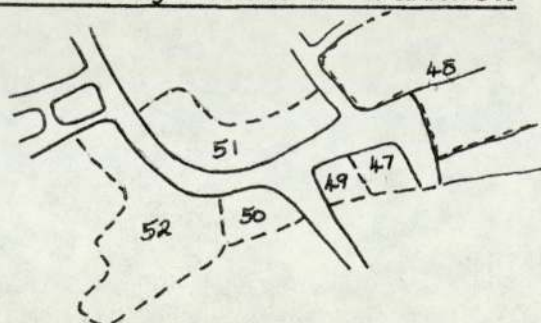
Table 8.5: % in Different Land Uses in Areas of Frankwell

Blocks	Total Fl'space '000 sq ft	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
47	3334	45.0	-	37.9	10.0	10.0	2.5	-	1.3	0.8	2.5
(48	16805	21.1	-	27.7	10.3	34.7	6.2	-	-	-	-)
49	2312	23.6	-	61.4	10.4	1.9	-	-	-	-	-
50	4424	-	50.4	9.7	-	-	38.6	-	-	-	1.5
51	8940	7.7	4.3	42.0	6.9	30.0	9.1	-	-	-	-
52	12313	2.4	3.4	44.7	-	14.1	7.5	27.9	-	-	-
Av. for Frankwell		16.6	9.7	37.2	6.3	12.1	20.1	4.65	0.2	0.1	0.6
Av. for Town Centre		2.8	11.5	25.6	8.8	18.4	2.7	9.4	11.0	2.7	7.0

() Not in the study area.

Key: 1. Manufacturing 6. Wholesale
 2. Office 7. Recreational
 3. Shopping 8. Health
 4. Transport 9. Utilities
 5. Residential 10. Other

Fig. 8.10: Location of Survey Blocks in Frankwell



Thirdly, a problem noted for some years in the area was the neglect of many properties. Post-war there was large-scale demolition and by the mid 1960's the local people, seeing the decay and lack of any redevelopment in Frankwell, pushed for improvements. This reflected a desire^{not} only to salvage some of the past character of the area, but also to plan for a complete community. Much has been improved since then, most recently the properties on the Frankwell roundabout and nos. 22,23,24 shown in Figures 8.11 and 8.12.

Figure 8.11: Derelict buildings - 22,23,24 Frankwell



Figure 8.12: 22,23,24 Frankwell in the process of renovation

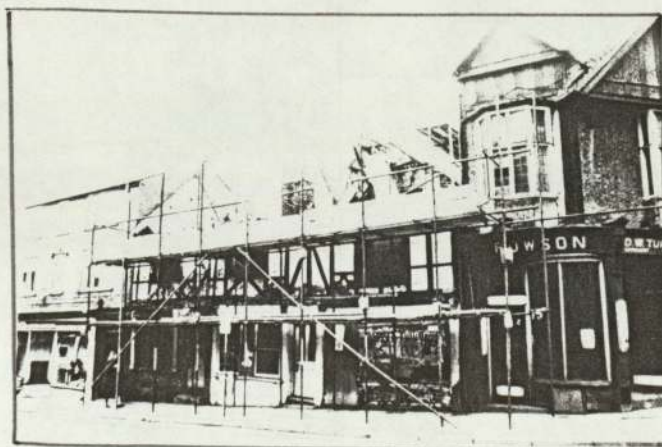




Figure 8.13: The White Horse Inn, used as a lodging house in the 1940's - a use characteristic of the classical transition zone. Inset photograph shows the same site now, cleared to make way for a warehouse/supermarket and car park.



During the last 20 years there have been a number of developments in the area. The first main change involved slum clearance, previously begun around White Horse Passage which was an area then left for parking and warehouse development. The photographs, Figure 8.13, illustrates the process of land use succession on this site. Below this at Frankwell Quay, the area was originally scheduled for redevelopment. Applications were refused for this reason, but little has been done since and the stricter zoning as predominantly residential has lapsed. More significant has been the removal of a mass of semi-derelict small houses to the north end, now occupied by a new roundabout and widened roadway. Comparing the "before" and "after" photographs shown below (see also Figures 8.28 to 8.31) there was, as Cornforth notes "a disturbing sense of a medieval suburb having been ripped apart."

Figure 8.14 Frankwell & New Street junction at the turn of the century.

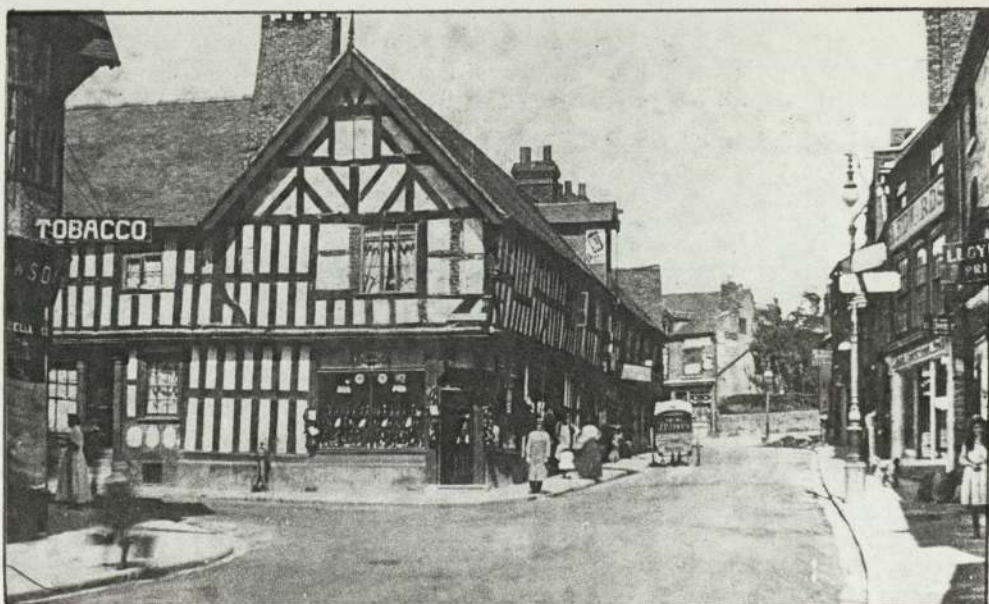




Figure 8.16: Natty Price's Corner, Frankwell, before demolition in the late 1950's.



Figure 8.17: Redevelopment of the same site in Frankwell in the early 1960's by Shrewsbury Borough Council.

Figure 8.15: Frankwell/New Street 1981



The String of Horses Public House was removed to the Bromsgrove Museum despite local protests. Whilst the road was widened and parking places eventually provided.

However, Cornforth also adds a more positive comment with regard to the residential renewal and shop conversions which have taken place:

"... up to now both the new building and restoration has been very uneven in standard, but at least there is now a definite interest in properties that need repair and despite the forlorn appearance of some of them, there is a new confidence in the district."

An early lead was taken in relation to infill residential renewal by the Council at "Natty Price's Corner" illustrated in the photographs of "before" and "after" (Figures 8.16 and 8.17). The redevelopment was raised above the original level as a flood prevention measure and also allowing some removal from the road side traffic. This has been followed by another Council scheme on the corner leading to the Mount and a number of private conversions, for example changing the use of the Old Crow Inn to flats and the Fellmongers Hall to offices and community meeting room (illustrated in Figure 5.44 .../...



Figure 8.18:
New workshops on
Nettle Lane.



Figure 8.19;
Extensions to rear of
Frankwell properties
using Nettle Lane
access.

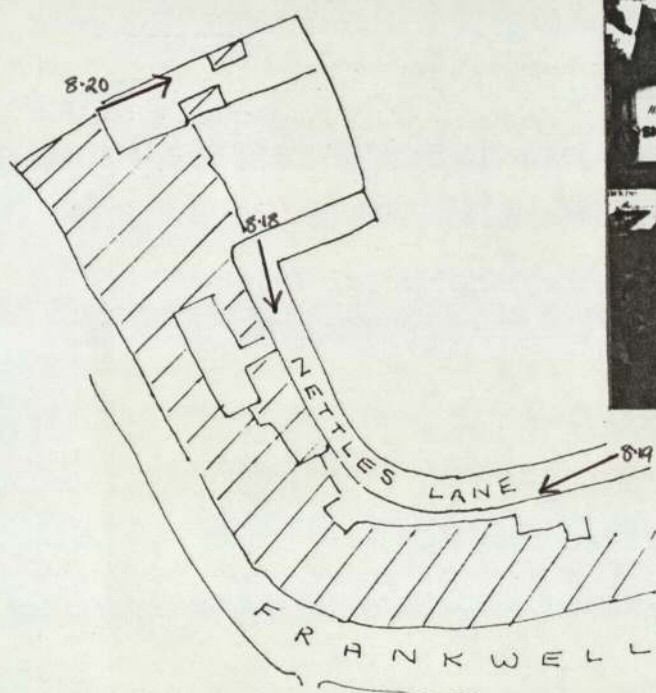


Figure 8.20: Carpenters and
signwriters workshops on
long back plots.

Figure 8.18A: Location of photograph views 8.18 - 8.20.

Some of the later developments have not been on the main road of Frankwell, but on land to the rear. However, these developments have had wide-reaching implications. Firstly and of most significance was the Council provision of a rear service road at the end of the 1960's to properties on the east side. Extensions and new workshop units were soon built to utilise this new facility as shown in Figures 8.18 and 8.19. The road did not go completely through to link with another side street as planned. Therefore some properties with long back gardens were left, including the old established workshops such as the signwriters and carpenters in Figure 8.20.

Other backland developments have included the extension of car parks, as this area increasingly serves the needs of car owners coming to the town centre where parking space is limited.

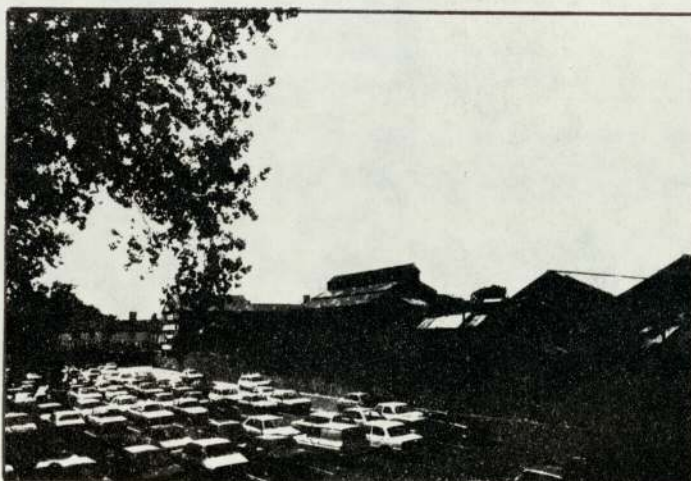


Figure 8.21: Frankwell Car Park

This view of the town's biggest surface car park was taken from the new footbridge which links it with the town centre and the new Riverside shopping scheme.

Figure 8.22: Hall, Waterhouse & Owen Car Park

There are also a number of smaller private car parks such as this and one next to the Wheatsheaf Inn, both being on the site of demolished buildings.



The planned developments described have made a considerable impact on both the spatial pattern and the use of the area which are also shown in the aerial photographs, Figures 8.28 to 8.31.

c) Planning Applications Analysis

The transect study in Section 8.1 indicated variations in developments over time and space. These can be further interpreted by the use of planning applications data with reference to the implications of the issues and planning developments noted. The developments are reported chronologically and then one of the main influences on the nature of change investigated, that of land ownership.

In analysing development proposals between 1961 and 1981 the changing circumstances and policies in the area can be seen. During the 1960's, one of the most significant and visible changes to the area was the construction of a large roundabout at the north end removing a number of houses (see Figures 8.23 and 8.24). The District Council had approved designs for the residential redevelopment of the roundabout site in 1964, but in the event it became the usual landscaped mound (1.*). Changes of use from manufacturing and storage to offices and retailing were also taking place at this time, for example Hall, Waterhouse and Owen converted a mill building to an estate agents showroom and Kwiksav Supermarket took over Shukers factory. However, the uncertainty as to the future of the area nearest the river was indicated in changing planning decisions (2*).

* Numbers in brackets refer to Figures 8.1 to 8.5 in Section 8.1

For earlier applications, such as 128-131 Frankwell and the land around the Chapel garage, the Council were saying that the area was to be redeveloped, possibly with a traffic scheme and zoning for public open space. Yet by 1968 the Tyre depot in the Chapel was given permission for extension and other properties were redeveloped.

The service road, Nettles Lane, which was built in 1967, led to a spate of applications in the 1970's (3*). These were for developments on land to the rear or the provision of rear access. Off-street servicing and parking was further emphasised at this time, with car park provisions made by the local authority and private owners as noted previously. This was followed by some improvements to buildings at the lower end of Frankwell, Hall, Waterhouse & Owen. However, there still appeared some confusion about the area's future role. In the early 1970's, proposals for a club and workshops were still being refused as being detrimental to the residential area. Change to retail was acceptable and a number occurred at the north end such as on New Street and no. 95 Frankwell. It was not until 1974 that maintaining the conservation area character was explicitly stated in conditions or refusals and the loss of residential began to be reversed in the form of conversions.

The mid-seventies saw some improvements to existing shops, with planning controls on designs and a check on the changes to retail taking place at the north end (4*). Although in 1980, permission was granted for no. 92 to convert from residential to an antique shop, one application for change of use to retail was later allowed when the design was altered to include flats above

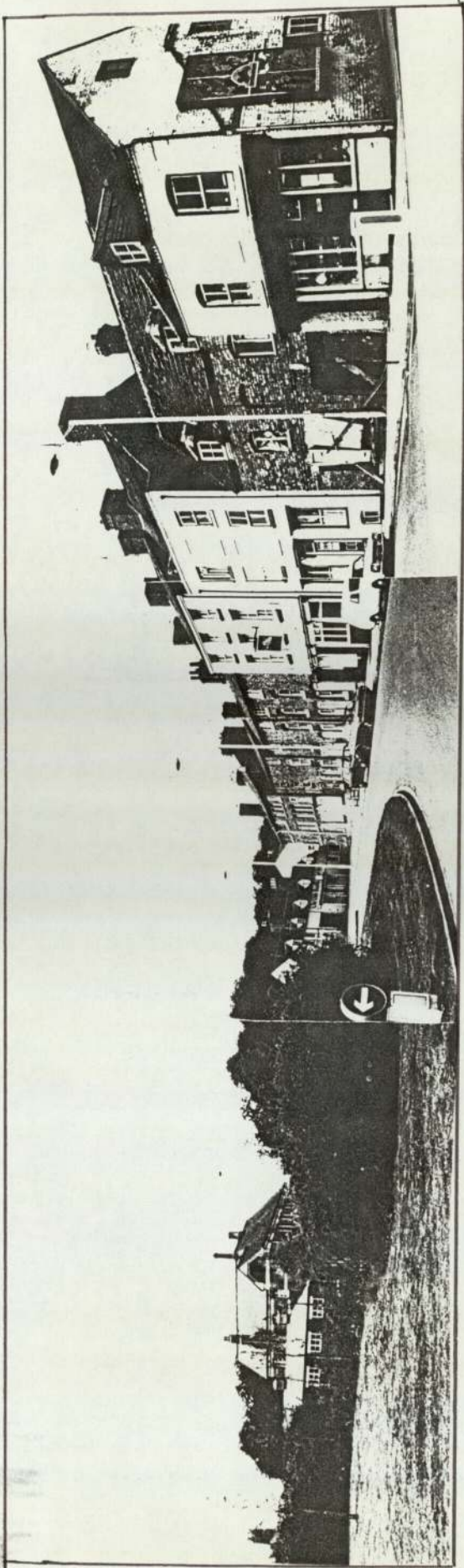


Figure 8.23: Frankwell towards the Mount
in 1982.

Figure 8.24: The same view in the 1950's.

the shop. The Council was meanwhile redeveloping houses at 71-5 for Council flats so implementing directly its own policy. By 1978, with more flexibility in zoning policy, light manufacturing was allowed to use old warehouse premises or develop infill sites such as the Dental Laboratory on Nettles Lane and clothing factory on Water Lane.

The nature and pattern of land ownership was seen as an important influence in this study of developments over a period of time. Figure 8.25 shows the properties of three specific owners which together have influenced much of the changes in recent years. The amount of renovation and conversion work achieved in the last ten years has been mainly due to the local presence of a firm of builders, F. Gallier & Sons. This firm has been steadily buying up properties in the area whilst establishing themselves as major builders in Shrewsbury and becoming more oriented towards conservation projects.* Most of their properties have now been rennovated to a high standard such as that shown in Figure 8.26. Consequently they command higher rents, so explaining the increases in rateable values noted on page .

Conversely, Frankwell Properties, whilst considerably improving the Bucks Head and usefully converting the Crow Inn to flats, have left numbers 11,12 and 13 Frankwell to decay and do not appear to wish to improve them, probably preferring to redevelop the site.

* They are currently undertaking the rehabilitation of Hills Lane properties, see Fringe Area Analysis p.

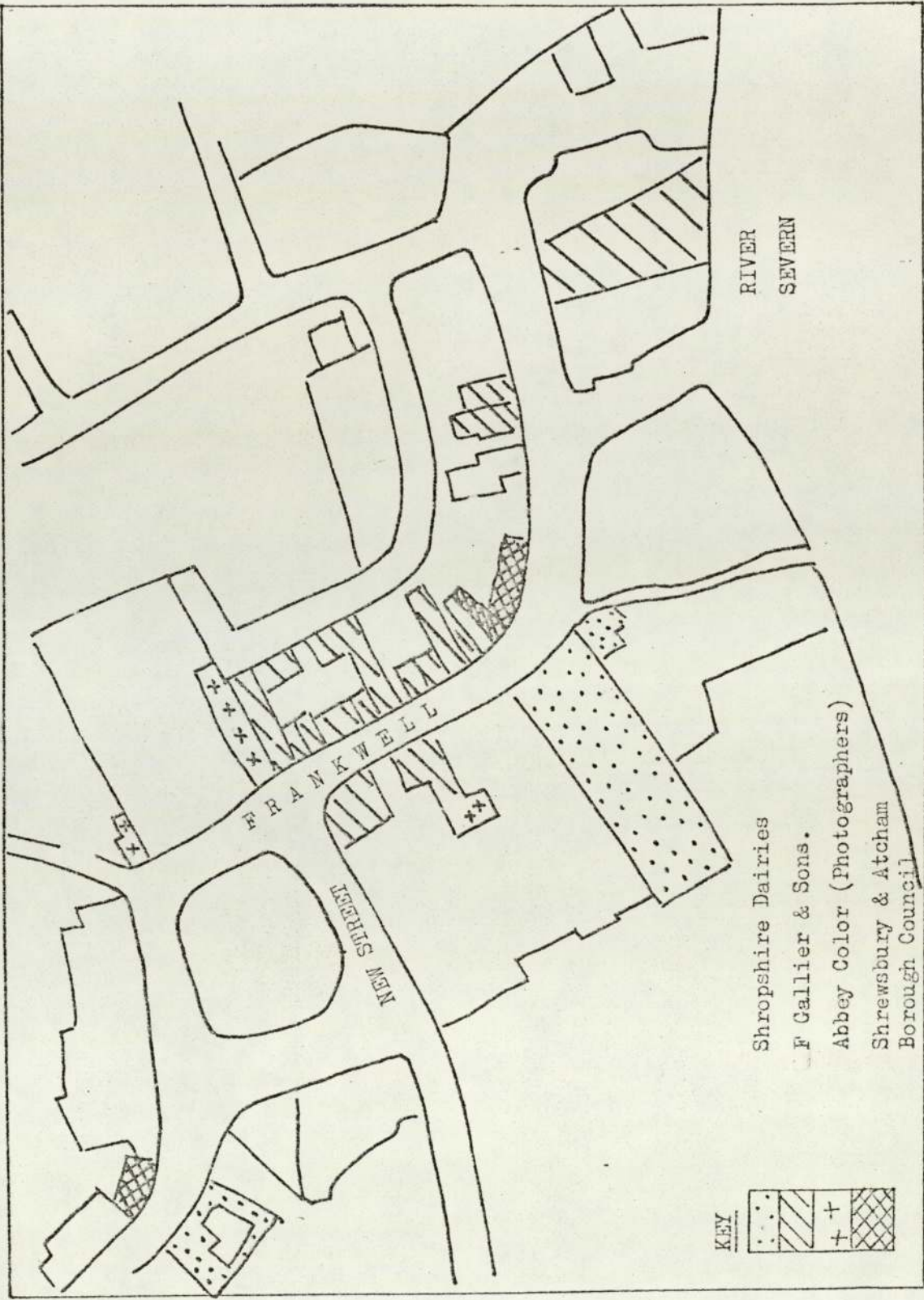


Figure 8.25: Ownership of land in Frankwell

Figure 8.26: A renovated property by F. Gallier & Sons



Finally, ownership by the Council has led to another type of influence, mainly on design control. Their two schemes for housing redevelopment fit in sympathetically with the surrounding buildings and set an example for other developments, (see Figure 8.17).

d) Survey of Occupants *

Although land uses in the area have been discussed according to change at different levels, from the historic/strategic to recent/site level, a number of interviews were undertaken to look at the nature of change according to individual motives and behaviour patterns. This was done throughout the transect but the majority of interviews were on the fringes. The sample of 34 occupants in Frankwell was selected from two lists, one of recent movers and one of well-established firms who had made planning applications or were likely to have been affected by a planning development. The businesses in the sample included

* see Appendix C.

a variety of types as follows:

Table 8.6: Types of Businesses Interviewed in Frankwell

Food & drink	-	3
News/tob/conf.	-	
Household goods	-	3
Other non-food		
retail	-	8
Motor vehicles	-	3
Pubs/restaurants	-	2
Services	-	7
Manufacturing	-	3
Distribution	-	1
Offices	-	3
(Residential	-	1)

It is notable that the recent movers by chance included 3 offices and 3 small industries whilst the older established businesses included specialist retail and services (e.g. West Midland Photo Services, the Garden Machine Centre, Decorators merchants) together with a few old established local businesses (butcher, newsagent, general store and a dairy and engineering firms). The sample also included some of those activities which had moved in, post-1971: 2 restaurants and antique shops which had seen the potential of Frankwell as an 'improving area'.

The following characteristics were found:

Tenure and business structure: 47% were owner-occupiers and for 56% it was their only outlet, for 18% there was another local

branch, 8% were part of a retail chain and only one was a national firm.

Length of occupation: all periods were represented from 50% having been there for more than 10 years, 41% between 1 and 10 years and 9% within the last year.

Stage of business: a high proportion considered themselves as 'stable' firms (not anticipating further major changes) whilst 9% classed themselves as just starting and 24% as expanding. Only one was due to close down soon.

Previous location: A considerable number, 38%, had started up in their present location with 13% coming from nearby or other parts of Shrewsbury and 7% from the surrounding district and region. Recent movers were questioned about their intentions of staying and interestingly more said they saw it not as a starting point only but as a permanent site, indicating the role of the area as an attractive location and not just a springboard.

Area served: Most had customers from quite a wide area and not just locally. 20 mentioned a catchment area covering the wider region and 4 noted customers from further afield - usually tourists.

Importance attached to business image; The building and its location: 38% said they were positively promoting an image for their business with the same proportion agreeing they did this to a certain degree. Reference was mostly made to putting over a 'friendly, helpful image', followed by a number who promoted the 'quality and prestige' aspects of their business. Whilst most thought the building was not important to their customers, 58% more thought that the area was of some importance, 44% referring often to the fact that it was "coming up" and "convenient". Only half of the respondents were positively in favour of a conservation policy.

Building changes made: of these, most had made internal alterations or extensions with two having undertaken major conversion work. Most have their reasons for change as wishing to extend the capacities of their buildings, and additionally to improve their building's appearance.

Those who had recently moved to the area (18 within the last 5 years) were asked specifically about their location decision.

Previous location - reason for move: of those who gave a definite reply, most said that their previous premises had been too small, for others it was a new branch expansion whilst three mentioned that it enabled them to have a workshop and retail outlet under one roof.

Market role seen for business when moved in: most saw themselves as setting up in competition, others as meeting an unfilled demand rather than a completely untested area (the innovative seemed more likely to locate in more central secondary streets).

Location criteria: One of the most important things considered was accessibility for delivery and parking indicating the significance of Frankwell car parks.* Several thought that a prominent position was one of the main advantages afforded by several sites on this busy approach road to the town centre. Building features looked for were low cost and suitability to their particular trade. The considerable variety of building types in the area provided this. However, most said there had been very little choice when they were looking for buildings,

* and the reason for a petition re: the loss of parking places when the roundabout was constructed.

so the property they occupied was not necessarily the optimum for their business.

Movers Out:

Some of the firms who had left the area were also questioned. One - a clothing firm now in the Longden area, S.W. of the centre - had started up in Frankwell and stayed for about two years but found there was not enough space and access was difficult. As one of their associated companies had land in Longden, they decided to move, having only anticipated being in Frankwell for a short time. Although they wished to remain in Shrewsbury because of the supply of skilled female machinists.

A second firm, Wales & West Midland Securities, had started up in Atcham and stayed 3 years in Frankwell. The only property they could find at the time they rented from Galliers, but this was only considered short term as they wished to own their property (eventually moved to Chester Street).

A number of comments were made about local planning both in answer to other questions and about specific developments which may have affected them. These views sometimes conflicted depending on the different interests involved, e.g. some said they had been adversely affected by the footbridge over to the Riverside Centre, that it deflected trade. Others saw this and the car park as bringing more trade over to this side of the river (where at least they might spot the location of specialist dealers and come back at a later date). A few respondents were concerned about recent planning design control that had affected their applications or changes in development and were not satisfied with the outcome.*

* see Section 7.3

A number mentioned that Frankwell was seen as a separate area from the town centre shopping core and that it was still a community referred to as the 'Little Borough', although it now had less 'character'. In some cases this referred to the fact that it had once been a 'rough area' but was now cleared up; also that there was less residential use and passing trade - with some lamenting the loss of several old pubs.

It was often described as continuing to be a mixed commercial or busy working area, where businesses seemed to thrive. However, some noted that there were more offices and specialised stores now rather than in the 1960's. At that time more small domestic shopkeepers were present, dealing with the needs of the immediate area. Whilst most agreed that there had been a number of good improvements and renovation and certain businesses had brought additional trade, such as the off-licence and Bucks Head Inn, there had been a general rise in rents and costs in the area. Significant influences on change in the area included the opening of Kwiksaver (which resulted in the closing of some foodshops and parking problems on Saturdays) and the building and improvement work of Galliers. The scattered renovations and redevelopments of the 1960's had been consolidated in the 1970's as other private owners followed suit, culminating in the most recent scheme of restoration of the Fellmonger's Hall by the Civic Society (see pp. 266).

Therefore we have a picture of an ancient suburb, facing considerable change but retaining the overall character of its activities. Change has been influenced by land owners in the form of conversions of property and some infill in addition to

some major developments by the Council. The maps and photographs following summarize the land use changes and illustrate the use of aerial photographs and historic maps in combination to highlight the nature of change in the central area fringe.

FRANKWELL - photo/map analysis of land use change



Figure 8.27: Frankwell in the 1950's

At this time, the area was more densely built up with housing. Long rear plots were used for both cottages and workshops. Over the river the cattle-market was in operation, together with other Quayside industries.



Figure 8.28: Frankwell in the early 1960's (see also Fig. 8.31)

The cattle market is now in the process of relocation and the first signs of clearance can be seen in many parts of the town. These include road improvements on the Quayside and a car park replacing cottages and lodging houses in Frankwell. The latter has also allowed rear access to 115 and 116 Frankwell.



Figure 8.29: Frankwell in the late 1960's

The centre and this fringe have been opened up and re-developments have been on a larger scale.



Figure 8.30: Frankwell in 1981 (see also Figure 8.33)

The completed roundabout and rear service lane, redeveloped car park and new footbridge have combined to considerably change the spatial pattern.

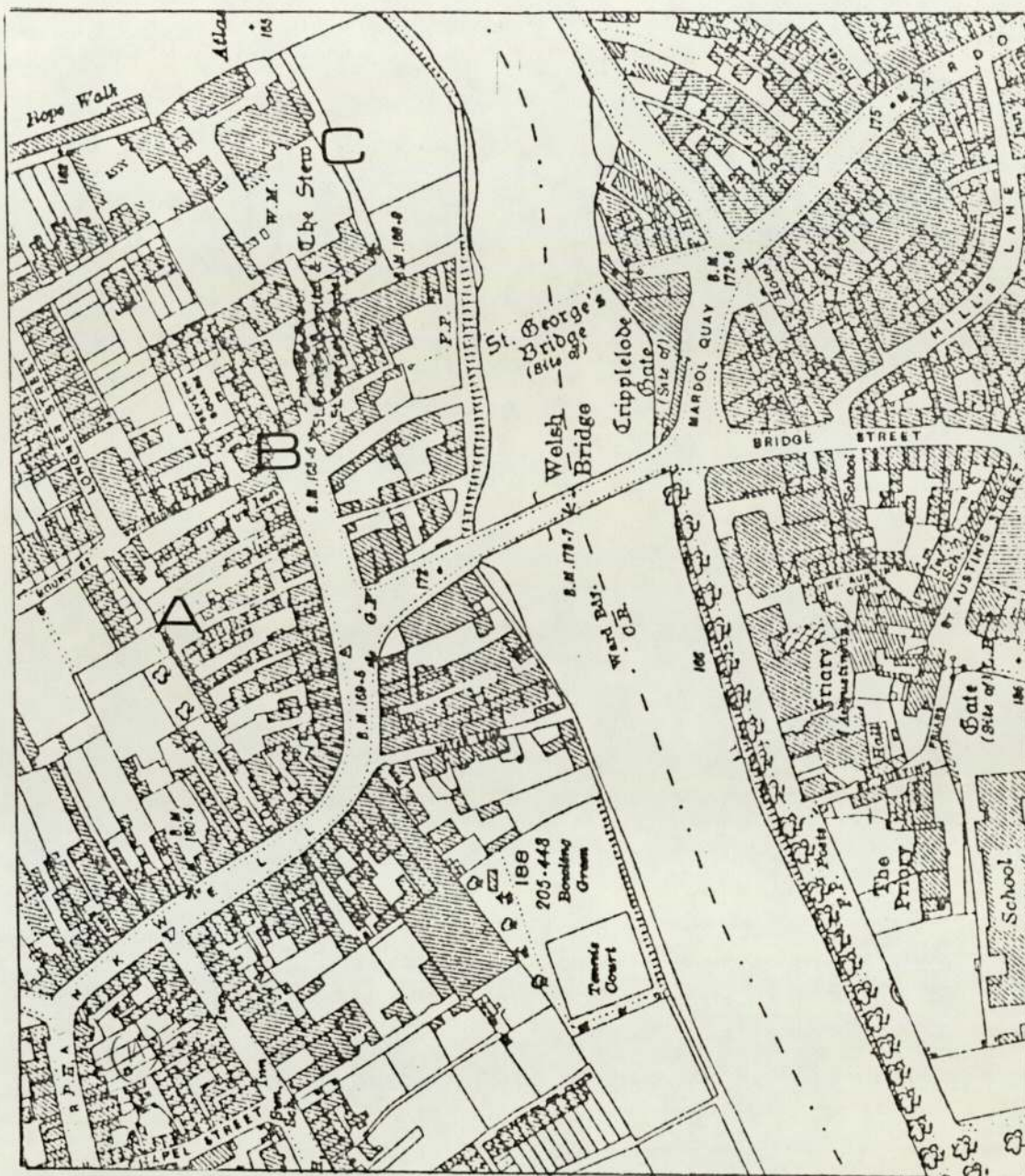


Figure 8.31: The Pre-war Building Pattern

The area then exhibited many of the transition zone characteristics suggested by Burgess; with areas of "residential deterioration" (A), rooming houses (B) and older manufacturing industry (C).

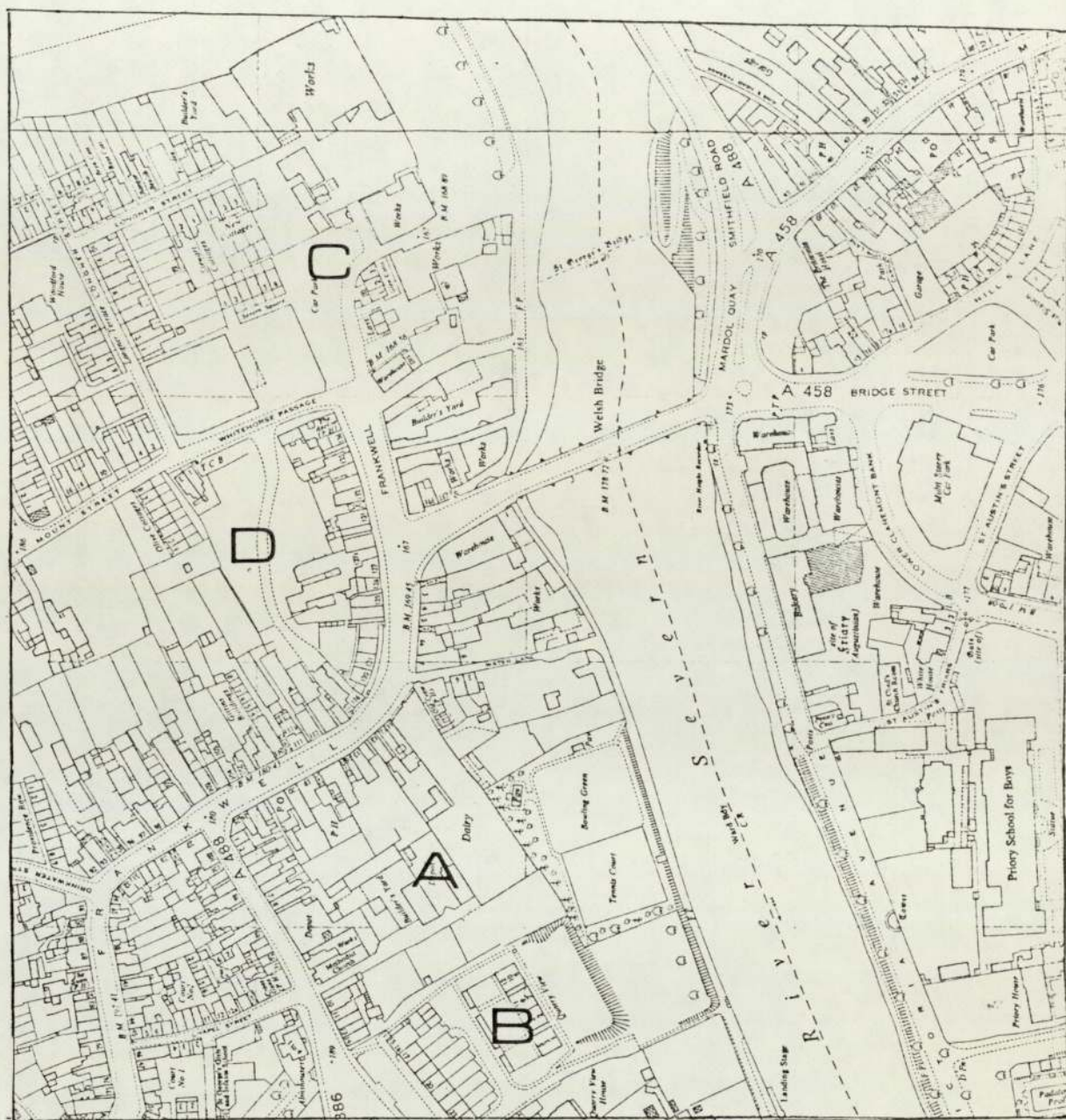


Figure 8.32: Layout of the Area in the 1960's

Some parts had been more intensively built-up by this time, such as at A and B, but many other areas have been cleared especially around C and D. In this way the area has assumed the characteristics of the "frame" described by Horwood and Boyce with semi-intensive land uses fringing the core.

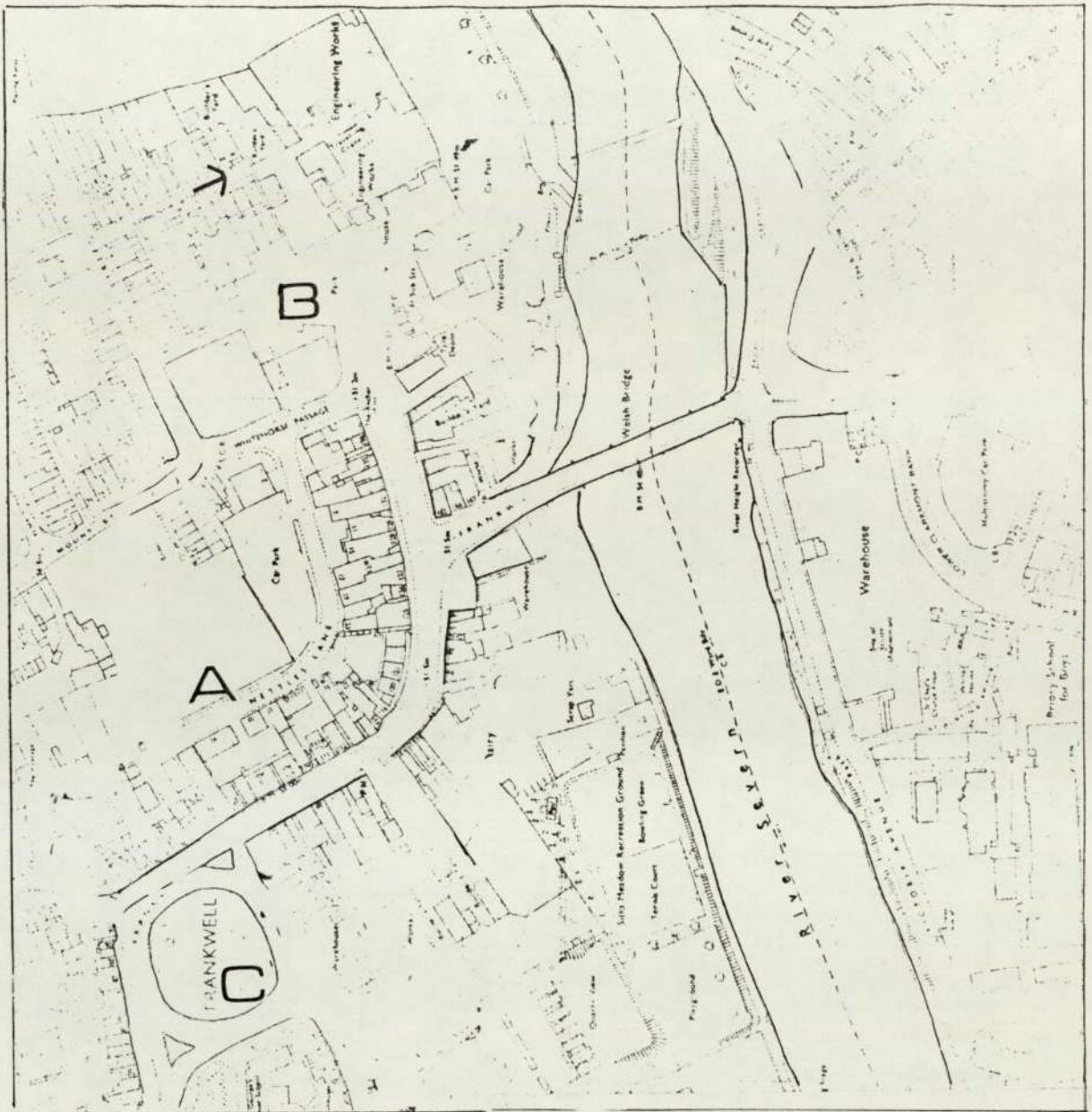


Figure 8.33:

1980 Map of Frankwell

Nettles Lane is now a well used access road (A), car parking areas have been formalised (B) and the roundabout landscaped (C). The area still retains industry mixed with housing as in fig.8.34, but although mixed use, is not tending to blight and deterioration as assumed for fringe zones



Figure 8.34: Builders Yard next to terraced housing

8.2.2. Area 2 - Wyle Cop

a) Historical background - changing role & uses over time

Wyle Cop was chosen as a study area, being a secondary shopping street which has and is experiencing change in its fabric and functions. It also contains a large number of listed buildings and has been affected by long standing road proposals. The street illustrates most clearly historical influences on the current land use pattern and problems.

Wyle Cop is located on the east of the town, winding upwards from the English Bridge to a higher part of the town around the High Street. It is suggested (Hobbs, 1954) that the street, mainly the top end, was the ancient part of the town that had originally been settled by Saxons.* As the road increased in use and importance it was the physical constraints of its location which affected change; the steepness of the road, the need to renew the town centre's approaches, particularly the bridge and the problem of flooding.

* The name could date back to pre-Conquest times, if Wyle is from the old Welsh word Hwylfa, meaning a road leading up a hillside and Cop from the Welsh 'coppa' meaning head or top. Traditionally the street has been divided into 3 sections (Blakeway, 1825) "under the Wyle"- from the bridge to the foot of the hill, "the Wyle" - the hill itself, and "Wyle Cop" top of the hill from Dogpole to St. Julian's steps. This survey deals mainly with the 2 lower sections which are more peripheral to the centre.

With traffic increasing along Thomas Telford's planned London to Holyhead route in the early 19th century, he had hoped to smooth out this winding hill. However, his changes only got as far as Abbey Foregate, being prevented from further 'destruction' by the townspeople. His alterations thus only continue on the other side of Shrewsbury through the Mount at Frankwell. Although the Cop is still steep there were several attempts after this to reduce its gradient. There were also problems lower down. The area from the Beeches to the Stone Bridge was part of a swamp which extended beyond the river to the Abbey. Material taken from the top of the Cop enabled this path to be raised.

Yet some of these constraints have also resulted in Wyle Cop, mainly the North East side, having retained much of its medieval layout. The narrow buildings frontages extending into long back-plots represent a pattern which was lost to an extent on the opposite side as the area behind was more readily built-up. Comparison with Frankwell which lost this pattern with the insertion of the rear across road shows the importance of physical rather than policy constraints in retaining historical features.

Two areas where the building pattern was altered significantly are firstly at the junction with Dogpole where the building line opposite the Lion Hotel was set back with new Georgian facades (reducing also the rear accessibility to the corner properties ?) and secondly on the approach to the bridge. The photographs, Figures 5.24, 5.25 can be compared with the picture, Figure 8.35 of the bridge prior to reconstruction - the group of buildings

nearest the bridge was set back to allow a wider approach, and the half-timbered building on the left the imposing 'Hero of Moulton' public house - replaced by the bland frontage of Kennings Garage.

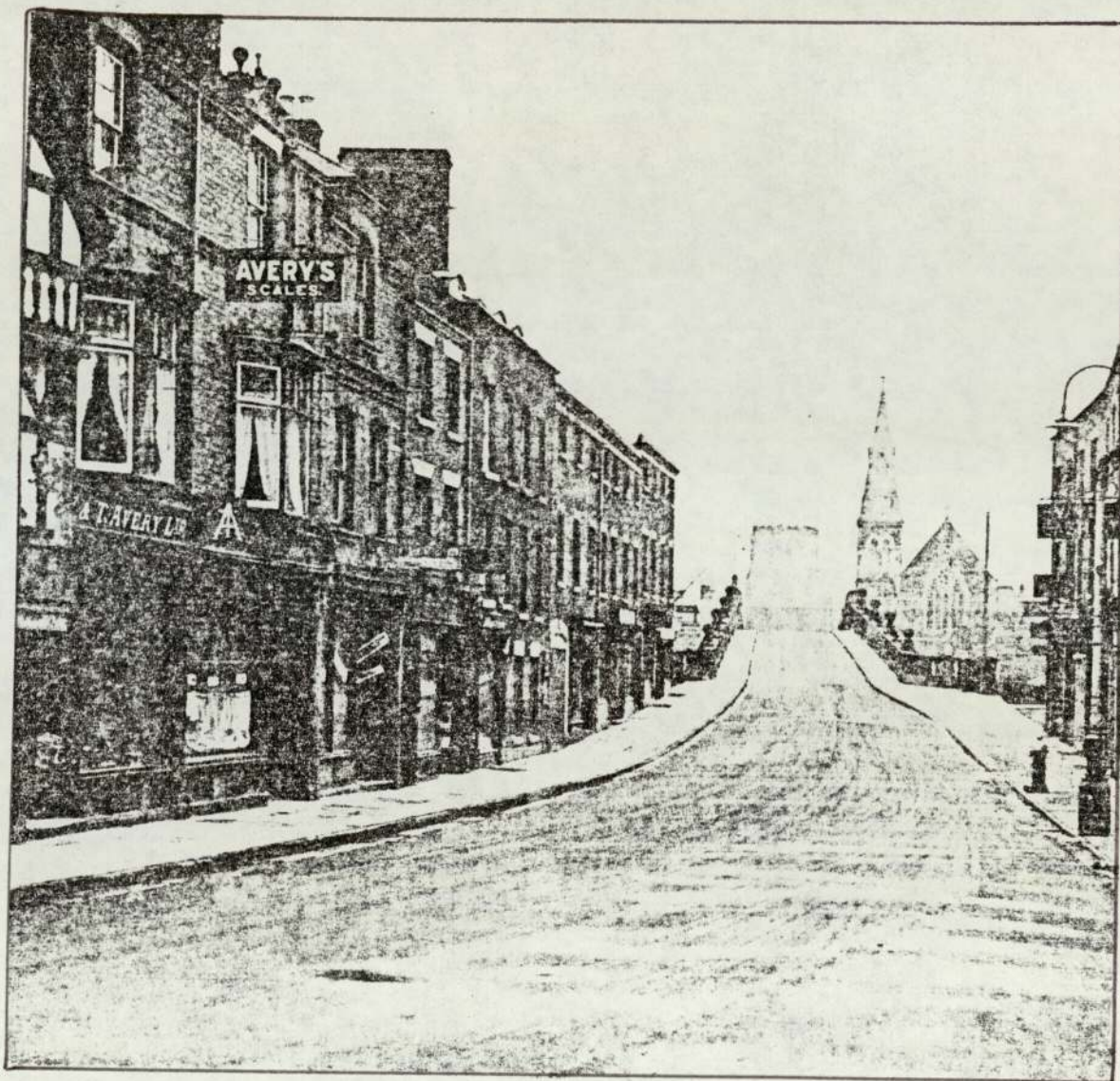


Figure 8.35: English Bridge 1925

Apart from the above-mentioned changes, the street scene has remained remarkably the same and although individual building uses have changed, the mixture has continued. Table 8.7 below lists the approximate number of businesses in different types of trade in 1964 compared with a recent survey.

Table 8.7: Business Types 1964 & 1981

ACTIVITY	NO. OF BUSINESSES	
	1964 [*]	1981
Offices	1	9
Retail:		
Food & Drink	4	2
News/tob/conf.	4	2
Clothing/footwear	5	9
Household	7	7
Vehicle	2	4
Other retail	18	21
Dept. Store	1	0
Publishers	3	2
Cafe/restaurants	3	3
Services	9	6
Manuf./Distrib.	1	2
Total	58	67

* Source: Trade Directories

The main change since 1964 has been the increase in office use and also in clothing and footwear, but there are fewer services and food/confec./tobacco shops. Exley (1981) surveyed part of the area in 1980 and noted more recent and detailed changes in land use, ref. Table 8.8. From this can be seen an increase in the proportion of space devoted to residential, retail and workshop use, possibly

related to the decline in vacant space. The map^{Fig 8.9 & Figure 8.1} indicate the location of main uses on ground and first floors. It can be noted that several buildings do have floors in use above this, but many are nominally for storage purposes.

Table 8.8: Business Mix 1977 & 1980

ACTIVITY	PROPORTION OF BUSINESSES ENGAGED IN:		
	1977 [*]	%	1980
Retail	20.6		22.0
Storage	25.2		25.4
Office	10.0		9.8
Workshop	0.5		2.8
Residential	9.2		13.6
Public House	1.9		0.8
Cellars	8.3		8.1
Vacant	24.3		17.5

*Source: Local Authority Survey

Figure 8.36: 13 & 14 Wyle Cop

New uses at the top of Wyle Cop include the introduction of offices.





Figure 8.37:
Parking on Wyle Cop
Hill.

Figure 8.38:
Blighted property
at the lower end
of Wyle Cop.



Figure 8.39:
The Century Hall
a disused cinema.

b) Issues & Planning Developments

Three problems predominate in the area - concerning the amount of traffic , the condition of buildings and the level of under-use of some parts.

Traffic and Parking: Although 'detrunked' the A49 of which Wyle Cop forms a part, is still a very busy traffic route, aggravated by the steep hill and the junction with Town Walls. This makes crossing for pedestrians a hazardous affair, whilst buildings suffer from the pollution and vibration of heavy traffic. Parking is restricted to the nine parking spaces outside of the Lion Hotel (see Figure 8.37) with some additional space along Beeches Lane, and very few properties have vehicle access off the Cop.

Meanwhile, proposals for a multi-storey car park at the bottom by the bridge have come to no conclusion whilst the affected occupiers remain with this uncertainty, in the lower part resulting in severe blight.

Delapidation of buildings: Two areas are particularly noticeable: the lower end illustrated in Figure 8.38 affected by the above-mentioned road proposals, and some properties higher up with older tenants near retirement, who have no wish to spend money on improvements. However, as Cornforth remarked (1977a)):

"the lower reaches of Wyle Cop certainly look in need of an injection of life ... at least there is a positive scheme in the offing for a section on the south side and work is on hand on a group of buildings fronting onto the right hand side too. These together with a restoration now in progress next to the Lion Hotel, suggest however that the street is showing signs of recovery."

Under-use of Floorspace: This problem was dealt with at some length by Exley's survey (1981) which noted that in 1977, 24.3% of floorspace was vacant (compared with 13% for the town centre as a whole). Since then the amount has fallen with new uses being found for previously empty properties. However, when the amount of storage space is noted, seeing that this was often only a nominal use, the amount of under-use is still very high. Exley suggests that, of the usual reasons for this phenomenon, the lack of access is probably the main reason (given the medieval layout preventing separate or rear access). The fact that many of the buildings are also listed brings added concern, with under-use of upper floors often leading to neglect of properties. Whilst the increased residential use of upper floors fits in with the Council's policy, Exley also pointed out that this seemed to be a natural trend without any positive action by the Planning Department.

c) Analysis of Planning Applications 1961-81

With reference to the transect information, Figure 8.4, this shows that Wyle Cop has experienced most change in recent years 1978-80, planning permissions since 1977 being scattered along the street, showing a general revival of interest in the area. Previous years had seen few improvements or changes of use except in the early 60's in the south side and then mainly at the top end. Lower down Kennings had been refused permission to redevelop around their site, on the grounds that it would be premature as the area was likely to be affected by the construction of an Inner Ring Road (ref. no. 1) ^{*}.

^{*} Numbers refer to those on transect diagrams, Figure 8.4.

The total number of improvements in the street is dominated by certain properties which have made several applications for extensions, notably the Lion Hotel (2a*), Tanners (2b) and various proposals to redevelop the Century Hall (2c*). An appeal against a refusal for the use of the latter for motor components distribution (Thorntons) in 1978 reveals the different attitudes to what should be the prevailing land use in the area. The local authority in its representations had placed considerable emphasis on the possible shopping use of the premises. However, the inspector's verdict was that:

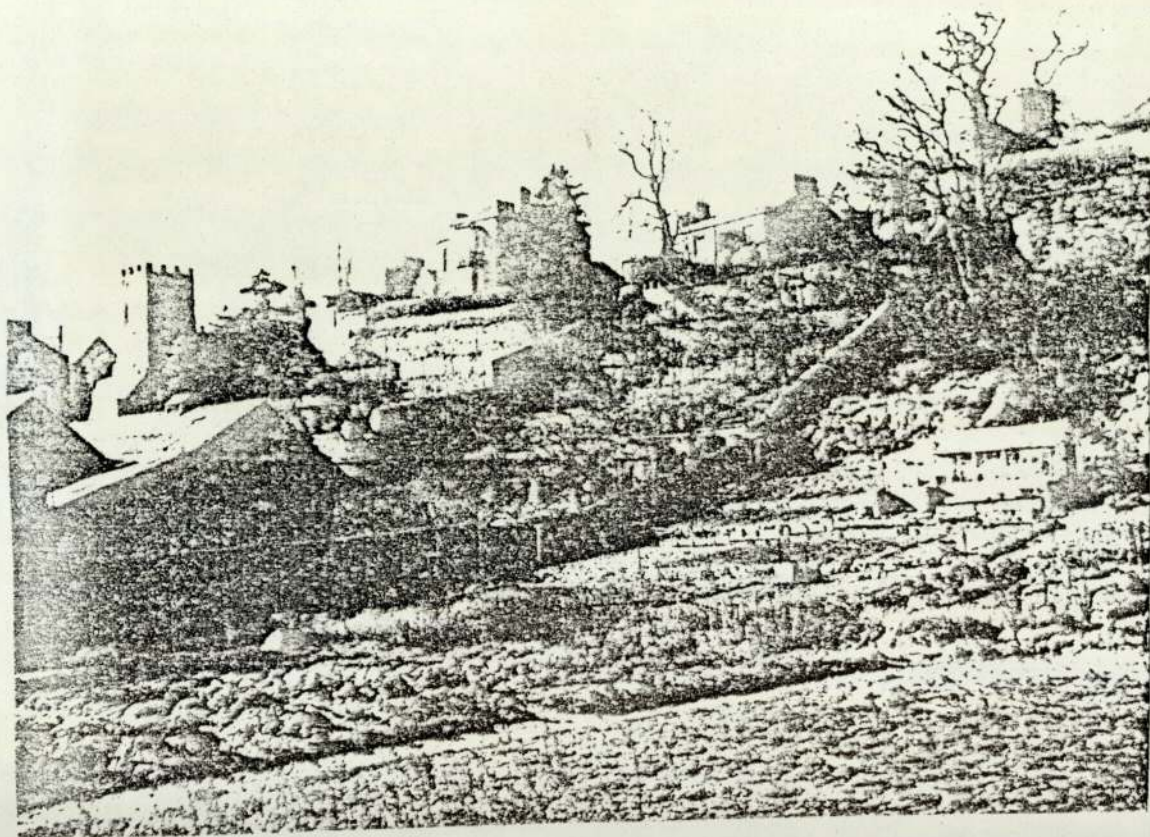
"although the site is nominally within the town centre, its location is on the fringe of the main Shrewsbury shopping area and behind the immediate main shopping street (Wyle Cop). Bearing in mind the surrounding mixed use ... and planning permission for office/shop development has not been pursued therefore doubtful whether in this location the appeal premises would ever be successfully converted for retail use."

(Ref: Decision Notice Appeal Statement,
8th November, 1978).

Galliers thought otherwise, gaining permission in 1979 for another shop/office development. See Figure 8.39.

The increased office use in the area during the 1970's can be seen from the rateable value information in section 5.2.2. indicating that it has been mainly on upper floors. This gradual infiltration began in 1971 with infill office development in Bowdler's Passage tucked away behind the frontage continuing with for instance conversions of first floor premises such as 78 Wyle Cop 1973 and no. 11 in 1977, progressing to a more obvious takeover with Building Society offices being allowed at no. 13 in 1980 in what was once a Hifi shop. The local authority meanwhile

* numbers refer to those on transect diagrams, Figure 8.4.



Figures 8.40 & 8.41:
The gradual infill of
land around the town
walls.



Figure 8.42:
To the rear of Tanners
Wine Merchant and the
Unicom P.H. -
buildings extend into
the long rear plots.

have hoped for an increase in residential uses in the area and the additional residential changes of use since 1977 indicate that there is interest in the area (3*). This was spelled out in a decision in 1980 to refuse the use of 59a as an amusement arcade on the grounds that:

"having regard to both existing and proposed residential accommodation in the vicinity of the site and in adjoining streets and the Borough Council's policy of encouraging increased residential uses in town centre properties - it is considered that the proposal would be detrimental to the amenities of the area." (Decision Notice, 28th January 1980).

However, as with Frankwell, it is the backland area which has exhibited most change, or conversely where historical features have been retained. Three different types can be identified: Firstly, is the utilisation of old garden plots beyond the town wall to the north side of Wyle Cop. Firms such as Tanners have developed extensively to the rear (see p.261) which to an extent has re-emphasised the long plots (see Figures 8.40 to 8.42). Secondly, are developments along Barracks Passage and Bowdlers Passage. Buildings extending along these narrow paths between roads were often the location of pubs such as the Trotting Horse shown on the left in the photograph - now vacant but likely to be converted to a restaurant and shop - particularly with the success of the rehabilitation and conversion schemes on the opposite side, see Figure 8.43,

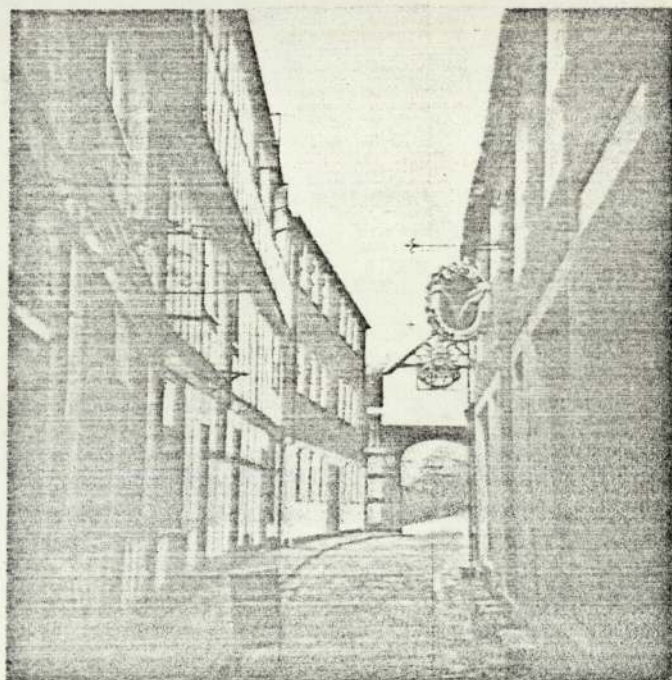


Figure 8.43: Barracks Passage

Figure 8.46: Land Uses in the Study Area of Wyle Cop in 1982.



Thirdly, a major improvement of the lower part of the street is likely to be seen when the hotel conversion, nos. 48 - 52 is completed, the rear view of which is shown below - once an old carrier inn, the Lion & Pheasant - backed by a timber yard.

Figure 8.45: Restoration work on 48-52 Wyle Cop



Other developments and changes of use include garages taking over the timber yards which provided suitable sites for showrooms. However, workshop use has continued behind several properties e.g. Salopian Maid, Kawasaki Centre, and pottery behind no. 38.

d) Survey of Occupants

From the study area indicated in Map, Figure 8.46, 42 businesses were interviewed, selected again on the basis that the sample should include a distribution of uses throughout the area and include both recent movers and old established businesses. Preference was given to those who had undertaken some change (via a planning application) or likely to have been

affected by a development. The resulting sample contained the following activities:

Table 8.9: Business Sample in Wyle Cop

4	pubs/cafe/wine bar	1	manuf./distrib.
1	newsagent/tob/conf.		
6	clothing/footwear		
5	household goods		
11	other non-food retail		
1	hotel		
3	vehicle		
5	services		
4	offices		
1	bank/building society		

It was found that whilst the quota had attempted to include new and old businesses, the actual length of occupation of firms tended to be either very long term - 29% had been there 20 or more years; or very recent (1-4 years) for 55%^{*} For the properties sampled about 29% had seen more than two changes of use over the 20-year period. Other characteristics of the sample (compared with Frankwell) were that 85% were listed buildings and 43% were owner-occupied. The latter was slightly less than Frankwell but more were single outlets (64%) and a fair proportion of national firms were represented (14%).

* The decline of the area during the middle of this period was not bad enough to affect established firms, but may have deterred some newcomers, so accounting for the lack of occupants entering the area at that time, and staying.

Stage of business & previous location: it was found that a higher proportion than in Frankwell had started up their businesses there (59%) whilst more also considered themselves as expanding businesses (29%).

Area served: Wyle Cop tended to cater less for local residents and workers than Frankwell and appeared to have more custom from a much wider region - including tourists.

Importance attached to business image, the buildings and its location: a higher proportion of interviewees here said they were projecting an image - 50% very positively and 36% to some degree. Most often this image was described as 'traditional'. 14% 'friendly and helpful', 12% and 'quality/prestige 9%. Whilst many thought that the building the activity was in was not important to the customer, even more thought the area unimportant. Yet 62% had a positive attitude to conservation (7% very much against), whilst more than in Frankwell saw 'planning' in a favourable light (although the area has arguably been more affected by adverse decisions and delay).

A more detailed questionnaire was administered for those who had only fairly recently moved into the area - a sample of 23 businesses.

Previous location - reason for move: the opening of a new branch was the main reason given. Only a few, three, saw it as a starting point only, a larger number - 12 - anticipated it would be a permanent location.

Market role seen for business: about half saw themselves as 'new' types of businesses - either meeting an unfilled demand in the town or creating demand for a new product/service.*

* 2 recent shops opened at the bottom of Wyle Cop - for C.B. radio equipment and ballet accessories illustrate this claim.

Location criteria: few had definite opinions about the type of building they had looked for, or ^{which} was most suitable for their trade, although three mentioned they wanted an 'old style', having 'character', whilst four emphasised that it had to be fairly cheap. With regard to the area, the most frequently mentioned criteria was that they should be on a 'pedestrian route', whilst the type of market area was just as important as it being an attractive, historic town - whether this was to serve the farming community or the 'county types' or just a large catchment area.

Building changes made: 9 had undertaken major conversion schemes and 11 had made extensions. 36% in Wyle Cop (compared with 38% in Frankwell) had made no alterations at all to the fabric. More gave reasons for changes made, these being for repairs, change of use or to gain special facilities, rather than to change the capacity or appearance of the building.

Movers Out: It was thought useful to find out why some of those who had recently moved out of the area had left. Each had specific reasons, with no common 'push' factor. Nock Deighton estate agents moved when they amalgamated with another firm whose more central premises in the High Street were seen as preferable. Stan Jones Motorcycles had to move as the owners of the property wanted it vacated in anticipation of redevelopment. Avon HiFi decided to look for cheaper more convenient premises when the rent, on being reviewed, was due to be increased. Bowens Department Store was a regional firm which apparently sold out its business and this branch was closed.

Comments were invited on aspects of planning in the survey, either from their own experience or about how they had been affected by other developments. Some commented on the traffic, suggesting a two-way flow would be better/less dangerous and fewer parking restrictions. Uncertainty still remained about what was to happen with regard to the road scheme at the lower end. The future of the Cascade Club in that area was also a concern since it had been closed down as a 'nuisance' and the future of that past was so unclear. Whilst some found the restrictions on changes to listed buildings onerous^{*}, another would like to see his building added to the list.^{**}

As far as general change in the area is concerned (asked of those who had occupied property for some time or knew the area well), some thought there had not been much change - in the built fabric and that the area had always been a mixed use street with some specialized shops. Others said that it had once been a good trading location - then declined leaving a lot of vacancies for a period, but was now 'coming up' again, with more restaurants and offices, although surprise was expressed that ground floor office use (Prontaprint & Rugby Provident) had been allowed.

The street was generally classed as 'off-centre' or a second class trading area, the lower part in particular seen as 'dead' for business. Various reasons were given, for instance that the

* The Lion Hotel tried for some time to get its present facade illumination.

** The Cornhouse (Wine Bar) - 59a Wyle Cop

High Street, with all its offices, formed a cut-off point between the Cop and the main shopping area around Pride Hill; that the steepness of the hill, parking limitation and traffic nuisance deterred pedestrians (and passing trade was only from those coming from Coleham or Belle Vue); that there was no major attraction in the street and each had to build up their own trade and reputation. Trade from visitors was not seen as important and sometimes more of a nuisance. It was also commented that the surrounds of the bridge did not provide such a pleasant approach as the Welsh Bridge, with some properties in a neglected state which detracted from the appearance of the street.

Specific influences on change in the area included the Laura Ashley and Cornhouse developments both setting a trend for sympathetic building improvement. The presence of the Lion Hotel was seen as a beneficial influence at the top end, but the uncertainty over traffic schemes and the vacant Century Hall seen as unfavourable at the bottom end.

Wyle Cop provides a typical example of a secondary street which has suffered from planning blight. In addition, because of a certain shift of shopping focus to the north side of the centre, the cut-off effect created by the High Street offices, the steep hill and limited parking, it has not been able to retain the once busier, retail trade. However, it illustrates too the potential of lower cost historic buildings for conversion to specialist retail and residential uses. Recent conservation schemes have given a boost to both the appearance and trade of the street.

The aerial photograph following (Figure 8.47) shows Wyle Cop and the rest of the southern fringe of the centre, indicating some

This view shows part of the central area and transect studies: High St (A), Wyle Cop (B), and Abbey Foregate (C), a densely built-up area compared with the surrounding land uses.

Other features include: the old Royal Shropshire Infirmary Conservation project (1). The group of churches on the highest part of the town (2). Proposed site for a superstore with bridge link over river (3).

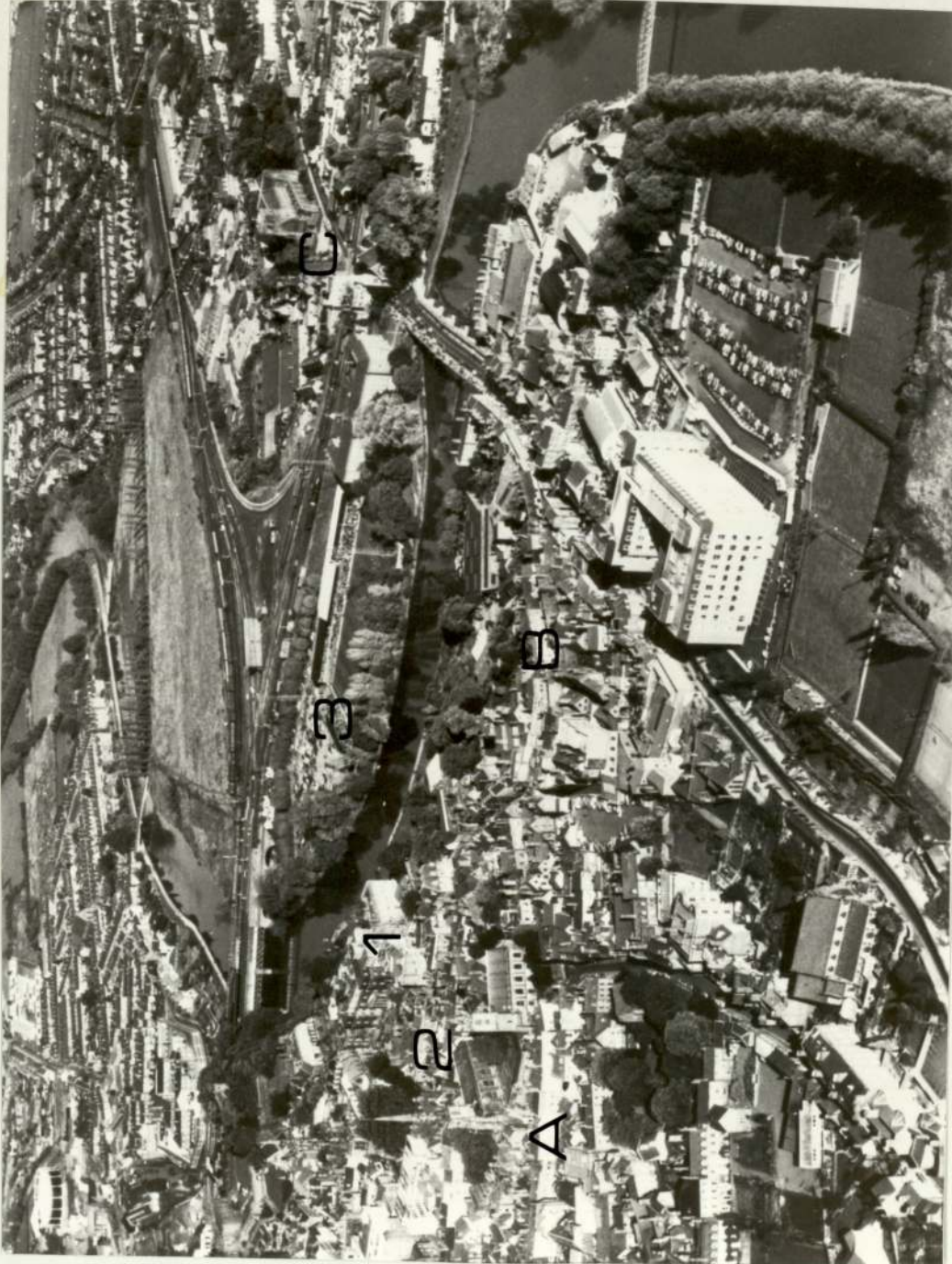


Figure 8.47: Aerial Photograph of the East Side of Shrewsbury Centre and Suburbs

of the developments mentioned. Section 8.3 analyses the two areas studied, together with the other parts of the central area fringe with reference to the theoretical characteristics of the zone.

Figure 8.48: Fringe Zones & Backland Areas of the CentreKey:

Fringe areas



'Backland' areas

1. Frankwell 1960's - redevelopment.
Main change in the 1970's. Now improvements taking place
2. Castle Foregate Post war major changes of use, little since except a few conversions.
3. Wyle Cop Slow decline until recently. Improvements from 1975 onwards.
4. Longden Coleham 1960's redevelopment, has maintained its popularity as a local shopping area, with little decline.
5. Abbey Foregate Little change since new offices and supermarkets of the mid 1960's.

8.3 Aspects of Change in Fringe Areas

Having looked in detail at a series of streets in the centre (8.1) and at specific areas on the fringe, two aspects can be highlighted. One is the different types of fringe area found and their characteristics compared with the theoretical descriptions. A second is the significance of backland development both as a type of fringe area and its effect on change in the centre. The other areas on the fringe, Abbey Foregate, Castle Foregate and Longden Coleham are described in the Appendix D, p.496, to give a more complete picture of the land uses and changes over the last twenty years. Figure 8.48 shows the location of these fringes^{*} and the areas of backland also considered.

8.3.1. Fringe Area Types and Changes

Table 8.10 shows the distribution of floorspace for different uses within the fringe areas as defined by the Local Authority Survey. In total the fringe zones have more space devoted to wholesale and manufacturing but surprisingly not as much residential. This is probably due to inner area clearance schemes. The office space is much lower, except in Frankwell, which has never been considered as an office area, and so is outside the general control on this use in the centre.

The fringe in general conforms to the theory of transition zone uses but there are considerable variations between the areas. This includes differences in building density, with the plot ratios shown in Table 8.11 indicating a much higher density for

* Fringes here do not include areas within the river loop, i.e. Wyle Cop.

Table 8.10: Land Use Proportions in Fringe Areas in 1979*

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
42	62.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	37.9	-
43	-	9.4	-	50.4	6.2	-	22.4	-	-	11.6	-
45	0.8	2.4	-	-	22.8	43.6	21.7	8.6	-	-	-
46	4.3	0.6	3.5	31.2	16.5	-	36.1	7.8	-	-	-
44	1.8	1.7	6.0	14.0	6.4	54.0	5.2	10.5	-	-	-
47	-	45.0	-	1.3	37.9	10.0	-	2.5	6.8	-	2.5
48	-	21.1	-	-	27.7	10.3	34.7	6.2	-	-	-
49	-	23.6	-	-	61.4	10.4	1.9	-	-	-	-
50	-	-	50.2	-	9.7	-	-	38.6	-	-	1.5
51	-	7.7	4.3	-	42.0	6.9	30.0	9.1	-	-	-
52	27.9	2.4	3.4	-	44.7	-	14.1	7.5	-	-	-
Fringe Av.	8.8	10.4	6.1	8.8	25.0	12.3	15.1	8.3	0.6	4.5	0.3
Town Totals	9.4	2.8	11.5	11.0	25.6	8.8	18.4	2.7	2.7	4.9	2.1

Key: 1. Leisure & Recreational 6. Transport
 2. Manufacturing 7. Residential
 3. Office 8. Storage & Wholesale
 4. Health & Community 9. Utilities
 5. Shopping 10. Educational
 11. Others

*Source: calculated from floorspace figures of block survey by County Council 1979.

**Fringes here do not include areas within the river loop i.e. Wyle Cop.

Frankwell than Coleham. Also vacancy rates which are traditionally supposed to be high for this zone, are lower than for the centre as shown in Table 8.12.

Considering shopping floorspace specifically, Table 8.13 shows the pattern of a majority of food shops in the suburbs, with more non-food in the centre. The fringe is particularly dominated by non-food shops (81% of net sales area) and a higher proportion

.../..

Table 8.11: Plot Ratios in Fringe Areas 1979.

Block No.	Ratio
42	0.46
43	0.76
45	0.29
46	0.70
44	0.35
47	0.85
48	0.61
49	0.75
50	1.03
51	1.58
52	0.57

Average for Abbey Foregate = 0.55
 Average for Frankwell = 0.89

Table 8.12: Vacant Shopping Floorspace in Centre & Fringe - 1979

	Gross Shopping Floorspace excl. vacant	Vacant Floorspace	Vacant Floorspace as % of gross
	sq. m.	sq. m.	
Town Centre in loop	147117	11492	7.8%
Fringe	11015	470	4.2%
Total Centre & Fringe	158132	11962	7.5%

Source: Adapted from: Shropshire County Council.
 (1979 Floorspace Survey of Shrewsbury: Analysis of Results for Shrewsbury District Council).

Table 8.13: Shopping Floorspace in Centre, Fringe and Suburban Shops - 1979

SHOP TYPE	NET SALES AREA				GROSS SALES AREA						Prop./Net to Gross Area				
	Loop ₂		Fringe ₃		Suburbs ₄		Loop		Fringe		Suburbs		Loop	Fringe	Suburbs
	sqm.:	%	No.	%	sqm.	%	sqm.	%	sqm.	%	sqm.	%			
Food	9709	13.2	579	10.9	8818	62.0	14729	10.0	2789	25.3	12814	60.3	65.9	20.7	68.8
Non- food	60691	82.4	4309	81.1	3804	26.7	127988	87.0	7592	68.9	8341	39.3	47.4	56.8	45.6
Service Trades	3129	4.3	422	7.9	1600	11.3	4400	3.0	634	5.8	89	0.4	71.1	66.5	—*
TOTAL	73529	100	5310	100	14222	100	147117	100	11015	100	21244	100	50.0	48.0	66.9*

8/13

Notes for Table 8.13:

1. Floorspace in main buildings only (no outbuildings and uncovered areas). Vacant floorspace not included.
2. Town Centre within the River loop, Blocks 1-41 in Land Use Survey by Local Authority.
3. Areas immediately outside of loop, Blocks 42-52 in Land Use Survey = Frankwell, Abbey Foregate and Coleham.
4. All shops outside of areas 2 and 3 above.
5. This includes Food Areas of Department Stores.
6. Boot & Shoe Repairers, Hairdressing & Manicure, Laundries, Launderettes and Dry Cleaners.

*Coverage of the Service Trades is not complete for suburban shops.

Source: Shropshire County Council, Structure Plans Department.

of services than the other two areas, of centre and suburbs. The amount of net sales area in the fringe is a much lower proportion of the total sales space than in other parts of the town. It seems likely therefore that there is a higher proportion of storage or office ancillary space, possibly including more warehouse-type outlets.

When general changes in the different fringe areas are considered, there are further variations from the classical descriptions of these areas. As the latter relate to a single point in time they do not explain changing situations. An area may only be temporarily in this state and there is no fixed progression of stages. It is useful instead to recognise the series of changes each has undergone in the past and these are influenced by specific local factors and the particular climate for change at the time. Figure 8.48 indicated the main phases of change for different areas, which are further explained by Table 8.14.

In the early 1960's redevelopment was taking place in all the areas. As this involved housing as well as shopping they could not be said to be really assimilating central area uses as suggested in the theory. Yet by the end of the 1960's the general picture was one of neglected areas with many vacant buildings, as Manners (1968) wrote:

"Everywhere property was to let and to sell. Not only were the agents' signs ubiquitous, but ruins were frequent. In Abbey Foregate, a building neatly dated 1601 was deserted, its windows broken. In Frankwell another set of Elizabethan houses - recently sold by auction said the poster - were forlorn and deserted."

By the 1970's some of the areas had undergone most of their major changes, such as Abbey Foregate, whilst others were just starting to improve. However, everywhere the emphasis had moved from new building to conservation, which has also been the case with more recent backland developments dealt with in the next section.

8.3.2. Backland Development

Areas within the town centre and not necessarily located on the edge may in effect be classified as fringe by the nature of their change and types of uses. These are the areas behind the main streets, either the long back plots of frontage buildings or areas approached via passages etc. Most emphasis tends to be on street frontages and the visible character of historic streets but what happens behind is less controlled. For many years little attention was given to these areas, particularly where containing worn-out industrial buildings. However, as space in the historic centre becomes more constrained and with increasing problems of rear access looming large, attention came to be focussed on this, previously redundant, backland, termed by Procos (1976) as 'found space'.

In the past, these areas were either long rear gardens to large houses or inns or are the site of uses which have since moved out to the edge of the town - or closed down, such as industry or the cattle market. Together with slum clearance the amalgamation of some of these sites for public use was made possible, but there were often long periods of 'urban fallow' (Conzen 1960).

In Shrewsbury, some of the current changes in these backland areas reflect what is happening on the street frontage and the

constraints on uses in that area, the market for various types of activity in the town centre itself and the physical potential of the rear space. Sites in the following locations indicate also the varying priorities of both the market and planning policies over the years:-

Mardol - this street, no longer a through route, is becoming increasingly just the spine of the various developments on the land to either side. The mass demolition of houses and shops in the 1930's to the west side (see p. 242-3.) made room for the car park and bus station. These then became an important pedestrian generator. They ensured passing trade for the top end of Mardol and if moved, as proposed, could affect a number of businesses.

The 1960's saw the major redevelopment schemes to the east side, comprising the Riverside shopping precinct. This might have brought too much competition to Mardol. However, because it was very slow to get off the ground and most of the units were taken up by large multiple stores, smaller units here and in the Hill's Lane development proposal are able to survive. The most recent development has been of Hills Lane to the west of lower Mardol. The site had been left for years until MEPC applied for redevelopment to offices. They were refused partly because of the continuing office control policy, but also with conservation now to the fore it was thought that the development might be 'prejudicial to the securing of a useful future for these buildings', (Figure 8.49). A brief was drawn up for land uses on the site emphasising the policy for central area housing. Eventually Galliers gained permission in 1981 (see Figure 8.50) to refurbish the houses and provide a

retail area to the rear which would be linked to the existing shop at 24 Mardol, with an internal access yard and office accommodation.

Figure 8.49a: Hill Street
Scheme Location

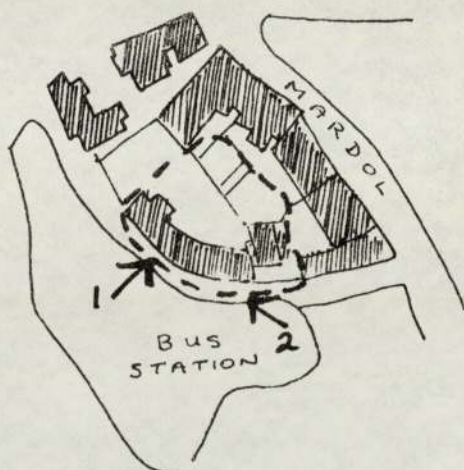


Figure 8.49:

Hills Lane before
restoration (1).



Figure 8.50:

Hills Lane
restored houses (2).

High Street - although there is little true backland, the lanes and passages leading off from it perform this role, with the new use of rear buildings alongside them as shops and cafes. To some extent the character of the passages in this area has been more fully retained. The banks and building societies have tended to use the smaller units and not taken over big blocks such as on Pride Hill, where the passages have become devalued. The diagram

.../...

(Figure 8.51) indicates the passages along the High Street and their varying functions. They are increasingly attractions in their own right rather than just short cuts (Figure 8.52 & 53)

Figure 8.51: Passages in the High Street Area

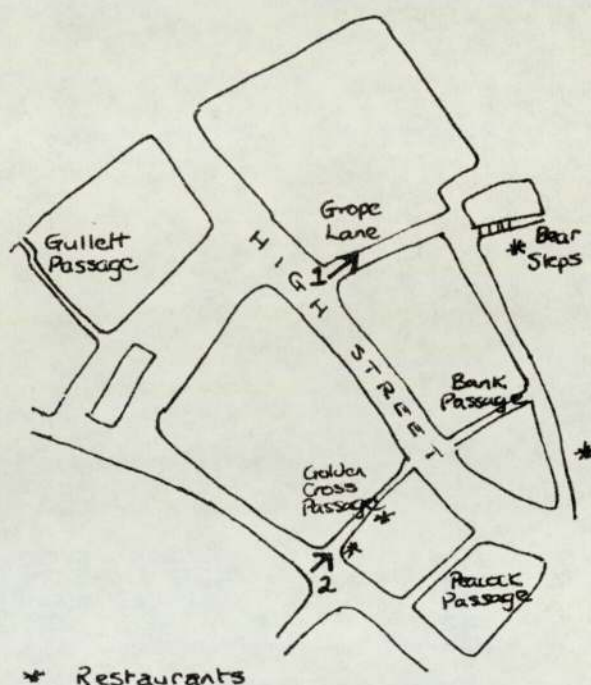


Figure 8.52: Grope Lane new retail units (1)

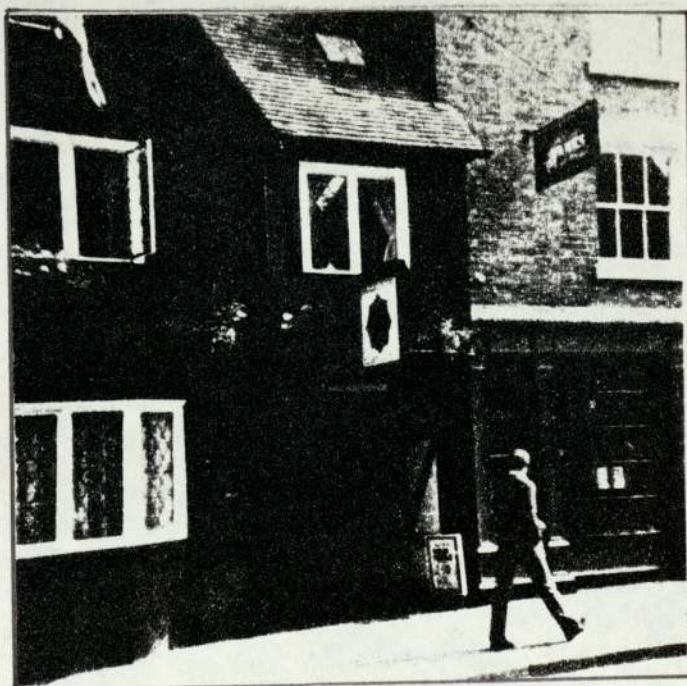


Figure 8.53:
Golden Cross Passage - recently opened and extended restaurant (2).

As described in the area studies, the fringe areas also have their fringes:

Frankwell - the most important backland development is around Nettles Lane, although the quayside and rear of Atlas Foundry are the more obvious problem areas re. planning uncertainty though a supermarket is considering locating there.

Wyle Cop - has perhaps some of the greatest variety of uses, from providing hotel car parking space, garage extensions and workshops to the renovation of passages with opportunities for redevelopment on both a small scale (Bowdlers passage) and large scale (car park proposal).

Abbey Foregate - the backland here is more neglected with a car park on rubble and unused British Rail land. However, there have been some conversions of the remaining old residential units around the old railway road and Coldbath Court. There has also been some redevelopment of industry on Horse Fair, which itself once fronted onto the Green but now provides a back road to the industry.

The following diagram 8.14 summarizes different aspects and periods of change in the fringe areas of the centre with reference to the theoretical characteristics discussed in Chapter Three.

Table 8.14: Analysis of change in Fringe Areas of Shrewsbury Town

					Centre.
AREA LOCATION & TRADE ORIENTATION	LAND USES	PERIOD OF MOST CHANGE	PROCESSES & RATE OF CHANGE	SIGNIFICANT INFLUENCES	REMARKS RE. THEORETICAL ASPECTS
<u>FRANKWELL</u> (L & R) L = local R = town or region	Mixed use including workshops - some river related + car parks	Layout change in 1960's building improvement in late '70s	Recent active assimilation of centre-serving uses (conversion of properties by rehab' of whole building not by floors)	Car park and footbridge as new poles of attraction Gallier's conservation work	Some traditional fringe uses. Mixed use conversion zone Internal, not outward expansion to resid' areas Strategic as opposed to tactical change
Quayside (R)	Boat & builders' yards + retail warehouses	Late 1960's + recent	Adaptation Confidence in face of redevelopment plans	Atlas Foundry dominant visually. Floating Restaurant and footbridge to shopping precinct	
Nettles Lane (L & R)	Workshops dental lab' motor repair & supplies	1970 onwards	Redevelopment & renewal Extension of area	Council rear service road. Kwiksave, Galliers ownership	
<u>MARDOL</u> Quayside & Backland (L + ?)	Public garden, inner ring road shop/office precincts	1950's onwards Late 60's & recent	Planned change of riverside improvements & precinct Conservation	Road changes and pedestrian circulation	
<u>HIGH STREET</u> Grove Lane (L & R)	Fashion/textile & gift shops	Early & mid '70's	Intensification of use via conversions & intro' of tourist element	Bear Steps conversion scheme + public conveniences	High Street as 'disturbed reactive environment.
Golden Cross Passage (R)	Restaurants	Recent			
<u>WYLE COP</u> (R & L)	Shop & office mix	Early 1970's & recent conversion schemes	Passive assimilation of some office uses Deterioration of lower end may be reversed	Freeman enterprises - individ' conservation schemes Investment of multiples, inertia of older firms Freeman & Galliers	Within the town centre but parts increasingly fringe character - zone of discard
Barracks Passage (R)	Restaurants dress/workshop & residential Offices	Mid 1970's and recent	Long term neglect then rapid renewal although recent lull.		
Bowdlers Passage (R)		Recent	Redevelopment and change of use with infill	Related to needs of owners of adjacent land	
Rear land - north side (R)	Works & garage extensions	Continuous since 1960's	Extension via amalgamation of plots		
<u>ABBEY FOREGATE</u> (L)	Commercial & institutional, industry + multi-unit residential	Redevelopment mid to late 1960's	Office growth & some replication of services e.g. banks. Since then = stable/passive assimilation	Abbey & Green - aesthetic and symbolic. Nature of road layout. Safeway, offices & residential development	Once an area of latent centrality, with approach road to centre from high income resid' area Land ownership not conducive to development at present. Environmental variance ∴ less
Abbey Foregate backland	Car park Some residential rehab. Industry	Little change	Extension of uses limited by ownership & planning	British Rail & Council policies	Zone of general inactivity
<u>CASTLE FOREGATE</u> (L & R)	Manuf', distrib'n & storage. Veh. + DIY	Little change	General inactivity Changing to less intensive uses	Railway & industry remnants	Typical of low quality res. once mixed with heavy ind. noxious pole of repulsion
<u>LONGDEN COLEHAM</u> (L)	Once indus. less now. Local shops	1960's redevelopment + few conversions	Changes in orientation to east side	Greyfriars Bridge + shopping link car parking facility residential clearance	Gen = passive assim. Coleham Hd = pole of attraction for central uses

8.4 Summary of the Transect and Area Study Methods

8.4.1. The Transect Study

The influence of both temporal and spatial factors on land uses and decisions could be seen from this analysis of a section of land across the town centre. This method allowed changes of use and development pressures to be examined in different parts of the centre. A number of points could therefore be made about the changing activities, economic aspects and land ownership.

Concerning land use activities in the centre, the significance of conversions in certain areas at certain times was noted. However the decision notices gave little information on the degree of conversion taking place. Conversions can include modernisation, changes to accommodate a different level of property useage, or a change to a completely new use and these would need to be distinguished to note fully the effects on an area.

The consequences of alterations to services and accessibility were identified, primarily in Frankwell, by the planning application refusals prior to the provision of the facility and the types of application forthcoming afterwards. Space/time data here was essential and also in identifying pressures for change over time between different parts of the centre and the changing demand for certain land uses. However it is recognised that planning applications provide only a guide to demand and potential for change, as many proposals may never reach this stage, possibly

.../..

because of the constraints known to exist on development in the centre, and the limited amount of property available.

The transect also provided further data to that in the change of use analysis in Chapter Six, by showing joint uses. Thus it could be seen for example, that the losses of residential on the fringes were being partly replaced by first floor conversion to flats. In addition, the amalgamation of properties in one ownership for an expanded activity could be noted. The ownership of a number of properties was also seen to affect the phasing of improvement work done, although this could only be explained fully by the area studies.

The effect of external factors could best be seen by amalgamating the results for streets and years in relation to the centre and district as a whole, taking into account general trends. For example the general expansion of multiple retail chains in the main shopping streets throughout the country probably explains the number of applications for shopfront alterations with uniform styles being adopted.

From the economic viewpoint, the study helped explain the factors affecting market prices noted in section 7.2, by noting the conditions and reasons for refusals given in the planning decision notices and the amount of improvement. However there is no information on the costs associated with the various activities. Although the number and type of building developments indicate change quantitatively, the qualitative aspect could not really be shown by this analysis.

Therefore much of the information gained required further knowledge of the areas in question, to afford a more far-reaching and realistic interpretation of the changes. Only knowledge of developments in and around the transect area at different times

can explain fully the process of change. Thus the need was shown for the area studies in section 8.2, which considered individual motives and decisions.

8.4.2. The Area Studies

The streets selected for the studies represented different types of change in secondary areas and also indicated some common factors, such as the developments of backland areas. The study combined general background and detailed surveys. Having already looked at land use change and the operation of spatial policy in the centre as a whole, changes in the study areas could be placed in context and their significance seen, such as whether developments were isolated or part of a wider trend. Issues which have been identified in the fringe areas of many towns, such as blight, under-use, spillover effects of traffic and parking management in the core, could also be seen in context and specific local consequences noted. Particularly significant to the understanding of such problems was the historical view point.

Interviews with a sample of business owners formed a major part of the studies. These established characteristics of businesses in the area other than just the use of floorspace, so that the changing role of areas could be seen. Also behavioural factors of change were noted, such as what makes a business move into or out of an area and improve or alter a building and its use. The positive aspects of semi-central locations became apparent, for instance, the lower building density allows building extensions and car parking, so allowing more scope for change of use and mixed uses.

The interviews provided information on two particular aspects: firstly, the characteristics of fringe areas with reference to Transition Zone theories, and secondly, the significance of the historic context. In the first case, the characteristic uses of fringe zones were identified, but the problems attributed to such zones did not always exist or were of a different type. It was also found that the areas had greater potential for revitalization than generally supposed, but mainly because of their historic character and the demand for lower cost property with historic/architectural interest. This leads to the second aspect, the importance of the centre's historic nature. Although it did not appear to be important to the individual business location decisions its role in affecting both the general attractiveness of the area and likelihood that the area would improve as properties were restored was acknowledged.

The next chapter draws together the main points concerning these fringe areas from both the background data in earlier chapters and from the case study as a whole.

9.1 Introduction: Aims and Contents of the Chapter and the
Relationship of the Case Study to the Research

This chapter shows how the case study has been employed to fulfill the overall objectives of the research. It reviews the methodology used to organise the study and the methods adopted to improve our understanding of the historic centre. The findings are then discussed in relation to the other aims of the case study:

- a) to explain the process of land use change in the central area in relation to change at different scales from different perspectives.
- b) to determine how applicable are existing land use theories and research in explaining change within areas of the centre.
- c) to identify the influence of land use planning from the strategic to the local level and how the impact may be assessed for fringe areas.

The background research and literature review had shown the need for a comprehensive assessment of changing activities in historic centres and the role of planning, indicating areas where further knowledge was needed and the different geographical scales from which land use change can be considered. Therefore the case study of one historic centre employed a wide-ranging view so that post-war changes in the central area land use structure and pattern could be fully documented to show specific problems and planning influences particularly on the central area fringe. Other research and theoretical concepts of core and frame land use characteristics could also be tested and utilised to better understand the processes of land use change in the specific historic context.

9.2 Methods Adopted and Appraisal of their Validity in Terms of the Study

9.2.1 Methodological Approach to the Case Study

Since the requirement of the research was to make as comprehensive an evaluation as possible and to contribute to the knowledge of fringe areas, this meant tackling a range of diverse questions about change and its effects, and investigating how any lack of information or emphasis could be remedied.

The method for dealing with this complexity was to use a matrix framework, which looks at change from the historical, spatial and sectoral perspectives and, within each of these studies, considers change from the general to the detailed level; ie the centre as the focus of the town as a whole, sub-areas of the centre and the site/plot level within the centre. Although this approach meant there was some repetition, this was felt to be justified by the breadth of knowledge gained about the centre and the need to develop methods to analyse change, especially at the area level.

The application of the methodology from each viewpoint is through a land use transect across the town centre.

9.2.2 Methods to Analyse Historical Aspects of Land Use in the Centre

The techniques of the historical geographer, using old maps, photographs and other local history records, in conjunction with site evidence, were particularly relevant in this context, enabling information to be gained about land use rather than merely details of the historical building fabric and pattern.

The use of the sample transect provided the level of detail about historical change, both in the centre and the fringe, which was necessary to test theories and general trends. From this the rate of change could be measured by mapping changes in rateable values over a period of time and by noting the number of use changes

over that period. In this way for instance, it could be demonstrated that there was greater stability in some of the outer areas of the centre than is suggested by traditional theories of the core and frame.

The transect also provided a sample cross-section of businesses and activity locations. This enabled a systematic study to be made using archival and planning data in addition to interviews, of historical land use characteristics and their development over time together with the influence of past land use changes and the planning history of the varying locations.

9.2.3 Methods to Analyse Change in Land Use Sectors

A statistical summary of land use/floorspace change for the town as a whole and the centre compared with the edges, allowed general trends to be tested for the historic town. Then, by reviewing planning policies in the different sectors and their consequences, a better idea could be gained of the role of planning especially when planning decisions on use-changes over the past five years were plotted graphically. This highlighted areas which were changing in the character of their use or where there was pressure for change. At a more detailed level, this mapping of development decisions showed patterns of change which could then be compared with spatial policies and the conflicts pinpointed.

The transect data-base enabled further analyses of change. The current uses of properties were related to their length of occupation to reveal the location pattern of older established and newer uses, indicating volatile, stabilizing and disused localities. The number of changes from one activity to another in main or secondary streets was calculated and analysed to show relative change within parts of the centre and the propensity to change in certain locations and between certain activities. The interviews with businesses

along the transect provided detail about the changing location for certain trades, so it could be seen how the pattern described in general in chapter two, actually takes place over a 20 year period.

Thus a number of measures of change were used, concentrating on spatial presentation of the changes over time to indicate relative change within parts of the centre and the effects of land use policies.

9.2.4 Methods Used to View Spatial Changes

The methods of analysis were particularly appropriate to test ecological theories of the centre/fringe relationship and the effects of area planning policies and strategic planning decisions. They included:

- a) mapping the general land use structure of the town and reviewing the planning policy influence, providing a broad perspective on how parts of the centre change.
- b) mapping significant new developments in the town centre over the last 20 years to see the pattern of influence on changes of use.
- c) mapping of area planning policies in relation to the theoretical aspects of centrality and central area characteristics.
- d) plotting of the theoretical central area indicators to compare with the expected pattern, ie vacancy rates, plot ratios, circulation patterns, business structure and property values.

The land use transect provided the basis for a survey on activity location and improvement decisions, to determine the effects of planning on these spatial preferences and the problems of certain types of buildings and trades with special reference to historic factors. It also provided insights into how areas are revitalised or decline by reference to the attitudes and values of the decision makers concerned.

9.2.5 Further Methods to Study Change in Fringe Areas

The transect across the centre and fringe was the main method of study, as this enabled a broad analysis of patterns of land use change to be compared over time and space in parts of the centre, and to pinpoint where and when there was pressure for certain types of development.

This was augmented by detailed area studies of three fringe zones, combining historical methods and spatial techniques, including the analysis of planning applications over a period of time. Together with interviews of land owners and occupants, this helped to determine the local impact of planning, the roles and processes of change in fringe areas and to test theoretical views of fringe area characteristics and processes of change.

9.3 Summary and Appraisal of Case Study Findings

The findings are reported in three sections in response to the questions posed in chapter four, as follows:

9.3.1 The Process of Change

How is the process of land use change in the central area explained in relation to change at different geographical scales and from different perspectives?

The findings for the centre of Shrewsbury were analysed firstly in relation to the town as a whole.

It was shown how much the present land use pattern of the historic centre has been determined by its geographical site and situation. This forms the basis of the unique characteristics of the centre. Similarly the study of its situation in the wider region showed the development of the centre's role. The recent decentralisation of some of the administrative and marketing functions could be seen as a fundamental departure from the traditional pattern.

It was also demonstrated how physical features of the town's site have, and continue to, influence the land use pattern, such as the location of clearance and redevelopment areas. In turn, redevelopment schemes were found to have affected not just the scale of building, but also movement patterns in the centre and shifts in its focus within the town.

Concerning central area activities, the post-war period has seen a polarisation of functions between the centre and suburbs, notably in retailing, and more recently, between the historic centre and the new town centre of Telford. An additional problem has been the need to adapt the conserved building fabric to the requirements of modern uses, whilst retaining the historic character. The long term view also showed that the extent of recent

.../...

change was not just in the historic fabric but in the loss of some traditional functions and a changed relationship of the centre to the rest of the town.

Findings for sub-areas within the centre were then considered.

From the historical viewpoint, a detailed picture of how the land use pattern and central area functions have changed over time was presented. It was shown how the conservation of the historic fabric has determined to an extent, the pattern of changing land uses. For example, the loss of some traditional residential areas to commercial uses has occurred where redundant large houses were protected from redevelopment and only suitable for offices, but which is also the use most likely to conserve the historic fabric.

Over time, the rapid change of use in some areas compared with the slow process of adaptation in others was seen to be affected largely by redevelopment and conversion schemes on key sites, which had a spill-over effect in spurring changes of use or the level of uses in the neighbourhood. Periods of prosperity and decline were identified for secondary streets, which were found to depend not only on the changes in the general prosperity of the town, but on their ownership pattern, relative location to the core, their long established functional role and physical character.

The centre also illustrated the flexibility of the historic fabric and urban pattern. This was partly due to a natural restructuring of the location of uses within the centre to more appropriate locations as the nature of trade changed but also because of the up-dating of traditional businesses by owners. Here the historic character could be a bonus, such as the loss of the central area grocery stores being partly replaced by specialist foodshops. However a tendency was also noted for properties to stay in the same use category although changing ownership, and that this tended to .../...

'fix' use areas, producing continuity of use character although not always in the most suitable location.

The centre was also studied at the plot/site level.

The continuing influence of the historical land use and building pattern could be demonstrated in more detail at this level and with reference to specific examples. In this way it was seen how historic features become fashionable, such as the alleys which have revived an old network of routes and localised certain uses such as gift shops and cafes. Features of the historic building plots in certain locations, such as long rear gardens, were found to provide opportunities for expansion, whilst the historic pattern of infill has produced a mix of use in backland and fringe areas and later, relict uses in surrounding areas of change. In some cases this has meant the loss of the historical plot pattern, but the retention of central area traditional uses.

Meanwhile the older uses fared according to their adaptability and the nature of their trade. Thus areas declined not only through planning blight, but also where they contained a high proportion of old or inert trade. It was also shown how the movement in of a new business which is a generator of trade can influence change, especially in secondary streets.

From the interviews with businesses it appeared that the location decision depended on a whole variety of factors including the type of business and trade structure of the organisation and the experience and motivation of the decision maker. The nature of building improvements affecting uses could be related to the owners original aspirations and resources, the progress of the business and the potential of the building and site.

9.3.2 Theories of Change in the Centre and Fringe

How applicable are existing land use theories and research in explaining change within areas of the centre?

The general points made and questions raised in the literature review, chapter three, have been explored in the case study in progressive detail, firstly looking at urban structure theories and research and then concentrating on the fringe of the centre and the findings concerning the transition zone in this historic context.

Ecological theories provided a basis for analysing the land use pattern of Shrewsbury in the 1960s. Since then there have been distortions to the notions of working class housing areas, via 'gentrification', and to the zone in transition. However, the ecological processes proved useful to describe changes in the centre and how they had been modified in the historic town. Thus there had been a certain reversal in the decentralisation from the centre because of changing attitudes towards living in the centre and the value of historic buildings. The move towards conservation has meant a number of buildings have been converted to new uses when previously they would have been demolished. The survey found that although the symbolic value of Shrewsbury's historic nature was not strong for any one part of the centre or group of traders, the value of an 'interesting' building or location was expressed, with the example given of an old established firm staying in the congested centre, partly to maintain its 'traditional' image. This also revealed the importance of loyalty to an area. Many businesses had stayed or moved only short distances in a declining area relying on 'goodwill' and staying despite a deterioration in the environment or facilities such as car parking and access.

The theoretical viewpoint on urban structure was useful in assessing the extent and composition of the central area and its sub-areas. Concepts of centrality helped in the analysis of the changing forms of the centre, highlighting the move of the main shopping area away from the old inner city core and an overall contraction in its extent.

Traditional theories of the Transition Zone and the Core and Frame concept were tested by investigating the processes of change in the central area fringe of Shrewsbury.

It was seen how areas of transition can emerge relative to shifts of the centre and urban growth. Evidence of previous fringes, based on Conzen's research into extra and intra-mural land development patterns and their influence on infill, explained the use patterns on the edge of the centre.

The term 'transition zone' used to be applied to all areas adjacent to the established central area because the centre then was generally expanding outwards. In the study town, there has not been all-round central area growth. Instead there has been a 'retreat' of the area in some parts and extension elsewhere, with a directional orientation. This changing focus has been influenced by strategic location decisions both inside and outside of the central area.

Although the study found that not all the area on the edge of the centre was in transition, neither had it been completely assimilated by the centre or suburbs over the time period studied. However the suggestion that land is held speculatively in view of outward expansion of the central business district does seem to happen. Indeed, the local firm of Galliers in Frankwell appeared to view both this and inward expansion of the residential zone as likely, indicating that commercial transition is not just one-way. Thus they have recently applied for permission to develop a

superstore on their land on the riverside (centre) edge of this fringe zone, and they are meanwhile continuing to rehabilitate properties for shops and flats further to the north (suburban) side.

Assimilation of central area uses was shown to take place where a fringe area possesses 'latent centrality' with conducive land ownership and buildings ripe for conversion. A 'pole of attraction', such as the greater access to suburbs created by a forked junction, indicated why some parts have proved more attractive to commercial uses than others.

Processes also varied within the fringe, with each area found to be experiencing a different cycle of change with no fixed progression, for example from lower to higher order uses. The series of stages was also influenced by the current climate for change at the time. For instance, the early 1960's was a period of redevelopment and schemes appeared in all of the fringe areas studied. However, by the end of that decade, more vacancies and dereliction were noted, possibly indicating incomplete conversion of the zone from old to new. During the 1970's, some fringe areas had completed all the redevelopment likely for some time, whilst others were only just starting. Similarly the way property had been converted for different uses was not found to follow the assumed stages, ie ground floor conversion followed by upper floors, instead whole buildings or blocks were converted or rehabilitated.

Many traditional characteristics of the transition zone or frame, have changed. The fringe has generally been seen as an area of business replacement, which, during transition, became briefly a zone of maximum mixed land use. However, the case study found that the mix of uses is not just short term but often permanent,

and that different parts of the fringe exhibit different characteristics in their pattern of change and business replacement. The supposed high turnover rate of businesses was not found in many of the fringe areas of central Shrewsbury. Instead these areas sometimes exhibited more stability than the centre, and any changes in property occupation tended to be influenced more by local developments than relative proximity to the centre.

The oldest established uses existed in the fringes and the overall amount of change was no greater there than the centre, contrary to expectations. Most of the land use changes taking place were in the backland areas of the fringe. Although a trend to lower use density was also accompanied by lower vacancy rates for the period as a whole, some longer periods of vacancy for individual properties were found, compared with more central locations. Land values continued to be lower on the fringe as would be expected, but there was not such a great distinction between the fringe area and inner secondary streets as there was between the secondary and main high streets.

The lack of alternative new accommodation in the historic centre means that not only were just small young activities found in old converted property. There were also well established expanding firms, who may later move to achieve a better micro-level position, although not necessarily away from the area. Some businesses such as restaurants and prestige offices deliberately sought 'character' premises, with the additional facility of space for parking as an attraction over a more central location.

Over the last 20 years, some parts of the fringe appeared to be assuming more characteristic, transition-zone uses, such as builders yards and garages. Meanwhile other parts were attracting specialist central enclave uses such as craft shops. Although

there has been some recent replacement of housing, the fringes no longer fill the residential role they once did. So, for example, the lodging houses have given way to flats and commercial development. However, the zone remains important as a service/workshop area, although not so much for larger industries and wholesaling, some of which have moved to the newer industrial and trading estates.

Meanwhile a difference was noted in the role of various fringe areas for office types. For example the inner fringe area of Wyle Cop was starting to be used for the more finance-based offices, whereas distribution and professional offices were located in the outer areas. At one time the office take-over of large old houses could be identified. Office use now appears more likely in new infill and upper floor conversion schemes, partly due to the influence of planning policy.

The study of land uses on the fringe also indicated some new types of use, although often being housed in the redundant buildings of traditional uses. An example noted was the adaptation of warehouses, which introduced either new 'twilight' uses or what are more usually seen as central area activities such as culture and entertainment. Meanwhile the supermarket and car park have tended to replace wholesaling and transport as the larger land uses in fringe area. Uses which were once confined to the fringe are now represented elsewhere and those previously in only central sites such as 'up-market' restaurants, are now found in these more unconventional locations.

The level of use was also investigated in relation to the theoretical concepts and it was found that intensification of use occurred mainly via conversions, often employing a side passage access to allow outer or rear buildings to be used. Extension of

use was both by plot amalgamation, depending on ownership and infill development with community uses followed by offices and workshops. Disuse or a 'zone of discard' is often attributed to planning blight, but appeared to be the result of market forces in many parts. However, 'relict' features from a previous discarded use of the area were found to influence development patterns, not only in the fringe, but also the inner area backland.

The backland areas of the central area fringe in fact exhibited some distinct changes, sometimes repeating the infilling process which had earlier occurred in the core. Since a number of long garden plots remained in the fringe up to the 1960's, this enabled building expansions, sometimes on amalgamated back plots so that new uses requiring more space were attracted to these parts of the centre. Together with sites of a major use which had been relocated, these constituted 'found space' to which increasing attention began to be paid. Interest in these areas was originally by owners of the frontage plots. Later, with conversions of buildings to the rear for separate use near an ancient 'shut' or passage, they have become a fashionable location. Finally the timing of the backland development was found to be important in determining a number of factors: whether the area character was destroyed, if any benefit was derived for the rest of the locality; whether historic land use remnants were conserved in the process and whether the new use helped to revitalize the area.

The roles of fringe areas in relation to the town and to the firm could be distinguished in analysing the changing land use characteristics of fringe areas. In the first case, the different markets served by businesses in fringe areas were considered. The trade in all the areas studied was found to have a predominantly local orientation. As most contained approach roads to the

centre they also attracted certain car-orientated and suburban-influenced uses, but the precise nature of these depended both on the type of area served and the architectural/historic character of the fringe.

Concerning the role of fringe areas in relation to the firm, it was found that for both main survey areas more than one third of the firms had started up in the area. They were by no means using it only as a foothold, as the majority stay or intend to stay permanently, either because they are satisfied with the location and area or because of inertia and lack of alternative premises.

In analysing the role of central fringe areas in Shrewsbury a table (8.14 p433) was drawn up to indicate different periods and processes of change. From this areas could be distinguished according to:

- a) the period of their maximum redevelopment and change
- b) the market orientation of shops and services, to workers, residents or visitors
- c) the building type, surrounding land uses and quality
- d) area controls, such as the designation of conservation area boundaries
- e) past and present land use conflicts and the nature of planning solutions.

Furthermore, many sub-areas of the fringe studied could be said to form one or a combination of the following roles in relation to the town centre and by reference to different uses.

- a) seed-bed/test-bed: new or experimental uses for which lower cost properties on the fringe were most appropriate
- b) repository: a location for uses which are not wanted in the main core area, such as car parks

- c) image-maker (or loser): some pioneering uses can make their name in an area which is reviving. These tend to be more 'upmarket' in the historic fringe
- d) forgotten: where there are no resources for, or controls on, change in the area, possibly in the poorer residential side of the centre
- e) intractable: problems recurring or requiring too radical solutions such as a number of derelict and underused buildings, or 'problem' uses such as scrap yards.

9.3.3 Planning Influence in the Centre and Fringe Areas

What has been the influence of planning at various levels and how might it be assessed for fringe areas?

The results of past planning decisions were considered for Shrewsbury. Although planning methods and policies have changed, those implemented in the past have affected the urban structure and so continue to constrain or influence current problems and decision-making. Significant aspects of the role of planning at different scales were as follows:

The Town Level and Planning

It was demonstrated how the present urban structure has been moulded to an extent by past zoning and road plans, even though constrained by physical features. Control over the location of major developments has also had far-reaching consequences. As with many historic centres, there are policies in Shrewsbury to control the location of large supermarkets to protect town centre trade. As space in the centre is constrained, intercept locations are being promoted beyond the imposed boundary of the centre but within the inner fringe, so as to tap trade from the outskirts, but not divert it from the centre. This has considerably affected

shopping movement patterns and so the viability of some businesses in secondary streets. In addition the tendency for there to be more specialist and small shops in the historic centre, with some of the larger retail multiples going to the new town of Telford, has been reinforced by the strategic planning decision to designate Shrewsbury as the specialist shopping and administrative centre in the region.

The planning response in the past to change within different land use sectors has varied in effectiveness, with policies which have tended to be out-of-step with trends. For example the 1968 interim shopping and office policy which restricted development to specific zones probably continued beyond its immediate need. One of the reasons for guarding against the over-supply of floor-space was the problem of vacant upper floors, yet this problem still remains. Similarly, the trend of central area depopulation, which was partly a result of earlier redevelopment schemes, led to a residential policy for the centre. However there have been only a few achievements directly attributable to planning in replacing the losses.

The Area Level and Planning

When considering change within areas of the centre, road improvements were a significant factor. Changes in the type of road or management of traffic designed to ease congestion in the historic streets could influence the functions of the street or its level of use. Other provisions such as a rear service road to shops, were shown to generate additional investment in the immediate locality with a type of multiplier effect. Some road improvements also caused changes in amenity, such as the construction of a roundabout which opened up the aspect of an area and in so doing increased its attraction for commercial development

requiring a prominent position.

The local timing of introducing a policy, in relation to national trends, can be beneficial. For instance, the problem of narrow congested streets in historic towns often results in a pedestrianisation policy. In Shrewsbury, delays in adopting this policy because of technical difficulties in re-routing traffic, caused the town to lag behind many other historic centres in creating a traffic-free core. Nevertheless, when finally adopted, the delay has resulted in a more considered approach, taking account of whole areas in a phased scheme rather than single streets.

A feature of older towns such as Shrewsbury is also the amount of conversion and rehabilitation now taking place, encouraged by town scheme grants and planning policies. The study of rateable value changes in the centre, indicated that conversion schemes with substantial external improvements had an effect on the values of surrounding properties. In addition, when new public facilities were located in an area of uncertainty about future development, they appeared to trigger some associated new building and conversion schemes.

The Site Level and Planning

Looking in detail at changes of use, the impact of planning was investigated in relation to the attitudes and development decision made by individual property occupants. These were divided into location and improvement decisions.

The availability of suitable shops and costs constraints were predominant among the reasons given for deciding to locate in a particular property. Familiarity with an area and having an established local trade was a significant location factor in several cases. However, many shop-keepers admitted that they

could not depend on local trade alone but needed to advertise to tap 'passing trade'. In this situation planning had an indirect influence either by affecting pedestrian routes by, for example, the siting of car parks or making a position more prominent by road and environmental works.

Concerning improvement decisions, it was found that once an occupant had obtained a property, locational attributes became less important than the abilities of the retailer to achieve profits by various strategies. This often included improvement of the premises both internally and externally. Yet the operation of design control over these development decisions was generally accepted as necessary where the historic character was involved, although a need was expressed for the local authority to understand and help with the problems of existing older uses. Planning was seen as a frustrating factor, but rarely prevented the development going ahead in one form or another.

Planning and Fringe Areas

It has been noted how these areas present problems for planning. In Shrewsbury, the difficulties appeared to derive from their vulnerability - in three main ways: firstly, fringes of the centre have often been subject to redevelopment schemes. The result has been not only the loss of individual buildings and sites of historic and architectural merit, but also the loss of functional character. This has occurred when areas were severed by wider traffic routes and small residential buildings were replaced by commercial parades, which were often out of scale with neighbouring uses.

Secondly, fringes of the historic centre may be beset by physical problems. In Shrewsbury at one time this was flooding of low-lying areas. Now the problems are more likely to be caused by the traffic approaching the town centre, which not only creates problems for pedestrians but splits the area into two. In this

centre a natural barrier had already been created by the river loop and railway so that areas beyond always had a separate identity. The fringe areas within this loop were affected more by changes in the circulation pattern of the core and 'use barriers' such as the offices along the High Street.

Thirdly is the problem of the delapidation of buildings and neglect of property and land which was in some cases still held for speculative purposes. This may constitute blight, but was due to both planning and market forces and was not as general as supposed. Thus not all of the fringe areas tended towards blight and deterioration.

A wide range of factors appeared to have influenced change in the case study areas. The influence of their historical associations was clearly seen. This was significant where the inner fringe formed a separate suburb in ancient times, or where a particular historical land use such as the Abbey, continued to dominate an area. It was also apparent that since these areas had been less densely developed than the core, the buildings are more adaptable to changing uses where additional space is needed. This was reflected in the study of planning decisions across the centre. There were more applications for building extensions and works on adjacent land to properties on the edges, compared with internal alteration and shop front improvements in the centre, where the only means of gaining further space was the use of other floors or a shop-window area.

The type of business existing in and attracted to these areas affects the changing role and character of the fringe. Many were small, local independent businesses which if they moved, tended to stay within the local area or move to another fringe zone. Although 'generative' type businesses, ie those activities having less

reliance on local trade but bringing in new custom, tended to prefer to locate in the inner area secondary streets, those which did locate within the fringe were influential on change in that area. The more innovative firms found on the fringe were likely to be larger companies, either unable to get central premises, or actually preferring a cheaper, out-of-centre location.

The strategic location of major land use developments and how these vary over time was important. Whereas the 1960's saw most development located in the core area, the following decade brought more scattered developments to other parts, including the edges of the centre. Although the total number of planning proposals was lower on the edges, they tended to be more significant developments, often creating increases in values and changes to the wider environment. Related to this was the effect of land ownership on the nature of change. Where there was a predominance of institutionally-owned land, this tended to be a 'drag' on change and often affected large areas. However there were also some influential local landowners who brought a more individual pattern of change to the areas.

Meanwhile the attention of planning has been turned towards areas away from the prime core in Shrewsbury. Development briefs and redevelopment proposals are now more peripheral, whilst the importance of the entrances and setting of the conservation area ie generally the fringe, have been increasingly recognised.

A number of other aspects of planning influence could be seen from the transect analysis of planning applications and the interview survey. Uncertainty about future development in these areas was reflected in the changing decisions on applications for certain types of development between the early 1960's and 1970's. However, infrastructure developments, such as providing additional facilities

or making the fringe more accessible to the centre, were a show of confidence in the area and promoted further improvements to private property. The increasing importance of conservation policy could also be seen. It was only after 1974 that the planning decisions studied included references to conservation area character in conditions of permission for certain developments. However the progressive move to conversions rather than redevelopment has led to some major conservation projects in the fringe areas over recent years.

Therefore, the case study has illustrated how, where and why, land use is changing in the historic centre of Shrewsbury. This has shown the influence of planning on the land use structure and pattern and has emphasised the characteristics and processes of change on the edges of the centre.

The final chapter discusses the implications of these findings in relation to the overall aims of the research.

CHAPTER TEN: CONCLUSIONS

10.1 Introduction

Post-war trends in central area activities have brought additional pressures to the historic centre, especially demands for increased office and car parking space and new shopping facilities. The most obvious effect has been the erosion of the historic building fabric. As public opinion turned away from comprehensive redevelopment, this resulted in policies to control new development and change to buildings, to protect the historic character, mainly by the widespread designation of conservation areas. More than 500 of these are based on town centres, many being extensive covering the whole of the centre and part of the fringe.

This brake on change has brought a number of conflicts and sometimes adverse consequences either for parts of the town not so protected or for the functional characteristics of the centre. The fact that areas of decline and dereliction can still be found, that there is considerable underuse of upper floors and traffic and parking problems, brings into question the objectives of historic town centre planning and the methods for achieving them.

The role for local authorities is to balance the conservation of buildings with the demands of changing land uses. This requires greater integration of the different scales of planning, consideration of the long term consequences of planning policies and a detailed understanding of land use characteristics at the small area level.

The research sets out the framework and planning techniques for achieving this end and gives information about the variables involved. It indicates that the clue to redefining the objectives

.../..

and methods lays in recognizing the differential problems within areas of the centre and the potential of the central area fringe zone. As the increasing preference for more unusual and 'quality' shopping areas and the demand for more interesting central locations, for both residences and commerce, is supplied by the unique character of historic centres, more positive plans to enhance these features would be beneficial to their prosperity and vitality. Although it is recognised that problems will need to be tackled in the light of local considerations.

The organisation of this chapter is in three main parts. The first presents a summary of the conclusions about changing land use in historic centres and the second outlines conclusions about the effects of public policies. Appropriate policy responses are then summarised in the third part. Each of these sections refers to the overall research aims as follows:

1. The research should constitute a general assessment of the processes of change and planning outcomes in historic centres over a period of time.
2. The study should be as comprehensive as possible in its view of change from the historical aspect and in the light of sectoral trends.
3. It should explain spatial processes with reference to other urban research and theories.
4. The explicit problems of planning for fringe areas should be dealt with.
5. It should improve methods of understanding and responding to change at the area level.

10.2 General Conclusions Relevant to Historic Towns and Areas

10.2.1 The Process of Change in Historic Centres

Historic towns since their, usually, medieval origins, have been undergoing a gradual process of renewal, so that the present land use pattern shows cumulative change and a characteristic mix of uses. The legacy of each stage remains in the centre, but this is now dominated by the changes of the last 40 years. The result has also been a considerable reorganisation in the way the centre functions.

Two aspects are important in understanding how the land uses in the centre have been restructured and the consequent problems. One factor is the pace and scale of change which can upset the intricate balance of land uses. Thus large-scale redevelopment schemes have often brought long periods of unused land, vast areas of parking or over-provision of shopping floorspace which have significant effects elsewhere in the centre, especially on local communities and small businesses. A second aspect, linked to this, is awareness of relative change within the centre. Thus it is possible to identify areas which, for instance, are reviving at the expense of other areas, because of changes in relative accessibility caused by pedestrianisation policies and car parking solutions which affect circulation patterns.

10.2.2 Change from the Historical Viewpoint and Sectoral Trends

Features of the historic land use pattern may be equally in need of protection as are historic buildings, since the form of the town is as much influenced by its past functions as it is by the constraint of the building fabric. An historical perspective on the inter-relationship of form and function provides the

context for reconciling the preservation of historic character with the requirements of modern changes in land use, by enabling analysis of the role to which the area is most suited and identifying characteristics of the land use pattern in need of protection.

Recent market forces in some activities can be seen to be aiding the achievement of conservation objectives overall, but sometimes producing adverse consequences for areas within the centre:

The historic centres still retain a higher proportion of traditional small shops and a lower ratio of multiples to independents than other towns, with more of the retail trade concentrated within the centre. Thus historic towns offer a wide variety of goods and services in an attractive environment different from the uniform appearance of shopping centres elsewhere. However this may also be accompanied by a polarisation of standard and luxury goods shops, both between the centre and the suburbs and within the centre itself.

Residential renewal, conversions and infill development are becoming more prevalent in these centres, which can often provide the most favourable environment to attract back new residents, often this brings housing to an old quarter of the centre which was not predominantly residential and for which it may not be ideal. Similarly, historic towns are increasingly attractive to office activities, some having experienced more than a doubling of their office floorspace in the last ten years. The office takeover of some shopping streets and old residential enclaves has brought policies to control the change of use to offices, yet it is often office uses which are in the best position to maintain the historic fabric.

10.2.3 Spatial Processes of Change with Reference to Other Research and Theories

The theoretical approaches to urban land use structure need to be amended in the historical context. There is greater complexity in the historic centre because of a long history of reorganisation and replacement, which is still continuing but includes dispersal of some central functions to the suburbs and a slow down of central area expansion. Policies to retain certain activities within the centre have modified the centrifugal tendencies noted by the theories whilst new and varied roles for the fringe areas have changed their theoretical definition as transition or 'twilight' zones.

There has been some relevant research on a number of different aspects of change in historic towns, although mainly concerned with retailing. Analyses of overall retail structure are useful to understand the changing roles of the centre, fringe and suburbs and the balance between them. The research in this field also indicates the effect of general changes within particular trades represented in the centre, and the importance of the 'quality factor' as a pointer to revival or decline in the historic environment.

Behavioural factors were shown to be an important influence on these processes of change, especially the value attached to the historic or familiar environment. Decline can be arrested or reversed in an area where an established location or historical value take precedence over other disadvantages in the locality. The research by Gick was shown to be relevant here in suggesting the importance of retentive, recuperative and resistive attitudes. Likewise Sibley's work on the effect of the business environment of an operation provided useful terms to distinguish the behavioural

TABLE 10.1 APPROACH TO CLASSIFICATIONS OF FRINGE AREAS

Classification Type	Means of Classifying Areas
1. To identify impacts	a) Note uses and ownerships b) Aggregate activities by: customer orientation environment/building consciousness intensity of use degree of isolation/dependence length of occupation origin and aspirations of occupants
2. To understand the reason for change at a particular time	a) Areas where planning decision was the major 'impact' factor b) Areas where the environment was the controlling factor c) Areas where relative location is important
3. To describe/or prescribe the process of change over time	a) Areas where change is cyclical, with variations in the level of activity and prosperity b) Areas where change is more dramatic and radical c) Areas where change is a gradual process of assimilation or discard
4. To note the role played for different businesses at different times	a) Seed-bed) b) Experimental) c) Image-maker) see section 9.3.2 d) Repository) e) Forgotten) f) Intractable)
5. To describe/prescribe the commercial role	Classify according to predominance of combination of shops a) community) each divided b) car-oriented) into c) 'twilight') offices d) professional) 1. local serving e) business) 2. town/region f) finance) serving

factors involved. Many small firms, forced into the position of responding to change, make short term tactical decisions in the 'reactive environment'. A notable exception in the historic centre appears to be the local developers who have moved towards conservation and built-up expertise in assessing conversion or redevelopment feasibilities and the value of grants. They can act more strategically buying up old properties and converting them as convenient, then putting them onto the market at an appropriate time.

Finally, land ownership is significant in affecting spatial processes and land use patterns, at all levels of change. Change of use at the town scale can be influenced by the presence of large-scale land owners and developers on major key sites. If they decide to redevelop, the intricate pattern of buildings and uses in the historic core is suddenly subject to massive change, with buildings which may dominate in scale and introduce rapid, wholesale changes of use after years of slow adaptation. Changes of use within the town centre are particularly influenced by the buying up of property by multi-national firms, their demands for certain types of accommodation can affect both local land values and architectural character. At the site level, local land owners can influence neighbourhood change with their decisions to develop or conserve a building indicating confidence in an area.

10.2.4 The Problems and Potential of Fringe Areas

The theoretical descriptions of the transition zone and the processes taking place, tend to ignore the great variation between different parts of the fringe, especially in their roles relative to the centre, and the effects of planning policies. These differences can be better understood by classifying areas according to various criteria as shown in Table 10.1, opposite. This is also

TABLE 10.2

a) Factors working against revitalisation in the commercial fringe

1. Uncertainty with regard to road schemes and redevelopment.
2. Lack of delivery, access, parking facilities, especially on the edge where the one-off stop is often for larger goods.
3. An unfavourable pedestrian circulation pattern eg not taking shoppers past businesses in need of such trade.
4. Land ownership where large areas are 'sterilized' or of poor appearance. Also the circumstances and attitudes of owners.
5. The presence of 'poles of repulsion' which constitute 'bad neighbours' such as noxious industry.
6. Perception of an areas image as one of decline or going down, by potential businesses or customers.

b) Factors favourable to revitalisation in the commercial fringe

1. Facilities such as parking and convenient access for delivery.
2. If not on a good pedestrian route, at least prominent for passing traffic.
3. The presence of some old established, stable firms to act as 'anchors'.
4. A mix of uses which are complementary, either in the range of goods provided or in their type of custom.
5. Lower rent and rates than in the town centre, especially for a new scheme.
6. Some capacity for individual expansion of buildings.
7. Examples of good restoration schemes bringing in tourists, new residents or workers.
8. Possession of a pole of attraction, such as a tourist feature.

helpful in assessing relative decline or revitalisation between the areas. In addition, the case studies indicated a number of specific points which appeared to work against commercial revitalisation or improvement and the factors which seemed to be favourable, listed in Table 10.2 opposite.

The full potential of fringe areas is not always appreciated or explored. Friedman's Centre/Periphery model (1966), although referring to the edge of cities, is relevant in noting that peripheral regions are consistently underestimated by innovating entrepreneurs. He suggests that the manifest success of a similar enterprise in an existing centre seems to dispense with the need for locational research. The case study interviews have shown that some businesses, with positive plans for a secondary location, thrive there. As a starting point for entrepreneurs this may also lead to the regeneration of central area activities.

10.2.5 Methods to Improve Understanding of Change in Historic Centres

The research aimed to improve methods for studying critical aspects of land use change and planning consequences. Using the case study approach, a broad evaluation of the effects of change, such as the consequences of a planning policy, can be made in any historic town centre. Thus different aspects of change would be considered at different levels from which a checklist can be drawn up, such as that shown in Table 10.3, overleaf. From this preliminary checklist impacts could be selected for further analysis based on their extent (ie number of businesses/areas/people affected), intensity, duration, irreversibility and political sensitivity. Guidelines can then be drawn up for anticipating, avoiding or minimising undesirable impacts on the environment and prosperity of an area.

TABLE 10.3 - LAND USE IMPACT CHECKLIST

The Centre as Focus of the Town/Region	The Centre as Comprised of Smaller Areas	The Site Level Within the Centre
<p>For each level: if and how does the policy, programme or development proposal relate to or affect the following, in the historic town?</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The role of the centre in the region 2. The historic, functional character of the town 3. The location of the prime shopping core and main office areas 4. The amount of shop and office floor-space available 5. The location of community facilities with reference to the use of old buildings 6. The compactness and convenience of the centre, especially for visitors 7. The traffic/environmental conflict related to the level and nature of usage of the centre 8. The movement pattern, particularly in secondary streets 9. The adequacy of parking provision for commuters and shoppers 10. The relevance of area policies especially conservation areas 11. The degree of integration of area policies. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The traditional image/role of the centre 2. The location of innovative and traditional uses 3. The displacement of certain uses 4. The development of a new use enclave 5. The nature of business moving into an area 6. The mix of uses/degree of mix in different parts 7. The intensity of use 8. The continuity of uses 9. The rate of turnover of properties 10. The amount of upper floor use 11. The amount of vacant floorspace 12. The cycle of change in an area 13. The level of uncertainty in the future of an area 14. The extent of the centre, any shift or extension which may affect secondary streets 15. The pedestrian routes and use of the centre. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The ancient plot or building pattern 2. Traditional uses of buildings 3. The type of use and nature of occupants 4. Suitability of a building for new uses/adaptability of the fabric 5. The value of properties 6. The attraction of the site to various types of use 7. The amenity of the site 8. The level of building maintenance/improvement 9. The level of uncertainty about the future of the building 10. A key site which will in turn influence neighbouring developments.

The analysis of change in fringe areas as demonstrated by the case study (Table 8.14 p433) and the classification of small areas within the centre, on the lines of table 10.1 (p463a), provides a base for monitoring their land use and understanding relative changes taking place. This requires indicators and measurements of the rate of change in land and rateable values, property ownership and use turnover, vacancies and types of physical alterations, such as shop front changes and upper floor conversions. Most of this information is routinely collected for other purposes, but inter-relating these rates of change can help identify key land use influences. Other possible measures could be movement patterns, income turnover and building conditions.

The study of change requires a dynamic analysis combining spatial and temporal factors. The transect method used in the case study enables both rates of change and the location of change to be analysed. For example, considering this time-space interaction, the following types of land use change could be discerned:

- a) A ripple effect was found in the improvement of properties where a definite value was seen to be gained
- b) Simultaneous change was related to land ownership or the sudden investment in infrastructure
- c) Patchy, ad hoc change was recorded in some areas, often with little overall impact
- d) Comprehensive change was mainly related to redevelopment schemes

Similarly, monitoring planning applications over a period of time can indicate the changing focus of a particular type of activity.

10.3 Assessment of Planning Effects and Interaction with Market Forces

10.3.1 General Planning Outcomes in the Historic Centre

The long term consequences of policies have been noted, including the effect of inappropriate land use zoning and uncertainty because of delay in the implementation of a major land use or road proposal. Decisions to protect the environment or trade of the centre have led to a number of unintended consequences. Thus out-of-scale land uses may be diverted to the fringe sometimes bringing an unsuitable use to the local neighbourhood. Out-of-centre policies for traffic can create inconvenience, access problems and additional pressures on the edge of the centre.

The rate of change in land use and the planning response can be significant. Redevelopment which brings sudden, visible change to the historic fabric may cause stricter controls to be introduced. Slower change can equally erode the historic character but may not bring the policy into question. Although the physical end-point may be the same in both cases, differences will be reflected in the use character.

There has also tended to be too narrow a definition of issues. A case in point is that of vacant upper floors. Firstly, the full scale of the problem is not always identified at an early stage. Then, the approach whereby new development is curtailed with the aim of diverting it to existing vacant property, has often proved unrealistic as it may not be the most economic or suitable use for the building and area concerned.

10.3.2 Planning from the Historical and Sectoral Viewpoints

Planning for conservation in the past has not always succeeded in directing new development to old buildings especially in decaying

fringes. More recently, related to the current economic climate, planning aims and market forces have tended to coincide and fabric is preserved. However there may still be a major change in the land use structure as there was with redevelopment. For example, the reuse of old warehouses and industrial buildings on the edge of the core for community purposes is replacing in a new way some of the community and cultural facilities in the town centre.

The conflict remains between the need to conserve the historic fabric, deciding if and how to retain traditional functions, whilst attempting to provide for modern requirements. The blurring in distinction between some shop and office-type uses, the increase of mixed use in buildings and introduction of new types of retailing and services, although possibly beneficial to preserving the vitality of the historic centre, have emphasised that existing land use categories and sectoral policies operated in isolation are no longer appropriate.

10.3.3 Planning and Spatial Processes with Reference to Theories and Research

The consequences of conservation area policy which restricts change in the centre and therefore the spatial land use pattern, modifies traditional theories of urban structure and development. It can also mean adverse boundary effects, with pressures for development diverted to the edge of the area where there are fewer controls. Likewise, there are spatially significant consequences of road plans to reduce congestion in historic centres. Inner ring roads and car parks can cut off the centre from the rest of the town, curtail natural processes of expansion and sever the association of centre and fringe, mostly to the detriment of the latter.

Planning proposals can affect trading patterns in a centre and so the relative change between prime and secondary locations. Research on the effects of shopping schemes on secondary streets in historic towns was illustrated by the case study. It showed how easily the balance between streets and their relative prosperity can be changed by the creation of a new shopping magnet, access point or pedestrian movement pattern.

10.3.4 Planning Problems in Fringe Areas

Decay is often thought of as a typical fringe area problem, but there is a need to distinguish areas where this constitutes 'blight' and where deterioration had already set in. If the area is a 'zone of discard' it may have to be more radically changed as old uses become redundant. Although instability appears to be no more likely for fringe areas than the core of the centre, it is still an area of indecision in public policy. The high turnover rate was found to be no greater than in central area streets and when it did occur was often the result of planned changes and the natural replacement of uses.

The research showed how some authorities are more successful than others in dealing with fringe areas and the conflicts which arise from decisions concerning the core but affecting the frame, such as roads to by-pass the centre cutting through fringe areas. The wider consequences of new developments are not always considered as much as if they were located in the core, such as a supermarket which affects the trade of local shops. On the other hand the term 'invasion' applied to a new development in the transition zone leads to the notion that this constitutes a problem, but often a new role for an area allows it to function better in the local economy.

TABLE 10.4 - APPROACH FOR AN AREA IMPACT STUDY

Steps	
1.	Define the boundaries of the area likely to be affected or to be studied, keeping them open for revision.
2.	Collect primary data: survey of land uses, environmental quality, views of uses/occupants, identifying blight and rapid change or deterioration.
3.	Collect secondary data: use of historic maps and aerial photographs, compile profiles of past and present activities and functions of the area, and policies affecting it. Compile a community profile.
4.	Review the economic aspects of land use re area prices, rents and market activity, with reference to local estate agents and owners.
5.	Identify locations where existing use is near or at marginal levels of productivity (eg note under or over use) and sites with a high propensity for change (via use turnover surveys).
6.	Review land use information and identify aspects peculiar to the area and varying from the wider urban/regional norms.
From the above information, identify main types of consequences and effects of planned and unplanned land use change, with reference to the checklist Table 10.3 p465a.	

Finally, several factors were significant in identifying both the problems and the potential of fringe zones. The positive promotion of mixed uses may be important but depends on their compatibility. Innovations on the part of planners, such as pedestrianisation schemes, or by entrepreneurs as the fashion for historic buildings continues, can be a key factor, as can the aspect of quality, either of existing or potential activities related to the socio-economic character of the local area, tourist features and the general environment.

10.3.5 Methods of Assessing Land Use Change and Planning Consequences at Area Level

The emphasis of many of the techniques used in the case study was on spatial patterns which are important when considering area policies and structural change. A graphic analysis of planning decisions as a central part of the monitoring system of a local authority, can show the cumulative effects of a combination of factors, such as the location trends for particular activities with reference to area policies.

It was noted that information and methodology is most lacking with respect to area change. The study has attempted to fill this gap using information and methods relevant to the historic context, such as rates of change, historical influences and community perceptions. From the local area studies undertaken in Shrewsbury, a set of guidelines could be drawn up for making other area impact studies. These can form the basis for considering the effects of a development proposal or investigating changes of use in the central area of any town. The steps are shown in Table 10.4 opposite.

The research also showed the importance of studying the effects of a planning proposal at different levels. The use of the matrix

framework set up for the case study, can facilitate the integration of different aspects and scales of planning. Table 10.5, below uses this method for example to ask questions about the consequences of a new or different mix of land uses for a development brief for an historic town site.

TABLE 10.5 - USE OF THE LEVELS AND PERSPECTIVES FRAMEWORK:
EVALUATION OF A PROPOSED CHANGE OF USE ON A MAJOR SITE

	Centre/Town	Centre/Sub Areas	Area/Site
H I S T O R I C A L	How does the proposal fit in with past trends and the functional role of the centre?	How does the proposal affect the historical building and land use pattern in the centre, especially rear access for shops?	What has been the influence of the past history of the site on land uses?
S E C T O R A L	How does the proposal fit in with the town's overall housing and shopping needs and plans?	Will it change the established land use character of the area? Is this of historical significance? Will it generate trade for, or compete with, surrounding uses?	Does it provide the most viable and appropriate use for the site/building?
S P A T I A L	Is the site of significance to affect strategic decisions on shopping traffic and land use structure in general?	Of what significance is the site in the local area? Is it dominant in terms of size, location, extent and visual presence?	Will the development alter the established land use pattern and intensity?

10.4 Planning Implications and Possible Policy Responses

10.4.1 General Implications for Planning

The effectiveness of planning is circumscribed by the context within which it operates. In the historic town centre the context is set by the limits to change, both because the pattern has become established and because of planning policies. Information for conservation planning has tended to focus on the detailed design context, however this research has indicated the need for a broader understanding of the historical and geographical contexts and demonstrated ways this can be achieved.

Information on the economic context indicating recession and property boom periods puts current change in the centre in perspective. The general economic situation influences individual behaviours, which in the core tend to react faster to change than elsewhere in the town. Awareness of market forces is essential in keeping use policies flexible, if the maintenance of historic buildings depends on the correct assessment of 'fit' between activities and the fabric to accommodate them.

The planning policy context is also relevant. Although planning may have changed it has been shown how past policies have long term repercussions. Awareness of the consequences of previous plans should influence the current policy environment and ensure greater attempts at anticipating future consequences. Evaluation and impact studies should form a more important part of the local planning process. Local plans need to specifically state the various land use policies still applicable to the area in question, drawing attention to any change in policy and the reason for it, together with analysis of the effects of planned action.

The need for more attention to be paid to land use in the historic centre has been stressed. The problems and opportunities

of activities in the historic centre should not take second place to those of the building fabric. There is a tendency to look at the character of historic buildings, using terms such as 'harmony' and 'scale' in design considerations. Yet equally as significant is the historic use character and a need for the same concern for harmony of uses and to avoid the disruptive effects of an inappropriate scale of use. Conservation plans should focus not only on issues of environmental deterioration and erosion of building character, but also on functional deterioration and the erosion of historic land uses and patterns. This balance of emphasis is needed to maintain the main asset of the historic centre - its diversity and unique character.

10.4.2 Policies with Regard to Historical and Sectoral Trends

Understanding current processes at work in the historic centre requires awareness that processes of renewal have been taking place over a long period of time. Historical influences can be traced through to see their long term implications on the pattern of existing uses and future change. This can help clarify policy aims about what is to be conserved and the action which is required.

Policies also need to be clear about implementation, particularly of new uses for historic buildings and areas. The review of trends in various central area activities highlighted a number of problems for planning. For instance, policies to encourage residential use in the centre need to recognise that not every upper floor or street location provides a good living area or that residential is the most viable use. A financial/legal package may have to be worked out to persuade owners to release upper floor accommodation for housing or for residential to be incorporated in mixed use schemes. Whilst, additional land use controls are needed so that policies to protect trade in the

centre do not have adverse effects on the edge, specific policies are also needed to channel demands for development and facilitate new uses for old buildings.

Both residential and retail trends suggest the need for the existing or potential advantages of the centre to be defined and then policies framed to protect and improve them. Similar trends and issues often appear in historic centres such as disuse of upper floors, yet they have different causes and effects in the local context. The approach of local plans will therefore need to vary according to local circumstances. Whatever the approach, policies to promote certain functions or their overall containment need to be clear, stating the means of implementation and land use pattern aimed at.

10.4.3 Implications for Policies on Spatial Change: the Theoretical Basis for Land Use Management

The ecological model and subsequent research on transition zones is a useful basis to explore historic land use change and the effects of planning. Identification of the processes of assimilation and land use succession, and the definitions of centrality are useful in assessing and controlling change outside of the main central core. Historic townscape management would also benefit from applying the research which defines morphological regions within the centre, based on variations in the historical land use pattern.

The planning process should also make use of the research on small businesses, which are the back-bone of the historic centre's attraction. The theoretical classification of small shops can form a basis for the investigation of uses in sub-areas of the centre and their changing role. The impact of planning policies and shopping schemes can vary greatly between individual shop

keepers. Surveys on the use of buildings are required which take more account of the traders point of view and demands for new uses. Behavioural factors can be very important to the success or failure of conservation policies which may have to be changed to have regard to local aspirations.

Differential pressures for development and land use characteristics have been illustrated between various parts of the centre, requiring more control of certain uses and in certain areas than others. More flexible policies, via a series of small area local plans covering the centre, the 'mosaic' approach, would seem appropriate in this situation, to respond in detail to the localised problems. Adoption of priority area policies such as in Bath or Cheltenham would prevent the blanket approach to zoning, allow varying degrees of control and mitigate boundary effects.

10.4.4 Implications for Planning of Fringe Areas

The problem of declining fringe areas exists in most town centres but both additional problems and potential have been found for those in historic towns. Some authorities have begun to recognise the need for positive policies for these areas, whether or not they are historic. For example, Doncaster's Commercial Fringe Policy (1982) acknowledges the role of small businesses in allowing changes of use that provide shops and offices but no large-scale redevelopment. The designation of commercial improvement areas, such as in Fulham (Allen, 1981) are particularly appropriate where there is an additional requirement to protect the historic building fabric and traditional activities of these, often neglected, locations.

However it is apparent that decay and revitalization in historic fringes may hinge more on planning factors than elsewhere.

Local authorities need to be aware of the consequences of planning on the existing activities and traditional associations of the fringe, and on its locational attributes as well as the nature and condition of the building stock and quality of the environment.

Parts of the fringe zone will need additional investment to prevent the worst decay and develop their potential. Proposals for relieving pressure in the centre which affect the fringe such as road widening schemes will need reviewing in the light of an assessment of the possible effects - not only on the environment and economic vitality but also on the local community. Policies for these areas should be framed which recognize and develop their contribution to the locality, centre or rest of the town, especially as a location for small businesses and source of local employment.

10.4.5 Implications for Planning Methodology: Change at Area Level

A number of measures have been put forward to improve processes of plan preparation and implementation in historic centres.

More detailed knowledge of the process of change within areas of the centre, especially the fringe, is essential to enable planners to respond more adequately to their problems and potential. However the additional information should focus on two aspects:

- a) Land use information on a consistent basis over a length of time, with emphasis on spatial analysis and the monitoring of planning applications in relation to policies. The transect method is one way of analysing development pressures for an area, in the wider context, and related to the changing economic climate.
- b) Land use impact studies for both developments and changes of use which will provide evidence to guide future change and improve the planning process.

The Montagu Report (1981) recommended that local authorities promote conservation by guiding market pressures to enable the better use of historic buildings and by the flexible interpretation of land use policies. If these recommendations are to be adopted, more understanding of the patterns and processes of land use change is required.

Therefore this study has drawn together the findings from a wide range of literature and research relevant to planning and the changing land use in historic centres. This knowledge is extended by documenting and analysing the actual patterns and processes of change in one historic town. However the study adds mostly to substantive knowledge of land use in historic centres and there is a need for more research to provide procedural knowledge. Suggested studies are listed in Appendix E, p504, particularly concerning planning for mixed use and secondary commercial areas, aspects of infill development and business decisions, in addition to analysing the effects of change on the local community.

The slowing down of economic growth in Britain has presented the public and private sectors with an opportunity to make the best use of the existing building fabric rather than just preserving historic centres as museum pieces. However with limited resources, local authorities need to review the priorities of conservation and involve the local community and private sector in small scale area planning. Greater awareness of the consequences and processes of land use change can contribute to producing land use policies which balance flexibility and continuity and realise the potential for revitalisation within different parts of the centre.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX ASUMMARY OF PILOT STUDIES OF THE HISTORIC CENTRES OF HEREFORD AND WORCESTER

An initial review of literature on conservation planning and changing land uses in historic towns indicated a number of aspects for concern. Pilot studies were undertaken at an early stage to gain empirical knowledge enabling the research to be delimited more precisely. Primarily, the aim was to reconstruct a picture of what has been happening in the central areas of historic towns, based on an examination of documentary and statistical materials, observations, and semi-directed interviews. A second aim was to investigate the changes in spatial form, and over time, related to wider contextual processes in the historic town centre. Information was obtained on both planning policy and the decision and actions of users and occupiers, together with other interested parties such as pressure groups. This provided a broad appraisal of the various actors in the process of change in the centre.

A comparative study was made of the two towns selected. Hereford and Worcester are similar in being medium-sized towns with a fairly stable population and some features in common such as a river site, a regional market and a cathedral. They both contain a sizeable historic core protected as a conservation area and with well-established civic societies. They differ in the extent and nature of the pressures for development and in their approach to planning over the last 20 years.

Both towns were studied by looking at the centre in general and then selecting a street within for more detailed surveys and case studies. This illustrated the process of change in the urban-structure and the role that planning has played, indicating the consequences of planning especially where these are significant to the understanding of the changing urban structure. Specific issues, typical of many historic centres were explored such as the blight and neglect associated with proposed redevelopment schemes. In fact it is the problems and consequences of such schemes which have set the scene for conservation policies in the historic cores. The two study towns have approached the conservation issue from different ends of the planning scale. In Worcester, the Structure Plan made conservation a definite priority but without detailed guidelines, whereas Hereford began at the local rather than strategic level, with a Central Area Development Brief. Detailed studies were made of Bridge Street in Worcester and Widemarsh Street in Hereford, mainly using a survey of 80% and 50% respectively of the property occupants, in order to gain their opinions in various proposals affecting the area in the past.

Both are secondary shopping streets containing mixed retail and services, but cut through by road schemes. The majority of their buildings are listed and the streets fall within the central conservation area, near to the line or remains of the ancient city walls and conspicuous to the visitor approaching the centres. Blight caused by redevelopment schemes has affected both streets causing disuse and decay of properties. However, there are also signs of revitalisation of an "up-market" variety. Behind both streets are semi-derelict areas of parking and industrial buildings as lingering reminders of the past role of the area.

The two streets differ mainly in their function relative to the rest of the town. It was apparent that Bridge Street was more a fringe area than Widemarsh Street. The amount and type of traffic using the streets

is very different. Bridge Street is a main exit from the town and part of a larger gyratory system whilst Widemarsh Street is used more by pedestrians. A study of rateable values which included the Streets, illustrated the fall off in value outwards from the centre, and the local effects of redevelopment schemes.

The questionnaire administered to a sample of property occupants provided further information on: the changing character of the areas; the type of uses; tenure and length of occupation; problems for individual occupants; the effects of planning decisions and development proposals; and varying perceptions of the image and role of the area. The pilot survey also enabled a trial run to be made to test the questions and organisation of the interviews.

Case studies of particular sites were undertaken for each street and illustrated, many of the points which are set out for town centres in general in Chapter 2.

Case Study Note - C.R.S. Development Plans in Hereford

This illustrated primarily the conflict between changing patterns of shopping and land management techniques within the context of the historic centre, especially aspects of conservation planning concerning central area protection policies and listed building consents. It also showed the complexity of the process of change in the land use on an individual site and the need to fit this into the wider urban context.

The Co-operative Retail Services had for some time wished to expand their supermarket premises in the town centre. A vacant listed building adjacent provided this opportunity and negotiations were conducted in 1977 to buy it. With the advice and encouragement of the Local Authority, the Frontage was to be restored. However, the CRS saw problems in making the site viable for a large supermarket, especially with the current retail trend towards out-of-town stores. It was decided that this would have to be a 'dry goods' store, for furniture and household items, with the convenience food side moved to an outlying site. It would, therefore, then be worthwhile acquiring the combined site in the city centre.

With this in mind, an application was made to develop a site owned by them south of the river, but the county refused permission. A subsequent appeal was lost on traffic grounds, together with fears that such a store would deplete central area trade. When this part of the expansion plan did not materialise, it was no longer possible to go ahead with the development of the town site for durable goods. Meanwhile, the planners were anxious to secure some restoration work to retain the listed Black Swan, although listed building consent had been granted in 1974.

The CRS expansion had been encouraged by the proposed major redevelopment scheme to the rear which would allow a walk-through store to be connected to the new shopping area. Delay and protests about the scheme continued. It was only when a new proposal for the backland area was made and permission for the out-of-town store eventually secured that negotiation could re-open on the site in 1981. Although in the meantime the listed building had been demolished.

Case Study Note 2 - The Bridge Inn Worcester

This case illustrated a more cautious approach being adopted by a planning authority to both redevelopment of historic buildings and office

over-development and the need for changes in land use zoning policies. It also shows the change of emphasis from arguments about preservation and conversion costs versus redevelopment, to the need for viable new uses if buildings are to be maintained.

The Bridge Inn and 4 adjacent buildings had been disused since 1971 and were in a bad state of repair. In 1974, interest was shown in the property by Lesser Land Ltd, who submitted an outline application to demolish most of 2, 3 and 4, retaining the facade to Bridge Street, and to redevelop the rest of the site to provide 12750 sq.ft. of office space and 3250 sq.ft. of storage space. However, the firm subsequently sought permission to demolish all existing buildings and rebuild new offices with a facsimile facade to Bridge Street. This change was apparently based on a consultants report that no. 2 should be demolished and considerable restoration and repair work would be needed on the other properties.

Not happy with this turn of events, the City brought in it's own firm of consultants in August 1974, who reported that the buildings could be saved if enough money was spent on them. The proposals for offices was by then also facing some rethinking. At this time the property collapse had set in, with tales of empty office blocks in many city centres and the city had begun to draw up a interim office policy, feeling that already too many office schemes had been allowed in Worcester.

The proposal by Lessers was refused in 1974, on the grounds that it was contrary to the 1963 Development Plan where the land was zoned for shopping and also contrary to the interim office development policy. It was further considered that the development would bear little resemblance to the existing listed building. An appeal on this decision was immediately lodged. Meanwhile, the city negotiated with developers to save as much of the property as possible. However, this did not appear to convince the developers who issued a purchase notice requiring the Council to buy the premises. They contended that the refusal to allow demolition and redevelopment for offices meant that the building could not be put to any reasonably beneficial use.

The Council called for a public local enquiry against the Purchase Notice at which the zoning of the area and the use of the office development policy were brought into question. Yet the following October, a report that the abundance of office properties in Worcester had forced one estate agent to offer a block of offices to let in Bridge Street with a years free rent - supported the necessity of the Council's decision to refuse permission for office redevelopment. However, the Purchase Notice was confirmed.

In the event, the site is now being redeveloped for a sheltered housing scheme, the facade of the old Bridge Inn being the only part preserved. There had also been problems in resolving this final use of the site. Original plans for a hotel were not feasible, offices were not allowed by the policy and the housing department for a long time considered the site unsuitable for residential use because of the traffic. In 1978 a design brief for housing was approved, but had to be undertaken in phases partly because of the need to relocate an existing scrapyard nearby and the funds of the Housing Association involved not being sufficient to complete the whole scheme. Further delays were also caused by the County Surveyors insistence that the new scheme adopt an old road-widening line.

The two case studies indicated some of the problems of town centre

developments especially where there is the constraint of retaining existing historic fabric, and the need to look at land use policies in more detail.

A number of general points arose from the studies of Worcester and Hereford which required further investigation:

1. The importance of the spatial and historical context when discussing decisions made and attitudes involved.
2. Both the effects of pump-priming and blight are not so positive and immediate for the surrounding areas as it would seem.
3. The range of understanding of planning action and views on conservation is very wide and tends to vary according to the individual's civic associations, education and whether a local or an 'incomer'. Differing attitudes to innovation and abilities to adapt or tolerate adverse circumstances must also be considered.
4. Concerning the precarious balance between loss or conservation of the historic building fabric, it appeared that the fringe areas were particularly sensitive, both to changes in demand and to the impact of certain planning decisions.
5. Central area redevelopment schemes influenced wider land use changes according to their nature, scale and the process and timing of their introduction. Particularly noted was the effect of schemes on the viability of shops in certain locations and the concern over the distribution of shopping facilities between the centre and the suburbs. The policy to channel investment into the centre to maintain the historic fabric can be called into question for instance where it effects commercial efficiency.
6. The problem of blight could be largely attributed in both towns to the County Development Plans of the 1950's and 1960's. These involved demolition and redevelopment with grandiose road proposals. In historic towns this brings conflict later with the designation of conservation areas and town scheme proposals, the resulting uncertainty slowing down economic growth and the sale of properties.

It appeared that a more detailed study was needed into how areas of decline arose and what can cause them to revive or prevent their revival. In historic towns, such as in Hereford and Worcester, these often constitute 'character areas' and it was asked if they are just a temporary phenomenon, if they can engender long term revival or slow down the process of gradual decay.

Finally, it was noted that the whole process of change being observed for one area has to be fitted into the wider pattern of development activity in the town and the country as a whole. For example, early redevelopment schemes for both study areas at first included offices which were booming in the early 1970's. The period of uncertainty, 1974-78, when the property market collapsed nationally and conservation pressures were growing was reflected in the delays and changes in developments locally.

HISTORIC TOWNS COMMERCIAL STATISTICS

The following tables II to VI give information on retailing in a sample of historic towns. These include medium-sized towns, below 150,000 population, for which central area shopping is distinguished separately in the Census of Distribution. Information is also given for towns in the West Midlands both because the towns studied lie within this region and to enable comparison with some towns which are not classed as historic.

TABLE II - RETAIL STATISTICS FOR TOWNS IN THE WEST MIDLANDS 1961 and 1971

West Midlands	Population		Total Shops		Persons per Shop		Turnover £1000		Turnover per Shop		Employment		Employment as % of pop		M/I Shops		M/I Floorspace 1971
	1961	1971	1961	1971	1961	1971	1961	1971	1961	1971	1961	1971	1961	1971	1961	1971	
Burton-on Trent	50766	50175	802	662	63	76	11217	21896	13.9	33.1	2336	3491	4.6	6.9	0.31	0.2	1.1
Dudley	61748	165535	763	1454	80	128	13304	43999	17.3	31.2	2525	7113	4.1	3.8	0.28	0.22	0.7
Hereford	40431	46503	460	425	88	109	10192	20399	22.2	46.8	2198	3441	5.4	7.4	0.34	0.34	0.6
Newcastle-upon Tyne	76433	76970	798	693	96	111	10973	22119	13.7	31.9	2431	3562	3.2	4.6	0.24	0.20	0.9
Puneaton	56598	66979	610	551	93	121	11449	22959	18.6	41.7	2322	3668	4.1	5.5	0.30	0.20	1.2
Royal Leamington Spa	43236	44989	487	496	89	91	11356	23267	23.3	46.9	2360	8761	5.5	8.4	0.33	0.30	0.6
Rugby	51651	59327	561	481	89	123	9459	18502	16.2	36.5	1724	2982	3.3	5.0	.52	0.34	1.1
Shrewsbury	49726	56140	601	589	83	95	11654	23829	15.4	40.4	2531	3604	5.1	6.8	.48	0.34	1.7
Solihull	96010	106966	624	737	154	145	10328	30826	16.9	41.6	1895	4583	2.0	4.3	.35	0.37	0.8
Stafford	47814	54890	513	470	93	117	8729	16345	17.0	39.0	1562	2823	3.3	5.1	.35	0.42	1.2
Stourbridge	43917	54331	468	526	90	103	7408	15440	15.2	29.4	1500	2568	3.4	4.8	.25	0.22	0.7
Sutton Coalfield	72143	83130	472	530	153	157	9036	17615	19.1	33.2	1567	3078	2.2	3.7	.32	0.27	0.5
Walsall	117636	184606	1366	1719	86	107	24723	55007	16.1	32.0	4664	8764	4.1	4.7	.33	0.22	0.9
West Bromwich	95909	166262	825	1276	116	131	15355	39755	16.5	31.2	2666	6460	2.6	3.9	.33	0.28	0.6
Worcester	65665	73445	750	701	88	105	16162	33360	17.8	36.9	3250	4917	4.9	6.7	.35	0.31	1.1

Source Tables II to V - Census of Distribution 1961 and 1971; Regional Reports

TABLE III - RETAIL STATISTICS FOR CENTRAL AREAS OF WEST MIDLANDS TOWNS 1961 & 1971

West Midlands	Town Centre Shops		Central Shops as % of Total		Floorspace of Centre Shops as % of Total		Central Area Turnover		Central Area Turnover per Shop		Town Centre Retail Employment		% of Retail Employment in Town Centre		1/I Centre Shops		1/I Centre Floorspace	
	1961	1971	1961	1971	1961	1971	1961	1971	1961	1971	1961	1971	1961	1971	1961	1971	1961	1971 only
Burton-on-Trent + Dulley	No Data on Centre 234	211 240	- 30	32 16	- 46.5	54.2	- 8069	12342 16785	- 34.5	58.5 69.9	- 1506	1834 2668	- 59.6	52.5 37.5	- 0.76	0.79 0.76	2.9 1.7	
Hereford	166	200	36	47	75.5		6483	14082	39.0	70.4	1437	2149	65.4	62.4	0.93	0.74	1.2	
Newcastle-under-Lyme + Tuneaton	202 182	214 214	25 30	31 39	56.0 66.1		5611 6244	10484 13015	27.6 34.3	48.9 60.6	1295 1267	1681 2036	53.2 55.4	47.2 55.5	0.71 0.82	0.54 0.71	1.5 2.4	
Royal Leamington Spa + Rugby	302 No Data on Centre	268 201	62 -	50 42	83.0 66.2		8904 -	17338 11724	29.5 -	60.2 58.6	1922 -	2814 1733	81.4 58.1	74.8 -	0.51 -	0.46 0.76	0.7 2.1	
Shrewsbury + Solihull + Stafford + Stourbridge + Sutton Coldfield + Walsall + West Bromwich	253 103 No Data on Centre No Data on Centre 100 194 202	315 159 179 173 105 301 254	42 16.5 - - 21 14 24	53 22 38 33 20 17 20	72.0 51.5 62.9 51.2 26.2 45.6 34.7		6144 2896 - - 3325 9739 6678	15137 14046 10793 6672 4196 21030 11310	32.2 28.1 - - 33.3 50.2 33.1	48.0 88.3 60.3 39.7 39.9 69.9 44.5	1797 544 - - 568 1701 1076	2467 1932 1555 1125 773 3185 1893	70.9 28.7 - - 36.2 34.9 40.3	64.8 42.2 55.1 43.5 25.1 36.3 29.3	0.86 0.98 - - 1.0 1.22 1.02	0.54 1.45 0.81 0.53 0.72 0.87 0.75	2.7 1.6 2.0 1.6 1.1 3.7 2.4	
Worcester	314	371	42	53	76.1		10444	21000	33.3	56.6	2103	3315	64.7	67.4	0.76	1.12	1.6	

TABLE IV RETAIL STATISTICS FOR HISTORIC TOWNS 1961 AND 1971

Other Historic Towns	Population		Total Shops		Persons per shop		Turnover £1000		Turnover per shop		Employment		Employment as % of pop.		M/I shops 1961 1971		M/I floor-space 1971 only	
	1961	1971	1961	1971	1961	1971	1961	1971	1961	1971	1961	1971	1961	1971	1961	1971	1961	1971
Bath	80856	84545	939	949	86	89	19227	38680	20.5	40.7	4241	6566	5.2	7.8	0.3	0.23	0.6	0.6
Brighton	162757	166081	2096	2160	78	77	39179	80474	18.7	37.3	7857	12300	4.8	7.4	.30	.21	0.8	0.8
Cambridge	95358	98519	965	864	98	114	25527	51334	26.4	59.4	4938	7396	5.2	7.5	.40	.26	0.7	0.7
Canterbury	30376	33157	418	418	73	79	10951	24700	26.2	55.1	2337	3841	7.7	11.6	.40	.34	0.8	0.8
Cheltenham	71968	69734	731	833	98	84	18642	37696	25.5	45.3	3774	6368	5.3	9.1	.38	.29	0.7	0.7
Chester	59283	62696	865	856	69	73	19757	40381	22.8	47.2	4688	6170	7.9	9.8	.30	.32	0.9	0.9
Colchester	65072	76145	631	616	103	124	14682	33218	23.3	53.9	3057	4829	4.7	6.3	.40	.33	0.8	0.8
Exeter	80215	95598	898	904	89	106	19911	39173	22.2	43.3	4665	6086	5.8	6.4	.30	.30	0.9	0.9
Kings Lynn	27554	30102	433	387	64	78	7733	15768	17.9	40.7	1895	2608	6.9	8.7	.40	.30	2.8	2.8
Lincoln	77065	74207	898	821	86	90	18092	31617	20.1	38.5	3704	5236	4.8	7.1	.30	.29	0.9	0.9
Norwich	119904	121688	1384	1252	87	97	31256	67732	22.6	54.1	7152	10498	6.0	8.6	.20	.26	0.8	0.8
Oxford	106124	108564	1063	993	100	109	29760	54840	27.9	55.2	5387	8050	5.1	7.4	.40	.33	1.0	1.0
Salisbury	35471	35271	485	406	73	87	11057	20223	22.8	49.8	2441	3215	6.9	9.1	.50	.47	1.4	1.4
St. Albans	50276	52057	546	497	92	105	13151	22862	24.1	46.0	2210	3498	4.4	6.7	.40	.30	1.1	1.1
Turnbridge Wells	39855	44506	548	587	73	76	12930	27157	23.6	46.3	2801	4308	7.0	9.7	.30	.27	0.5	0.5
Winchester	28643	31041	311	334	93	93	7665	16801	24.6	50.3	1626	2404	5.7	7.7	.40	.40	1.1	1.1
York	104468	104513	1411	1220	74	85	24516	46373	17.4	38.0	5300	7657	5.1	7.3	.34	.26	0.7	0.7

Source - Census of Distribution 1961 and 1971

M = Multiples
I = Independents

TABLE V
RETAIL STATISTICS FOR CENTRAL AREAS OF HISTORIC TOWNS 1961 AND 1971

Other Historic Towns	Town Centre Shops		Central Shops as % of total		Floorspace of centre shops as % of total 1971 only	Central area turnover		Central area turnover per shop		Town centre retail employment		% of retail employment in town centre		M/I centre shops		M/I centre floor- space 1971 only
	1961	1971	1961	1971		1961	1971	1961	1971	1961	1971	1961	1971	1961	1971	
Bath	288	349	30.7	36.7	63.2	11442	24067	39.7	68.9	2460	3631	58.0	55.3	0.9	.54	0.8
Brighton	214	528	10.2	24.4	48.9	12803	38066	59.8	72.1	2592	5512	32.9	44.8	1.7	.55	1.6
Cambridge	178	207	18.4	24.0	43.2	13003	26214	73.0	127.0	2507	8656	50.7		1.2	.76	0.9
Canterbury	143	225	34.2	53.8	79.9	7230	18709	50.5	83.2	1572	2815	67.2	73.3	1.6	.77	1.1
Cheltenham	245	326	33.5	39.1	68.8	11668	24228	47.6	74.3	2420	3810	64.1	59.8	1.2	.69	1.1
Chester	379	470	43.8	54.9	76.5	13515	29002	35.6	61.7	3303	4504	70.4	72.9	0.6	.54	1.2
Colchester	194	260	30.7	42.2	62.9	8590	21095	44.3	81.1	1695	2787	55.4	57.7	1.2	.67	1.8
Exeter	252	346	28.1	38.3	72.4	12383	26423	49.1	76.4	2857	3851	61.2	63.3	1.4	.80	1.6
Kings Lynn	148	197	34.2	50.9	43.85	4769	10208	32.2	51.8	1156	1708	61.0	65.4	0.9	.59	2.4
Lincoln	180	319	20.0	38.8	66.07	8825	18395	49.0	57.7	1898	2940	51.2	56.1	0.9	.52	1.6
Norwich	234	388	16.9	31.0	62.94	15311	40819	65.4	105.2	3418	5912	47.8	56.3	1.2	.74	1.5
Oxford	169	214	15.9	21.5	48.9	12952	24235	76.6	113.2	2353	3536	43.6	43.9	0.9	.88	2.2
Salisbury	182	245	37.5	60.3	84.4	7307	16645	40.1	67.9	1529	2504	62.6	77.8	1.1	.86	1.8
St. Albans	156	206	28.6	52.5	64.9	7162	13906	45.9	67.5	1106	2038	50.0	58.3	1.1	.66	2.1
Tunbridge Wells	253	337	46.2	57.4	79.2	8904	21448	35.2	63.6	1999	3175	71.4	73.7	0.7	.47	0.6
Winchester	106	117	34.1	35.0	78.8	4604	12989	43.4	111.0	969	1724	59.6	71.7	1.7	.81	1.7
York	464	514	32.9	42.0	66.0	13992	26909	30.2	52.3	3123	4403	58.9	57.5	0.6	0.61	0.7

M = Multiples
I = Independents

Source - Census of Distribution 1961 and 1971

TABLE VI - COMMERCIAL FLOORSACE STATISTICS 1967-1981 IN 20 HISTORIC TOWNS

Town	Commercial Offices				Shops and				Restaurants		Shops with living Accommodation		
	1967	1971	1974	1977	1981	1967	1971	1974	1977	1981	1974	1977	1981
Bath	39.3	54.5	59.1	66.5	79.4	183.9	186.2	188.0	203.1	207.4	19.8	19.6	16.9
Brighton	109.9	139.1	148.9	155.8	196.2	293.1	331.1	334.0	343.9	355.9	47.4	45.9	43.6
Cambridge	62.5	82.8	87.6	148.0	171.1	156.1	172.	245.5	235.1	258.2	17.4	16.8	15.4
Canterbury	27.1	38.8	57.0	60.4	80.3	90.0	91.3	142.8	144.6	161.9	32.6	35.2	33.0
Cheltenham	58.2	83.6	137.4	155.3	159.9	157	160.7	194.3	196.5	204.9	22.9	22.1	16.8
Chester	64.9	96.9	138.2	153.1	159.6	165	176.8	212.0	222.9	236.4	17.0	16.5	15.7
Colchester	32.6	45.0	75.4	101.4	117.4	106	118.3	131.5	156.1	174.3	21.8	21.6	21.6
Durham	16.7	19.6	33.0	33.8	34.9	40.7	40.6	71.6	74.8	81.9	12.3	11.8	11.1
Exeter	66.9	80.3	88.8	104.1	114.3	159.5	179.3	170.5	193.2	216.2	20.9	20.2	19.1
Hereford	20.6	21.9	42.2	43.5	46.2	80.4	88.2	95.9	102.4	102.4	6.5	6.2	4.9
Lincoln	39.5	43.5	69.8	64.3	64.1	113	122.4	148.3	164.8	172.7	19.2	17.1	17.5
Norwich	128.2	123.9	157.5	218.1	268.1	247.6	252.0	268.9	299.8	328.8	22.2	21.6	23.0
Oxford	67.7	85.9	121.9	141.0	147.7	208.5	222.4	259.5	273.7	275.2	26.2	26.7	25.3
Salisbury	20.0	24.4	45.4	50.5	56.8	84.5	88.9	127.9	127.8	129.7	29.1	26.7	24.0
St Albans	46.9	46.9	56.0	68.5	80.3	73.6	77.0	115.4	116.7	128.3	22.0	20.7	19.8
Shrewsbury	33.1	40.8	56.8	59.2	62.7	112.9	126.0	132.0	135.6	140.3	11.5	10.8	10.3
Tunbridge Wells	37.8	51.5	75.2	84.4	100.6	96.5	102.6	119.6	124.4	135.5	45.6	44.4	35.7
Winchester	29.4	34.5	75.2	81.9	86.3	63.0	66.4	85.3	87.2	87.6	18.9	17.8	18.0
Worcester	49.0	63.8	55.3	64.4	82.0	131.8	152.2	153.2	160.8	166.9	17.2	16.4	15.3
York	71.8	97.3	128.4	137.6	145.3	211.3	225.3	234.4	250.5	253.4	25.9	22.9	22.9
Historic Towns Total	1022.1	1275.0	1709.1	1991.8	2253.2	2774.4	3450.6	3817.9	3613.0	3817.9	456.4	438.0	411.9
Towns in England Total	25350.8	29579.5	35690.3	40029.8	44206.3	49072.5	56692.2	62790.9	59347.7	62790.9	11637.8	10928.8	10301.6

Source - Department of the Environment - 'Industrial and Commercial Floorspace Statistics'

APPENDIX CTRANSECT SURVEY NOTES, THE QUESTIONNAIRE AND SUMMARY OF REPLIES

Choice of Study Area: A section was taken through the town centre, including the edges of the central area, secondary and primary shopping streets and involving bridge points which both mark the edge of the centre and are also nodal points for subsidiary commerce and mixed use around less intensive riverland.

Sample selection for interviews: As the main interest is in the fringe of the centre, the survey concentrated on Frankwell and Wyle Cop aiming at 30 or more interviews in each, with additional interviews in the other streets of the transect. The sample of 100 was selected from lists of recently moved in and long established occupants to obtain an equal quota of each. The first grouping was to be able to ask about location decisions and the latter, about changes having taken place in the street over the last 20 years. There was an attempt to obtain a reasonable number of interviews on both sides and along the length of the streets and to include properties for which planning permission had been applied for over the period in question.

Administration of the Survey: An introductory letter was sent to each establishment prior to an interview during the following week. There were only two outright refusals, one because of a disagreement between the interviewee and the Local Planning Authority and one who was too busy. Two others felt they could not answer fully enough, one because of the firm's policy and the other only temporarily occupying the management of a property.

Comments on the questionnaire response: Questions about the importance of different factors of location and property type to the success of a business, proved difficult to answer. Many said that there was a combination of factors involved. Very little information was obtained on planning aspects such as problems related to obtaining permission. There was also not enough 'long stayers' who were able to score different aspects of relative business location and appearance in the various streets and the process was very time consuming. Therefore this question was omitted.

LAND USE CHANGE & PLANNING POLICIES IN HISTORIC TOWN CENTRES

487.

Date:

Respondent No.

Name of Firm

S/A. group:

Address

Introduce survey.

BASIC DATA ON ACTIVITY

I would like to ask you some general questions about your business in this particular property.

A1. Could I make sure firstly that I am describing your business and use of the building accurately

Nature of business

building use

3
2
1
0
B

A2. Is the business either a) an independent concern run by - yourself
- partnership
- family
or b) one of a chain of businesses - regional
- national

(Location of branches if under 10 -)

A3. Could you tell me if you a) own the freehold of the property
b) lease the property
c) rent the property

A4. I believe that the business is fairly recent/well established here, how many years has the business occupied this property? _____ years

A5. Was this business located elsewhere before?
or yourself in a similar business elsewhere?

yes/no
yes/no

A6. If yes, where?

- same local area
- Shrewsbury centre
- sub- region
- West Midlands
- Other

A7. Which of the following best describes the stage the business is at here?

-just starting
-settled, starting to expand
-well established/stable
-about to relocate/close down.

CUSTOM/TRADE & BUSINESS IMAGE

I am interested not only in how the use of buildings change e.g. from shops to offices, but also in the image of the area and how the character changes according to the type of people using and operating the activities:

T1. Would you say that your business has a certain image, or you are trying to put over a certain image in the way you have styled your shop or in the goods that you sell? yes/no

T2. If yes - how would you describe this image: - smart/efficient
- modern/eye-catching
- traditional/old-fashioned
- friendly/helpful
- competitive/bargain
- quality/prestige

T3. Other description -

T4. How important is it what your actual or potential customers think about very / of some / not

T5. a) the building your business is in?
b) the area your business is in?

About your customers:

T6. Would you say that most of your customers/clients are -
- residents from the immediate local area
- workers " " " "
- people who work in the town
- people who live in all parts of the town
- people who come from all over the region

T7. How often do most use your business? - regularly
- rarely/on special occasions
- on impulse/passing trade

THE LOCATION DECISION (Ask recent movers only - B category)

I am trying to find out why businesses choose certain areas and properties and how these factors of location change over time.
The first questions concern how you came to be here:

- L1 Were you either a) actively looking for suitable site/premises?
or b) a property became available in which you saw a good opportunity or potential?
c) don't know/not applicable.
- L2 For previously established businesses:
If answered a) - why did you want to move from your previous location?
- L3 If answered b) - Why was it preferable to your previous location?
- For newly established businesses:
- L4 Were you looking for a place a) as a starting point only?
b) for some years?
c) as a permanent location?
- L5 Does your business have any particular requirements with regard to the following features:
a) minimum floorspace
b) type of property
c) type of trade area (explain)
d) level of population served
e) car parking and access
f) mix with other businesses (explain)
- L6 Given these criteria how constrained are you in your choice of location?
(excludes personal preference here)
- wide choice
- several alternatives
- very little choice
- When you moved to this location, did you expect to find a certain sort of trade, i.e. know there was a market for your goods/services in this area, or Shrewsbury or region as a whole? yes/no
- L7
- L8 Would you say that you were:
a) meeting an unfilled demand
b) creating demand
c) setting up in competition
d) none of these

The Location Decision re. Situation of the Activity

For each of the following factors mentioned, could you say how important they were to your decision to move to this location?

	v. imp't	of some	not very	not at all
L9 a) accessibility to customers				
b) accessibility to other traders				
c) proximity to centre				
d) location in an historic town				
e) location in a conservation area				
f) location on a busy street (peds)				
g) being in a prominent position				
h) availability of labour				
i) availability of residential accomm.				
j) suitable transport arrangements				

L10 Were there any other reasons which were important to your locating here?
Yes/no

L11 Specify

- L12 With regard to the success of your business, how would you rank location, with these other factors in order of importance:
- environmental factors; property surroundings
- location; rel. to centre town region
- pricing policy
- service offered
- changing demands of the market
- Rank 1-5

The Location Decision re. Property Housing the Activity

For each of the following factors mentioned, could you say how important they were in choosing this particular property?

	v. imp't	of some	not very	not at all
113 a) the appearance of the building				
b) the appearance of the frontage				
c) a building of arch'/hist char'ter				
d) modern premises				
e) the cost of the land and building				
f) the rates liable				
g) availability of financial assistance				
h) efficiency or convenience				
i) residence available over/close-by				
j) time span for possession of premises				

114 Were there any other reasons involved in this decision?

Yes/no

115 If yes - specify

The Location Decision and Aspects of Planning

First some points on the property:

116 Did you contact the planning department about suitable premises, potential/acceptable areas before moving? Yes/no

117 If yes - were actual properties or areas suggested?

118 Have you received any other advice from the planning department? Yes/no

119 If yes - specify:

120 Did you apply for a grant of any type? Yes/no

121 If yes - what type?

122 - aid with what result?

123 If no grant received or applied for - would it have made any difference if you had received one?

124 Have any new factors emerged to make the building more or less suitable than when you first decided to move in? (e.g. regulations, awareness of problems) Yes/no
Specify

Some points with regard to the area:

125 Were there any aspects about which there was uncertainty when you moved in? (explain) Yes/no

126 If yes - specify

127 If yes have you since learnt any more about what is happening or likely to happen in the area?

128 If yes - specify

129 Have any factors which originally influenced your decision to move here changed since and made the building or area more or less suitable for what you intended? e.g. environmental deterioration, proximity to another development?

130 Ask if appropriate:

Does the fact that you are now within a conservation area make any difference?

DECISION ON IMPROVEMENT / CONVERSION / CHANGE OF USE

The following questions concern changes you or the firm have made, the reasons for these and the role of the local authority.

- 11 Have there been any of the following changes made to this property when or since moving in/being here?
- a) major conversion work
 - b) minor internal rearrangements/ alterations
 - c) extension
 - d) shopfront modification
 - e) redecoration, internal/ external
 - f) other
 - g) none

Below are some possible reasons for undertaking such work.

12. Please state firstly the most important one/s and the reason for coming to this decision.

Order of importance

a.b.c.d.e.f.g.

1. Wish to change use of the property:

- wish to diversify
- changing nature of demand
- other

11. Wish to change capacity of the building: (reduce/expand)

- more / less business
- inadequate to undertake existing business
- wish to introduce new line
- necessary to business efficiency

111. Wish to change appearance of building:

- orig^l in poor condition
- need to redecorate often (e.g. traffic pollution)
- general enhancement
- different taste to previous occ^t
- wish to change image

- 1V. New need for associated facilities: (e.g. car park, office)

- type of trade
- type of staff
- change in nature of use

- V. Necessary repair:

- location
- type of building
- type of use

- VI. Other

For those activities having undertaken conversions/major improvements:

- 13 Was this work done before or since moving in? before/since

- 14 If since, when?

- 15 How did you see the building?

- a) as needing work to be done in order to use it
- b) with possibilities to develop/realise potential
- c) in need of modernisation

- 16 If a) did other factors offset the cost / effort involved to make the conversion needed worthwhile?

- 17 If b) had you specifically looked for an old building in which to carry out your business?

- 18 If c) did you have the choice of occupying a purpose-built property?

- 19 had you been looking for newer premises and been unable to find any?

- 110 Did you supervise the work yourself? Yes/no

If yes

- 111 Had you any previous experience of conversion work/old buildings? Yes/n
- last or previous business in old property
 - general interest
 - converted own home
 - knew friend / firm done such work

PLANNING PERMISSION & ADVICE RECEIVED

- P1 Did you receive any advice from the planning office? Yes/no

- P2 If yes - about what

- P3 - how useful was this: very quite not much unhelpful

- P4 Have you wished to make changes but been restricted by planning or building controls? Yes/no

- P5 Specify

A lot of redevelopment took place in the 1960's, now there is more emphasis on conserving the built environment. What is your opinion on this?
 c1 & 2 (Prompt - are you in favour of keeping old buildings or do you think that more should be replaced? Has your opinion changed?

In 1970 the Council designated all of the town centre between the bridges and parts of the edge of the centre (such as here) a Conservation Area - to protect and enhance the area.

c3 Do you think the area a) has been protected?

c4 b) has been enhanced?

Are the nature or problems faced by your business influenced in any way by the fact that

G5 a) Shrewsbury is an historic centre? Yes/no

c6 If yes - specify

c7 b) You are in a listed building? (if appropriate) Yes/no

c8 If yes - specify

c9 Could you tell me if you are a member of any organisation concerned with the town and it's development e.g. Civic Society, Chamber of Commerce? Yes/no

c10 If yes, state which -

CHANGES IN THE AREA

(For category A - fringe only)

Since you have been in the area for some time, I am interested to know your opinions of changes that have taken place

AC1 Firstly, what do you see as the role of this area in relation to the town centre (streets)?

1. Either a) part of it
or b) with a separate identity

AC2 2. Either a) complementary to the centre
or b) competing with it

AC3 Has this changed since you have been here?

Yes/no

AC4 If yes - specify

AC5 What would you describe as the image or character of the area?

AC6 Would you say the image or character had changed in the past ten years compared with previously? Yes/no

AC7 If yes - how?

AC8 How would you rate this area compared with the other areas mentioned, for these different aspects? (score 0-5)

	Accessibility to custom/trade	Quality of environment	Future of the area
Frankwell			
Harbol			
Harbol Head			
High Street			
St. Mary's Square			
Wyle Cop			
Abbey Foregate			
Castle Foregate			
Long St. Coleham			

AC9 Comments:

AC10 Do you think that any particular business or activity has or has had a major influence in the area? Yes/no

AC11 If yes - specify

IMPACT OF DEVELOPMENTS IN THE TOWN & LOCAL AREA

A number of changes have taken place in the local area and in the town centre as a whole.

For each of the schemes or proposals mentioned, could you say whether you have experienced no / some / a major impact on various aspects of your business?

Scheme Impact	On business turnover N. S. M.	On type of trade/customers N. S. E.	On value of property K. S. M.	On level of satisfaction with location N. S. M.	with premises N. S. M.	Comments

TABLES VII & VIII - SUMMARY OF RESULTS

VII.
TABLE - QUESTIONNAIRE SUMMARY TOTALS

		MAIN SAMPLE AREAS		OTHER STREETS IN THE TRANSECT			TRANSECT TOTAL
		FRANKWELL	WYLE COP	MARDOL	HIGH ST	ABBEX/ FOREGATE	
Number in sample from each area		No % 34 100	No % 42 100	No 5	No 11	No 6	100
Number of properties with more than two changes of use over 20 year period		8 23	12 29	3	5		28
Number of listed buildings		19 56	36 85	4		4	
TENURE	Number owning property leasing or renting	16 47 18 53	18 43 24 57	3 2	2 9	6 2	45% 55%
BUSINESS STRUCTURE	one shop	19 56	27 64	4	1	6	57%
	local branch	6 18	1 2	-	1	2	20%
	regional	8 23	8 19	1	5	-	22%
	national	1 3	6 14	0	4	-	11%
LENGTH OF OCCUPATION	20+ years	8 24	12 29	-	-	1	21%
	10 - 19	9 26	4 9	-	-	3	16%
	5 - 9	6 18	3 7	-	1	3	13%
	1 - 4	8 23	16 38	4	8	1	37%
	within last year	3 9	7 17	1	11	-	12%

- 1 -

		MAIN SAMPLE AREAS		OTHER STREETS IN THE TRANSECT			TRANSECT TOTAL
		FRANKWELL	WYLE COP	MARDOL	HIGH ST	ABBEX/ FOREGATE	
PREVIOUS OCCUPATION		No %	No %	No	No	No	
	Started there	13 38	25	1	2	4	
	immediate locality	7 20	5	1	3	1	
	central Shrewsbury	6 18	-	1	2	2	
	Shrewsbury district	5 15	6	-	1	-	
	region	2 6	5	2	1	-	
	other	1 3	1	-	2	1	
STAGES OF BUSINESS	a. starting up	3 9	10 24	1	2	-	16
	b. settled/expanding	8 24	12 29	2	2	1	25
	c. nature/stable	21 61	19 45	2	7	6	55
	d. about to relocate close	2 6	1 2	-	-	1	4
BUSINESS IMAGE	a. positive projection	13 38	21 50	5	5	4	48
	b. to some degree	13 38	15 36	-	2	4	34
	c. not at all/not applicable	8 24	6 14	-	4	-	18
descriptions if image being put over or associated with business	a. smart/efficient	3	2		3		48
	b. modern/eye-catching	4	2		1		67
	c. tradit;old fashioned	7	14	3	-	5	26
	d. freindly,helpful	10	12	2	1	3	28
	e. competitive,bargain	2	6		-	2	10
	f. quality,prestige	8	9	2	3	1	23
	g. functional	2	1				3
	h. serving all trades	1	3	1	2		7
No of mentions							-
ages, other							

- 2 -

TABLE VII. QUESTIONNAIRE SUMMARY TOTALS (Continued)

		MAIN SAMPLE AREAS		OTHER STREETS IN THE TRANSECT			
		FRANKWELL	WYLE COP	WARDOL	HIGH ST	ABBEY/ FOREGATE	TRANSECT TOTAL
Importance of BUILDING to customer	a. very	No 7 %	No 6 %	No 3	No -	No 1	19%
	b. some	21	19	2	4	2	24
	c. not	20 56	25 60	-	7	5	57
Importance of AREA to customer	a. very	6 16	1 2	0	-	0	7%
	b. some	15 44	16 38	3	6	5	45
	c. not	13 38	25 60	2	5	3	46
Where CUSTOMERS or TRADE comes from (No of mentions)	local residents	5	2	-	-	2	9
	local workers	4	4	1	-	3	12
	all town	15	15	3	8	6	47
	wider region	20	24	3	10	4	61
	further	4	20	2	2	2	30
Changes made to BUILDING by Existing OCCUPANT (No of mentions)	a. major conversion work	2	9	2	1	-	14
	b. minor	10	6	1	4	1	22
	c. extension	8	11	1	-	5	25
	d. shopfront modifi- cation	-	3	1	2	-	5
	e. redecoration, int/ext	2	2	1	2	-	7
	f. other	-	1	-	-	-	1
	g. none	13	15	-	-	-	28

- 3 -

		MAIN SAMPLE AREAS		OTHER STREETS IN THE TRANSECT			
		FRANKWELL	WYLE COP	WARDOL	HIGH ST	ABBEY/ FOREGATE	TRANSECT TOTAL
Reasons for changes (No of mentions)	1. change use	No 2 %	No 11 %	No 1	No 1	No 1	16
	2. change capacity	18	10	1	1	4	34
	3. change appearance	5	12	2	3	-	22
	4. need facilities	1	8	-	-	1	10
	5. means repair	1	8	1	1	-	11
	6. other/none	13	14	-	-	-	27
No received planning advice/information	(reported)	3	5	3	0	0	11
The attitude to CONSERVATION planning/local authority record on that score	positive	17 50	26 62	4	5	8	60%
	negative	7 20	3 7	0	0	0	10%
	no comment	10 30	13 31	1	6	0	30%
	good	6	10	1	0	0	17
	bad	10	8	-	3	2	23
	indifferent/OK	1	11	3	2	6	30

- 4 -

TABLE V. QUESTIONNAIRE SUMMARY TOTALS for RECENT MOVERS ONLY

MAIN SAMPLE AREAS

OTHER STREETS IN THE TRANSECT

		FRANKWELL		WYLE COP		MARDOL	HIGH ST	ABBEY/ FOREGATE	TRANSECT TOTAL
		No	%	No	%	No	No	No	No %
Total - moved into properties within last 5 years		16		23		5	11	4	61
DECISION TO MOVE	a. actively looking	12		10		5	7	-	34 56
1. SEARCH	b. property came up	3		8		-	2	2	15 25
	c. other/not applic	1		3		-	2	2	6 13
	d. a + b	2		2		-	-	-	4 6
2. REASON TO LEAVE PREVIOUS LOCATION	a. business expansion (new branch)	4		5		2	3	-	14 23
	b. premises too small	5		3		-	1	-	9 15
	c. wanted wksp and retail	3		1		-	-	-	4 7
	d. wanted S/F retail outlet	1		1		1	1	-	4 7
	e. forced to move	-		2		-	1	-	3 5
	f. other	-		-		1	3	-	4 7
	g. not applicable, d/k	5		9		1	2	4	21 34
3. LENGTH OF STAY INTENDED	a. starting point only	0		3		0	0	0	3 5
	b. for some years	8		8		2	7	4	29 47
	c. permanent	8		12		3	4	1	28 46
	d. other, don't know	2		0		0	0	0	2 3
4. CHOICE AVAILABLE	a. several	1		1		1	0	1	4
	b. a few	4		5		0	2	0	11
	c. very little/one	8		7		2	2	3	22
	d. not applicable	5		10		2	7	1	25
5. MARKET ASSESSMENT FOR SERVICE/PRODUCT	a. meeting unfilled D	6		10		2	3	1	22
	b. creating D	2		6		2	2	1	13
	c. setting up in	8		9		0	3	3	23
	d. other, d/k	2 + 2		3		1	3	0	11

- 1 -

		FRANKWELL		WYLE COP		MARDOL	HIGH ST	ABBEY/ FOREGATE	TRANSECT TOTAL
		No	%	No	%	No	No	No	No %
FEATURES LOOKED FOR	a. accessibility re-delivery etc	8		-		-	-	-	8
RE: 1. LOCATION (No of mentions)	b. parking facility	5		2		-	1	-	8
	c. prominent position	7		2		3	4	-	16
	d. pedestrian route	2		6		2	6	1	17
	e. labour available	1		1		-	0	-	2
	f. size type of	3		2		-	1	-	6
	g. historic town	2		2		-	1	-	5
	h. other traders around	1		2		-	0	-	3
	i. other n/k	-		2		1	0	1 2	6
2. BUILDING	a. modern	3		1		0	1	0	5
	b. functional/efficient	4		1		0	0	0	5
	c. cheap	10		4		4	-	0	18
	d. old style/character	2		3		2	1	0	8
	e. available at time	2		1		-	-	1	4
	f. quiet	1		1		-	-	1	3
	g. frontage	1		0		-	-	-	1
	h. no repairs	1		-		-	-	-	1
	i. right size	1		2		-	2	1	6
	j. other	-		-		-	2	-	2
No. uncertain about location/property use/value to their business when deciding to move	a. uncertain	6		4					10
	b. certain	3		2					5
	c. not applic d/k	9		17					26
Changes later - making location or property more or less suitable	a. location +	2		3					5
	b. " -	2		1					4
	c. building +	1		1					2
	d. " -	2		-					2
	e. no change	1		-					1
	f. not applic /dk	10		17					26

- 2 -

APPENDIX DNOTES ON OTHER FRINGE AREAS OF SHREWSBURY TOWN CENTRE

Abbey Foregate is examined on the same basis as the two main study areas, Frankwell and Wyle Cop, although in less detail. This is followed by brief notes on the other parts of the central area fringe, Castle Foregate and Longden Coleham.

ABBHEY FOREGATEa) Historical Background: changing role and uses over time

The Abbey, founded in 1083, is the focal point of the area, both visually and functionally, as many of the surrounding buildings were associated with it, such as the Dun Cow, now an Inn, which was once a hostel for masons working on the Abbey and the Abbey Houses with their orchard gardens (see fig. D.2).

The confluence of roads now on either side of the Abbey marked a significant stage in Shrewsbury's development as a frontier town and greatly affected the development of this area. Telford constructed the road to the south of the church in 1836. In so doing he divided it from the remains of its buildings. The refectory pulpit hence lies stranded in it's original position on the other side of the road. Yet this road accidentally reinstated a much older way, later buried under the Abbey cloisters. It is reflected in the earliest name given to the street as 'Biforieta' indicating an early forked road, although by 1600 the name Abbey Foregate was in general use. (Hobbs).

The area now contains a range of buildings from different periods, but mainly 18th and 19th century. At this time it expanded as a fashionable residential area, followed in the early 20th century by council house development outwards to the north. The coming of the railways brought a further barrier between this area and the town centre and an industrial zone to the south of the road. The branch line and station have long since closed and much land lies derelict, although partially used for parking. This side therefore presents a great contrast to the medieval and Georgian buildings lining the northside of the Abbey. Figure D.1 below illustrates these changes which affected the spatial pattern of the area.

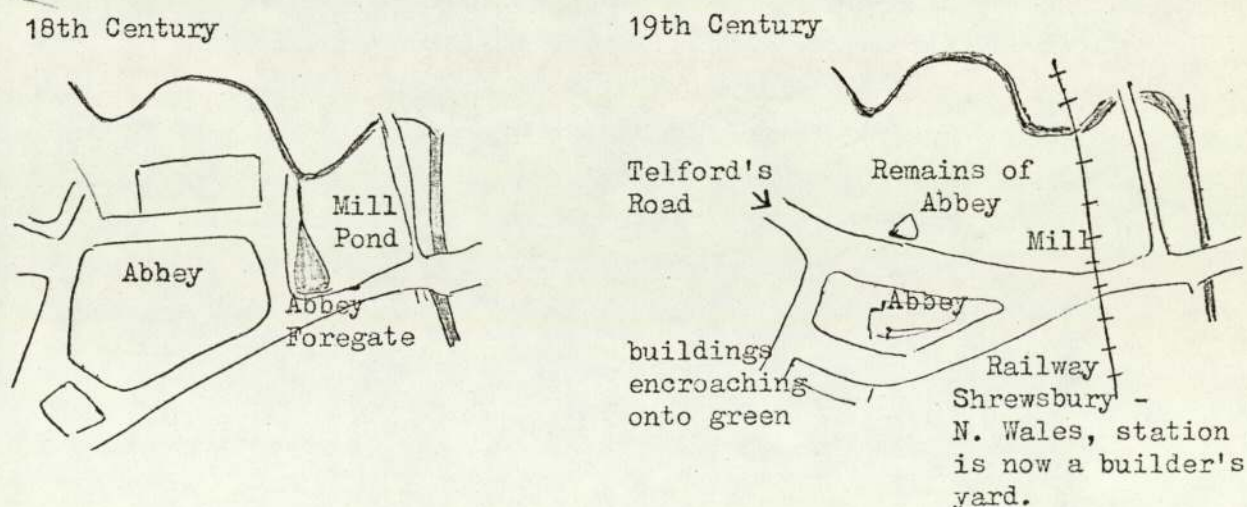


Figure D.1: The Changing Pattern of Abbey Foregate in the 18th and 19th Centuries

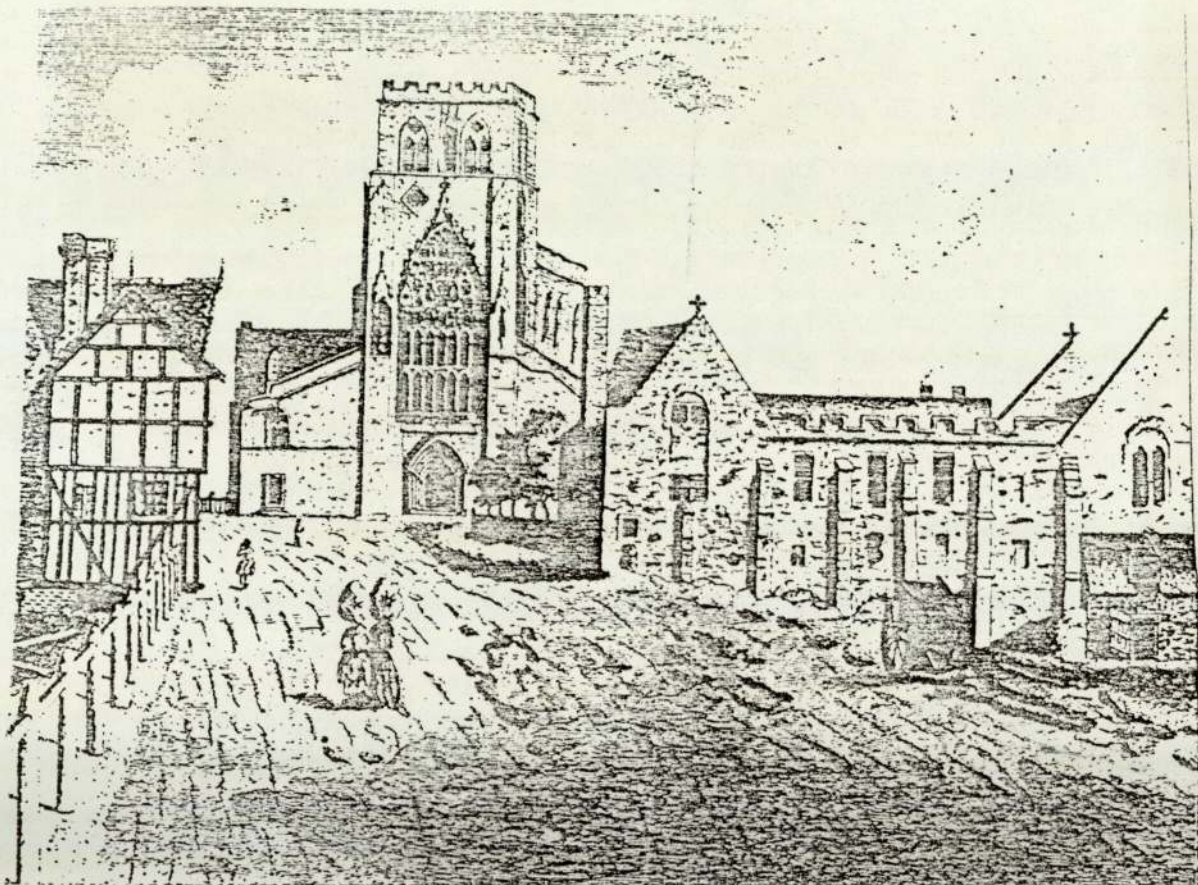


Figure D.2: Abbey Foregate in the 18th Century

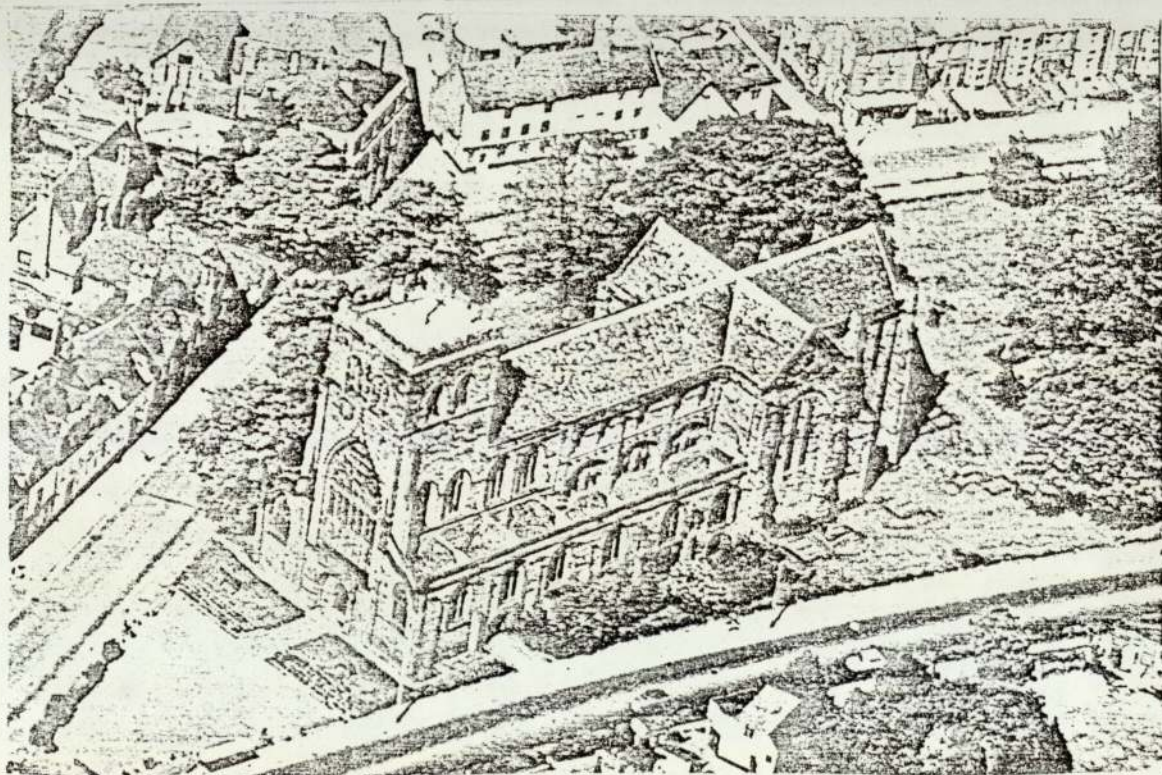


Figure D.3: Abbey Foregate 1981: a more recent view showing the main road to the West running close to the Abbey

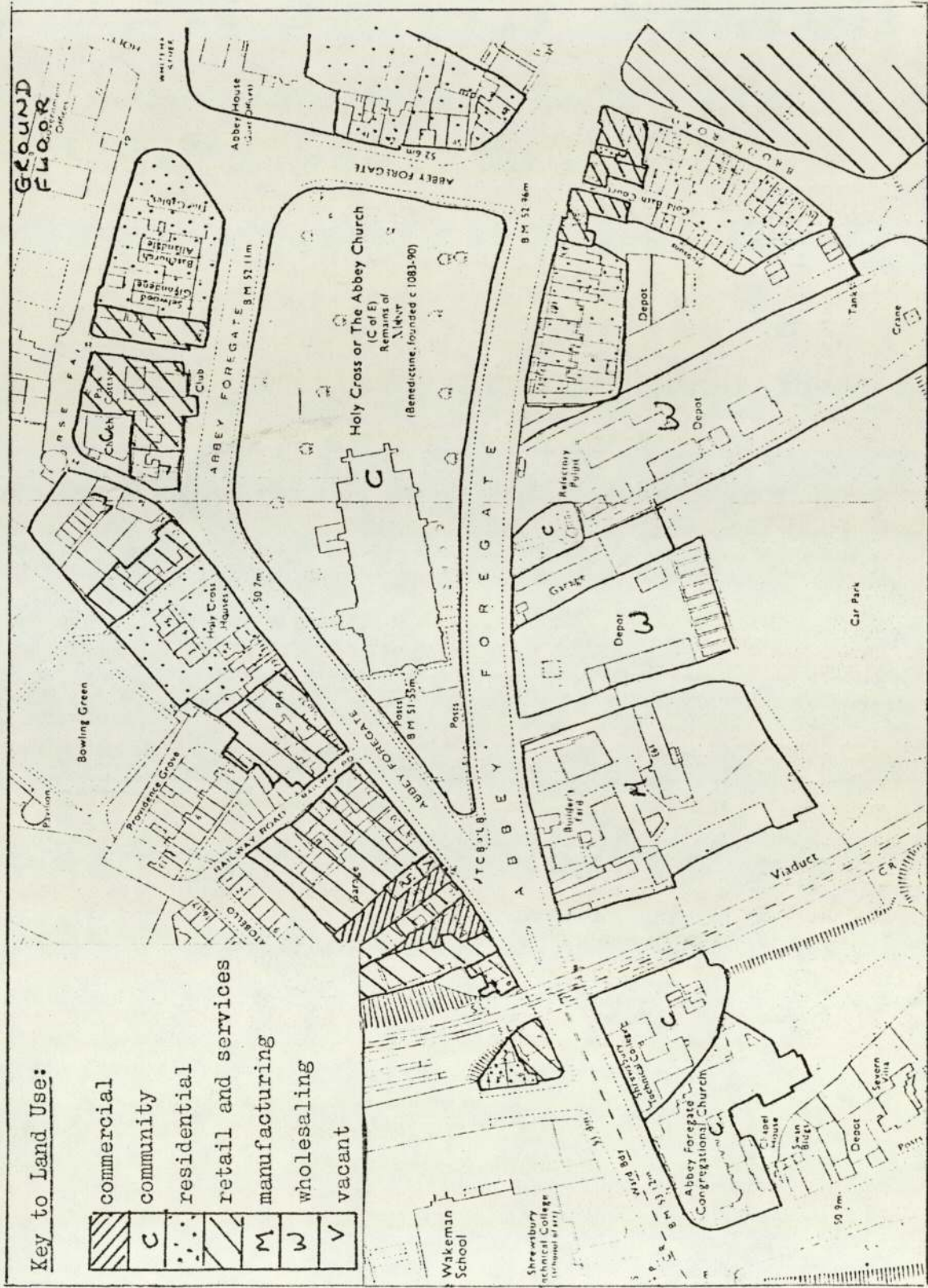


Figure D.4: Land uses in Abbey Foregate 1982

From being only a religious settlement the area soon changed to more mixed use with the growth of craft gilds and commerce. The period of industrialisation, in the 19th century, further increased the residential suburbs of Abbey Foregate and Coleham and the coming of the railway brought new industrial uses. As it was the main approach to the centre, there were a number of inns; The Park, The Crown and The Bull. This role has continued and extended with the development of small hotels and private guest houses in the old Georgian buildings and a scattering of bed and breakfast accommodation in a number of private residences.

Other changes concerning residential uses include the conversion of several large houses to flats and two developments of old people's housing, but also the loss of smaller black and white housing lining the roadside. On the commercial side there have been two significant redevelopment schemes; one replacing cottages at the north west end, new sites for Lloyds Bank and two hardware stores, and the bigger development to the north of Safeway supermarket and adjoining offices. The contrast between old and new can be seen in the photograph of the latter, figure D.5.

There are approximately 16 other shops in all, ranging from some serving the immediate locality to more specialist shops such as the fishing tackle shop. Some of the larger houses are occupied by offices such as in Figure D.6. Current uses are indicated in the map, figure D.4.

Figure D.5: Remaining timber framed buildings in Abbey Foregate, adjacent to supermarket redevelopment

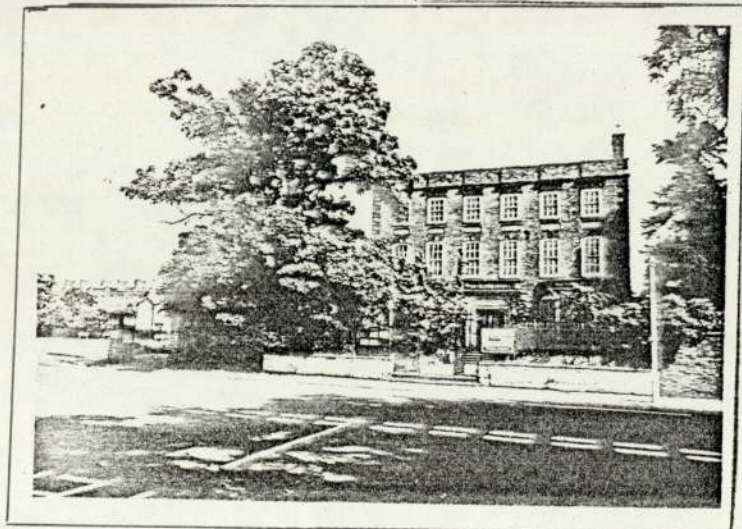


Figure D.6: Abbey House - one of several large houses now used as offices

Figure D.7:
Abbey Foregate
from English Bridge



b) Issues and Planning Developments

A notable issue has been the amount of demolition and the nature of its replacement. The new terrace of offices and supermarket shown in Figure D.5 was linked to a road widening scheme of the early 1960's. The east side was thus opened up, considerably altering the scale of the area, so that the original black and white buildings now seem out of place. Since then, redevelopment has been of a more harmonious nature with the two housing developments on the north side beyond the Abbey.

Another problem is the area of wasteland and the roadside clutter. Near the railway bridge, the continuity of buildings is disrupted and the appearance rejected compared with the majestic approach from the Column. The appearance of the area is also adversely affected by the visual cut-off caused by the railway bridge and the associated British Rail land (see figure D.10).

The reuse of old buildings has not always been suitable in this area. The building now used by a garage, figure D.8., is one of the oldest buildings in the area, with a cruck cottage contained within it and not without loss to the original character and use. In a different way, conversion of part of the larger houses also strike a jarring note, such as the shop inserted into the listed building, figure D.9. Finally, a continued problem has been the traffic around the Abbey, part of which has long been proposed for pedestrianisation.

Figure D.8Figure D.9

Figures D.8 and D.9: Different uses of residential buildings in Abbey Foregate

Although planning applications and decisions were not analysed in as much detail as the other two areas, several occupants did comment on planning and change in the area. It was noted that there had not been so much change overall. The area was seen as still fairly self-sufficient, one shop-keeper commenting that few townspeople realise that it does cater so fully for local needs and is not just an approach to the centre. Although having a community identity it was not seen as completely separate from the centre as Frankwell. However to an extent the businesses competed with the centre, intercepting people coming from the South.

There is now less residential and rather more commercial use than previously. With the loss of housing such as around Horse Fair and replacement by flats, many of the older residents have gone, although the properties in the area have been sub-divided for some time, with a high turnover rate. Most change was seen as taking place in the early and late 1960's, especially with the opening of Safeway Supermarket and a number of new garages set back from the road. The former is seen as something of a mixed blessing since while it brings customers to the area it also competes for general sales.

.../...

British Rail ownership of land has also prevented some change. For example, the redevelopment of small wooden buildings shown in figure D.10, and the builders yard shown in figure D.11.

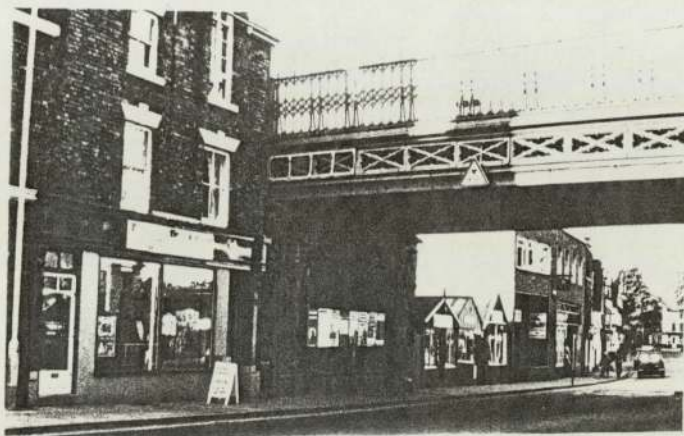


Figure D.10: The railway bridge and small shop units on Abbey Foregate

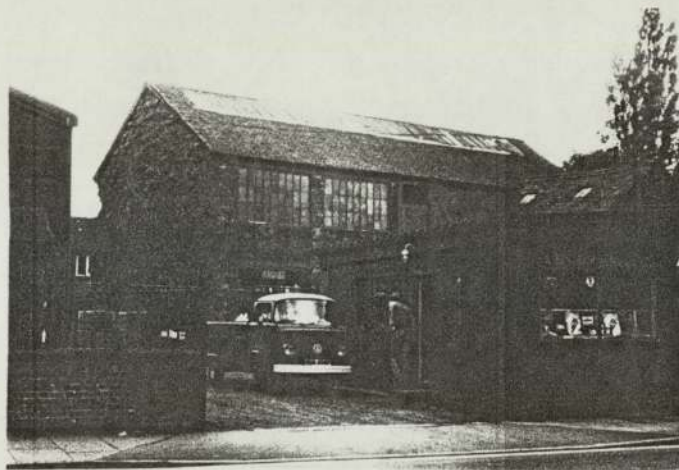


Figure D.11: Builders Yard, utilises old mill buildings

Finally, whilst some say it is a well-known area and good location for parking, others add that the car park, mainly used by lorries, is dangerous at night and the football ground creates parking problems.

CASTLE FOREGATE

This area lies to the north of the centre beyond the railway station and retains a number of manufacturing industries dominated by Oil Works, having been the first industrial suburb of the town. These are interspersed with various depots for timber, builders supplies and the Post Office. However, the old inns and grocers shops have been succeeded by takeaways and vehicle shops, as shown in figure D.12.

Carr (Shropshire Chronicle 1981) noted little change in the buildings post-war apart from alterations to the railway bridge. The area is viewed as purely functional, with no attraction as a shopping/commercial area. Although it is a 'zone of discard' in some senses, it still retains some useful sites, such as D.I.Y. stores which benefit from their location on an approach road to the centre. Apart from the oil works, the more imposing buildings lie to the east of the area, the gaol and the Howard Street warehouse. The latter is an example of one of the larger historic

buildings of the town taken on by a Trust for renovation for community and leisure uses (see figure D.13).



Figure D.12: Shops
in Castle Foregate

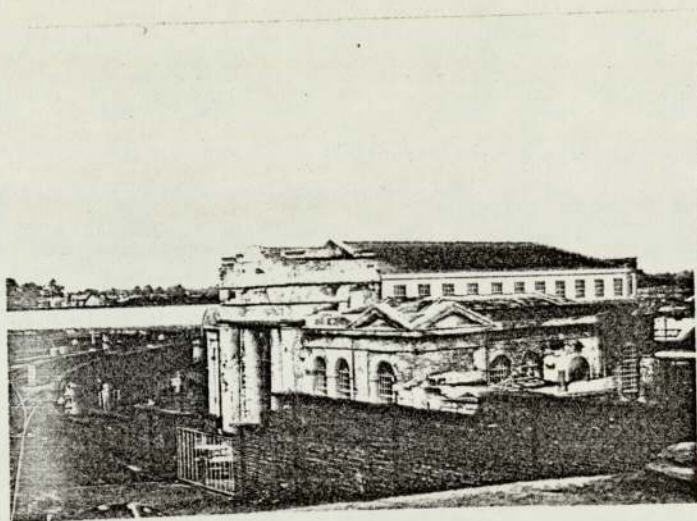


Figure D.13:
Howard Street
Warehouse behind
the railway station

LONGDEN COLEHAM

Although this was another industrial suburb, it is similar to Frankwell in its liability to flooding in the past. It also underwent redevelopment programmes in the 1960's which included a similar raised residential development as in Frankwell (shown in Figure D.14 below). The area still serves as a local centre for parts of Coleham and Belle Vue. By forming the entrance to a well-used pedestrian route to the town centre via Grey Friars bridge the street has also attracted some specialist uses.

A survey in 1973 by the District Council revealed that 12 of the 26 shops were wholly or partly food retailers. Although this proportion is now lower, 9 out of 29 businesses, there are more in this trade than in any other fringe area. It was supposed at that time that the area would be unlikely to be able to continue supporting 5 grocery shops with the advent of larger supermarket competition from elsewhere. There are also a number of domestic services and household suppliers indicating the orientation of the area to the immediate residential suburbs. Even though of ancient origin, as with Castle Foregate, the area has few of the

.../...

historic buildings surviving (only 6 of the businesses being located in listed buildings).



Figure D.14: Longden Coleham, houses and shops

INDICATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

Several of the questions raised in Chapter 4, pl83-188, could be studied for a number of historic towns in more depth than covered here. It was also apparent that more work is required on certain aspects as suggested below:

Secondary Commercial Areas

- a) Case studies of how they can be revitalised
- b) The benefit of enhancement schemes and grants to their economic prosperity/viability
- c) How infrastructure facilities can be improved without adverse consequences on the historical land pattern
- d) How perceptions of the image of an area affects behaviour patterns of businesses, especially the significance of historic character.

Infill Development

- a) Guidance on the type of uses, not just as design of infill development and how this affects area management
- b) How local authority land holdings can bring infill sites (including 'backland' areas) into best use.

Mixed Use Areas

- a) Research into the type of mix in both buildings and streets in historic areas and the problems occurring
- b) For use of upper floors, more research needed into how housing over shops can be made a viable proposition and where are the most suitable locations.

Business Decisions

- a) Studies of innovative businesses, how they maintain their viability and why they decline in certain locations
- b) The reasons for the displacement or disappearance of businesses
- c) A survey of the inter-dependence and interaction of businesses in small areas
- d) Investigation of business structure with regard to strategy and tactics with changing economic and environmental conditions
- e) Research on the intra-urban movement of businesses and their mobility potential.

Community Change

- a) Development of community profiles as an element of the impact study for an area
- b) How to protect local-serving shops and services
- c) How a community changes over time relative to decline and revitalization of the uses and building fabric.

Methodology

- a) Research into improving the spatial monitoring of planning decisions over time
- b) Research to test variations in the transect survey method
- c) Study of sampling methods to investigate behavioural aspects, in relation to planning controls.

LIST OF REFERENCES

Part 1

BOOKS AND PERIODICALS

- AHLBERG, C.F. 1963, "Problems of the Urban Core", Lecture at Study Conference, Royal Swedish Academy of Engineering Sciences, Stockholm.
- ALBERS, G., 1980, "The Role of Historic Quarters in a Strategy For Urban Planning" Paper to United Towns Organisation Conference, Birmingham, JURUE
- ALEXANDER, I., 1979, "Office Location and Public Policy", (Topics in applied Geography), London, Longman.
- ALLEN, M.S., 1981, "Innovatory Planning - Fulham Commercial Improvement Area", Planner News, October 1981, The Royal Town Planning Institute.
- ALLISON, L., 1975, "Environmental Planning - A Political and Philosophical Analysis", Allen and Unwin.
- ALONSO, W., 1960, "A Theory of the Urban Land Market", Papers and Proceedings of the Regional Science Association, Vol. 6, pp 149-58.
- AMERY, C. & CRUICKSHANK, D., 1975, "The Rape of Britain", London Elek.
- ARMITAGE, ENQUIRY REPORT., 1981 "Lorries, People and the Environment", London HMSO
- AUGER, D.A., 1979, "The Politics of Revitalization in Gentrifying Neighbourhoods - The Case of Boston's South End". Journal of the Association of American Planners, Vol. 45, Oct 1979.
- BAIRD, B., 1979, "The Webb of Economic Activities in Oxford". Ekistics, Vol 46, No.274, Jan/Feb 1979. pp 36 - 43.
- BARKE, M., 1977, "Land Use Succession, a factor in fringe-belt modification". Area 8, no.4, p.303.
- BARRETT, J., 1973, "The Form and Function of the Central Area", in the Urban Development Course Unit 12 on "The City as an Economic System", Open University.
- BASSETT, E & SHORT, J., 1978, "Housing Improvement in the Inner-City - a case study of changes before and after the 1974 Act", Urban Studies, Vol. 15.
- BEDDINGTON, N., 1981, "Shop Front Architects", Building, 6 Feb, 1981. Vol. CCXL No.240 pp 30-31.
- BENNISON, D.J. and DAVIES, R.L., 1980, Town Centre Shopping Schemes in Britain their impact on traditional retail environments", Progress in Planning, Vol. 14, Part 1, pp 1-104, 1980, Oxford, Pergamon Press.
- BERRY, B.J.L., 1959 "Ribbon development in the urban business pattern", Annals of the Association of American Geographers, vol. 49, pp 145 - 55.
- BIRD, J., 1977, "Centrality & Cities", London, Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- BLOXSIDGE, R., 1980, "Conservation Reports and Studies, Continuation List and Commentary 1979-80", Town Planning Review, Vol. 51, No.4. October 1980, pp 451-472.
- BOURNE, L.S. (ed)., 1971, "Internal Structure of the City: readings on space and environment". New York, London, Oxford University Press.

- BRUTON, M. & GORE, A., 1981, "Vacant urban land - South Wales Survey Questions Some Basic Assumptions". *The Planner*. March, April 1981, Vol. 67, no.2 p34-36.
- BURGESS, E.W., 1925, "The Growth of a City: an introduction to a research project", in Park R.D. & Burgess E.W. & MacKenzie R.D. (editors) "The City" reprinted in 1961.
- CARTER, H., 1981, 3rd edition "The Study of Urban Geography", London, and Edward Arnold.
- CHAPIN, S., 1974, 3rd edition, 1979, "Urban Land Use Planning" Illinois USA, University of Illinois Press.
- COLBY, C.C., 1933 "Centrifugal and Centripetal Forces in Urban Geography", *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, vol. 23 no. 1.
- CONZEN, M.R.G., 1960, "Alnwick - A study in Town Plan Analysis", *Annals of the Institute of British Geographers*, Vol. 27, p 81 -
- COWAN, P., & Fine, D., 1969, "The Office. A facet of Urban Growth", London, Heinemann Educational.
- CURL, J.S., 1977, "The Erosion of Oxford", Oxford, Oxford Illustrated Press.
- CIVIC TRUST, 1970, "Heavy Lorries: memorandum to the Minister of Transport" Civic Trust.
- DANIELS, P.W. (ed) 1979, "Spatial Patterns of Office Growth and Location" Chichester, Wiley.
- DAVIES, R.L., 1972, "Structural Models of Retail Distribution: analyses with settlement and urban land use theories", *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, No.57 pp 57-82, 1972.
- DAVIES, R.L. 1976=1968, "Effects of Consumer Income Differences in the Business Provisions of Small Shopping Centres". *Urban Studies*, no. 5, pp 144-64.
- DAVIES, R.L. & BENNISON, D.J., 1979 "British Town Centre Shopping Schemes, a Statistical Digest", Unit for Retail Planning and Information, Reading.
- DAWSON, J.A. (Ed), 1980, "Retail Geography", London Croom Helm.
- DAWSON, J.A. & DOORNKAMP J.C, 1973, "Evaluating the Human Environment essays in applied geography", London, Edward Arnold.
- DAWSON, J.A. & KIRKBY, D.A., 1980, "Urban Retail Provision & Consumer Behaviour," in "Geography and the Urban Environment, Vol. 3" edited by D.T. Herbert & R.J. Johnson - Wiley Vols 1978/9/80.
- DAWSON & KIRKBY 1979, "Small Scale retailing in the UK Saxon House, Farnborough.
- DAY, M. "Explanation and non explanation in urban geography" *Area* 12. No.2.
- DICKEN, P. 1971, "Decision-making in Business Organisations", *Economic Geography* Vol. 47, pp 426-437.
- DIMARTINO D. ROSS, 1975 "Residential Mobility in the Racial Transition Zone" PhD Dissertation. Syracuse University.
- DOBSON, S., 1976 "Redevelopment in the Kite, Cambridge Case Study of Conflicting Perceptions concerning Planning Issues". Thesis 20/2/ 6471 in Theses Abstracts.
- DODGSHON, R.A. & BUTLIN, R.A., 1978 "Historical Geography of England and Wales". Academic Press.

- EASSIE, R. & ROBERTSON, P., 1980, "British Retailing Facts and Trends", London, Mintel.
- EDWARDS, J., 1981 "Black Friars Improvement Area - Newcastle upon Tyne". Planner News, November 1981. The Royal Town Planning Institute p.12.
- ERDMAN, E & Co. & TROTT, J. & Son., 1979, "The County of West Midlands Structure Plan Shopping Study."
- ESHER, V., 1969 "York, a Study in Conservation", Ministry of Housing and Local Government, London.
- ETZIONI, A., 1968, "The Active Society - a theory of Societal and political processes" London, Collier-MacMillan.
- EVERSLEY, D., 1973, "The Planner in Society: the changing role of a profession", London, Faber.
- FERNIE, J., 1979, "Office Activity in Edinburgh, Ekistics Vol, 46 No. 274 pp 25-32.
- FIELD, G., 1981 "Conservation's role in the regeneration of Bristol City Centre". The Planner, Vol. 67 No. 6 Nov/Dec 1981, pp 174-5, The Royal Town Planning Institute.
- FIREY, W.I., 1949, "Land Use in Central Boston", Boston, Harvard, University Press.
- FITCH, R., 1981, "Design Fit for Retail", Building CCXLVII No.240 6 February 1981, pp 28-29.
- FRANKLIN, M. & STAFFORD, F., 1976, "Is office rehab. here to stay?" Built Environment Quarterly, December 1976 pp 288 - 293.
- FRIEDMANN, J., 1966. "Regional Development Policy", Cambridge, M.I.T. Press
- FUDGE, C.(ed).Saus Papers, 1981, Working Paper 3, "Approaches to Local Planning", School for Advanced Urban Studies, Bristol.
- FUDGE, C., LAMBERT, C. & UNDERWOOD, J., 1982, "Local Plans Approaches, Preparation & Adoption". The Planner, March/April 1982. Vol.68, No. 2. pp 53-3. The Royal Town Planning Institute.
- GARNER, B.J., 1966, "The Internal Structure of Shopping Centres". Studies in Geography No.12. North West University.
- GARNER, J.F. (ed), "Planning Law in Western Europe".
- GICK, M.M., 1973, "Gentrification in America - Case Study of Capitol Hill" Theses Abstracts Vol. 27 part 2, No. 4887.
- GODDARD, J.B., 1981, "British Cities in Transition", Geographical Magazine May 1981, p 523-531 Vol. 53, No. 8.
- GOODALL, B., 1972, "Economics of Urban Areas", Oxford, Pergamon.
- GREGORY, D.G., 1970, "Green Belt Policy and Conservations", CURS University of Birmingham.
- GRIFFIN, D.W. & PRESTON, R.E., 1966, "A Restatement of the Transition Zone Concept", Annals of the Association of American Geographers, Vol. 56 pp 339-50.
- GUY, C.M., 1980, "Retail Location and Retail Planning in Britain", London, Gower Publishing Co. Ltd.

- HALL, P., 1977, "The Containment of Urban England. Vol.1. Urban and Metropolitan Growth Processes. Vol.2. The Planning System objectives, operations, impacts". London, George Allen and Unwin.
- HAMBLETON, R. 1977, "Policies for Areas", Local Government Studies, April 1977.
- HAMNETT, C. & WILLIAMS, P., 1979, "Gentrification in London 1961-71: an empirical and theoretical analysis of Social". Birmingham. CURS Research Memorandum 71, University of Birmingham.
- HAMNETT, C. undated "Urban Land Use Patterns & Processes". Social Sciences, 2nd level course, section 11. Spatial Analysis Area Patterns, Open University.
- HARRIS, C.D. & ULLMAN, E.L., 1945, "The Nature of Cities", Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science Vol. 242, p7-51.
- HARRISON, M.L. 1978, "Urban Planning Policies and Legislation", Urban Law and Policy Vol. 1.
- HARRISON, D. & KAIN, J.F., 1970, "An Historical Model of Urban Harvard University Programme on Regional and Urban Economics" see BIRD, J. (opcit)
- HEINEMEYER, W.F., 1967, "Urban Core and Inner City", Leiden, Brill.
- HERBERT, D., 1972, "Urban Geography, a Social Perspective", Newton Abbott, David & Charles.
- HISTORIC BUILDINGS COUNCIL, Annual Report 1977-8.
- HOLLIDAY, J., 1981 "City Centre Plans in the 1980's" in The Future For The City Centre Institute of British Geographers Urban Geography and Planning Study Group.
- HORWOOD, E.M. & BOYLE, C.R., 1959 "Studies of the Central Business District and Urban Freeway Development" Seattle, University of Washington Press.
- HOYT, H., 1964, "Recent distortions of the Classical Models of Urban Structure".
- HURD, R.M., 1903, "Principles of city land value" New York, The Record and Guide, reviewed in CARTER, H. opcit.
- INSALL, D., 1970, "Blandford Forum" - conservation report, Dorset County Council.
- JACOBS, J., 1961, "The Death and Life of Great American Cities", New York Vintage.
- JENKINS, J., 1982 "Conservation and urban revival". The Planner Feb 1982, Vol. 68, No. 2, p 66-70. Proceedings of the 1981 Town and Country Planning Summer School, R.T.P.I.
- JENKINS, S., 1981, "Covent Garden: The Central Market in Use", Architects Journal, Vol. 173, no. 21, 27 May 1981, pp 995-997.
- JOHNSTON, R.J., 1971, "Urban Residential Patterns", London, G.Bell & Son.
- JONES, P.M., 1976 "Local Shops: Problems and Perspectives. A Review" in Jones & Oliphant (op cit).
- JONES, P.M. & OLIPHANT, 1976, "Local Shops - Problems and Prospects" URPl
- JORDAN & SONS (SURVEYS LTD), 1981, "Multiples - Non-Food", London, Jordan & Sons.

- J.U.R.U.E., 1977, "The Significance of Contrary Permissions in Development Control" Issues in Development Control Working Paper 1. Birmingham JURUE.
- J.U.R.U.E., 1979, "Planning For Conservation" Report Commissions by the Department of the Environment, Historic Area Conservation Division.
- J.U.R.U.E., 1982, unpublished information from the study report commissioned by the Department of Environment, Historic Area Conservation Division.
- KEYNOTE PUBLICATIONS., 1981, "Business Information - Supermarkets" London, Keynote Publications.
- KIRK, G., 1980, "Urban Planning in a Capitalist Society" London Groom Helm.
- KIVELL, P.T. & SHAW, G., 1980, "The Study of Retail Location" paper in Dawson 1980(op cit).
- LASKA, S.B. & SPAIN, D., 1979, "Urban Policy and Planning the the Wake of Gentrification", Journal of the American Planning Association, Vol. 45, No. 4, pp 523-531, Oct. 1979.
- LEE, M., 1981, "Property Development in the 1980's: in The Future For The City Centre", Institute of British Geographers Urban Geography and Planning Study Group.
- LEWIS, JOHN PARRY, 1965. "Building Cycles and Britain's Growth" London, Macmillan.
- LICHFIELD, N., 1976, "Bath Minimum Physical Change Study".
- LICHFIELD, N. & PROUDLOVE, 1976, "Conservation and Traffic. A Case Study for York", York: Sessions Book Trust.
- LOBEL, M.D., (ed) Historic Towns Atlas 1975. Scolar Press For the Historic Towns Trust.
- LOEW, S., 1979 "Local Planning", Pembridge Press.
- LOEWENSTEIN, L.K., 1963, "The Location of Urban Land Uses", Land Economics Vol. 39, No. 4 pp 407-20.
- McKEAN, C., 1977, "Fight Blight", London, Kaye and Ward.
- McKEE, W., 1982 "Is There a Future For Planning", The Planner Feb 1982 Vol. 68, No. 2, Report of the Proceedings of the 1981 Town and Country Planning Summer School, RTPL.
- MASON, T., 1977, "Inner City Housing and Urban Renewal Policy in a housing profile of Cheetham Hill, Manchester & Salford", Research Series 23 London Centre for Environmental Studies.
- MEDHURST, F. & PARRY LEWIS, J., 1969, "Urban Decay: an analysis and a policy", London, Macmillan.
- MERRETT, S., 1976, "Housing and Class in Britain" Politics and Economics Housing Workshop.
- MERRETT, S., 1979, "State Housing in Britain", London, Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- MINTEL see EASSIE, R. (op cit).
- MONTAGUE OF BEAULIEU (CHAIRMAN OF WORKING PARTY). LORD, 1981, "Britain's Historic Buildings: A Policy For Their Future Use", British Tourist Authority.

- MOORE, E.G., 1969, "The Structure of Intra Urban Movement Rates: an Ecological Model". Urban Studies Vol. 6, No. 1, Feb 1969, pp 17-33.
- MURPHY, R.E. & VANCE, J.E., 1955, "Internal Structure of the Central Business District", Economic Geography 31, p 21-46.
- NAIRN, I., 1963 "Cathedral Cities" Architectural Review, Vol 134, Sept. 1963 pp 165-179.
- NATIONAL ENVIRONMENT RESEARCH COUNCIL (NERC) Experimental Cartography Unit, 1978, "Land Use Mapping by Local Authorities in Britain".
- NATIONAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT ORGANISATION, 1971, "The Future Pattern of Shopping", National Economic Development Office.
- NELSON, R.L., 1958, "The Selection of Retail Locations", New York, Dodge.
- OTTENSMANN, J.R., 1975, "The Changing Spatial Structure of American Cities", Lexington Mass, London D.C. Heath, Lexington Books.
- OWEN, S. 1980, "Assessing the effects of Local Planning" Gloucestershire Papers in Local and Rural Planning, No. 9.
- OWEN, S. 1980, "A review of Activity Evaluation Techniques For Local Planning Design", Planning Outlook, Vol. 23, No.1. pp 16-23.
- PAHL, R.E. 1970, "Social Aspects of Conservation", Architectural Review December 1970, Vol. 148, pp 369-70.
- PAPAGEORGIOU, A., 1971, "Continuity and Change: Preservation in City Planning", London, Pall Mall Press.
- PERLOFF, H. (ed), 1971, "The Quality of the Urban Environment: Essays in New Resources in an Urban Age", Baltimore, London.
- PLANNING ADVISORY GROUP, 1965, "The Future of Development Plans" London HMSO.
- PLUMB, M., 1982, "Local Plans In Use: a strategic planning authority view", The Planner Vol. 6, No. 5, p 148, Sept, Oct 1982, RTPI.
- POTTER, R., 1980, "Spatial and Structural Variations in the Quality characteristics of Intra-urban Retailing Centres". Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, Vol. 15.
- PRED, A., 1979, "City Systems in Advanced Economics: past growth, present processes and Future development options". Hutchinson 1977.
- PROCOS, D., 1976, "Mixed Land Use", London, Dowden, Hutchinson & Ross Ltd.
- RANNELLS, J., 1974, "The Core of the City: a pilot study of changing land uses in Central Business Districts", Westport, Conn: Greenwood. (originally published in 1956).
- RHIND, D. & HUDSON, R., 1980, "Land Use", London, Metheun.
- ROBSON, B. & PACE, W., 1981 "Renewal and Employment" in the Future For The City Centre, Institute of British Geographers Urban Geography & Planning Study Group.
- ROYAS, M., 1980, "Lichfield: A Case Study of the Impact of Changes in Activities on the Fabric of Buildings in Historic Town Centres" MSc thesis, University of Aston in Birmingham.
- SAFEWAY 1980 Annual Report.

- SANDFORD, J.C.E., 1974, "Report of the National Park Policies Review Committee", London, HMSO.
- SAUS Papers, 1981, Working Paper 3, "Approaches to Local Planning", Colin Fudge (ed) School for Advanced Urban Studies, Bristol.
- SCHILLER, R., 1971, "Location Trends in Specialist Services", Regional Studies 5, No. 1, ppl - 10.
- SCHILLER, R. 1972, "The Measurement of Attractiveness of Shopping Centres to Middle Class Luxury Consumers", Regional Studies No. 6, 1972, pp291-7.
- SCHILLER, R., 1975, "Impact of New Shopping Schemes on Shops in Historic Streets", The Planner 61, pp 367-9.
- SIBLEY, D., 1972, "Strategy and Tactics in the Selection of Shop Locations", Area 4, No. 13.
- SIM, D., 1980, "Discussion Papers in Geography, Oxford Policy Paper II".
- SMILES, A.E., 1955, "Some Reflections in the Erographical Description and Analysis of Townscapes", Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers Vol. XXI pp 99-115.
- SMITH, A., 1972 "The Future of Downtown Retailing", Urban Land 31, no. 2, pp 3-10.
- SMITH, A.D., 1971, "Committee of Inquiry on Small Firms", London, HMSO.
- SMITH, L., 1974 "Amenity and Urban Planning".
- SZUMELUK, K., 1968 "Central Place Theory. I. A review, II. It's role in planning with particular reference to retailing" London, Centre for Environmental Studies.
- THOMAS, C.J., 1978, "Retail Change in South Wales With Special Reference to Redevelopment in Small Town Centres". Retailing & Planning Associates, Corbridge.
- THOMPSON, J.R. 1977, "Making Local Plans Effective. The Camden Experience", June 1977, "Structure Planning Practice and Local Planning Practice", PTRC.
- THORPE, D., 1968 "The Main Shopping Centres of Great Britain in 1961: Locational and Structural Characteristics". Urban Studies pp 165-206 1968 No. 5.
- THORPE, D. 1975, "Retail Planning: The Key Policy Issues", Paper given at the symposium 'Town Planning for retailing', Retail Outlets Research Unit, Manchester Business School.
- TUCKER, S.N., 1980, "Mixed Area Development Control", Urban Studies Vol. 17, p287-297, Oct 1980.
- UNDERWOOD, J., 1981, "Development Control: A Review of Research and Current Issues" Progress in Planning Vol. 16, pt.3.
- UNDERWOOD, J., 1982, "Local Planning - tensions and conflicts", The Planner, Vol. 68, No.5, Sept/Oct 1982, p 138-140, The Royal Town Planning Institute.
- UNESCO, 1975, "The Conservation of Cities", London, Croom Helm.
- UNIVERSITY OF AMSTERDAM SOCIOGRAPHICAL DEPARTMENT, 1966. "Urban Core and Inner City", Proceedings of International Study Week 11-17 Sept, 1966, Amsterdam.
- VANCE, J.E., 1971, "Focus on Downtown", in Bourne (op cit).
- VICKERMAN, R.W., 1979, "The Evaluation of Urban Change - equilibrium and adaptive approaches" Urban Studies Vol 16, No. 1. pp81-93, Feb 1979.
- WEST MIDLANDS COUNTY COUNCIL SHOPPING STUDY See Erdman (op cit).

WHITBOURN, P., 1973, "Conservation and Retailing" PhD Thesis: Unpublished University College of London. (Approved in 1974).

WHITE, M.J., 1978, "Self Interest in the Suburbs. The Trend Towards No Growth Zoning", Policy Analysis Vol. 4 1978.

WILLIAMS, B., 1978, "The Underuse of Upper Floors in Historic Town Centres". Research Paper 15, York, Institute of Advanced Architectural Studies.

WINGO, L., 1966, "Cities and Space: The Future Use of Urban Land", Baltimore, John Hopkins Press.

WREFORDWATSON, J., 1959, "Geographical Essays in Memory of Alan G. Ogilvie".

PART 2

GOVERNMENT CIRCULARS AND LOCAL AUTHORITY REPORTS

DEPARTMENT OF THE ENVIRONMENT: CIRCULARS, H.M.S.O.
56/71 "Historic Towns and Roads".

71/74 "Statistics of Land Use Change".

23/77 Historic Buildings and Conservation Areas. Policy and Procedure.

2/81 Local Government Planning and Land Act, 1980. Devpt Control Functions.

12/81 Historic Buildings and Conservation Areas.

23/81 Local Government Planning and Land Act, 1980. Development Plans.

BATH CITY COUNCIL, 1978, "The Plan For Monmouth Place", Department of Architecture and Planning, Bath City Council.

BATH CITY COUNCIL, 1981, "Conservation Study Review 1 1981", Bath City Council.

BATH CITY COUNCIL, (no date), "Policies for the Conservation Area". Bath City Council.

CAMDEN, LONDON BOROUGH OF - see Thompson. 1977 in List of Books and Periodicals.

CHELTENHAM, DISTRICT COUNCIL OF, 1976, "Cheltenham Interim District Plan." Cheltenham, District Council of.

CHESTER, CITY COUNCIL 1976 "Chester Conservation Review Study". Chester City Council.

DERBYSHIRE COUNTY COUNCIL, 1977, "Derbyshire Structure Plan", Derbyshire County Council

DONCASTER METROPOLITAN BOROUGH COUNCIL, 1982 "Doncaster Town Centre District Plan Draft Written Statement", Doncaster Metropolitan Borough Council.

DURHAM COUNTY COUNCIL, 1976, "Durham County Structure Plan", Durham County Council.

DYFED COUNTY COUNCIL, 1971, "Ruthin Conservation Area Designation". Dyfed County Council.

ESSEX COUNTY COUNCIL, 1979, "Structure Plan Written Statement", Essex County Council.

GREATER LONDON COUNCIL, "Advisory Plan for Central London, Topic Paper 1. "Conservation and Development", ch.4.13, Greater London Council.

IPSWICH DISTRICT COUNCIL, 1974, "Ipswich Central Area Conservation", Ipswich District Council.

KINGSTON UPON THAMES, ROYAL BOROUGH., 1981, "Kingston upon Thames Town Centre District Plan".

LINCOLN CITY PLANNING AND ARCHITECTS DEPARTMENT, Bow 1980, 1977 Report Survey Clasket Gate to Lower Westgate District Plan. City of Lincoln.

MACCLESFIELD BOROUGH COUNCIL, 1981, "Macclesfield Area - The Draft Plan" March 1981. Macclesfield Borough Council.

METROPOLITAN BOROUGH OF ST. HELENS, 1976, "Newton-le-Willows Local Plan - Report of Survey".

OXFORDSHIRE COUNTY COUNCIL, 1976, "Oxfordshire Structure Plan", Oxfordshire County Council.

PEMBROKE COUNTY COUNCIL, 1972, "Pembroke Conservation Study", Pembroke County Council.

SOUTH HAMPSHIRE COUNTY COUNCIL, 1977, "South Hampshire Structure Plan", South Hampshire County Council.

SURREY COUNTY COUNCIL, 1978, "County Structure Plan", Surrey County Council.

TYNE AND WEAR COUNTY COUNCIL, 1971, "Tynemouth", Tyne and Wear County Council.

WEST SUSSEX COUNTY COUNCIL, 1978, "West Sussex County Structure Plan Written Statement", West Sussex County Council.

PART 3

SHREWSBURY CASE STUDY REFERENCES

ALDOUS, T., 1980 "Saviour of Shrewsbury" Building Vol CCXXXIV, No. 7170, 19/26 December 1980. pp 36-7.

BLAKEWAY, J., 1825 in Phillips, W. (editor) "The Topographical History of Shrewsbury by the late Reverend John Blakeway", Transactions of the Shropshire Archaeological Society, approx. 1890.

BUCKLEY, A., (Ed), 1975 "100 Centre Guide to Commercial Property Development 1975-6", Epping, Essex, Gower Economic Publications.

CORNFORTH, J., 1977, "Saving a Midland Barchester" Country Life Vol CLXII No. 4188, October 6, 1977. pp 902-5.

CORNFORTH, J., 1977, "Five Centuries of Black and White" Country Life October 20, No. 4190, pp 1133-7.

CORNFORTH, J., 1977, "A Town of Mirth and Gallantry" Country Life No.4192 November 3, pp 1306 - 1311.

CULLEN, G., 1954, "Midland Experiment", Architectural Review, Vol. 115, pp 322-330.

DEPARTMENT OF EMPLOYMENT, CENSUS OF EMPLOYMENT, 1980, Statistics in Salop Structure Plan Written Statement (op cit).

DEPARTMENT OF THE ENVIRONMENT, 1975, Report on Enquiry March 5-6, 1975, Appeal by Co-operative Retail Services.

DEPARTMENT OF THE ENVIRONMENT, 1979, Report on Harlescott Inquiry. Jan 1979. Appeal by Co-operative Retail Services.

.../...

- DEPARTMENT OF THE ENVIRONMENT, Commercial and Industrial Floorspace Statistics. Previously MHLG, "Statistics for Town and Country Planning".
- EXLEY, S., 1981, "The Underuse of Buildings: A study of Shrewsbury Town Centre", BSc Dissertation, Gloucester College of Art & Technology.
- GINSBURG, L.B., 1963, "Within the Bridges - Urban Renewal in Shrewsbury", Official Architecture and Planning Oct 1963, p 970.
- GODDARD, J.R., 1981, "British Cities in Transition" Geographical Magazine May 1981.
- HOBBS, J.L., 1954, "Shrewsbury Street Names", Shrewsbury, Wilding & Sons.
- LLOYD, D., 1975, "Shrewsbury: Even now a Beautiful Place", Built Environment Quarterly, September 1975.
- MANNERS, G.F., 1968 "Lost and at a loss in the Marches", The Guardian 6th June 1968.
- MONTAGUE OF BEAULIEU, LORD, 1981, "Britains Historic Buildings: A Policy for their Future Use", British Tourist Authority.
- PEARCE, S., 1980, "1979 Floorspace Survey of Shrewsbury: Interpretation of Shopping Floorspace", Shropshire County Council.
- PILGRIM, J., 1964, "Looking and Seeing Shrewsbury", Shropshire Magazine May 1964.
- SALOP COUNTY COUNCIL, 1970, "Shrewsbury Conservation Area Statement".
- SINKER, C. & PANNETT, D., (undated) "Frankwell Riverside Trail" for the Borough of Shrewsbury and Atcham and the Shropshire Conservation Trust.
- SHERWOOD, K.B., 1966, "Shrewsbury: The Development of the Land Use Pattern" unpublished BSc Dissertation. University College of Wales, Aberystwyth.
- SHREWSBURY BOROUGH COUNCIL, 1966, "Pedestrian Movement Study".
- | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| " | " | " | 1967, "Town Centre Study Statement of Principles". |
| " | " | " | 1968, "Town Centre Study. Reports on Office Accommodation and Future Shopping Needs". |
| " | " | " | 1970, "The Challenge of Conservation". |
| " | " | " | 1971, "Town Scheme". |
- SHREWSBURY & ATCHAM DISTRICT COUNCIL, 1978, "Current Planning Policies and Standards". Report to Planning and Highways Committee (unpublished).
- SHREWSBURY & ATCHAM DISTRICT COUNCIL, 1978, "Discussion Paper on Traffic", Preparing a District Plan for Shrewsbury.
- SHREWSBURY & ATCHAM DISTRICT COUNCIL, 1978, "Royal Shropshire Infirmary Development Potential".
- SHREWSBURY & ATCHAM DISTRICT COUNCIL, 1979, "Planning Handbook", Home Publishing Company Ltd.
- SHREWSBURY & ATCHAM DISTRICT COUNCIL, 1979 a, "Discussion Paper on Population and Housing". District Plan.
- SHREWSBURY & ATCHAM DISTRICT COUNCIL, 1979 b, "Discussion Paper on Shopping" District Plan.
- SHREWSBURY & ATCHAM DISTRICT COUNCIL, 1979 c, "Pedestrian Priority Areas".
- SHREWSBURY & ATCHAM DISTRICT COUNCIL, 1980, "Discussion Paper on Employment".

SHREWSBURY & ATCHAM DISTRICT COUNCIL, 1981. "Discussion Paper on Conservation and Tourism".

SHREWSBURY & ATCHAM DISTRICT COUNCIL, undated, "Shopfronts and Advertisements in Shrewsbury".

SHREWSBURY CHRONICLE & SHROPSHIRE COUNTY LIBRARY, "The Changing Face of Shrewsbury", First Series, 1977, Second Series, 1981.

SHREWSBURY CHRONICLE, 1980 "Frankwell, the Little Borough with a Wealth of History", Nov 28, 1980.

SHROPSHIRE COUNTY COUNCIL, 1976 "A Plan For Shropshire", Part 3 - Shrewsbury".

SHROPSHIRE COUNTY COUNCIL, 1980, "Salop County Structure Plan".

SMAILES, A.E., 1955 "Some Reflections on the Geographical Description and Analysis of Townscapes". Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, Vol. XXI, pp 99-115.

STRATTON, M., 1979, "Shrewsbury. A Town Trail" Shrewsbury Civic Trust.

TRADE DIRECTORIES for Shrewsbury: 1956, 1962, 1964, 1968.

WALBURGH WARD, A., 1935 "The Bridges of Shrewsbury", Shrewsbury, Wilding & Son.

WARD, A.A., (no date) "30 years service in Shrewsbury, 1914 - 1944".

*Local Authority publications are published by the author, unless otherwise stated.