

Do we live in a broken society, as claimed by both church leaders and politicians? Or, as Geoff Mulgan, a former head of the government's policy unit argues in this insightful book—are the bonds of community and place much stronger than acknowledged by the persistent doom-mongers? Mulgan suggests that there is everything to work for in local communities and that they are more than capable of being re-energised by new initiatives. As such, he proposes a new positive future for community life—if appropriate action is taken now.

Living and Community Geoff Mulgan

# Living and Community

Geoff Mulgan

UK £7.99 / US \$12.50  
ISBN: 978 1 906155 13 1



architecture art design  
fashion history photography  
theory and things  
[www.blackdogonline.com](http://www.blackdogonline.com)



black dog  
publishing

THE EDGE  
FUTURES

# Living and Community

**Geoff Mulgan**

**black dog  
publishing**  
london uk

THE EDGE  
**FUTURES**

By the year 2025 the climate will have changed irrevocably, mainly as a result of greenhouse gas emissions. The temperature is predicted to be, on average, half a degree warmer and will fluctuate to a greater extent. Rainfall will have reduced but will also become more extreme. Resources such as energy, water and food imports will be in shorter supply and transport will be constrained; partly as a result of climate change but also due to regulations aimed at preventing global warming. In this series of important and timely books the Edge explore the impact these changes will have on our lives in the future. Global in scope and far reaching in its implications this series examines the significant social, environmental, political, economic and professional challenges that we face in the years ahead.

## Contents:

|   |           |
|---|-----------|
| <b>Living and Community: Geoff Mulgan</b>         |           |
| <b>Introduction: Simon Foxell and Adam Poole</b>  | <b>04</b> |
| <b>Managing Communities—Looking to the Future</b> | <b>07</b> |
| Predicting the Future                             | 09        |
| Community Battlegrounds                           | 11        |
| Childhood   | 11        |
| Old Age and Demography                            | 13        |
| Climate Change                                    | 15        |
| Connectivity and the Sense of Place               | 16        |
| Two Examples                                      |           |
| Policing  | 19        |
| Well-being  | 20        |
| Governance  | 20        |
| Not a Broken Society                              | 22        |
| Belonging   | 25        |
| What is the challenge for the next 15 years?      | 30        |
| <b>Suggested Reading</b>                          | <b>36</b> |
| <b>Authors</b>                                    | <b>41</b> |
| <b>The Edge</b>                                   | <b>42</b> |
| <b>Edge Futures</b>                               | <b>42</b> |

## Introduction

### Simon Foxell and Adam Poole

If there is one thing in recent decades that has affected the way we live as a community, whether large or small, it is our changing attitude to our time. As we look into the future to approximately 2025 will we have more or less time to offer to living, to our families, to the community?

There is a belief that we work harder and for more hours than previous generations although there is probably little truth in it. Certainly most households, in order to pay the mortgage and supermarket bills, need two, or more, incomes and undirected time for most adults appears to be at a premium or is spent indoors in front of the television and computer.

We are all in a hurry, all under pressure and only interested in communal activity when “there’s something in it for me”. It is an approach summarised by Margaret Thatcher 20 years ago in her statement to Woman’s Own magazine that “There is no such thing as society, only individuals and families.”

Government is now keen, possibly desperate, to change this. Policies centre on citizenship skills, participation and engagement and sustainable communities. A champion for volunteering is appointed and the government announces it wants to engage people around the country in a discussion on citizenship and British values (The Governance of the UK, July 2007). But no attempt has been made to find the time when the community will come together, will interact and engage. In 20 years government rhetoric has moved from a denial of society as having an existence let alone a value, to another government begging its citizens to re-engage and to behave as a community again. Where will society be in another 20 years time?

It is frequently suggested that in a world where travel will be prohibitively expensive local communities will find themselves valued again and there will be a return to mutual, neighbourhood support systems. Similarly predicted is the popular discovery that work for purely financial reward is not all that it is cracked up to be, if it does nothing or little for one’s quality of life. These arguments fit into current propositions around happiness and mesh with beliefs in slow food and the importance of the convivial lifestyle. They are, of course, a middle class delusion.

We have become used to living in an global world and will not give it up easily, but we may have to get more used to living in it in a virtual sense; enjoying those International products that can come to us without associated transportation costs; images, sounds and even flavours as well as particular types of work and services, rather than the real and physical. Such virtual supping of the world’s riches; far-flung friendships based on common interests, computer and communications based work carried

out on one continent to satisfy the needs of those on another and a continuing quest for the unusual, stimulating and exotic wherever it is to be found, will not make us more community minded, instead it will encourage greater isolation and inward facing existences.

Religion, often cited as a community based activity that brings a congregation regularly together, has long been heading in this direction. Individuals search for remote guidance and inspiration and exclude those with different sets of beliefs from their social circle. The local and immediate is less engaging than the particular, exclusive and remote. Even those churches, mosques and temples that have thriving congregations find it difficult to want to reach out into the wider, non-spiritual, community. The many community support systems that do exist through religious organisations are frequently holdovers from very different times. New charitable organisations tend to be single-issue based rather than faith generated.

The one exception is in education where faith is uncomfortably bumping up against universal state provision and it is where community-level conflict is most likely to arise. The government, newly interested in community cohesion, needs to think hard how it can make sure that schools are a force for bringing disparate interests together around agreed goods rather than sectarian division.

But, looking ahead, the need to become less-dependant on external resources, whether oil and minerals from politically unacceptable regimes or out-of-season food from the other side of the earth, is likely to become compelling. This inevitably means becoming more reliant on ourselves and finding and rediscovering ways of living within our own means. The ecological footprint of the United Kingdom in 2003 was 5.6 global hectares (gha) as against 1.6 gha bio-capacity, a factor of use vs local supply of 3.5:1. To move towards a ratio of 1:1 is going to require a closer and more local relationship

<sup>1</sup> Source:  
Global Footprint  
Network ([www.footprintnetwork.org](http://www.footprintnetwork.org))

between supply and demand and it is this that will force the new regionalism, so often proposed and discussed, onto our society.<sup>1</sup>

Standard analysis of the economy recognises the public, private and voluntary sectors. Recent history has involved the public sector re-emerging from a nadir of public and government trust and the destructive impulses of the 1980s, but it is now very reliant on private funding, management, resources and leadership even when these have been seen to be lacking. Throughout this period the voluntary sector has quietly trodden a careful path, anxious not to attract the attacks made on the public sector or to over-commit itself when dependent on a fragile and fickle funding stream. Perhaps this sector's time is due when we need to develop stronger communities and a more self-sustaining economy in an equally global but far more energy and resource constrained world.

Time spent in voluntary, community supportive activity will need to be recognised in new ways. This is unlikely to be through salary levels, although the tax system might be adjusted to recognise the social value of time spent not working for profit. Instead it may relate to time made available by both individuals and employers for activities that add to the commonwealth. The education system also needs to prepare students for lives spent not only in a variety of jobs but also contributing their talents in many different ways.

Such activities need to be outward looking and tolerant; building on the strength brought to the UK by its willingness to be a multi-, or even inter-, cultural country. It would be a disaster if by becoming more self-reliant and community focused it also became inward looking rather than internationalist with links and interests maintained across the world. The challenge for the UK is to find ways that are not predicated on consumption and growth but that instead look to stability and providing opportunities for individuals and groups to play an interesting and creative part in a vigorous and communal society.

## Managing Communities— Looking to the Future

### Geoff Mulgan

Forecasters used to predict that economic growth and technological change would make people ever more detached from the places where they live. Instead, the picture is more complex. Some spaces have been *privatised* and fenced off. But, in other ways, our shared spaces are being democratised and people are becoming more concerned about, and more engaged with, the local environments in which they live and work.

Our work at the Young Foundation stretches back to another period when great struggles were underway over how local spaces should best be organised.<sup>2</sup> In the 1950s Michael Young and his colleagues led part of the assault against the excesses of planning and the movement of people into tower blocks on the edge of London.

<sup>2</sup> The Young Foundation was founded in 2005 from the merger of the Institute of Community Studies and the Mutual Aid Centre. The Foundation is a centre for social innovation based in East London—combining practical projects, the creation of new enterprises, research and publishing. Geoff Mulgan is Director of The Young Foundation.

<sup>3</sup> Young, Michael and Peter Willmott, *Family and Kinship in East London*, Hammondsworth: Penguin, 1957.

<sup>4</sup> Jacobs, Jane, *The Death and Life of American Cities*, New York: Modern Library, 1961.

The destruction of social bonds taking place then was the subject of a project and a very influential book published as *Family and Kinship in East London*.<sup>3</sup> That project became, in turn, an inspiration for Jane Jacobs who, a few years later, wrote her seminal work on American cities, *The Death and Life of American Cities*, which was critical in helping people change the way they thought about urban life and communities.<sup>4</sup> Both books encouraged people to look at cities, not as aggregations of buildings and infrastructures, but rather as organic places held together by social and informal bonds that could easily be shattered by ill-conceived plans.

Since then there has undoubtedly been progress: experts in architecture and planning are now much more likely to recognise and acknowledge some of the features of healthy living communities. Other things being equal; development proposals are more likely to involve the elements which generally encourage a sense of community: reasonable degrees of density, mixed-use; building design which involves lines of sight onto public spaces; connectivity, the mix of both fast flow when you want it, that is to say easy access to public transport, and slow flow when that is appropriate, with places, squares, gardens, corners and parks where people can pause and mingle with others.

But, in other respects, there is still a very long way to go. People are able to exercise very little control over the buildings they live in and the planning and management of their streets. They have been on the receiving end of what has rained down from planners, architects and developers, with little chance to object, and even less chance to get engaged at an early stage of design.

#### Predicting the Future

Any predictions are risky. I've always liked the comment on one far left leader who, in 1930, said that it was "proof of Trotsky's farsightedness that none of his predictions has yet



come true". A famous futurist, Jim Dator, also said that for any prediction about the future to be useful it must at first sound ridiculous. I may have failed by that measure, but I do feel confident about what, for communities, is likely to be the biggest challenge over the next ten to 20 years. It isn't that there won't be enough money, instead it is that society may well become more fragmented; more disconnected and less integrated; with wider gulfs between rich and poor, country and city, religious and secular, and between different races; all resulting in a diminution of social capacity. The causes of fragmentation are many—some are structural, some are consequences of politics. But their common theme is a weakening of the horizontal connections between people, bridging social capital to use the technical term, and the related capacities to empathise, cooperate and get on with others. A recent survey of 11, 13 and 15 year olds in more than 30 countries asked the question "do you find your peers generally kind and helpful?". More than half were able to answer "yes" in every OECD country except the Czech Republic and the United Kingdom where only 43 per cent felt able to answer positively, half the figure in Switzerland and Portugal.

We know the evidence about unwillingness to intervene in street issues and disputes—which shows that UK's citizens are more prone to turn a blind eye than the citizens of other countries. There's no shortage of evidence of people becoming less tolerant, quicker to become angry—whether in the form of road rage or attacks on NHS staff. We know that levels of social trust declined steadily from the 1950s to the 1990s, and although the overall trend appears to have stabilised, it is worrying that 48 per cent of young people aged 11 to 18 years would not trust the 'ordinary man or woman' in the street whereas 30 per cent of adults would. Anti-social behaviour continues to be a top public concern in many areas. When people are asked if life is getting better or worse, a large majority think it is

getting worse and the specifics they cite are all about daily interactions, with 47 per cent citing a lack of respect and 46 per cent citing levels of crime.

This isn't about young people and old, though it is sometimes misleadingly presented through this frame. Indeed, in surveys of politeness to tourists in many cities the young tend to score better than the old, and it is men over 60 who come out worst. Instead, it is about how we as humans relate to others, about the civility of our society: our ability to live together.

So why should any of this matter? It matters because distrust, unfriendliness, rage, a society where people put up shutters, retreat to gated communities and put up internal gates as well, is bound to be a stunted one unable to live up to its potential. It matters too because the presence of a civil society in all its senses is so critical to well-being and happiness. This is one of the messages from the growing mass of evidence on well-being and happiness around the world. What makes societies happy is, in part income, in part good governance. But the evidence again and again reinforces that it is also about trust, about the quality of relationships at the most micro level: how people live together, whether they feel safe walking down their street, talking to a stranger, and whether there is a rough and ready equality of recognition. How spaces are organised, and the messages they send, are vital to how happy we are, and to our ability to thrive. So where do we stand? Who is winning or losing in the battle to shape spaces to meet their needs?

### Community Battlegrounds

#### Childhood

Many British cities are now favoured with much better play spaces than a generation ago: high quality materials and designs, and, in the latest planning codes, much stricter requirements for developers. But, overall civil society has lost ground on issues concerning childhood. Children growing up

today are bombarded by an intrusive and often shameless commercial culture and then are taken into the care of the state if things go really wrong, with the voice of civil society barely audible in the din. At the same time many international commentators have observed that cities like London are about as un-child friendly as it is possible to be.

All families in OECD countries today are aware that childhood is being reshaped by forces whose mainspring is not necessarily the best interests of the child. At the same time, a wide public in the OECD countries is becoming ever more aware that many of life have their genesis in the changing ecology of childhood. Many therefore feel that it is time to attempt to re-gain a degree of understanding, control and direction over what is happening to our children in their most vital, vulnerable years.<sup>5</sup>

UNICEF Innocenti Research Centre

The United States (US) and UK ranked at the bottom of a UN survey of child welfare in 21 wealthy countries that assessed subjects from infant mortality to whether children ate dinner with their parents or were bullied at school.<sup>6</sup>

Children have had no direct voice and only a pretty weak indirect say in the key decisions concerning the places they live and play. They are getting more indirect say through regulation on the use of planning gain in development, on the actual quality of play areas, playgrounds and parks, and also some indirect say through things like youth parliaments, youth majors, youth councils and a growing recognition that children should be allowed to speak for themselves and not through an intermediary.

<sup>5</sup> Report Card 7 Child poverty in perspective: An overview of child wellbeing in rich countries, 2007

<sup>6</sup> The Washington Post, 15 February 2007, commenting on Unicef study.

Government has experimented at times with involving children in decisions—for example engaging young teenagers living on estates in interviewing their peers and then presenting recommendations to ministers (at one particularly memorable event, to the Prime Minister and Deputy Prime Minister, where their messages were strikingly different to those coming from the organisations which claimed to represent them). Others have helped shaped provision of leisure facilities. Similar ideas are beginning to have some influence on schools. Children are becoming more involved in design decisions for schools through the Building Schools for the Future programme. This could be a very exciting field for a new style of partnership between planners, architects and others on the one hand and children on the other, rather than seeing them solely as passive beneficiaries.

### *Old Age and Demography*

The second of the battlegrounds is at the other end of the spectrum; adapting spaces, buildings and particularly homes for a very different pattern of old age. A couple, who both reach 65 today, have a 17 per cent chance that one of them will reach 100. Social attitudes have not caught up at all with the extraordinary increase in life expectancy of the UK population, and the building professions, including developers, planners and architects, have been astonishingly slow to grapple with, and design for, new patterns of ageing. These are likely to involve many people moving three or four times after retirement and going through an increasingly more complicated set of life patterns. The baby boomer generation will possibly have ten to 15 years of intense living after retirement; increasingly moving back into city centres, wanting culture, nightlife, fun, food, etc.. A significant proportion of them will have a great deal of disposable income, from a lifetime of well-paid work and especially from downsizing homes, to pay for it.



But, equally, many people will spend much longer periods requiring various degrees of care; for buildings without stairs; and for much more pervasive technology to monitor constantly their health for symptoms that may need attention. Large numbers of the elderly will also require extended terminal care as morbidity, if not mortality, increases.

Philadelphia was earlier this decade the first city in the world to house a family in which five generations lived under one roof. In this decade there will be many more communities and housing models, which either cluster together two, three or four generations. Similarly the work I have been doing in Australia is showing that many people in their 60s and 70s want to live in clusters of perhaps six or seven houses as an alternative to staying in the house they have always lived in, or moving into a care home. There is going to have to be a major set of changes at the interface between building, design, and planning and finance to accommodate these very different patterns of old age. The same will be true in the personal care and health sectors. One of the major requirements will be for the potential and capacity for mutual support in old age, without it being intrusive. Everything we are learning about age is telling us that mutual support is all important, which again takes us back to the excesses in planning and tower block design and the way that they destroyed the capacity for it in the past. It will be a very complex market, both in terms of a need and a desire for different freedoms, products and services as well as the ability to pay for them.

As life-spans increase, hospitals and the healthcare system will have to help a growing population with long term, chronic diseases—from diabetes and MS to heart disease and cancers—look after themselves and those

around them. Most of the care provided in the twenty-first century will not come from hospitals, or doctors, or polyclinics—it will be provided by people themselves, and by those around them day in and day out, supported by the NHS, informed by the best knowledge available, and with periodic visits to clinicians. It will require new skills of self-responsibility and cooperation, as well as support networks constructed around the frail elderly or disabled children. It will, in other words, require a much more human-centred, holistic approach that builds on the work of projects like The Expert Patients programme and a wide range of voluntary organisations. But, the critical point is that it will have to be grounded in self-efficacy and social efficacy too, especially if it is to make inroads into inequalities that, in the borough where I work—Tower Hamlets—have left life expectancy 13 years longer at one end of the borough than the other.

#### *Climate Change*

The third big shift is going to be not just awareness of climate change and carbon reduction, but the much broader shift to models of sustainable urban and indeed rural living. We can already see this changing the way localities are organised and a city like Havana provides an example of a place transformed by the end of cheap or readily available oil (Soviet oil in Cuba's case): it is a city that is already sourcing the majority of its food from within its own borders.

Havana is a pointer to what a world with far higher carbon prices might look like. It is likely that there would be a revival of urban allotments and small-scale high-quality special production in and around cities; far more encouragement for local sourcing; more visible farmers' markets; organic deliveries, etc.; probably alongside the surviving world of supermarkets. There would be far greater use of different travel modes, from electric,

rented and shared cars, to smart bicycles and to prominent walking routes in all cities, whether Bogotá, which might already be an exemplar for where we are heading or Los Angeles or even Dubai.

Bogotá is an unusual example of a developing world city. Under two pioneering mayors it has spent huge amounts on cycle paths that run, not just through the city, but right out into the countryside. Of course many Dutch towns, such as Groningen, in one of the richest areas in Europe, have long had a very strong bicycle-orientated transport system. These models of development are very different from the car-based visions of supermarkets, suburbs and ring roads, of which Los Angeles has been the dominant model for the last 60 years, and for which time is running out.

Equally, C40, the grouping of the world's largest cities, all committed to tackling climate change, is discussing the potential shift to neighbourhood energy systems, and energy systems that mainly use urban waste as the source of energy, with combined heat and power (CHP) systems in the localities. This will change not only how we pay for energy but also the psychology of localities, where you are predominantly creating your own energy rather than relying on very big coal-fired power stations or on imported oil. This is another dimension to the re-localisation and recapture of space by communities: create your own rather than the drift to ever-larger scale and ever increasing dependence on big technical systems.

#### *Connectivity and the Sense of Place*

The fourth strand is the role of the web and ICT, which is already transforming the sense of locality and place in areas of high connectivity. It has turned out to be a far more interesting impact than was feared ten or 20 years ago. It is becoming, in many different ways, a tool for the re-assertion of locality and for the particularity and ownership of place.

Technology is beginning to create new communities much more directly. There has been experimentation in some countries along the lines of giving everyone in the street the email addresses of everyone else in the street or by establishing neighbourhood web sites, exchange systems and/or neighbourhood news services. In almost every case, the effect of these IT initiatives has been to increase the amount of face-to-face contact people have with their neighbours; knowing about their neighbours has encouraged the feeling that new arrivals were part of the community too. Far from the internet and communication technologies pulling people away from place as was warned and feared, the technology has been able to simultaneously establish local as well as global bonds.

#### *Two Examples*

One is a project, which The Young Foundation launched earlier this year with MySociety and which won a prize for the best new civic media. Called Fix My Street, it is a simple website using Google maps.<sup>7</sup> Any citizen can report a broken piece of civic infrastructure, an abandoned car or anything like that. On the website, enter the postcode, click on the interactive map and send a message to the responsible person in the council whose job it is to fix it. This is done publicly so that anyone else can comment and see whether the problem is fixed promptly or not.

Sites like Fix My Street are making space more visible and collectively owned than it was, or could have been, in a pre-web era. There are now people working on a version of this called Fix My Planet, which again uses Google maps to identify particularly high emissions from buildings, factories and so on and, as has happened with the Clean India project, in India, it is mobilising teenagers as the guardians of ecology space.

<sup>7</sup> [www.fixmystreet.com](http://www.fixmystreet.com)

Another example is one for which we have so far only developed a prototype. Called [www.yourhistoryhere](http://www.yourhistoryhere), it is a site that is intended to develop and create new membranes for the city. If you walk along a street in East London, in Glasgow or Manchester, it is very difficult to get any sense of what happened there in the past; what information or memories exist about that place; whether any significant events took place or people lived or worked there: from battles to local celebrities. There are various routes into a city's past, through books in libraries and so on, but they are almost inaccessible and very slow to interrogate.

Again, the very simple idea is to use Google maps or its successors and layer a series of membranes over the base map which can then be used to find out about a place, its past and significance. Some of these membranes will just be writings on events that happened in a particular house, street or park. It may have been a great demonstration, or maybe a novel was written there or a crucial meeting held in an upstairs room. Such pieces of information can be layered over recordings of oral history; people saying what it was like walking down the street in the 1920s or in the 1940s, as the bombs fell during the Blitz; or even a piece of film. The idea is that you steadily build up, layer upon layer, information about places using the web and, in this way, make the past very immediate and, ultimately accessible via a mobile phone or a handheld device, so that as you are walking down Princess Street in Edinburgh, if you want, you can talk to the buildings. It means the city, which is normally mute in terms of its meanings, its passions and its history, becomes vocal and is brought alive by technology.

Technology has the capacity to re-awaken the local and make places meaningful. We thought this was

particularly important for new immigrants, and for people coming to an area such as the East End, from Somalia or Bangladesh, who, at the moment, have no way of knowing about the events and history of the area, what is meaningful, what happened in the past and why they matter to others. I think we are going to see an extraordinary explosion in the next ten to 20 years of innovation around the technology of place—based initially around Google maps and Google Earth but potentially going off in many other different directions as well.

### *Policing*

In many ways British policing leads the world. The experience of rioting in the UK in the 1980s, in Brixton and in Toxteth and in the northwest in 2001 prompted a fundamental rethink and the start of micro-policing—an attention to small details to avoid the snowballing effects of bad policing. The police have recognised that their success depends on working at a much more local level, getting to know neighbourhoods and being accountable to very local areas. This trend—which in its recent incarnation started in Tower Hamlets in London—has reinforced the growth of new roles (in particular the Police Community Support Officer scheme) and new styles of policing (such as the return to bicycles). The experts were often sceptical about having more accessible and visible police. But this shift to a more community-based model of policing is undoubtedly one of the reasons not only why crime has fallen so remarkably over the last 15 years (by at least a third) but also why fear of crime has fallen despite the best efforts of the media to convince people that crime is ubiquitous. It is also, of course, one of the reasons why, despite severe social dislocations, the UK has not seen riots equivalent to those that have repeatedly swept French cities in recent years.

### Well-being

Over the next few years, the subject of well-being is going to reach the mainstream agenda. Many local areas are also thinking hard about how they can improve well-being, rather than focusing solely on more traditional measures of success, such as jobs and school performance. Work is underway in many cities around the world to define new metrics of well-being, with active engagement from the OECD amongst others. The Young Foundation is working in three areas (Manchester, Hertfordshire and South Tyneside) on an ambitious programme of work to test out what really has an impact on well-being. One strand involves young people learning how to be resilient; another is aimed at isolated elderly people; and a third on parenting. Several of the strands are very much about place—including one exploring the data which shows that happiness levels correlate with how well you know your neighbours, and another seeking environmentally useful actions that also make people feel good about themselves and their communities.

### Governance

To make the most of these many ideas we need to rethink governance. The irony of local government is not just that it does not govern much: it is also that it is not very local. Our lowest tier of local government is still very distant from most people, with an average size of about 115,000 people, compared to more like 10,000 in most Western countries. One consequence is that the UK has one elected representative for every 3,500 citizens whereas France has one for every 100 people. There almost everyone knows someone who is involved in government and representatives are closely involved in their communities.

While the UK has centralised, almost every other major country has gone in the opposite direction. Countries as

varied as Italy, Spain, France, India, China and Brazil have been passing power downwards. The argument used to justify the UK's peculiar stance was that centralisation would deliver better services and better results. Whitehall, we are told, is simply more efficient than town halls. This argument looks less credible in the wake of lost data and the multiple cock-ups around migration, and it is even less credible when you look at the facts: the most recent surveys of public service performance show the UK bumping along at the bottom with the US, while countries with much more decentralised systems are well ahead on measurable outcomes.

Many of the big trends which are likely to shape the next few decades point in a localist direction. Climate change is encouraging people to think again about sourcing local food, working locally, driving less and walking more. Equally, an ageing population is likely to care more about the local quality of life. Even the internet is, paradoxically, doing much to strengthen local ties as people find new ways to link up with others living near them.

For all of these reasons the time is ripe for a turn against centralisation, and for passing power not just from national government to local authorities, but also from local councils right down to neighbourhoods. This is where democracy needs to start, ideally with directly elected neighbourhood councils, a modernised version of existing parish councils, which should be responsible for issues such as public spaces and play areas. Modest annual precepts (for example £20 a year) would provide significant enough budgets to get a lot done. I would encourage these neighbourhood councils also to have formal influence over the council when it is debating issues that affect the area, for example parking policies.

But the top priority is to establish institutions with the power to fix the day-to-day problems that are so often most infuriating to residents.

We then need to re-empower local government itself. This isn't something that can be done quickly. Half a century ago the most energetic and able people in the community would automatically think of standing for public office.

Now the average age of councillors is 58 and most ambitious politicians want to go onto the backbenches in Westminster, not to prove themselves running a town or a city or a county. It will take a long time to turn that around. But, as councils regain the power to make real decisions, they will also attract more people to stand. Money is critical to this, and although government has dithered I'm convinced that we will see some control over taxation and spending pass back to local government, starting off with the relatively marginal taxes like business rates and taxes on development, but, in time, moving onto the big ticket items, income tax and VAT. We are already seeing a reversal of centralisation in inspections and targets. I doubt national targets will ever disappear entirely, but they are being made more flexible and more responsive to specific locations' needs. One reason for keeping some is that external pressure can improve performance. There are many fewer truly dire councils than a decade or two ago partly because of the pressure from inspections. Local government needs to be challenged from above as well as from below, just as national governments benefit from the challenge they occasionally get from the European Commission or the OECD.

### Not a Broken Society

One of the worst things that has happened to many communities around the world is when high levels of crime, often associated with drugs, lead people to turn inwards and distrust those around them. In the late 1980s/early

1990s it was almost possible to correlate by class how much people talked to their neighbours, but, also, in reverse correlation, how much they trusted their neighbours. In poorer areas, where people had no choice but to interact with those around them, they were becoming less and less trusting of their neighbours, whereas in more prosperous areas, where people did not interact that much, they felt comfortable and far more trusting. This reversed the social cohesiveness of the 1950s and earlier, when the poorer and more deprived areas would have had the much tighter social bond.

But over the last decade most of the evidence suggests that these trends have gone into reverse. Research on poorer neighbourhoods shows that most have improved with significantly lower crime, more jobs and better health outcomes. Indeed in research done by the LSE there is a stark comparison between the UK and the US and others. Where poor US neighbourhoods have remained poor and often declined, even while the cities around them have enjoyed the long economic boom, the British ones have generally improved. A large part of the reason is that the British state has continued to be active, providing services, healthcare and schools, as well as investing in regeneration.

Yet, in the last year David Cameron, Ian Duncan Smith and the Archbishop of Canterbury have all, in a single week, described the UK as a 'broken' society. Readers of newspapers could easily believe this—yet the claim flies in the face of the evidence. Social capital did fall from the 1950s through to the 1990s, but it appears that it has been on the rise again in the last ten years. Not by a large amount, admittedly, but perhaps this is not surprising since this is also the period that has seen the largest fall in crime in the century. Surveys also show that people feel more comfortable in their communities since their willingness to help their neighbours appears to be going up.



There are undoubtedly many things that are getting much worse rather than better, but, on the whole, it is very hard to claim that the UK is a more broken society than at any other time. If you look, for example, at generational relationships, they were far worse in the 1960s and 70s—with much more distrust and disconnection between generations—than there is now. If you look at distrust between the races and at levels of racism, again, it is substantially less than a generation or two ago.

Communities also remain quite strong and people are naturally quite helpful to each other. A Mori survey last year for The Young Foundation looked at where people turn for help. They looked at a range of situations from help in the garden all the way to dealing with a serious illness. It confirmed that, overwhelmingly, the important sources of support are still friends and family, with family being far and away the most important. The market and the state are much less important in people's everyday lives; organised religion is almost invisible.

This strength can also be seen in the remarkable resilience of British communities. The past decade has brought a phenomenal number of migrants to the UK (and to mention just one figure, over 27 per cent Londoners recorded by the 2001 Census, were born outside the UK).<sup>8</sup> Yet, so far, the response has been calm—no widespread riots, no dramatic swing to racist parties. Even infrastructure systems, which appear stretched, are, in fact, against expectations, functioning perfectly adequately. That is not to say that there aren't big challenges—and a challenge more for London than for other places is how to cope with this great fluidity and high turnover of people.

How fears are talked about matters because it can lead to very different responses. The fears of strangers in recent years have encouraged largely technical solutions. The UK

<sup>8</sup> Key Facts for Diverse Communities: Ethnicity and Faith, Greater London Authority, Data Management and Analysis Group, 2007

is exceptional worldwide for its 4.3 million CCTV cameras and for the fact that the population is relatively relaxed about this intrusion into their lives. The phenomenal increase in video surveillance, in speed cameras, the commercial use of personal identities and a community's CCTV being made available for communities to self-monitor—examples include the police publishing photographs on the web of curb crawlers or people dealing in drugs outside a tube station—is changing the social dynamics and character of a place, with all the delicate interdependencies that sets in motion. Public spaces were once quite private—now they are not.

The alternative, which uses the presence of people to reduce fears, have been sidelined and this has happened during a period when many roles—park keepers, station wardens—have been cut back. But experience suggests that the presence of people is a better way of making spaces safe: a good flow of people, plenty of eyes and some official or semi-official roles responsible for making spaces work (like town centre managers or estate concierges).

### Belonging

The study *Family and Kinship in East London*, mentioned earlier, portrayed a set of very dense ties of belonging: both to place and to people; mainly through matriarchs, strong women who had held the community together. When it was published, the study was an argument against the dispersal of communities to Essex and destroying the things that made the community work.

The mothers represent tradition. They hold to religion and to the old ways more tenaciously than their children, and may be up against the more modern ideas learnt by the wives, and even more by the husbands, from sources outside the family.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Young, Michael and Peter Willmott, *Family and Kinship in East London*, 1957, Harmondsworth: Penguin, p. 56



40 years later, some of the same team, including Michael Young, went back to the same streets to see what had happened, and discovered that many of the same patterns of living and community could now be observed in the Bangladeshi population living in the same streets the former white working class had lived in the 1950s and who were the subject of the first study.<sup>10</sup> They found very similar dense networks of mutual support, with women playing pivotal roles, although possibly different in nature, and with the street remaining a very live place of interaction.

Back in the nineteenth century, a lot of people were moved out of the British countryside and away from very stable communities. They were uprooted and put into cities which were as close to visions of hell as one could imagine—utterly atomised, utterly anomic, with very high levels of crime and disease and appalling poverty. And yet, within a generation or two, they had become settled and developed a fairly strong sense of community, so that by the middle of the twentieth century they thought of themselves as having always been in East Manchester or East London, or wherever, with these places being seen as exemplars of strong communal life.

In recent years we have been through another phase of dislocation and de-urbanisation, with the loss of jobs with, in some cases, de-population being followed by the arrival of a large migrant community. In areas such as East London, it is very striking how people have lost the sense of belonging they once had. If they and their family have lived for a long time in an area that is now full of newcomers they may feel they have lost their place, their icons and their memories. But, equally, many of the new migrants do not feel they really belong there either. The Young Foundation, with its East End roots, has been focusing on these issues. We've been trying

<sup>10</sup> Dench, Geoff, Gavron Kate and Young Michael, *The New East End: Kinship, Race and Conflict*, 2006, Profile

to understand better what makes a person, be he/she a newcomer or a long-term inhabitant feel he/she belongs, or, alternatively, does not belong in a place. The Foundation has been carrying out research in Barking and Stoke, in part trying to understand support for the British National Party through the lens of belonging, and, out of it I think we have come up with a very simple way of thinking about this, which, if it is right, is very different from some of the other theories in circulation, such as the theory of social capital put forward by Robert Putnam in *Bowling Alone*, 1995.

Whether you feel or believe you belong depends in part on the messages you receive from your immediate environment. Human beings are intrinsically programmed, for clear evolutionary reasons, to tell whether they fit in and are in an environment that will help them to survive or not. We all are very adept at picking up cues from the people around us as to whether we belong or are welcome in a particular place or situation. Building from that very simple starting point, and thinking about an individual in a definite location—a Somali in Tower Hamlets or a white former car worker in Dagenham perhaps—we have come up with an approach that looks at the feedback people get from a place and the subliminal messages that place sends you about your position in it.

Some of these messages will be social: about the presence of friends and family to look after you in times of crisis. Some will be economic, telling you if this place will provide you with a living and with a job, with some recognition of your value in having something to contribute. If you are unemployed or face discrimination there will be cultural messages relating to whether you see your way of life reflected in the official culture, events and festivals, or not. The physical shape of places

communicates safety or threat. There will be messages about politics; if you see people like yourself in positions of power, or in a position of authority in religion or in the market. There will also be the messages you get from your fellow citizens—whether they look at you with hostility and distrust, or whether you feel safe and indeed, whether you are in fact safe.

The sense of belonging is usually a rational response to the feedback we get from both the physical and the human environment around us. The great challenge for many cities going through rapid change is in being able to adjust these feedback messages to suit new circumstances. Many white working class communities, not just in London but also in other parts of the UK, are getting very negative feedback messages: messages that their skills are not wanted, they are not wanted in jobs and their culture is worthless. These messages are often based on factual misinformation about such things as housing allocations, but, nevertheless, they are important and are fuelling things such as the rise of the BNP. Equally, for many of the migrant groups coming into the UK, particularly the ones arriving in relatively small numbers, the UK is very bad at making them feel welcome and at providing a route to achieving of a sense of belonging. We can and should learn lessons from places such as Canada, which holds dinners and receptions for new migrants and has a whole civic movement devoted to welcoming and integration. There are some good small-scale examples of integration, for example in Tottenham, where there is a 'meet the neighbours' programme, where each community lays on meals and events to explain itself to the wider community. But, overall, such initiatives are still rare and the cultivation of belonging has not been a priority for councils, developers, housing associations or anyone else.

This, as I have said, runs counter to what Robert Putnam has proposed. He has argued that where you have more diverse areas you will get lower social trust and lower capital. Our model indicates that you can have very diverse social areas but with the different groups all getting strong feedback through a range of sources and routes, validating and recognising them as belonging. Finchley would be a good example. It used to be Mrs Thatcher's constituency, but has since become a very diverse part of North London, with most people having friends and families in the area and able to get jobs in the local economy. It is a reasonably open political system that leaves relatively few feeling alienated or excluded. You could compare this to an all white housing estate in Sunderland that feels completely excluded by everything else which is going on around it. Such an analysis can suggest ways for any particular area to deal with causes of alienation and exclusion that otherwise might tear it apart.

The power of a simple model like this comes down to what is at the heart of this book, which is how people and environments relate to each other. The messages that people receive from their environment; whether they fit in, are valued and have a place, or whether it is the other way around, and they are forced to exist in, and submit to, an essentially hostile environment.

The connecting thread behind all of this is that most people now expect to have much more say over many different dimensions of their lives than they did a generation or two ago. They expect it in terms of their identities, what happens in their kitchen, in their bedroom or in relation to politics. But how we organise physical space and make communities work and live has, in many respects, lagged behind. It is a sector dominated by very powerful architects, developers

and planners, who have learnt how to pay lip service to the public but are not so good at providing what is necessary and desired in practice.

### What is the challenge for the next 15 years?

To shape places to fit human needs we need to start with some notion of what is likely to happen over the next 30 years to make sure we are prepared for it. For example, given what we know about Climate Change over the next few decades we need to re-engineer both our physical and supply infrastructure so that housing will remain comfortable, can cope with more extreme weather conditions and will be, able to run on close to zero carbon emissions. We need to make transport systems that are less car dependent, have energy systems that are based on neighbourhood networks; source more of our food locally and much else.

It is undoubtedly better to be ahead of the curve rather than behind it if you want your communities still to be successful in 20 or 30 years' time. It is almost certain that there will be a larger elderly population with many more people coping with chronic disease. This alone has some very straightforward implications for the physical design of buildings and for mobility in towns and cities. Each and every competent place shaper needs to be thinking about these issues now. But out of the belonging argument will also come some subtler and more difficult tasks about how you cultivate long-lasting and resilient communities. Some of these concern economics; to ensure widespread access to the mainstream economy and to develop jobs and the skills required to fill them across most if not all social groupings. The state may have to intervene to ensure that disadvantaged groups have access to the informal networks of the type that support society and that power structures, whether they are politicians or the police, reflect the make-up of the community so that people feel as if they belong.

It is also important to know who makes places work. The Young Foundation has developed a tool called the Social Network Analysis Method. It is an internet-based questionnaire that helps build up a picture of who is influential and from what position. The analysis starts at the level of a town or district. In any one field, be it crime reduction or physical development, there will be dozens or hundreds of people working; some in local government; some in other agencies and some in the private sector. The information we acquire is used to map who helps whom and who provides information. It is a way of mapping collaboration within a community that also tells you who and where the blockers are.

We have also, last year, been using the method in King's Lynn, studying the local community from the bottom-up, to understand who are the people who make things happen in a low income neighbourhood. It should eventually become one of the mainstream methods for understanding the real social dynamic of places, a very different perspective from the classic diagrammatic and hierarchical view of organisations and very useful for patching in the most effective intelligence and communication methods for the locality.

If the question is how, with a community focus, do you prepare, over a ten to 20 year period, to tackle the big challenges ahead, be they radically halving carbon use, significantly reducing the percentage of chronic illness in the population, working with a significantly more diverse population that has a 25 per cent and not 90 per cent minority then there are not off-the-shelf answers. The way forward is make sure, as a nation, that places are experimenting with a lot of different models and that we are all collectively learning as quickly as possible which ones work and which ones

do not. With this evolutionary approach, we experiment with neighbourhood energy systems of different kinds and with neighbourhood waste and we experiment with different kinds of housing models. We find what works, share the knowledge and roll out an improved approach.

While it is a mainstream approach for science it is harder to apply in politics. Roosevelt famously did it during the Depression: dealing with mass unemployment, he said of “course I am going to try anything and if some things fail I will try the next thing. What else do you expect me to do?”. It is an approach that, curiously, has also been applied in The Building Schools for the Future programme. I say curiously because the timescale of the BSF programme makes it slightly flawed since you can never discover what it is that works in time, because it takes three years to build a new school and then four years to know what is really working.

I am possibly over-confident on climate change. When I worked in government I oversaw the UK’s strategy of cutting carbon emissions by 60 per cent by the year 2050. Although few of the recommendations were politically acceptable then, in the 1990s, or in 2001, I have been surprised by how quickly some of these ideas and potential policies, which were then off limits, have started to become acceptable, at least at a conversational level. The pace of change in attitudes is fast and could become even faster, allowing robust and hard-hitting policies to be adopted without disaster across Europe.

What needs to happen in order to shift to a low carbon economy is an acceleration of trends, not a dramatic reversal of trends. And, as long as we have enough time that is fine. Many similar shifts have happened in the past, and with the necessary rapidity, such as during with the energy crisis in the 1970s and even the recent de-materialisation of various parts of commercial activity into virtual economic space. The real

question is whether we think we have a 50 year or a ten year transition. With a 50 year transition, it is a straight-forward problem, but, if it is a ten or a 20 year transition then it is extraordinarily challenging by any historical precedent.

Energy systems take many, many decades to turn around and, in that respect, Climate Change is like urban change. It is the interaction of three types of change process.

1. Top down—command and control: the world of laws, regulation and post-Kyoto treaties, which will order us to have energy efficient light bulbs and will ban certain categories of car.
2. The horizontal pressures of markets responding to uncertainties and investing in problem solving and efficiency gaining technologies; for example low-energy processes or zero waste procedures, in competition between businesses.
3. Bottom-up pressure from communities and children, which, so far, has made much of the running on life-style change and changing approaches to food and moves towards such things as neighbourhood energy systems.

Real progress is likely to depend very much on bottom-up pull as well as top-down push. Children in particular are becoming very powerful intergenerational change agents.

I think this may be much less difficult than say the first wave of Industrial Revolution capitalism, where it then took many many decades to establish a social contract, so that model of society did not destroy humanity with child labour and slavery

and appalling cities. Over time, people have negotiated a better balance with humanity—and are still trying to do so. We are probably 40 years into a similar story with the environment, of trying to ensure that we now have a model for the economy that does not utterly jeopardise nature and we have 40 to 50 years of experience of some of the ways of doing it. I do not see why it will be inherently harder now to undertake something similar to what we have already achieved in society, and, remember, we also had then the innumerable experts who said you could not ban child labour or slavery or introduce a welfare state or a health system without destroying economic growth. Exactly the same arguments are now made about climate change.

It is in places that we can see both the dangers of losing our belief in the possibility of shaping our own destinies and the opportunities. The worst fate for any place is to become fatalistic—to believe that there is nothing to be done. Modern politics grew out of localities—and the experience of improvement, public health, schooling, reducing crime, welfare, mutual help in the nineteenth century all paved the way for the confident democratic politics in the twentieth century. But the confident democratic politics, as we have known them have not been enough: again and again places have lost that sense of destiny and freedom and become victims of planners, developers, and global forces.

Places, however, can be autonomous but that requires a politics that is brought closer to home and it requires that citizens take responsibility for the world around them, rather than drifting into an angry but passive resentment. Today, that autonomy comes in the context of radically greater interdependence—of lives interwoven through the economy, flows of people and information. This is what drives so many of the most important movements of our time, from fair trade to Slow Food. Yet too few of our society's moral thinkers and even fewer of our institutions have adequately adapted to

this fact. Hopefully the next generation of places will truly demonstrate how you can be simultaneously local and global, strongly connected to those around you but also open to your place in the world.



## Suggested Reading

- General**
- "Barber Review of Land Use Planning", Department of Communities and Local Government, 2006.
- Florida, Richard, *The Rise of the Creative Class*, London: Basic Books, 2002.
- Foxell Simon, ed., *The professionals' choice: The future of the built environment professions*, London: Building Futures, 2003.
- Kunstler, James Howard, *The Long Emergency*, Atlantic Monthly Press, 2005.
- Leadbeater, Charles, *Personalisation through participation: A new script for public services*, London: Demos, 2004.
- Schumacher, EF, *Small is Beautiful*, Vancouver: Hartley & Marks, 1999.
- Economic Survey of the United Kingdom*, OECD, 2007.
- World Population Prospects: The 2006 Revision*, Population Division of the Department of Economic and Social Affairs of the United Nations Secretariat, United Nations, 2007.
- Homer-Dixon, Thomas, *The Upside of Down: Catastrophe, Creativity and the Renewal of Civilisation*, New York: Alfred A Knopf, 2006.
- Kolbert, Elizabeth, *Field Notes from a Catastrophe: A Frontline Report on Climate Change*, London: Bloomsbury, 2006.
- Flannery, Tim, *The Weather Makers: The History and Future Impact of Climate Change*, Melbourne: Text Publishing, 2005.
- Gore, Al, *Earth in the Balance: Ecology and the Human Spirit*, Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1992.
- Gore, Al, *The Assault on Reason*, Hammondsworth: Penguin, 2007.
- Hartmann, Thom, *Last Hours of Ancient Sunlight*, New York: Three Rivers Press, 1997 (rev. 2004).
- Hawken, Lovins & Lovins, *Natural Capitalism*, London: Little Brown, 1999.
- Hillman, Mayer, *How We Can Save the Planet*, Hammondsworth: Penguin, 2004.
- Homer-Dixon, Thomas, *The Upside of Down: Catastrophe, Creativity and the Renewal of Civilisation*, New York: Alfred A Knopf, 2006.
- Kolbert, Elizabeth, *Field Notes from a Catastrophe: A Frontline Report on Climate Change*, London: Bloomsbury, 2006.
- Lovelock, James, *Gaia: A New Look at Life on Earth*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979.
- Lovelock, James, *The Revenge of Gaia*, London: Allen Lane, 2006.
- Lynas, Mark, *High Tide: The Truth About Our Climate Crisis*, London: Picador, 2004.
- Lynas, Mark, *Six Degrees: Our Future on a Hotter Planet*, London: Fourth Estate, 2007.
- Marshall, George, *Carbon Detox*, London: Gaia Thinking, 2007.
- McDonough, W, and Braungert M, *Cradle to Cradle, Remaking the Way We Make Things*, New York: North Point Press, 2002.
- Monbiot, George, *Heat: How We Can Stop the Planet Burning*, London: Allen Lane, 2006.
- Walker, G, and King D, *The Hot Topic: How to Tackle Global Warming and Still Keep the Lights On*, London: Bloomsbury, 2008.
- Action Today to Protect Tomorrow—The Mayor's Climate Change Action Plan*, London: GLA, 2007.
- Climate Change The UK Programme*, London: DEFRA, 2006.
- Summary for Policymakers of the Synthesis Report of the IPCC Fourth Assessment Report*, United Nations, 2007.
- Jacobs, Jane, *The Economy of Cities*, New York: Random House, 1969.
- Mumford, Lewis, *The Culture of Cities*, New York: Secker & Warburg, 1938.
- Sudic, Deyan, "Cities on the edge of chaos", *The Observer*, March 2008.
- Urban Task Force, *Towards an Urban Renaissance*, London: E&FN Spon, 1999.
- Work**
- Abramson, Daniel M, *Building the Bank of England*, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2005.
- Alexander, Christopher, *The Timeless Way of Building*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979.
- Anderson, Ray, *Mid-Course Correction: The Interface Model*, Chelsea Green, 2007.
- Brand, Stewart, *How Buildings Learn*, New York: Viking Press, 1994.
- Brinkley, Ian, *Defining the Knowledge Economy*, Knowledge Economy Programme Report, London: The Work Foundation, 2006.
- Castells, Manuel, *The Information Age: Economy, Society, Culture*, Oxford: Blackwell, 1996.
- Davenport, Tom, *Thinking for a Living*, Boston: Harvard Business School Press, 2005.
- Dodgson, Gann, and Salter, *Think, Play, Do*, Oxford, 2005.
- Dodgson, Gann and Salter, *The management of technological innovation strategy and practice*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.
- Duffy, Francis, *The Changing Workplace*, London: Phaidon, 1992.
- Duffy, Francis, *The New Office*, London: Conran Octopus, 1997.
- Duffy, Francis, *Architectural Knowledge*, London: E&FN Spon, 1998.
- Duffy, Cave, Worthington, *Planning Office Space*, London: The Architectural Press, 1976.
- Galloway, L, *Office Management: Its Principles and Practice*, Oxford: The Ronald Press, 1918.



- Gann, David, *Building Innovation*, London: Thomas Telford, 2000.
- Giedion, Siegfried, *Mechanization Takes Command*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1948.
- Gilbreth, FB, *Motion Study*, New York: Van Nostrand, 1911.
- Gottfried, David, *Greed to Green*, Berkeley, CA: Worldbuild Publishing, 2004.
- Groak, Steven, *Is Construction an Industry?, Construction Management and Economics*, 1994.
- Handy, Charles, *Understanding Organizations*, Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1967.
- Hawken, Paul, *The Ecology of Commerce*, New York: HarperCollins, 1993.
- Mitchell, William J, *City of Bits*, Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1995.
- Quinan, Jack, *Frank Lloyd Wright's Larkin Building*, Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1987.
- Sassen, Saskia, *A Sociology of Globalization*, New York: Norton, 2006.

Sennett, Richard, *The Culture of the New Capitalism*, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2006.

Taylor, Frederick, *The Principles of Scientific Management*, New York: Harper & Brothers, 1911.

Trease, Geoffrey, *Samuel Pepys and His World*, London: Thames and Hudson, 1972.

## Education

Aston and Bekhradnia, *Demand for Graduates: A review of the economic evidence*, Higher Education Policy Institute, 2003.

Friere, Paolo, *Education: the practice of freedom*, London: Writers and Readers Cooperative, 1974.

Gardner, Howard, *Multiple Intelligences*, New York: Basic Books, 1993.

Goodman, Paul, *Growing up absurd*, New York: First Sphere Books, 1970.

Illich, Ivan, *Deschooling Society*, London: Calder and Boyars, 1971.

Kimber, Mike, *Does Size Matter? Distributed leadership in small*

secondary schools, National College for School Leadership, 2003.

Nair and Fielding, *The Language of School Design*, DesignShare, 2005.

Neil, AS, Summerhill, Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1968. *The Children's Plan—Building Brighter Futures*, DCSF, December 2007.

*Every Child Matters: Change for Children*, DfES/HM Government, 2004.

*Higher Standards, Better Schools For All*, DfES.

*2020 Vision Report of the Teaching and Learning in 2020*, Review Group, 2006.

[www.smallschools.org.uk](http://www.smallschools.org.uk)  
[www.thecademy.net/inclusiontrust.org/Welcome.html](http://www.thecademy.net/inclusiontrust.org/Welcome.html)  
[www.eco-schools.org.uk](http://www.eco-schools.org.uk)

[www.standards.dfes.gov.uk/personalisedlearning/about/](http://www.standards.dfes.gov.uk/personalisedlearning/about/)

## Transport and Neighbourhoods

Banister, David, *Unsustainable Transport: City Transport in the New Century*, London: E&FN Spon, 2005.

Bertolini L, and T. Spit, *Cities on Rails: The Redevelopment of Railway Station Areas*, London: Spon/Routledge, 1998.

Calthorpe P, and Fulton, W, *The Regional City: Planning for the End of Sprawl*, Washington, DC: Island Press, 2003.

Dittmar H, and Ohland, G, *The New Transit Town: Best Practices in Transit-Oriented Development*, Washington, DC: Island Press, 2004.

Hickman, R and Banister, D, *Looking over the horizon, Transport and reduced CO<sub>2</sub> emissions in the UK by 2030*, Transport Policy, 2007.

Holtzclaw, Clear, Dittmar, Goldstein and Haas, *Location Efficiency: Neighbourhood and Socioeconomic Characteristics Determine Auto Ownership and Use*, Transportation Planning and Technology (Vol. 25) 2002.

Commission for Integrated Transport, *Planning for High Speed Rail Needed Now*, 2004, viewed at <http://www.cft.govuk/pn/040209/index.htm>

*Regional Transport Statistics*, National Statistics and Department for Transport, 2006 Edition.

*Energy, Transport and Environment Indicators*, Eurostat, 2005 Edition.

*Toward a Sustainable Transport system*, Department for Transport, 2007.

Eddington Transport Study, HM Treasury & Department for Transport, 2007.

UK Foresight programme, *Tackling Obesity: Future Choices*, The Government Office for Science and Technology, 2007.

## Community

Dench G, Gavron K, and Young M, *The New East End: Kinship, Race and Conflict*, London: Profile, 2006.

Jacobs, Jane, *The Death and Life of American Cities*, New York: Modern Library, 1961.

Putnam, Robert, *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community*, New York: Simon & Schuster, 2000.

Young M, and Willmott, P, *Family and Kinship in East London*, Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1957.

Report Card 7, *Child poverty in perspective: An overview of child well-being in rich countries*, UNICEF Innocenti Research Centre, 2007.

*Key Facts for Diverse Communities: Ethnicity and Faith*, Greater London Authority, Data Management and Analysis Group, 2007.

[www.footprintnetwork.org](http://www.footprintnetwork.org)  
[www.yourhistoryhere](http://www.yourhistoryhere)  
[www.fixmystreet.com](http://www.fixmystreet.com)

## Globalisation

Abbott, C, Rogers, P, Sloboda, J, *Global Responses to Global Threats: Sustainable Security for the 21st Century*, Oxford: The Oxford Research Group, 2006.

Balls E, Healey J and Leslie C, *Evolution and Devolution in England*, New Local Government Network, 2006.

Gladwell, Malcolm, *The Tipping Point: How Little Things Can Make a Big Difference*, London: Little Brown, 2000.

Goldsmith, Edward, "How to Feed People under a Regime of Climate Change", *Ecologist Magazine*, 2004.

- Gore, Al, *The Assault on Reason*, London: Bloomsbury, 2007.
- Gray, John, *Black Mass: Apocalyptic Religion and the Death of Utopia*, London: Allen Lane, 2007.
- Guillebaud, John, *Youthquake: Population, Fertility and Environment in the 21st Century*, Optimum Population Trust, 2007.
- Hines, Colin, *Localisation: A Global Manifesto*, London: Earthscan, 2000.
- Kagan, Robert, *Of Paradise and Power: America and Europe in the New World Order*, New York: Alfred Knopf, 2003.
- Martin, James, *The Meaning of the 21st Century*, London: Transworld, 2007.
- Meadows, Meadows, Randers and Behrens, *Limits to Growth*, Club of Rome, 1972.
- Nordhaus, T, and M, Shellenberger, *Break Through: From the Death of Environmentalism to the Politics of Possibility*, Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2007.
- Porritt, Jonathon, *Capitalism: As if the World Matters*, London: Earthscan, 2005.
- Rozsak, Theodore, *World Beware! American Triumphalism in an Age of Terror*, Toronto: Between the Lines, 2006.
- Sachs, W, and T, Santarius *Fair Future: Resource Conflicts, Security and Global Justice*, London: Zed Books, 2005.
- Kirkpatrick Sale, *Dwellers in the Land*, New Society Publishers, 1991.
- Shryman, Steven, *A Citizen's Guide to the World Trade Organisation*, Ottawa, Canadian Center for Policy Alternatives, 1999.
- Soros, George, *The Age of Fallibility: The Consequences of the War on Terror*, Beverly Hills, CA: Phoenix Books, 2006.
- Stern, Nicholas, *The Economics of Climate Change: The Stern Review*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.
- Stiglitz, Joseph, *Globalization and its Discontents*, New York: Norton, 2002.
- Stiglitz, Joseph, *Making Globalization Work*, New York: Norton, 2006.
- Wolf, Martin, *Why Globalization Works*, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2005.
- Johannesburg Manifesto, *Fairness in a Fragile World*, Berlin: Heinrich Böll Foundation, 2002.
- US Defence Dept, *An Abrupt Climate Change Scenario and Its Implications for US Natural Security*, 2003.
- WWF, *Living Planet Report*, WWF International, 2006.

#### Further websites

- The Edge  
www.at-the-edge.org.uk
- CABE  
www.cabe.org.uk
- China Dialogue  
www.chinadialogue.net
- Global Commons Institute (Contraction and Convergence)  
www.gci.org.uk

## Authors

### Simon Foxell

Simon Foxell is the founding principal of The Architects Practice and a member of the Edge. He is a past chair of Policy and Strategy at the RIBA and currently acts as Design Advisor to Transforming Education, Birmingham City Council. He is the author of the *RIBA best practice guide to Starting a practice*, 2006, and *Mapping London: making sense of the city*, 2007.

### Adam Poole

Adam Poole of Engineering Relations is also Reader at Ramboll Whitebird. He previously ran an African-affairs consultancy whose projects included helping return Nigeria to democracy. He is a member of the edge..

### Geoff Mulgan

Geoff Mulgan is the Director of the Young Foundation and was previously director of the government's Strategy Unit and head of policy in the Prime Minister's office. He was the founder and director of the think-tank Demos and is a board member of the Work Foundation and the Design Council. He is the author of several books including, *Good and Bad Power: the ideals and betrayals of government*, 2006.

## The Edge

The Edge is a ginger group and think tank, sponsored by the building industry professions, that seeks to stimulate public interest in policy questions that affect the built environment, and to inform and influence public opinion. It was established in 1996 with support from the Arup Foundation. The Edge is supported by The Carbon Trust.



The Edge organises a regular series of debates and other events intended to advance policy thinking in the built environment sector and among the professional bodies within it. For further details, see [www.at-the-edge.org.uk](http://www.at-the-edge.org.uk)



## Edge Futures

Edge Futures is a project initiated by The Edge and Black Dog Publishing. It has only been possible with the active participation of The Edge Committee as well as supporting firms and institutions. Special thanks are due to Adam Poole, Duncan McCorquodale, Frank Duffy, Robin Nicholson, Bill Gething, Chris Twinn, Andy Ford, Mike Murray and Jane Powell as well as to all the individual authors.



The project has been generously sponsored by The Carbon Trust, The Commission for Architecture and the Built Environment (CABE), Ramboll Whitbybird, The Arup Foundation, Prologis and Construction Skills. Thanks are due to all those bodies and to the support of Karen Germain, Elnor Warwick, Mark Whitby, Ken Hall and Guy Hazlehurst within them. The Edge is also grateful to Sebastian Macmillan of IDBE in Cambridge for the day we spent developing scenarios there and to Philip Guildford for facilitating the session.

Simon Foxell

### Editorial committee for Edge Futures

- Frank Duffy
- Simon Foxell
- Duncan McCorquodale
- Adam Poole

### The Edge is supported by:

- The Carbon Trust
- CIBSE
- ICE
- RIBA
- RICS
- IStructE

### The Edge Committee

- Chris Beauman
- Dr Bill Bordass
- Paddy Conaghan
- Michael Dickson PPIStructE CBE
- Dr Frank Duffy PPRIBA CBE
- Dr Garry Felgate
- Rachel Fisher
- Andy Ford
- Prof Max Fordham PPCBSE OBE
- Simon Foxell
- Prof Bill Gething
- Jim Green
- Prof Peter Guthrie
- David Hampton
- Dr Jan Hellings
- Paul Hyett PPRIBA
- Prof Paul Jowitt
- Janet Kidner
- Chani Leahong
- Duncan McCorquodale
- Prof Mike Murray
- Robin Nicholson CBE
- Michael Pawlyn
- Adam Poole
- Andrew Ramsay
- Bruno Reddy
- Yasmin Sharrif
- Dr David Strong
- Chris Twinn
- Bill Watts
- Prof Mark Whitby PPRICE
- Terry Wyatt PPCBSE
- European Bank for Reconstruction and Development
- William Bordass Associates
- Hoare Lea
- Buro Happold
- DEGW
- Fulcrum Consulting
- Max Fordham LLP
- The Architects Practice
- Feilden Clegg Bradley Studios
- Baylight Properties
- University of Cambridge
- The Carbon Coach
- RydenHKS
- Heriot-Watt University
- Lend Lease
- Fulcrum Consulting
- Black Dog Publishing
- Skanska
- Edward Cullinan Architects
- Exploration Architecture
- Engineering Relations
- Engineering Council
- Arup
- Dennis Sharp Architects
- Inbuit Ltd
- Arup
- Max Fordham LLP
- Ramboll Whitbybird
- Hoare Lea & Partners

Much is already known about the state of the world 15 to 20 years from now. Almost all the buildings and infrastructure are already in place or in development—we replace our buildings etc., at a very slow pace. The great majority of the population who'll be living and working then, especially in the UK, have already been born and will have been educated in a school system that is familiar and predictable. The global population, however, will have increased from 6.7 billion in July 2007 to approximately 8 billion by 2025.

The climate will have changed, mainly as a result of the emissions of greenhouse gases of the past 50 and more years, but not by much. The temperature is predicted to be, on average, half a degree warmer, as well as varying over a greater range than at present. But, more significantly it will be understood to be changing, resulting in a strong feeling of uncertainty and insecurity. Rainfall will have reduced but will also become more extreme, i.e. tending to drought or flood. Resources, whether energy, water or food imports, will be in shorter supply; partly as a result of climate change but also due to regulations aimed at preventing the effects of global warming becoming worse. Transport will be constrained as a result but other technologies will have greatly improved the ability to economically communicate.

These changes form the context for this first series of five Edge Futures books, but it is not their subject: that is the impact of such changes and other developments on our daily lives, the economy, social and education services and the way the world trades and operates. Decision makers are already being challenged to act and formulate policy, in the face of the change already apparent in the years ahead. This set of books highlights how critical and important planning for the future is going to be. Society will expect and require policy makers to have thought ahead and prepared for the best as well as the worst. Edge

Futures offers a series of critical views of events, in the next two decades, that need to be planned for today.

The five books intentionally look at the future from very different viewpoints and perspectives. Each author, or pair of authors, has been asked to address a different sector of society, but there is inevitably a great deal of crossover between them. They do not always agree; but consistency is not the intention; that is to capture a breadth of vision as where we may be in 20 years time.

Jonathon Porritt in *Globalism and Regionalism* examines some of the greatest challenges before the planet, including climate change and demographic growth, and lays down the gauntlet to the authors of the other books. Porritt's diagnosis of the need to establish a new balance between the global and the regional over the years ahead and to achieve a 'Civic Globalisation' has an echo in Geoff Mulgan's call in *Living and Community* for strengthening communities through rethinking local governance and rebuilding a sense of place. Both are—perhaps professionally—optimistic that the climate change is a challenge that we, as a society, can deal with, while not underestimating the change that our society is going to have to undergo to achieve it.

Hank Dittmar, writing in *Transport and Networks* is less than certain, that currently, policies are adequately joined-up to deal with the issues that the recent flurry of major reports from the UK Government has highlighted: "Planning" from Barker, "Climate Change" from Stern and "Transport" from Eddington. He notes Barker's comment that "planning plays a role in the mitigation of and adaptation to climate change, the biggest issue faced across all climate areas" but that she then goes on to dismiss the issue. In its approach to all these reviews, the government has shown that it is more concerned

with economic growth and indeed it has already concluded that the transport network needs no further fundamental reform. Dittmar believes otherwise, he calls for immediate solutions to support the development of the accessible, sustainable city.

Simon Foxell in *Education and Creativity* sees an even bumpier ride ahead, with progress only being made as a result of the lurch from crisis to crisis. Such discontinuities, will allow the UK to address many longstanding problems, from the personalisation of education to addressing the increasingly cut-throat international competition in creativity, innovation and skills—but not without a great deal of pain and chaos. Bill Mitchell, in the same volume, outlines a way of reconfiguring educational practice to develop just those skills that successful creativity-based economies are going to require.

In *Working*, Frank Duffy sees the end of road for the classic 'American Taylorist' office and the unsuitability of its counterpart, the European social democratic office. In their place, he proposes a new typology—the networked office—that will make better use of the precious resource that is our existing stock of buildings and allow greater integration into the life of the city. And, it is the city that all the authors come back to as a central and unifying theme—the dominant form of the millennium, the place where the majority of mankind now lives. Perhaps this is because, as Deyan Sudjic, Director of the Design Museum, has written recently: “The future of the city has suddenly become the only subject in town.”

It is about the largest social unit that most of us can imagine with any ease and is a constant challenge economically, socially and environmentally. If we can work out what a sustainable city might be like and how to deliver it, then maybe we can sleep easier in our beds,

less afraid that the end of civilisation, as we recognise it, may be within our childrens', or our childrens' childrens', lifetime. All the component parts of the Edge Futures studies come together in the city; where the community meets the office buildings, the schools and transport system. The city is the hub of the regional response to world events and needs to become a responsive participant in formulating a way out of policy log-jam.

As this first series of Edge Futures shows, the task is urgent and deeply complex but also not impossible. It is only, assuming that we need to make the transition to a low carbon economy within ten to twenty years, in Geoff Mulgan's words: “extraordinarily challenging by any historic precedent.”



© 2008 Black Dog Publishing Limited, London, UK and the authors.  
All rights reserved.

10a Acton Street  
London WC1X 9NG  
T. +44 (0)20 7613 1922  
F. +44 (0)20 7613 1944  
E. [info@blackdogonline.com](mailto:info@blackdogonline.com)  
W. [www.blackdogonline.com](http://www.blackdogonline.com)

Designed by Draught Associates

All opinions expressed within this publication are those of the authors and not necessarily of the publisher.

British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data.  
A CIP record for this book is available from the British Library.  
ISBN: 978 1 906155 131

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording, or otherwise, without prior permission of the publisher. Every effort has been made to trace the copyright holders, but if any have been inadvertently overlooked the publishers will be pleased to make the necessary arrangements at the first opportunity.

Black Dog Publishing, London, UK is an environmentally responsible company. Edge Futures are printed on Cyclus Offset, a paper produced from 100% post consumer waste.



architecture art design  
fashion history photography  
theory and things

[www.blackdogonline.com](http://www.blackdogonline.com)

