Outer London Commission report: Mayor's Actions for High Streets

1. Introduction

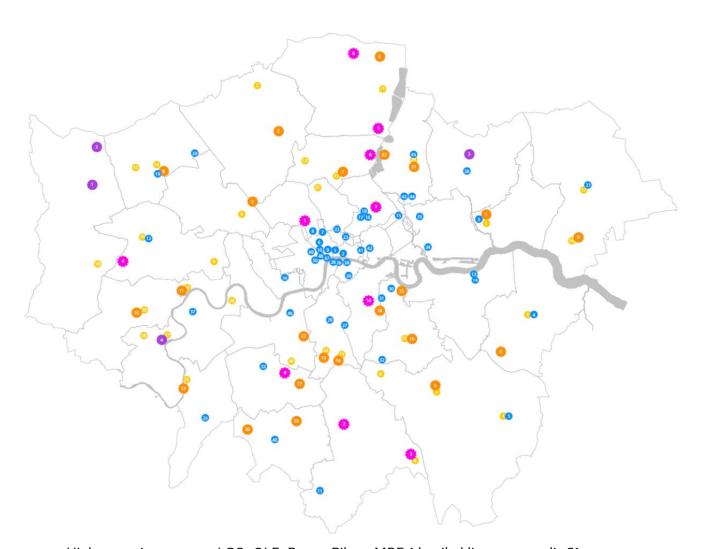
- 1.1 Helping London's high streets is central to the Mayor's priority to improve the lives of Londoners and London's economy. Coordinated action across Mayoral bodies is helping:
 - Improve the look, feel, and functionality of places: by improving how key pieces of infrastructure (like stations, shopping centres, parks etc.) relate to the street; upgrading public realm, green space and shop fronts; and optimising accessibility.
 - Diversify enterprise: development of trader networks, town teams, and BIDs; provision of training for established enterprises and budding entrepreneurs; supporting SMEs to improve waste, recycling and energy efficiency.
 - Experimentation and prototyping: developing cultural programmes to broaden
 how people see the high street; delivering flexible spaces for commercial and civic
 use; finding new ways to manage the competing demands of moving and dwelling.
 - Identify opportunities: developing research to understand the implications of changes in retailing, wider commercial and civic activities, and housing demand across the town centre network; using research and project experience to develop flexible policies and targeted strategies for different places.
- 1.2 In 2008 work began on High Street 2012: a key project within the London's Great Outdoors programme. In 2011 the Mayor announced the Outer London Fund (OLF). Aimed at strengthening London's local economies, the Fund pledged £50million worth of investment over a three-year period, inviting local authorities and organisations to bid for funding to support high streets that they believed possessed a real potential for change. The OLF has been complemented by the Mayor's Regeneration Fund (MRF), representing £70m investment into those areas most affected by the August 2011 riots, the vast majority of this investment relates directly to high streets. The 2011 Portas Review led to the establishment of the Portas Pilot scheme in 2012, providing up to £100k support per town centre for the creation of over 20 "Town Teams" across the UK including four in London, of which three are directly funded by the Greater London Authority. Under the banner of London's Great Outdoors

- the GLA and TfL are investing £124m in high streets. In combination this represents a direct Mayoral investment of £244 in London's high streets.
- 1.3 Clearly the breadth of action is part of the solution although gaps exist and the context of our work is constantly evolving. The outlook for high streets remains challenging; yet they remain crucial to the London economy. Appendix 1 draws on a range of data sources to summarise this point. However, targeted public investment in the right places, may unlock significant capacity for economic growth and intensification. This means it is essential to maintain on-going communication between the various mayoral bodies and teams involved in high street related activities. GLA Regeneration has been tasked with coordinating a cross-GLA 'Actions for High Streets' group. The aim of this group is to continue to coordinate activities, but also to seek further opportunities (across planning, transport, environment, business support, LEP, housing and regeneration) to support London's high streets. Specifically, it aims to improve the evidence base, make the case for further investment, and increase the tools available to support these vital assets.
- 1.4 This paper briefly outlines the main GLA investment programmes London's Great Outdoors, Outer London Fund, Portas Pilots and Mayors Regeneration Fund. It develops a fuller picture of the GLA Regeneration strategic thinking and approach to place based work on high streets and updates on OLF delivery to date. The paper concludes by exploring options for future mayoral investment in London's high streets.

2. LGO OLF Portas Pilots MRF

- 2.1 In November 2009 the Mayor launched London's Great Outdoors, his Manifesto for Public Space, and promised a boost for London's network of public spaces. A significant proportion of the related investment in street trees, pocket parks and better streets relate directly to high streets.
- 2.2 The first round of the Outer London Fund invested almost £9 million to deliver quick wins across 30 places. The focus of Round Two and the Mayor's Regeneration Fund, is on more substantial packages of interventions to the physical fabric of high streets, comprehensive refurbishment of street frontages, to new squares and pocket parks, and innovative business support, which continue to complement lighter-touch improvements and celebratory events. Together the OLF, MRF and GLA-funded Portas Pilots are helping to support 54 high streets and town centres.

2.3 Funds were allocated to localities across London through a mixture of open bidding processes and targeted investment. Successful bids committed to place based collaborative working and understood the importance of place shaping (coordinating with wider change processes). The range of interventions (from events and festive dressing up, to shop front improvements, redesigning the public realm, site acquisition and business support) demonstrated an appetite for experimentation and innovation to support vibrancy and growth. The overarching ambition has been to give these places an injection of not only money but also support, with the aim of boosting local trade and long-term confidence.



High street investment: LGO, OLF, Portas Pilots, MRF (detailed list at appendix 2)

3. GLA Regeneration

- 3.1 For a number of years the GLA Regeneration team and formerly the LDA have played a strategic role in the definition and delivery of high street focussed work, targeting places with potential for growth or intensification that can be achieved at modest public cost. We oversee delivery of OLF and MRF, disseminating lessons and facilitating peer to peer learning through the London High Street Network. The Specialist Assistance Team has been assembled to support partners with project development. We coordinate the Mayor's Design Advisory Group project review process providing another layer of design support to projects and capturing emerging themes from practice. This experience and knowledge helps us to identify emerging issues and commission research to better understand the future of high streets and town centres. In turn this enables the development of evidence based policies, strategies, and funding programmes which help create the conditions for high streets to thrive.
- 3.2 The OLF and MRF are underpinned by a Special Assistance Team (SAT). This is a preprocured panel of experts across a range of disciplines that the delivery partners can
 access. The GLA funds a limited amount of support but this enables delivery partners to
 access support and advice from companies already experienced in the field. With the
 benefit of exposure to a range of projects, the SAT develops their expertise and
 complements and expands the work of the GLA team.
- 3.2 At the project level the Regeneration team develops and delivers targeted place-based regeneration programmes. By collaborating with local partners our methodology works with the grain of a place revealing and celebrating its social, economic, and civic life. This enables us to understand the inherent potential for economic growth or intensification from which to build an effective regeneration strategy.
- 3.3 This combination of strategic thinking and place based delivery mean that the team has a unique insight into the characteristics of places and projects with potential for positive transformation.

Collaborative place based working

3.4 Partnerships which have adopted a collaborative place based approach have been successful in attracting Mayoral support and funding. The Regeneration team has worked with and facilitated relationships and the development of locally appropriate strategies of renewal across the Capital. An early example of this approach is the High Street 2012 project. Initial work began in 2008 to deliver a programme of improvements

on the route stretching from Stratford in the east to Aldgate in the west in time for the Olympic Games. Not only were there many public sector funding partners for this project, but some improvements were delivered in partnership with private landowners or developers.



and priorities emerged along the street enabling design consultants to be appointed, appropriate to the works required, and for those consultants to properly engage with the communities affected by improvements. This was particularly noticeable in the case of Altab Ali Park, where previously only a very small cross section of the community had been using the space; following designers' participatory tactics, awareness of the park was raised and usage increased. Creating and enhancing public spaces on the high street was made a priority, allowing people to use the high street for other functions beyond retail, such as sitting and talking, playing and visiting a cultural attraction. Crucially, the outcome of this is that more people visit to town centre. This meant that the character of a given area could be brought out, allowing squares to be

emphasised or historical or institutional assets to be highlighted as important high street features.

Innovation and Business Support

- 3.6 Delivered within a very tight timeframe, the first round of the Outer London Fund provided an opportunity to explore creative ways to reinvigorate and reimagine high streets. A combination of support for established and emerging businesses and nascent entrepreneurs proved an effective strategy in many places. In Willesden Green this was complemented by impressive prototyping of co-working space suited to the particularities of outer London high streets. This action research would not have happened without GLA funding. Delivery not only helped individuals who engaged with it over its three month life time but helped test another idea for a diversified high street future.
- 3.7 In Willesden Green, the GLA worked with LB Brent to initiate a fantastic programme of new shop window displays organised as an advent calendar matching 25 local businesses with 25 designers driving up footfall and trade. This was anchored by the Pilot Shop vacant unit which advertised the project, by becoming the first advent window, and provided a high street base for the project team facilitating informal communication with existing traders. The modest investment provided through the shop front programme inspired some shopkeepers to invest further for example Monsoon bakery engaged their designer to carry out interior improvements to compliment the exterior renovations made possible through the Outer London Fund. Working in this way with existing businesses allowed the project team to gauge what people wanted and needed in the area.
- 3.8 The project team used this intelligence to bring a prominent run of 9 shop units back into use through a competitive commercial residency programme with local entrepreneurs. Running workshops with applicants for the commercial residency in Queens Parade enabled the project team to work with them to strengthen their proposals. By ensuring that the start-ups were ready to take up commercial residency, and by curating a complementary mix of tenants, the approach aimed to sustain the businesses in the long-term. An initial tranche of 13 businesses were given space in the 9 units with many carrying on beyond the initial period of grant funding.
- 3.9 Library lab experimented and prototyped an outer London version of successful Central London work hubs. The 3 month project took over unused café space in the local library

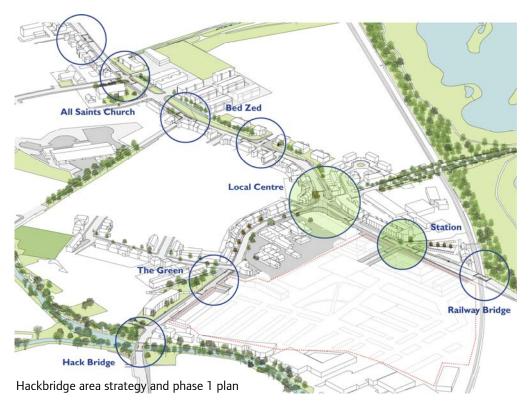
making it available as a co-working space with meeting rooms and crèche facilities on a Pay As You Go basis. It complemented other OLF activities by allowing existing businesses and start-ups access to additional support (marketing, merchandising and website building courses were particularly popular) and the opportunity to step up from purely home based working for a limited financial commitment.

3.10 Apart from the successfully established local businesses in Queens Parade, key legacies of New Windows on Willesden Green are the establishment of a town team to build upon the project's momentum, and publication of a Willesden Green directory promoting local businesses.



Place Shaping

- 3.11 OLF round two has afforded more time, and brought together the money to make more long lasting improvements. For example, in Hackbridge, LB Sutton and locally based charity BioRegional got together to capitalise on opportunities presented by planned changes: The River Wandle to the east of the centre and redevelopment of the Flenex Trading estate into a mixed use development with over 700 new homes.
- 3.12 Hackbridge is a small centre with fewer than 30 businesses trading on the high street most of which are independently owned. The centre has a high concentration of convenience stores and fast food outlets. Baseline surveys identified that although 70% local residents used the centre on a weekly basis; they rarely spent more than 15 minutes and mainly picked up basics like milk and bread. The local environment is low quality and dominated by through traffic which is either heavy and slow moving or light and fast moving meaning the centre is cut in two. There is no space within the centre for the community to gather or for visitors to pause.
- 3.13 The Heart of Hackbridge project is using a modest budget to make a series of carefully judged interventions that in combination will make a strategic impact. The project is helping to make high street businesses more economically resilient, helping to secure local jobs, and making the centre more attractive to new and existing users. To date the project has delivered a programme of intensive business support including trader network development, one to one surgeries small business grants and seasonal events. Innovative public realm proposals have been developed and approved which will begin on site in October. A complementary programme of shop front improvements has also been approved and will be delivered from November.
- 3.14 A major strength of this project is how a place shaping approach, which engages with wider change processes, has had a multiplier effect on a modest upfront investment. By ensuring different strands are mutually reinforcing, the project is achieving a higher impact across the centre than would normally be expected from this level of investment. Development of a clear area wide strategy has enabled the project to positively influence the emerging Felnex development (and extend the number of funded interventions). The strategy has also provided a framework to leverage further investment from LB Sutton and to deliver a pocket park at Mile Rd Bridge which in time will become a major entrance to the Wandle Valley Regional Park. The pocket Park proposal is being considered by other potential funders confirmation expected by October.



4. Delivery to date

- 4.1 In addition to delivering a programme of major investments the Regeneration team is also carrying out a series of evaluation exercises starting to pull together best practice from across London. Interim evaluation of OLF indicates that programme objectives (Geographic Suitability, Deliverability, Vibrancy and Growth, Place Shaping, Collaboration and Support) are being met. Early indications on Place Shaping and Collaboration and Support, are particularly positive, suggesting that OLF investment is enabling strategic coordinated cross-sector projects to happen and that GLA Regeneration support is welcomed by partners. Feedback strongly endorses our commitment to knowledge sharing; with many requesting more frequent High Street Network Events. Similarly positive responses to the Specialist Assistance Team have also been received. Experience from OLF Rounds One and Two, suggests that projects managed centrally by Local Authorities but with specific departmental responsibility for delivery, are most effective.
- 4.2 Investment of almost £21m to date has supported just over 1,700 businesses through the formation of business and traders associations, enterprise support, networking opportunities, mentoring and coaching. Nearly 775 businesses have benefitted from visual merchandising training. Over 140 apprentices have been given placements; an

additional 98 young people have been supported through training programmes and short term support. Eight new Traders Associations have been formed, 11 existing ones supported, and 5 revived. 19 places have already implemented public realm projects, 336 high street frontage improvements have been delivered and 38 units have been brought back into use through empty shops initiatives. The successes of the funding programmes have been showcased and celebrated with the help of nearly 320 high street events that have taken place across 46 places.

- 4.3 By the close of OLF and MRF funding programmes just over 2,200 businesses will receive support from the Mayor; 1,400 jobs will be created and 1,500 jobs will be secured; 220 apprenticeships will be delivered; 430 individuals will be given employment support to help find a job. A total of 580 high street frontage improvements will be completed and 60 'shop' units will be brought back into use. Fifty places will have improved public realm (in many cases linked to Transport for London Major Schemes investments to deliver on the Mayor's London Great Outdoors manifesto pledge) including new and or upgraded paving, new and simplified street furniture, trees, lighting, way-finding and improved access for pedestrians and cyclists.
- 4.4 The majority of OLF Round Two investment will be spent by the end of 2013/14 representing £38,250,484 GLA and £27,570,566 match; MRF investment (the vast majority of which relates to high streets) will be delivered by 2014/15 in the main, with some in 2015/16 representing a further £70m GLA and £28,910,000 match investment in London's high streets.
- 4.5 These coordinated outcomes, and final evaluation, will be testament not only to the GLA's accumulated experience in developing and delivering targeted place-based funding programmes. By combining strategic thinking and project based experience, the GLA is uniquely placed to help unlock the potential of London's high streets to support economic growth and good quality attractive housing intensification.

5. Priorities and future lines of enquiry

- 5.1 Our work has revealed a number of priorities which could inform future high street initiatives. In line with our strategic role outlined above, we anticipate initiating research projects to augment our delivery experience, to develop more effective priorities for future funding programmes, and to inform emerging planning and strategy work. Specific research questions are based on cross team conversations which have happened within the Actions for High Streets group. In line with the cross cutting nature of the issues, and our commitment to cross sector coordination, we anticipate that research will be co-commissioned by the relevant teams and be overseen by the OLC/LEP as appropriate. The results will inform GLA work going forward, form part of the evidence base for the London Plan Town Centre SPG, and support the work of the LEP SME working group. It will also inform any future High Street Funds.
 - Diversify and survive The future of high streets depends on diversification. As noted above the high street is more than a shopping destination; it exists within an ecosystem of enterprise on upper floors, within the urban block, and around the corner from the actual high street. A variety of economic activity along the high street and in its immediate hinterland increases the reasons to visit, and the numbers of people using the high street on a day-to-day basis. Changes noted in future retail demand provide an opportunity to broaden the (civic cultural and) enterprise base that support our town centres and high streets. This 'mixedness' is a key town centre amenity which can support good quality attractive housing intensification. We need to better understand what kind of mix will best support high density living.
 - ➤ Q1: What policy context and urban change management processes best support delivery of mixed liveable town centres?
 - ➤ Q2: What mix of uses, given the fall in projected retail demand, will support good quality attractive high density living?
 - ➤ Q3: What form should high density housing take to deliver mixed liveable town centres?
 - Adapt and thrive We want to harness the dynamism and adaptability of the
 thousands of SMEs on London high streets. We want to reveal and value the
 vibrancy and economic resilience they represent, to ensure it is not lost or
 overlooked, in the development of regeneration strategies. We will provide targeted
 support, help groups to self-organise, and where the appetite exists, to formalise
 arrangements into fully-fledged trader associations or BIDs.

- ➤ Q3: What value does tertiary frontage/low threshold enterprise space represent to London and what function does it play in places undergoing significant change?
- ➤ Q4: How can we maintain a supply of low threshold enterprise spaces? (shops but not just shops).
- Experiment or decline London is unique in that Londoners use their high street every day to access basic goods and services including public transport. The prize and the future lies in creating high streets that people choose to use. Success on this front will rely on creating people friendly public realm and on updating and inventing a supportive economy of civic and cultural infrastructure and attractions. Harnessing the social capital invested in educational, recreational, cultural, and religious organisations; and diversifying the use of associated spaces on or near the high street will broaden the appeal of places (and reasons to visit). Making spaces with opportunities to play and explore will create destinations for families. Redefining the role of the corner shop parcel collection points for online deliveries could see high streets a beneficiary, rather than a victim, of the etailing revolution. A key criterion for future rounds should be a commitment to the principal of experimentation and innovation.
 - ➤ Q1: Based on experience to date and emerging research context what market failure(s) would future rounds of Mayoral investment address?
 - Q2: How would we identify the places where modest investment would achieve transformational change?
 - ➤ Q3: What level of funding and support would enable delivery of mixed liveable places which capitalise on the positive characteristics of high streets and town centres?
- 5.2 On-going work across teams involved in the Actions for High Streets group will continue to inform and develop the thinking that underpins any future rounds of Mayoral Investment. Opportunities to engage with funding programmes like the ESF and ERDF will be pursued. Bidders to future funds would need to demonstrate how their proposals meet identified programme priorities. Evaluation would prioritise places with potential to change, proposals which demonstrate a commitment to place based collaborative working, and an appetite to innovate. Based on our experience, we could expect to see a range of proposals across the spectrum of physical, economic and events-based interventions.

Annex 1

Importance of high streets to economy

Economy/employment

High streets are active ecosystems in which social, civic and economic parts coexist (Hall, 2013). London's high streets have always been central to our economy and our daily life. Many first grew up along the original Roman roads and have been the central arteries of the city ever since; today there are over 600 throughout the capital (DfL, Gort Scott, UCL, 2010) and impressively, they are home to nearly 1.5 million jobs. That's 35% of all the jobs in London, over half of all jobs outside the centre – most of which are in small and medium sized enterprises (SME). A sample of high street businesses analysed in our 2010 report, High Street London, showed an average of only 8.5 employees per business (DfL, Gort Scott, UCL, 2010).

The Centre for Cities report *Size Matters* examines the significance of small firms (those employing fewer than 50 people) to economic recovery in the UK. It uses London as a case study setting out that small firms account for 97% of businesses and half of the city's 3.4 million jobs. Small firms that need to be near local consumers are spread across London matching the geography of their customer base and echoing the geography of London's high streets. These firms account for 82% of London's small firms. Small firms are seen to be dynamic, resilient and adaptable; an important asset in responding to the rapidly changing context of high street economies (Centre for Cities, 2012).

Changing economy

In the UK less than half of retail spending now takes place on high streets (BIS, Genecon and Partners, 2011). Out-of-town retail space has been growing, increasing nationally by 30% in the last decade, while in-town space has shrunk by 14% (ibid). A report by The Boston Consulting Group (BCG) *The Connected Kingdom: How the Internet Is Transforming the U.K. Economy*, reveals that the U.K. Internet economy represented 7.2% of U.K. The report finds that this share is likely to grow by about 10% annually, reaching 10% of GDP by 2015. In many places these vacancies are creating a downward spiral, as closures reduce footfall, further weakening the high street and leading to yet more closures (Portas, 2011, 9). By comparison to the rest of the UK, London is faring better, with half the vacancy rate of the national average (London Assembly, 2013, 15). However the health of many of our Capital's high streets is still fragile. There are around 3,400 empty shops across the city, with the effect being felt most strongly in outer London, which has a vacancy rate of 7.7% (ibid, 15).

A draft study commissioned by the London Plan Team suggests that projected demand for retail space has fallen compared to those in 2009 report; at the same time projected levels of population growth have doubled. Study authors suggest this is in part due to the expansion of e-tailing in the UK. When you consider that much of London demand is likely to be generated by West End and metropolitan centres it becomes clear that the vibrancy and vitality of London's high streets is by no means guaranteed. Harder to quantify but significant nonetheless is the effect that all this has on the wider uses and benefits that form the cultural, social and civic functions of high streets.

Civic life

It is widely accepted that high streets aren't just about shops; they are our common urban currency. They are the linear worlds from which people catch a bus, top up a phone card, or meet a friend (Hall, 2013). The majority (2/3) of Londoners can walk to a high street within five minutes of home. Once on the high street, Londoners are just as likely to engage in social as they are in economic exchange (DfL, Gort Scott, UCL, 2010).

High streets are litmus strips that rapidly reveal and respond to urban change. While London's high streets are deeply affected by economic turbulence, they are simultaneously microcosms of adaptation and innovation. Ordinary streets adroitly respond to the dynamics of a diverse urban populace, with an array of goods, textures and activities that echo London's longstanding relations to the wider world (LSE Cities, 2012). The intersection of a global economic crisis and significant cultural shifts towards on-line purchasing undoubtedly demands a re-imagination of the twenty-first century role of urban high streets. If we want them to thrive in the future we need to do much more to support social exchange on high streets.

Annex 2

Places receiving investment



OUTER LONDON FUND ROUND 1

1	LB Barking & Dagenham	Barking Town Centre	
2	LB Barnet	Chipping Barnet	
3	LB Bexley	Bexleyheath Town Centre	
4	LB Brent	Willesden Green	
5	LB Bromley	Bromley Town Centre	
6	LB Bromley	Penge Town Centre	
7	LB Bromley	Orpington Town Centre	
8	LB Croydon	New Addington	
9	LB Ealing	Acton	
10	LB Ealing	Greenford	
11	LB Enfield	A1010 Corridor	
12	LB Haringey	Muswell Hill: Destination Marketing	
13	LB Haringey	Greenlanes: Food Glorious Food	
14	LB Harrow	Harrow Metropolitan Centre	
15	LB Harrow	North Harrow	
16	LB Havering	Rainham	
17	LB Havering	Hornchurch	
18	LB Hillingdon	Hayes Town Centre (reduced)	
19	LB Hounslow	Brentford	
20	LB Hounslow	Hounslow	
21	LB Islington	Archway	
22	LB Kingston	Kingston High Street	
23	LB Lambeth	West Norwood District Centre	
24	LB Lambeth	Streatham Town Centre	
25	LB Lewisham	Catford Broadway	
26	LB Richmond	Barnes	
27	LB Richmond	Twickenham	
28	LB Richmond	Whitton	
29	LB Waltham Forest	Wood Street Town Centre	
30	LB Wandsworth	Tooting	



OUTER LONDON FUND ROUND 2

1	LB Barking & Dagenham	Barking Town Centre
2	LB Barnet	North Finchley
3	LB Barnet	Cricklewood
4	LB Bexley	Sidcup
5	LB Bromley	Bromley
6	LB Enfield	North East Enfield
7	LB Haringey	Green Lanes
8	LB Harrow	Harrow Town Centre
9	LB Havering	Rainham
10	LB Hounslow	Hounslow High Street
11	LB Hounslow	Brentford
12	LB Kingston	Kingston Town Centre
13	LB Lambeth	Streatham
14	LB Lambeth	West Norwood
15	LB Lewisham	Deptford
16	LB Lewisham	Catford
17	LB Merton	Mitcham
18	LB Southwark	Nunhead
19	LB Sutton	Hackbridge
20	LB Sutton	North Cheam and Worcester Park
21	LB Waltham Forest	Wood Street
22	LB Waltham Forest	Blackhorse Lane
23	LB Wandsworth	Balham



of London	St Paul's Environs
arking and Dagenham	Barking Town Centre
exley	Bexleyheath Town Centre
romley	Orpington Town Centre
amden	Bloomsbury
amden	Britannia Junction
amden	Camden High Street
amden	Great Queen Street
amden	Russell Square
roydon	Coulsdon Town Centre
aling	Greenford Town Centre
reenwich	General Gordon Sq
reenwich	Woolwich New Road
ackney/Tower Hamlets	Hackney Wick and Fish Island
ackney	Dalston Open Spaces
ackney	Gillett Square
ackney	Kingsland High Street
arrow	Harrow Town Centre
arrow	Mollison Way
avering	Hornchurch Town Centre
lington	Angel Town Centre
	Goswell Triangle
	Exhibition Road
ngston	Tolworth Broadway
ambeth / Southwark	Southbank Accessibility
ambeth / Southwark	Herne Hill
ambeth	Jubilee Gardens
ambeth	Windrush Square, Brixton
ewisham	Deptford to New Cross Links
ewisham	Kender Triangle, New Cross
ewisham	Sydenham
lerton	Wimbledon Town Centre
ewham	Canning Town
ewham	Meridian Square
edbridge	Gants Hill
chmond	Richmond Town Centre
outhwark	Bankside Urban Forest
outhwark	Elephant and Castle
utton	Sutton Town Centre
ower Hamlets	Aldgate Gyratory / Braham Street Park
ower Hamlets	High Street 2012
altham Forest	Ruckholt Road (part of Leyton Links)
altham Forest	Crownfield Road (Part of Leyton Links)
altham Forest	Wood Street
andsworth (Clapham Junction / Brighton Yard
estminster/	Carting Lane/Savoy Area
estminster/	Leicester Square
estminster/	Oxford Circus
/estminster	Piccadilly Two Way
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MAYOR'S REGENERATION FUND

1	LB Camden	Camden Town
2	LB Croydon	Croydon
3	LB Croydon	New Addington
4	LB Ealing	Southall/West Ealing
5	LB Enfield	Angel Road Station/Meridian Water
6	LB Enfield	Market gardening - Enfield Chase
7	LB Hackney	Hackney Central
8	LB Haringey	Tottenham
9	LB Merton	Colliers wood
10	LB Southwark	Peckham

MAYOR'S REGENERATION PROJECTS

1	LB Hillingdon	Ruislip Manor
2	LB Hillingdon	Northolt Hills
3	LB Redbridge	Barkingside
4	LB Richmond	Twickenham