Culture as Commodity and Process: Neoliberal 'Regeneration' and Black Atlantic Music in the London Borough of Lewisham

By Christine Hannigan

Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) in Planning Studies

University College London

Bartlett School of Planning

24 October 2023

Declaration

I, Christine Hannigan, confirm that the work presented in my thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

Abstract

In 2001, the London Borough of Lewisham began incorporating 'culture' into its regeneration discourses. This research explores how 'culture' is employed in Lewisham's 'regeneration' and urban planning between 2001-2021, and how this relates to the long-established Black Atlantic music culture there. Critical discourse analysis, in-depth interviewing, and musicological discourse analysis were used to thematically interpret a catalogue of planning texts mainly produced by the Mayor of London/Greater London Authority and Lewisham Council; interviews with 21 Black Atlantic music practitioners; and a catalogue of music made by some interviewees.

The research gives insight into how 'culture' is envisioned and enacted alternatively as a commodity to "catalyse" regeneration, or as a long-term historical and social process. Commodified 'culture,' like ticketed events, higher education, and clusters of 'creative and cultural industries,' rebrands the Borough to attract outside employers, homebuyers, and renters. Contrasting with this externally-oriented 'culture' is a generations-long Black Atlantic music culture informed and influenced by its creators' respective heritages and present-day lives in the Borough. This process is borne of long-term networks of small businesses and residents who work together to provision resources withheld by a racial neoliberal state.

The Council's narratives justifying outside private real estate investment to 'regenerate' the Borough are predicated on centuries-old discursive formations demonising working-class and Black culture, which normalise the Council's awarding of planning permissions for housing unmatched to existing residents' needs, and funding patterns that to varying degrees prioritise drawing in outsiders at the expense of existing cultural places and activities. Interviewees and the catalogue of Black Atlantic music dispute these narratives, instead offering more nuanced interpretations of what the Borough is like (and why) and its existing culture, and how their spatial practice relates to 'regeneration.'

Impact Statement

This research utilises anti-racist principles and methods to explore different groups' production of cultural space in the London Borough of Lewisham. Its contributions are both methodological and empirical. It innovates a Lefebvrian production of space framework to consider three separate data sources through the same analysis, to understand how each alternatively represents, perceives, and gives meaning to the Borough, in the context of its Black Atlantic music culture and state-led neoliberal 'regeneration.' I hope this research offers other scholars some methodological approaches to centre Black British history. Interviewing cultural practitioners and analysing their music gave their collective memories, observations, and lived experience equal weight to the catalogue of planning texts analysed.

Charles (2018) developed Musicological Discourse Analysis as a framework to integrate music into cultural and socio-political research. This project contributes to the development of MDA, which as of this writing in 2022-23 has not been employed in urban planning research, by incorporating cultural outputs from areas marked for 'regeneration' into the overarching examination of how culture is represented and planned for. This inclusion may offer alternative ways for planners and elected officials to conceptualise culture, and to engage with populations impacted by their policies and decisions.

This thesis situates 'regeneration' in a broader historical and economic context which accounts for the planning profession's colonial origins and Britain's institutional racism. This research explores how the state's 'regeneration' narratives are underpinned by racist discourses to justify demolishing homes and displacing residents. I position a long-established, diasporic music culture opposite the commodified notion of "culture" used in regeneration strategies. Through this lens, the violence, displacement, and racism of contemporary urban regeneration are local replications of colonial practices. This research also adds to the limited literature on racism and planning, which mostly focusses on the demographic makeup of the profession itself and rarely accounts for colonial values embedded within the profession.

Dedication and Acknowledgements

This thesis is dedicated to the memory of Matt Gordon (1988-2023), aka Pie Eye Collective, a brilliant musician, scholar, and luminous spirit on a different level.

Thank you and all my love to:

The interviewees who generously and graciously shared their time, insights, music, and experiences with me to give this research its depth and meaning.

The scholars, activists, and artists whose methods and approaches inspired my own.

My supervisors Rob Hickman, Mike Raco, and Sonia Freire-Trigo who supported every pivot and gave critical feedback that strengthened this work.

My fellow PhD colleagues and other good people at the BSP like Naomi, Lisa, Agnes, and Michael who made UCL more bearable.

My family and friends for the encouragement, listening to and talking through my ideas, going to gigs, and making music with me, especially: Edie, Marcia, Lou, Naja, Celine, Tini, Zeina, Mario, Sasha, Alex, Micki, Hannah, Teni, and Bekah.

Abbreviations

ALCARAF - All Lewisham Campaign Against Racism and Fascism
AMR - Authority Monitoring Report
BAME – Black, Asian, Minority Ethnic
BUFP – Black Unity and Freedom Party
CAZ – Central Activities Zone
CCI – Cultural and Creative Industries
CDA – Critical Discourse Analysis
CEZ – Creative Enterprise Zone
CIL – Community Infrastructure Levy
CLA – Creative Lewisham Agency
DCC – Deptford City Challenge
DCMS – Department for Culture, Media, and Sport
DLR – Docklands Light Rail
GLA – Greater London Authority
LC – Lewisham Council
LBOC – London Borough of Culture
LCCR - Lewisham Council for Community Relations
MDA – Musicological Discourse Analysis
MHCLG – Ministry for Housing, Communities, and Local Government
MoL – Mayor of London
MVT – Music Venues Taskforce
NF – National Front
NTE - Night-time Economy
OA – Opportunity Area
OAPF – Opportunity Area Planning Framework
PFI – Private Finance Initiative
RSG – Revenue Support Grant
S106 – Section 106
SHMA – Strategic Housing Market Assessment
SPD – Supplementary Planning Document
SRB – Single Regeneration Budget
TfL - Transport for London
UDP – Unitary Development Plan

Table of Contents

Table of Tables

Table of Figures

1. Introduction

I first intended to study how financial relationships entangling multinational consortiums of banks, foreign governments, developers, and local authorities dictate what gets built on the ground in London. I am perversely fascinated by Opportunity Areas (OAs), sweeping swathes of so-called 'brownfield' land designated by the Mayor of London in need of 'regeneration.' Some of London's most notorious transport and real estate developments – like HS2 in Euston, Elephant Park, and the Battersea Power Station – fall within OAs. There's nothing to inform to an average pedestrian on the street they're within an OA, but one indicator is a massive construction site hidden behind hoardings, decorated with splashy slogans and renderings of the forthcoming 'new community' of (mostly) white people, regardless of the surrounding area's existing demographics. Many of these developments under construction across the capital look and feel similar, maligned by everyday Londoners for the same reasons – prioritising foreign investors' interests over those of the local community, concentrating billions of private capital in vacant flats within aesthetically incongruous and unaffordable buildings. I was particularly interested in the London Borough of Lewisham, where nearly one-third of its 13.4 square miles falls within two OAs. Its hilly landscape is slotted with cranes building high-rise flats financed by international banks and conglomerates. Few of the new homes are 'affordable,' and the buildings are jarringly taller than the mostly working- and middle-class council estates and terraced homes in the Borough, which themselves are incrementally privatised, demolished, or subdivided.

At the end of my first year in London, I started subsidising the cost of live music gigs by writing about them after a lucky foray into music journalism. This was an arrogant undertaking: I knew little about London's Black music history and thus had scant context for what I was hearing in-person. I quickly realised the volume of research and listening needed to write half-intelligent reviews that did more than describe noise. I listened to as much Black British music as possible, traced its overlaps and interviewed its makers. Some of its themes were similar to what I was reading in planning and geography journal articles. Both the music and articles discussed the loss of public space, central government's funding cuts to local authorities, housing insecurity, policing, outsiders moving into an area, and unequal distribution of resources. In academia, I read about financial mechanisms subjugating local authorities to private investors and landowners. In different kinds of music like reggae, jazz, R&B, and grime, artists depicted the experience of being in areas the state has simultaneously disinvested from and heavily policed, framed as ongoing colonisation and exploitation by the British state. For a few months, I tried to figure out how to incorporate music into a planning PhD. Finding Dr Monique Charles' work on musicological discourse analysis was the key, and Lewisham's designation as the 2022 London Borough of Culture provided a link between the Borough's planning activities and the music coming out of it. Culture is the prism

relating neoliberal urban regeneration with Black Atlantic music in the London Borough of Lewisham. This research seeks to understand how the London Borough of Lewisham and culture within it are represented, conceived of, and enacted, both as a commodity seemingly 'introduced' to an area to 'catalyse' regeneration, and alternatively as a long-term historical process borne of and reflecting specific circumstances.

The spatial triad, derived from Lefebvre's (1991) *Production of Space,* structures the thesis. The core idea of the spatial triad is that "space" is not merely an empty physical vessel, but given meaning through its representations (or how it is conceived of), its perceptions (or how it is used and understood), and its practical uses. This research specifically focuses on how 'culture' is operationalized in space, and how it is lived and collectively remembered. Each element is usually associated with distinct groups of people – representations to the state and other power-wielding institutions, perceptions with everyday people, and remembrances to artists (and their art). This thesis draws from three data sources roughly corresponding to these groups: first, a catalogue of planning texts by Lewisham Council and the GLA from 2001-2021; second, interviews conducted with 21 Black Atlantic music practitioners from or active in the London Borough of Lewisham; and lastly, a catalogue of music made by some interviewees. Rather than relegate each data source to only one third of the triad, and to give them more equal weight, they are analysed through all parts of the triad to discern how each conceives, perceives, and lives the London Borough of Lewisham and its 'culture.' This research aims to demystify ubiquitous abstractions like 'racism,' 'neoliberalism,' 'regeneration,' and 'culture' to show how people activate them in real life, and their concrete consequences. This is first done by showing how widely-accepted discourses on 'regeneration' and 'culture' are derived from racist and xenophobic tropes, which are then leveraged to normalize and justify private investment and public disinvestment in the built environment, and then understanding how these changes relate to and are reflected in Black Atlantic music made in Lewisham.

One of the musicians interviewed for this research, Nathaniel Cross, released an album around the time we spoke in 2021 titled *The Description is Not the Described,* inspired by a quote from Jiddu Krishnamurti:

> *"The description is not the described; I can describe the mountain, but the description is not the mountain, and if you are caught up in the description, as most people are, then you will never see the mountain."*

No matter how many words (say 100,000) one dedicates to an object, it will never be the object itself. Mere descriptions and representations of a place cannot fully grasp its essence. It was imperative for the research to venture beyond written texts into the real world, immersed in soundwaves. I conducted walking interviews, attended live performances, and through various avenues (music journalism,

jamming, running a collective) came to participate in certain aspects of Black Atlantic music culture. Exploring the production of Black Atlantic cultural space was guided by Charles' Musicological Discourse Analysis framework, which works towards a broader understanding of different musics of the African diaspora by considering factors like historical lineage, technologies used to make and distribute the music, where it originates, live performance, in addition to its aural and aesthetic qualities (such as lyrics and music video imagery). This enables a way to understand music as reflections of not only its creators, but the specific place and time they were made.

In order to distil how one of the most nefarious abstractions plaguing society, racism, is embodied and operationalised in the material world demanded anti-racist research principles, which were largely informed by Okolie (2005). Anti-racist research is "unapologetically political" without airs of removed neutrality (Okolie 2005, 247). It necessitates a long historical view and multi-disciplinary approaches as to better discern interrelated institutions and processes of racial oppression. 'Diversity' cannot be merely celebrated and fetishised; how differences amongst groups inform their experiences and treatment by the state must be explored. The researcher's attitude and socialisation must be interrogated. The anti-racist researcher is not "discovering" anything: she is participating in research and learning from gracious people sharing their experiences and knowledge, and is thus obligated to share her findings with them. Okolie emphasises qualitative methods, which better capture alternative ways of knowing (especially oral histories) beyond strictures of flat, quantifiable categories. The mixed methods approach of critical discourse analysis, in-depth interviewing, and musicological discourse analysis are all grounded in uncovering wrongs, and the Lefebvrian framework is oriented to untangling how power relations influence the production of space.

1.1. Thesis Structure

Chapter 2 reviews literature surrounding racial neoliberalism, and how neoliberal policies and ideology further entrench the British planning system's prioritising of landowners. It discusses ways to study discourse in planning, and the role discourse plays in various stages of 'regeneration,' including those of the past two decades incorporating ideas of 'creativity' and 'culture.' It then introduces Gilroy's concept of the Black Atlantic and the significance of music.

Chapter 3 fleshes out the theoretical framework, Lefebvre's spatial triad, which provides latitude to analyse how space is provisioned for by different actors, transcending discourse and bringing research into the physical world.

Chapter 4 details the three methods: critical discourse analysis, in-depth interviews, and musicological discourse analysis. It introduces anti-racist research principles and disciplinary and researcher positioning.

The chapter explains how the three data sources are coded with a Lefebvrian framework that equally considers how each represents and conceives of the London Borough of Lewisham; how 'culture' factors into these representations and the function it serves in the Borough; and how this translates to spatial practice.

Chapter 5 introduces the case study area, presenting the London Borough of Lewisham through a Black Atlantic historical lens, largely drawing from the scholarship of Anim-Addo (1995). It also discusses the local authority structure and sets the stage of Lewisham in 2001, when the study period begins.

Chapter 6 is the first empirical chapter about data sources' conceptions and representations of Lewisham, how elements like the population, economy, and built environment are characterised, and how the Council's narratives and framings create the ideological justification for 'regeneration' schemes. These narratives are put into relief with in-depth interviews and music selections to understand how state representations align or conflict with those of the people there.

Having established the data sources' respective depictions of Lewisham, Chapter 7 explores how within these representations, the data sources give meaning to 'culture' there. It analyses how culture is assigned particular functions in everyday life and regeneration practices, how disparate meanings of 'culture' are leveraged within regeneration policies, how interviewees' understanding of 'culture' is reflected in their everyday life, and how 'culture' informs people's creative practices and motivations.

With a clear picture of how Lewisham is alternatively represented by the data sources and the meanings and roles 'culture' has for them, the last empirical chapter (Chapter 8) analyses the data sources' spatial practices, and where they situate 'culture' in the context of the Borough's regeneration. It bridges the realm of discourse with the material world, exploring how narratives are leveraged to justify planning decisions and thus how people move through and understand space.

The conclusion considers how varying conceptions of the Borough itself, the culture within Lewisham and the function it serves, and how 'culture' is spatially provisioned for by different groups is predicated on differing ideologies and word meanings replicated in discourse. It considers how historical meanings and implications of abstract metaphors like 'regeneration,' and 'culture' are applied in contemporary neoliberal planning strategies, and what these strategies' consequences may be for existing residents and cultural practitioners.

Incorporating urban planning policy, creators and stewards of Black Atlantic music, and the music itself affords a wider view into how London-wide and local urban planning strategies interact with an area's existing culture. This research traces how the introduction of 'culture' into 'regeneration' strategies in the

early 2000s is predicated on racist discursive formations that morph as policies progress and an area changes. Incorporating musicians and their work into research makes more tangible how state invocations of 'culture' in planning and 'regeneration' drive change in the built environment, and how this change is interpreted and experienced by cultural practitioners already there.

In 2001, Lewisham Council hired Charles Landry, a consultant paid by municipalities around the world, to write *Creative Lewisham*, suggesting how Lewisham could regenerate itself through 'culture' and setting a discursive precedent for the next 20 years. A variety of the Borough's planning and regeneration texts discussed how attracting private investment, new businesses, and new residents may be achieved through culture-centric urban 'regeneration,' rebranding the Borough and prioritising private development over the existing population's housing needs. The opening phases of some new private residential buildings coincided with Lewisham's year-long celebration as the London Borough of Culture in 2022, a designation awarded by the Mayor of London. These 'regeneration' activities are superimposed on a local population with multigenerational roots in the Borough, long histories of fighting racism from neighbours, police, and the state, and self-organising to provide support for each other in the face of government oppression and disinvestment. The Borough's history and present, not as it is sanitised or quantified by the state, but as lived, remembered, and reflected by people already there, is audible in the breadth of Black Atlantic music emanating from these SE postcodes – if you know how to listen.

2. Literature Review

This review distils high-level, abstract terms like neoliberalism, regeneration, and culture in the context of the British planning system. This distillation is underpinned by the United Kingdom's violent colonial and imperial history, namely its impact on enslaved people, colonial subjects, and their descendants who migrated to London. Despite the research being situated in a single borough, the literature review appreciates this topic's supranational influences, like the British empire, Black Atlantic culture, and financial flows of imperial origin shaping London's built environment today. It discusses how the UK planning system exacerbates racial inequalities and tensions obscured by misleading metaphors and justified with shifting discourses of xenophobic and racist origin. The literature review explores utilising sound and music cultures as the prism to understanding alternate or resistant discourses and representations around urban regeneration schemes and the public sphere generally.

This work bridges urban planning with Black Atlantic music. While seemingly disparate fields, they overlap in how physical space is provisioned and occupied, albeit from different approaches. Whereas planning is a state activity concerned with land ownership and top-down land use decisions, Black Atlantic music provides commentary and insight to how physical space is appropriated in the context of historical state activity and private land ownership. Studying Black Atlantic music centres the art form and its creators within British society as interpreters, reflectors, and resisters of British imperialism and neoliberalism, rather than relegating them to a 'marginalised' group. Including Black Atlantic music and its makers as knowledge sources illuminates how high-level planning decisions impact the everyday lives of people within a space, and how they interpret planning actions and other spatial interventions. Discourse evolves over time to maintain power structures: the incorporation of 'culture' into planning and regeneration schemes the past two decades warrants further investigation into how neoliberalism is further normalised and entrenched in the planning process, and thus the everyday uses of space.

2.1 Can't Have Neoliberalism Without Racism

While reviewing 'the literature,' I found myself in a tangle of overlapping terms and theories that could all somehow explain London's political, social, and built landscapes. 'Neoliberalism' recurred so often to the point of becoming unwieldy. Harvey (2005, 2) defines neoliberalism as:

> *"A theory of political economic practises that proposes that human wellbeing can best be advanced by liberating entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterised by strong private property rights, free markets and free trade."*

For this thesis, neoliberalism is conceived of as macro-level, free-market supremacist ideas permeating law- and decision-making, thus shaping our interpretations, actions in, and valuations of the world around

us. "Public policies are geared toward certain clienteles and generate victims" (ibid, 167): who is victimised, and what is accepted as collateral damage, indicate a society's values, perhaps more than who benefits and profits.

The connotation of 'neoliberal' has changed since the economists who formulated its principles and policies as a "middle ground" response to the Great Depression and New Deal proudly bore the label (McWhorter 2017). Few people would likely self-identify as neoliberals today, especially after the 2008 financial crisis which shook public faith in free markets (ibid). Both liberals and neoliberals protect and prioritise private property, open markets, individualism over collectivism, and are wary of state interference, taxes, political protests, and revolutions. Liberalism, however, believes public provision offers the best service in natural monopolies (like infrastructure) rather than free markets, whereas neoliberalism sees the market as the ultimate form of economic and social organisation. Neoliberal policies do not acknowledge market failures, instead believing "solutions to problems or crises always require more markets" (Le Galès 2016, 161). Neoliberal policies are generally unconcerned with inequalities or uneven wealth distribution, instead demanding strict social ordering based on the individual as a client and consumer to maintain fragile networks moving goods and capital. Market society is cultivated through control and ruin of existing social relations: individualised "actors" are created through the "destruction of existing institutions" or "institutional mechanisms that maximize insecurity and unpredictability" (ibid). Intensified marketisation and commodification of everyday aspects of life is enforced through increased surveillance, policing, and a strong carceral state to incentivise, maintain, and reproduce a conformist, consumerist social order (ibid, 162; Goldberg 2009).

Like 'neoliberalism,' another omnipresent concept is 'race,' or what Goldberg (2009, 355-6) condemns as

> *"an enduring occupation of modernity. Its structural legacy, institutional articulation, and social implications have lingered despite racial conception becoming less pressed or formally elaborated….more invisible, coded, and proxied."*

Race is a social construct pervading society thanks to "science and literature, scripture and law, culture and political rhetoric all [working] in subtle and blunt ways to establish the presumption of white supremacy" (Goldberg 2009, 3). Gilroy (1987) and Goldberg (2009) inform this research's recognition that although the concept of 'race' is manufactured to subordinate and segregate people based on skin colour, it cannot be abandoned given its persistence as a "foundational pillar of modernizing globalization" (Goldberg 2009, 330). This research does not discount the significance of class, and following Hall (1980) considers race the mode class is lived in. While interviewees' class positions and socioeconomic situations (particularly "deprivation") heavily contextualise empirical analysis in later chapters, the research is primarily focussed on neoliberal planning policy's outcomes for Black Atlantic

music culture (rather than working-class culture), which serves as a more specific counterpoint to the state.

European colonisation going back to the fourteenth century was at its core "racially mandated, mediated and managed; and racial rule in the colonies shored up and was used to rationalize racial repression in the national metropoles" (ibid, 12), and the same routes of "global colonial spread, commercial interaction, and cultural intertwining" continue to shape modern societies today (ibid, 3). Goldberg (2009, 5) explains racism effectively acts to degrade and prematurely shorten people's lives:

> *"The mark of racist expression…is not simply the claim of inferiority of the racially different. It is more broadly that racial difference warrants exclusion of those so characterized from elevation into the realm of protection, privilege, property, or profit. Racism, in short, is about exclusion through depreciation, intrinsic or instrumental, timeless or time-bound."*

Neoliberalism and racism become political projects when operationalised in real life through the creation of discourses and violent policies. British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher championed neoliberal principles, claiming there was no alternative to organising society (which she claimed did not exist, anyway) around deregulated market economies rather than welfare systems during her tenure from 1979-1990. Gilroy (1987, 74-75) catalogues how her election was partially aided by a moral panic around "black settlement" in Britain as a misplaced backlash to the country's loss of empire rather than addressing the root economic causes of national decline and symptoms of public disinvestment. Shabani et al (2015, 208-9) explain the British embrace and normalisation of neoliberalism, which had been considered "previously radical":

> *"…Throughout the 1980s there was a growing rhetoric building the culture of neoliberalism using simplified neoliberal virtues that appealed to the majority middle classes, such as individualism, entrepreneurship and property ownership. Policies, such as the sale to tenants of social housing and individual participation in privatizations, also directly and cynically created popular support for these ideals by putting money into individuals' pockets."*

Goldberg (2009, 179) notes racist underpinnings in Thatcher's rhetoric of "reclamation" which emphasised

> *"British heritage and a deep nostalgia for Britain's worldly prowess (not to mention its tradition of profiteering and aggressively defensive warmaking). These sources of British sovereign exceptionalism, and most explicitly and emphatically of the anglicizing of Britain, manifested from the outset in deeply inscribed racial terms tied to the denial of their explicitness and intentionality."*

One function of the 'anglicising' of Britain was to homogenise immigrant groups from the Caribbean, Africa, and South Asia into a "singular Black Britannia…a blackening singularity as uninvited immigrant

presence deserving only disdain and repatriation" (ibid). The precedent of depicting Black people in the UK as a "problem" can be traced back to the eighteenth century (Anim-Addo 1995). In *There Ain't No Black in the Union Jack* (1987), Gilroy describes how immigrants from former colonies were similarly received by mainstream British press and government throughout the twentieth century. As previously-enslaved subjects (or their descendants) of the British empire resettled in the UK,

> *"black history and culture [were] perceived, like black settlers themselves, as an illegitimate intrusion into a vision of authentic British national life that, prior to their arrival, was as stable and as peaceful as it was ethnically undifferentiated"*
> (Gilroy 1993, 7).

This inherent problematisation of Black settlers and their descendants as "intrusions" permeated into both informal and institutional British life. Racism cannot be reduced to a single facet of society; it is woven into everyday life. Goldberg's (2009) concept of racial neoliberalism explains how racist narratives justify policies that disinvest and dispossess, then fault victims for their outcomes. The state's withdrawal from social welfare and infrastructure provision, and subsequent privatisation and financialisation of these functions, has not reduced unequal social outcomes by race. It often exacerbates them, as private companies are not held to the same legal requirements to prevent discrimination, and historical racist practices prevent racialised people from acquiring private property (ibid). This withdrawal of state resources most negatively impacts the people who utilised them the most. Because victims of racism are disenfranchised from private property rights, "securing conditions for privatized interest to flourish" (Goldberg 2009, 333) discounts people without these interests, instead prioritising movement of goods, capital, and finance. Goldberg (2009, 337) further explains how neoliberalism, which "[calculates] optimalities in reductively economic terms" (ibid, 335), is directly related to racism, as state welfare programs that had previously sought to rectify "structurally produced or magnified deficits for individuals" (ibid, 335) are done away with in favour of free markets and privatisation of state services. Although he argues "race is purged from the explicit lexicon of public administrative arrangements and their assessment while remaining robust and unaddressed by the private realm," (ibid, 341) it merely shifts discrimination into the private sector (ibid, 334-5):

> *"It dramatically shifts the relation of state to private sphere. It serves to protect the private sphere from state incursion. In doing so it thus also ensures a space for extending socio-racial interventions – demographic exclusions, belittlements, forms of control, ongoing humiliations, and the like – difficult or impossible any longer for the state to carry out baldly in its own name…state reach is more or less curtailed, making privatized preference expression and action, most notably in this instance racial expression, mostly beyond state delimitation."*

The British government cemented racism as a pillar of British society and culture (Thomas and Krishnarayan 1994), and the introduction of neoliberal policies further entrenches it.

2.2 Neoliberal Planning

In their conception of planning, Fincher and Iveson refer to Lefebvre's theory of the right to the city, which "was informed by a strong critique of the technocratic will to plan cities as if they were machines, made up of separate parts with programmable functions and quantifiable characteristics" (2008, 8-9). They define planning as a form of "urban governance or urban management…[seen] as a public sector activity for the most part" (ibid, 7), an arm of the state shaping lives of everyday people, "the site both of injustices and their remediation in cities" (ibid, 16).

Although they subscribe to a view of city planning "as an alternative to the unfettered operation of markets in distributing resources, infrastructure and services" (ibid, 23), they concede this is compromised by neoliberal "subordination of social to economic policy" and replacement of "provision and payment of services by the state" by private actors (ibid, 25). They address how vague ideals like "public interest" prioritise privileged groups' interests and ignore the idea of 'multiple publics' (ibid, 27) and their diverse needs. Broad brushstroke planning efforts in the 'public interest' disregard the unique spatialities and experiences of individuals, or the "life path peculiarly circumscribed for them by the spaces, places, and governance structures of the city," (ibid, 13). Policy or planning interventions supposedly benefitting a homogenised "community" or "public" without considering internal differences risk reinforcing (if not creating new) inequalities (Simmie 1974).

Ferm et al (2021, 394) argue the UK planning system has "been appropriated as a tool to accommodate and sustain economic growth." King (1990), however, would likely disagree, arguing it has always been tool of the ruling elite since the profession's formation. He explains how British planning descends from colonial planning principles and ideology. One of its central purposes was segregating colonisers from indigenous populations, the latter of whom were exploited to provide labour and resources for the former's capitalist market expansion. Simmie (1974, 132; 135) accuses planners of mediating spatial conflicts on behalf of landowners, "agents of the ruling class" facilitating a "ruthless bargaining process" perpetuating structural inequality and regressive redistribution of societal benefit through spatial structure, location, and disparate economic growth. Planning, Thomas and Krishnarayan (1994, 1893) say, "as a state activity was not introduced and has not been maintained in order to create some kind of new society or radical social reform."

Although these scholars argue the planning system's inherent function is to support land-owning elites, this has been amplified since 2010 central government cuts to local funding ('austerity') compelled local authorities to entrepreneurialise, forcing a "growing dependence on planning gain income to provide for social and community infrastructure, social housing and transport infrastructure associated with new

developments" (Robinson and Attuyer 2021, 306). Local authorities negotiate provision of essential infrastructure like housing and transport with private developers, rather than the state paying for it. Clifford (2018, 61) explains how negotiations between local authority and developers for Community Infrastructure Levies or Section 106 payments concedes infrastructure and housing provision to developer profit:

> *"Governmental austerity has...impacted the ability of the public sector to fund the physical, social and green infrastructure which supports quality of life...Changes in central government policy...have, however, restricted the ability of planners in this vital area of practice under the mantra of not adversely impacting the 'viability' and hence delivery of development."*

'Viability assessments' are an example of a neoliberal planning mechanism ensuring private developers' profits and determining planning gain, or "the uplift in land value that takes place as a result of planning permission being granted" (Canelas 2018, 70). In 2000, the GLA wanted all new developments to include 50% affordable housing (Christophers 2014). Developers strongly opposed this, so the GLA hired the private consultancy Three Dragons (whose other clients also included developers) to propose a comprising course of action. The resulting model, which flexes housing density and prices but fixes developer profit to least 15%, has become the standard, despite that percentage being inflated after the 2008 financial crisis to mitigate developers' risk (ibid). The Three Dragons model has "come to organize the world on [its] own terms, part of a much wider political-economic and ideological process of embedding of capitalist market relations under neoliberalism" (ibid, 80). With 15% accepted as the minimum return, developers have ample leverage over local authorities when negotiating affordable housing provision. Decisions to reduce or eliminate affordable housing are made to appear as a technical, rather than political, matter (McAllister 2017). Another consideration about 'developers' is that they are often not singular companies – they are often subsidiaries of multinational conglomerates, backed by global investment firms, and so the balance sheets and timelines of the individual construction company used to negotiate down affordable housing delivery are not the same forecasts given to shareholders, and belie developers' supranational financers and the decades-long "patient capital" investors bank on (Brill et al 2022).

Viability assessments aside, 'affordable housing' provision is already a fraught and elusive concept. A general heuristic that households should spend no more than 30% of their income on rent is based on an obsolete nineteenth century study (Hulchanski 1995). The Ministry of Communities, Housing, and Local Government (MHCLG) (2019) vaguely defines it as "housing units (or bed spaces) provided to specified eligible households whose needs are not met by the market." Another heuristic is that "affordable" housing is rented at 80% of market cost, which does not factor in tenant incomes and divorces wages

from prices. Lees and White (2020) describe the London property market as "super heated," so defining 'affordability' based on market prices without reference to wages is not reliable.

The obfuscation of political matters into technical jargon and models pervades planning. Professional organisations claim planners strive to work in the public interest, yet erect barriers to both participation in the system and entry into the profession itself (Simmie 1974). Confusing jargon, labyrinthine processes, and unclear policies demand some degree of education and administrative savvy to navigate. By employing language of public interest and altruism, planners are not accountable to disclose who the losers of their decisions are, who tend to be already-disenfranchised residents and small businesses (ibid). Simmie (1974, 142) identified how town planners, "in their commitment to the efficient use of resources in the spatial structure have often sought to facilitate economic growth," yet operate within unitary planning frameworks that "contain hidden redistribution effects which are normally regressive" (ibid, 135). Indeed, Thomas' (2000) survey of planners found they largely considered their profession a technical one, and GLA employees interviewed by Raco and Kesten (2018) depoliticised their roles. The Commission for Racial Equality (2007) investigated "allegations of unequal distribution of funds, failure to consult ethnic minority groups, and concern that regeneration does not adequately take into account the disadvantages experience by some ethnic groups" across local authorities in Britain. It found the private sector encroached into regeneration activities with little to no guidance or accountability for racial equality. Investigators' interviews with local authority planning officers replicated Thomas and Krishnarayan's (1994) findings that race equality is considered irrelevant in planning. The investigation made some vague recommendations about monitoring regeneration outcomes and community engagement but did not question austerity or underlying development models bestowing the private sector with so much power in regeneration.

Buhler (2021) explores "fuzziness" in planning, arguing it is a deliberately rhetorical resource of dominant actors to avoid firm commitments, quelling opposition (by lacking anything specific enough to actually oppose), or to fulfil higher-level planning mandates local authorities are not serious about (but must complete, perhaps as a requirement to obtain funding). Fuzziness is implemented in planning through a multiplicity of definitions and meanings (or entire lack thereof) for concepts, statements that can be true in many interpretations, and an absence of tangible, clearly delineated indicators. It can be recognised in planning documents and discourse through textual elements such as concessionary wording ("something and its opposite" is said in the same sentence), verb nominalisations (omitting "mode, tense and subject," eliminating responsibilities and timelines), positivity effects ("reducing the impression of possible negative effects through rhetorical wording"), and the elimination of "precise space-time references" and "concrete devices (ibid, 336).

As the empirical chapters will cover, 'culture' and 'regeneration' are rarely given concrete definitions. While de Roo and Porter's research centres mostly around the idea of "sustainability" and its many interpretations, they discuss how

> *"high-level notions and concepts are often thought to be a guaranteed route to success, but all too often they result in disappointment. They are seemingly understood by all and appreciated by all and therefore – one would think – accepted by all, in such a way that planning when turned into action will lead us to victory. But in practice, this is seldom the case…"* (2007, 2).

Although high-level notions may forge some initial consensus, vagueness ultimately creates uncertainty, leaving planners "in the dark the moment they attempt to turn such a concept into action, and that there is little space for discussion, because others believe there is a mutual understanding" (ibid, 3). Rather than fuzzy notions representing "an easily distinguishable object," they are instead an abstract "intention" (ibid, 10). But what intention, and belonging to whom?

2.3 Studying 'Culture' and Discourse

The literature review found a variety of definitions for 'culture.' This research is concerned with both its function and commodification in official discourses promoting urban regeneration, and also as a long, historical process resulting in Black Atlantic music. Fairclough (2010, 439) argues neoliberal policies prioritise culture as "increasingly significant in economic production and consumption." Culture is articulated through everyday "representations, values, and identities" (ibid, 438), yet becomes commodified when reduced to outward representations and aesthetics moved along supply chains which divorce it from its originating people, values, and collective identities.

For culture to take on meaning, it exists alongside difference: "it's the 'inter'- the cutting edge of translation and negotiation, the in-between spaces that carries the burden of the meaning of culture" (Bhabha 1994, 56). This is particularly applicable in London: its history as the financial and governing epicentre of imperial exploits contributes to its present-day 'diversity,' where different cultures' coalescence enables both the formation of hybrid identities and revolutionary changes. Goldberg (2009, 367) notes all cultures develop through mixing with others, making Thatcher's imagination of a white British national character inherently unstable:

> *"It follows that every culture develops heterogeneously, whether through social intercourse and interaction, commercial transaction, inadvertent or purposeful borrowing, youthful transgressions, or outright theft. It is of the very nature of culture, accordingly, that despite itself, in spite of its disposition qua cultural identity to repeat and reproduce itself, it could develop into something else. The threat to (a) culture is that it could become something different, lose its (current) identity, cease to be by seeing what it takes as its core convictions, values, or commitments eroded."*

The value of a fixed, white British national culture parallels the maintenance of strict social ordering that accompanies neoliberal policies defining Thatcher's leadership and her successors. As will be discussed later, planning and cultural consultancies have introduced seemingly-positive discourses about multiculturalism to planning strategies, but do not imply an ideological shift to transfer power or autonomy to the constituent groups making a place more 'diverse.'

Scholars like Zukin (1996, 1998) and Hall (1997) have grappled with studying a concept as abstract yet omnipresent like 'culture.' Speaking specifically to 'culture' in urban planning and built environment contexts, Zukin (1996, 264) points to its myriad manifestations:

> *"Culture is, arguably, what cities "do" best. But which culture, which cities? The cultures of cities certainly include ethnicities, lifestyles, and images – if we take into account the concentration of all kinds of minority groups in urban populations, the availability and variety of consumer goods, the diffusion through mass media of style. Cities are sites of culture industries, where artists, designers, and performers produce and sell their creative work. Cities are also a visual repertoire of culture in the sense of a public language. Their landscape and vernacular are a call and response among different social groups: symbols making sense of time. Cities are identified with culture, moreover, because they so clearly mark a human-made sense of place and a human-size struggle with scale. Does all this not suggest that culture is, in fact, a common language? That the divergent and multilayered cultures of cities create a single, overriding identity: a public culture of citizenship?"*

Hall (1997b, 21) also thinks about culture as "shared conceptual maps, shared language systems, and *the codes which govern the relationships of translation between them*." Gilroy (1987, 17) in his far-reaching account of Black Britain, writes "[c]ulture can be presented as a field articulating the life-world of subjects (albeit de-centred) and the structures created by human activity." Bhabha (1994, 51) defines culture as "the knowledge of referential truth." Their explanation of culture is the everyday practice of living in a particular way. Gilroy (1987, 217) notes culture's malleability and evolution as people respond to their circumstances:

> *"Culture is not a fixed and impermeable feature of social relations. Its forms change, develop, combined and are dispersed in historical processes. The syncretic cultures of [B]lack Britain exemplify this. They have been able to detach cultural practices from their origins and use them to found and extend the new patters of metacommunication which give their community substance and collective identity."*

O'Farrell (2005, 17), distilling Foucault and Hall, defines culture as

> *"the way a society constructs and organises knowledge about the world and social relations and defines particular behaviours and knowledges as either acceptable or unacceptable. Culture can be seen in the most mundane practices and material objects as well as in the products of high art and high culture."*

The distinction between mundanity and "high art and high culture" carries the implication of a separation and segmenting of cultural locations, processes, lineages, and histories and "products" seemingly not borne of the same processes or experienced in the same ways, forecasting conflicting conceptions of 'culture' as a commodified catalyst of regeneration and everyday life practices. This research does not limits itself to any single definition of culture, as to fully acknowledge its breadth and complexity in its formation and enactment across the data sources.

2.4 'London Style' Regeneration

'Regeneration' was firmly established in the "urban planning policy lexicon in the 1980s in the context of a radical right-wing agenda shaped partly by appeals to [an] individualistic understanding of Christianity," (Furbey 1999, 421) but the word has a centuries-long etymology. In theology and biology, it implies a complete, profound transformation of an object. Furbey describes 'regeneration' as a potent yet abstract metaphor under which many policy decisions are justified as being in the 'public interest.' He notes its discursive power "whereby the same word serves as an expression of very diverse hopes" (ibid, 422). Even Thatcher's discourse prioritising individualistic "enterprise culture," demonised the poor and working class, and referred to eugenicist discourses which sought to

> *"regenerate society by ensuing the differential reproduction of those with 'desirable' and 'undesirable' qualities…and the effective control and segregation of what today might be termed an 'excluded' cultural 'underclass'"*
> (ibid, 426).

Although more recent regeneration discourses referred to a kind of New Age spirituality and 'inclusion,' regeneration policies and schemes remain within "conservative, individualistic and statist traditions" imposed predominantly on "poor people, poor places, and the operations of the increasingly organizational networks which engage with them" (Furbey 1999, 444). He discusses the roles of "the excluders and the excluded" (ibid, 434) in regeneration discourses of New Labour, predicated on demonising an underclass threatening the social order, and rectified through the benevolence of an educated, upright elite to 'include' them in planning processes under the guise of 'social cohesion.' Discourses of 'inclusion,' however, do not meaningfully transfer power to the 'excluded,' and risk collapsing their varied needs into one 'public interest.' The religious and eugenicist underpinnings of the "elastic canopy" of regeneration demand complete rebirth: "economic and physical changes are no longer sufficient. The new urban policy must include personal, cultural and institutional transformation" (Furbey 1999, 431).

Robinson and Attuyer (2021) describe recent patterns in real estate and 'regeneration' across London borne of the city's status as financial epicentre. London's spatial governance is fragmented between 33

local councils and the GLA's limited powers. This fragmentation is exacerbated with the creation of Opportunity Areas (OAs), territories designated by the "relatively weak capstone" Mayor of London indicative of a "wider design-led approach to encouraging higher densities across the whole metropolitan area" (ibid, 314-315). The GLA delineates OA boundaries, which may cut across Borough lines and through neighbourhoods. Although more recent London Plans no longer say 'brownfield,' the 2008 London Plan defined OAs as "major source of brownfield land which [has] significant capacity for development – such as housing or commercial use – and existing or potentially improved public transport access." The Mayor (2008, 46) expects OAs

> *"...are capable of accommodating substantial new jobs or homes and their potential should be maximised. Typically, each can accommodate at least 5,000 jobs or 2,500 homes or a mix of the two, together with appropriate provision of other uses such as local shops, leisure facilities and schools, health and social care facilities and services…Their development should be geared to the use of public transport and they are either located at areas of good access or would require public transport improvements to support development."*

OAs made during the study period were predicated on the idea that they are "brownfield land," which the Mayor of London (2016, 407-8) further defines as:

> *"… a site that has previously been used or developed and is not currently fully in use, although it may be partially occupied or utilised. It may also be vacant, derelict or contaminated."*

Although this is an official-sounding definition, Freire Trigo (2019b) notes 'brownfield' is not a land use category by the Parliamentary Office of Science and Technology (the closest is "previously developed land"). This discourse of OAs as "partially occupied" is intended to "quickly [attract] a larger scale of development and [encourage] high density projects which might not get approval in other places" (Just Space 2018). In 2019, London had 39 OAs. A visitor to any of them will find that although there may be 'derelict' sites within then, their borders are widely drawn, encompassing large swathes of residential areas (often council estates) and small businesses.

Most OAs are hundreds of hectares, but several are upwards of 2,500 hectares, concentrated in the hands of relatively few landowners, and often involve large sales of land from public to private hands, or the condensed sale of land from multiple owners to one. This top-down approach and the scale of development can bar small companies and local interest groups from participating. OAs' jobs and home targets are beyond local authorities' jurisdiction: Opportunity Area Planning Frameworks (OAPFs) are developed by the GLA and the local authorities, with heavy input from the landowners. As Ferm et al (2021, 395) note, "OAs indicate a shift in the nature and purpose of planning away from direct intervention and regulation towards a focus on brokering relationships at the metropolitan scale to better

manage and accommodate growth." OAs transcend the local scale, and major strategic decisions often precede the production of the spatial plan, which exacerbates spatial inequalities (ibid). The mandate of OAPFs is somewhat unclear, as OAPFs or other strategic masterplans are not a requisite for development, and planning permissions and physical construction within OAs may precede any kind of published, publicly-consulted planning strategies by years (Hannigan 2019).

A key process within 'London style' of regeneration is financialisation, or "structural shift from industrial to finance capitalism" (Lysandrou 2016, 445) wherein future imagined values that can possibly be extracted from an asset take precedent over its actual purpose. In Gertten's 2019 documentary *Push*, Saskia Sassen likens financialisation to mining: it is a wealth-extracting, not wealth-generating, process. Revenues earned from their source industry are re-invested elsewhere, moved around in "unproductive activity in which money is simply used to make more money through speculation on commodity futures, currency values, debt, and the like" (Harvey 2004, 72). In their account of the "politics of the extraction of value from developments," Robinson and Attuyer (2021, 303) assert how "state actors [treat] new developments as a 'hole in the wall' or 'money machine' to address their own agendas, with significant consequences for the built form" (ibid, 304). They point to the importance of deriving "core local government funding from 'business rates,'" which pressure "local authorities to bring forward lucrative housing developments and new commercial activities to enhance income streams" (ibid), particularly for large transport infrastructure accompanying these developments. One consequence Robinson and Attuyer note (2021, 308) of this funding mechanism is the

> *"disarticulation of decision making and financial flows from potentially accountable, territorially defined local institutions toward emergent transcalar assemblages of a range of actors (including state actors) configured around the specific territories of large-scale urban developers."*

Territories involved include the actual swathes of land designated for regeneration, as well as the global scale of funding sources, such as foreign sovereign investment and pension funds, and international banks holding development consortium shares. Romyn (2019, 143) similarly observes a "spatial fetishism [obscuring] aspatial processes" in which tangible assets in the urban world are divorced from their material settings, instead valued for their imagined revenues earned in the future. The encroachment of private investment into the built environment entangles the physical world of lived experiences and material products and speculative financial markets. The public realm is sold off to private investors, whose capital transforming physical landscapes to an aestheticized images and 'products' as to maximize profit-generating activity appealing to middle-class tastes (Zukin 1996, Harvey 2003).

Another important characteristic of the 'London style' of development is local authorities' entwining themselves into a "shared fate" (Raco 2014) with other public and private actors in large regeneration

schemes, predominantly those with prominent flagship buildings, accompanying transport mega-projects, and public profile. In these situations, a public agency provides up-front funding which the private developer finances in long-term arrangements, thereby shifting risk onto taxpayers. The co-dependence of land "value capture [as]…the main vehicle for achieving state objectives for urban development" forces the state into the seemingly-conflicted roles of "policy maker, regulator, and close ally of the developer" (Robinson and Attuyer 2021, 320).

2.5 Racist Underpinnings of Regeneration Discourse

This thesis is concerned with discourses generated by Lewisham Council and the MoL/GLA about 'culture' and its role in regeneration of Lewisham. Studying discourse elucidates many meanings and interpretations around a topic as far-reaching and abstract as 'culture.' Hall's (1997b, 6) definition of discourse is employed throughout this research:

> *"Discourses are ways of referring to or constructing knowledge about a particular topic of practice: a cluster (or formation) of ideas, images, and practices, which provide ways of talking about, forms of knowledge and conduct associated with, a particular topic, social activity or institutional site in society. These discursive formations, as they are known, define what is and is not appropriate in our formulation of, and our practices in relation to, a particular subject or site of social activity; what knowledge is considered useful, relevant and 'true' in that context; and what sorts of persons or 'subjects' embody its characteristics. 'Discursive' has become a general term used to refer to any approach in which meaning, representation and culture are considered to be constitutive."*

One way to demystify how 'racism' is perpetuated and enacted is by studying discursive formations justifying and normalising built environment schemes and interventions that either fail to address or worsen racial inequalities. Fairclough believes "there has been a significant shift in the social functioning of language, a shift reflected in the salience of language in the last few decades" (1992, 6) wherein powerful entities shape language to meet their means. Hahn (2016, 332) furthers this idea with his coining of the 'stactive style,' a writing voice which "[describes] the way things were or the way things are" without specifying who or what is responsible for causing it. This allows significant events or circumstances to be seen as "emerging" of their own accord. Another example of stactive writing is attributing things to 'racism' or 'capitalism' alone, rather than the institutions and people operationalising them. While this may be done for brevity's sake, referring to them as discrete entities fails to hold powerful actors accountable and thus tacitly accepts and backgrounds them as part of everyday life.

Narratives and depictions of places and their inhabitants are important for winning support for policy. To Fincher and Iveson (2008, 43), discourse is

> *"the story, or the logic, developed to justify the redistributive planning and its particular decision rules. It is the interpretation and rationale given by broad policy frameworks and public discussion, and by use of particular language, to make sense of the policy action for 'the public' and for the policy-making audience."*

They note, however, the tendency of "certain urban realities" to be "discursively labelled as 'problems' and pursued in urban policy and planning" (ibid, 44). These 'problems' may not cause harm (such as prioritising single mothers for public housing), or may be symptoms of greater issues (such as 'anti-social behaviour' in estates neglected by the state), yet are instrumental in demonising both people and places, or stigmatizing groups policy is supposed to help. These discourses can ultimately conflate people with the problems of their built environment (ibid, 88). Fincher and Iveson discuss how before urban development discourse evolved to its current framing, one such "problem," was of cultural diversity, which had to be "overcome" (ibid, 86). Although analysing discursive formations is important for understanding planning decisions, research must extend to the physical realm, as

> *"the way that space is used and manipulated to the advantage and disadvantage of particular groups, how groups of people are defined and separated by spatial planning solutions, or are clustered together, are core components of the spatial manifestation of inequality"* (ibid, 30).

One kind of spatial clustering driving land use decisions is the abstracted 'inner city.' Both Burgess (1985) and Romyn (2019) explore how the discursive formation of the 'inner city' translates to physical design and policing on the ground. They catalogue how urban neighbourhoods perceived as the 'inner city' are represented with a limited, hysterical vocabulary devoid of place-specific details, and replicated by both Conservative and Labour politicians and national news outlets geared towards white middle-class voters. The characterisation of 'inner cities,' regardless of their actual location, draw from a "deep rhetorical wellspring" that homogenise predominantly working-class and non-white populated areas and render the 'inner city' "not a place but a product of discourse" (Romyn 2019, 136).

Burgess (1985, 206-208) analysed media and state coverage of public uprisings in the 1970s and identified four ideological elements comprising the discursive formation of what she calls the 'inner city myth':

> *"1. The physical environment of the locality: through which reports describe the houses and the streets…These features are used to explore changing social structures, to provide an explanation of the psychological states of inhabitants; and to make judgements about policy, notably planning and local authority economic and spatial policies.*
> *2. Characteristics of white working-class culture, which in the context of the inner areas is a discourse about poverty, family structures, such as large numbers of children, and poor parenting, domestic overcrowding. Illicit sex, thieving and*

hooliganism, poor educational attainment, lack of ambition, and despair about unemployment and the lack of opportunities.

3. Characteristics of race, which in terms of the major disturbances means West Indian or 'black' culture. The major features are immigrant status, a desire for repatriation, the marked generation gap, a volatile and excitable nature; alienation from white society, high unemployment, low levels of attainment, and criminality which makes young blacks particularly hostile to the police.

4. The final strand which overlaps with the other three is the meaning given to the street. Street culture draws on the ideas of illegality and loose moral standards among white, working-class culture as expressed in prostitution, illegal gambling and drinking dens, vandalism and graffiti. From the black culture it draws on the perceived criminality of young black people, using as evidence muggings and other street crimes which have bene the subject of considerable media attention in the past. Drugs are another significant contribution from the black culture."

Burgess catalogues how journalists and politicians espousing the 'inner city myth' fail to account for specific local conditions, hyperbolise crime, and ignore normal, everyday life on estates. For example, Koff (1978) and Burgess (1985) note how crucial details, such as what injustices (often overt acts of violence perpetrated by the police or white supremacists) 'riots' react to are often omitted from national news accounts. Using an example from London, Romyn (2019) describes how the persistent depiction of the Heygate Estate as a lawless 'sink estate' made it a popular and fetishised filming location, which ended up causing more disruption to residents' daily lives than the relentless crime it was supposedly plagued by.

Sassen (1993) and Zukin (1995) both discuss how immigrants of the global majority can be simultaneously demonised by the media and discriminated against, while also being used as a rhetorical tool in which 'diversity' is fetishised and celebrated. Zukin (1995, 267) discusses the role of mongering fear about an area, particularly those inhabited predominantly by 'minority ethnicities,' in early stages of cultural regeneration strategies, which chimes with Goldberg's (2009, 29) categorisation of reactions to racial difference as those of curiosity (such as fetishising of cultural objects or simply eating different cultures' cuisines), exploitability, and threat. Whereas curiosity and exploitability still cause violence, Goldberg hones in on the particular danger of seeing racial difference as a threat because

> *"...the "population" – seen as threatening is the one actually threatened: with alienation, intimidation, incarceration, marginalization and externalization of one kind or another, ultimately even with extinction."*

Leveraging narratives about crime and difference, "the streets are both aestheticized and feared as a source of urban culture," and efforts to rebrand a city and identify its 'culture' seek to separate it from "ghetto culture" (Zukin 1995, 267). Beginning in the 1970s and continuing today, 'inner cities' and council estates have been depicted as wastelands. Other common racist, dehumanising narratives compare

residents to diseases or animals. Consistently through the 1970s to present, Prime Ministers, Police Chiefs, Members of Parliament, and other leaders condemned "sink estates," often conflating the dereliction and decay of the built environment (which was the responsibility of councils or housing associations) with residents (Burgess 1985; Perera 2019; Romyn 2019; Shaw 2019), although anti-social design features that made estates feel more like carceral institutions and discouraged interaction were often by the deliberate design of the state (Koff 1978).

Thomas (2000) discusses the special role local media can play in influencing planning decisions and locals' perceptions. Burgess' (1985) "myth of the inner city" is invoked to justify regeneration and estate demolition. Elmer and Dening (2016) and Perera (2019) call the wholesale demolition of council estates the "London clearances." They criticise the Institute for Public Policy Research's report *City Villages: More Homes, Better Communities* (Adonis and Davies 2015) which suggested designating all council estates as brownfield land. It is hard to overstate the inherent violence of casting occupied council estates as contaminated and in need of 'cleaning' before redevelopment and densifying (Elmer and Dening 2016). This recommendation was accepted, however, by the Conservative Minister of State for Housing and Planning in 2015 but has been applied in many Labour-led boroughs such as Hackney, Tower Hamlets, and Lambeth. The policy's underpinning discourse is that London's insufficient housing density can be fixed by redeveloping brownfield land, which justifies the demolition of working-class housing. Between 2012-2015, over 50,000 families (over 150,000 individuals) were "forcibly evicted from London boroughs…some to outer boroughs, most out of the city altogether, all to make way for luxury developments far beyond the pockets of the local communities" (ibid, 272).

'Inner city' discourse translated to garnering public support for hard, authoritarian police tactics in the public realm. Romyn (2019, 135) discusses the role of police as "major disseminators of public meaning and ideology" and replicating the inner city myth. Perera (2019) delves into the policing tactics and policies by what Romyn (2019, 141) calls the "spatial articulation of racial mystification" of the "no-go zone." Perera describes "location-specific targeting" leveraging the Anti-social Behaviour, Crime, and Policing Act 2014. Many of the powers bestowed by this act control public space, such as dispersal orders and public space protection orders. The Metropolitan Police are also given license to monitor (both in person and online) behaviour of suspected gang members, and can threaten to evict their family members from social housing. Housing association representatives may also be involved in gang surveillance. Other legal instruments, such as Joint Enterprise, allow multiple young people to be charged with crimes as one bloc. This "guilt by association" policy is used disproportionately against young Black men accused of gang affiliation, and denies them due process and fair, individual trials (Stone 2020). Perera (2019) traces how policing changes throughout gentrification, like the "Partnership Plus" scheme in

London, wherein private business organisations or local authorities can pay for more Metropolitan Police constables to patrol a designated area, enforcing location-specific targeting against individuals deemed incongruous with a gentrifying area's image.

The discursive formation of the 'inner city' "[melds]…the material and the corporeal, of the block and the black body" (Romyn 2019, 142). This discourse disregards underlying causes of poverty that may lead to crime, such as austerity, and falsely conflates crime committed by Black people as the culture of Black people (Gilroy 1987). Yet various "solutions" proposed to the "inner city" include demolition of homes and wholesale clearance, enabled by private investment (Hodkinson and Essen 2014, Romyn 2019). These interventions chime with Goldberg's concept of racial neoliberalism: punishing of victims of racism for being the victims of racist policies. What should be done with both the residents and buildings echoes social cleansing rhetoric (Elmer and Dening 2016, Perera 2019). "Solutions" are unified by, somewhat paradoxically, private investment "taking back" public space and the streets. Perera (2019) and Romyn (2019) chronicle how inner city myths are used to justify large-scale regeneration schemes, which often begin with council estate demolition and are "overwhelmingly preoccupied with the development of land, buildings and property, rather than the needs of residents and communities" (Romyn 2019, 143). Romyn (2019, 144) quotes a 2011 article from The Sunday Times which captures both prevailing racist sentiments and a financialised call to action: "Ship the poor out of their costly homes and sell them…breaking up those toxic estates might well destroy their toxic culture."

Under the leadership of Tony Blair, New Labour deployed discourses about the promise of 'culture' and creative industries to regenerate "post-industrial areas and cities, considered 'problematic'" and relying on inner city stereotypes (Talbot and Böse 2011, 104) to "cleanse" an area of Black culture (ibid, 106). The local, everyday inhabitants of a place identified for 'regeneration' (and thus financialised development in London) are often not considered stakeholders nor possible beneficiaries of new developments by sponsoring governing or landowning bodies, despite promises of job creation or affordable housing. "Gains and losses to the developer and/or landowner often directly correspond to losses and gains for the local community in the form of non-market housing, community facilities etc" (McAllister 2017, 125).

Regeneration causes property values to increase, including those in surrounding areas that were not necessarily "regenerated," but rent increase in and of itself is considered economic growth (Christophers 2019). Zukin (1996, 49) notes "capital investment and sensual attachment" together form spaces, and so "who pays for building and rebuilding" impacts the legibility, or "gut feeling of being in and of a specific city." International finance's imprint on physical spaces include codification and homogenisation (as to more easily extract value across different locations), which may compromise "integrity of place" (ibid,

50). In OAs, the relatively small number of owners can work in concert to modify the build environment's aesthetics and raise rents, accelerating the process of fabricating a middle-class, aspirational 'destination' or 'new location.' Zukin (2010) explains how cooperative efforts between developers and city governments deliberately gentrify areas, and together with lifestyle, travel, and real estate media outlets codify a vocabulary to describe the area through the stages of its gentrification until it reaches its pinnacle: blighted, gritty, authentic, chic. The first two of these descriptors are leveraged in the inner city discursive formation, and as local authorities and developers change the built environment, pivot to a different discursive formation that less overtly relies on problematising the 'inner city' to rebrand and attract newcomers.

Bloch and Meyer (2023) take issue with gentrification studies emphasising class over race, and understanding displacement through quantitative measures of physical dislocation alone, which is severely limited in capturing as a hyper-localised phenomenon. As Zukin's scholarship describes white middle-class preoccupation with "authenticity" in an area as it gentrifies, yet seeking no meaningful contact with the people producing this authentic culture they are drawn to and even being repelled by them, Bloch and Meyer (2023, 2070 argue that displacement is a "process that functions through people's embodied placemaking capacities, only some of which manifest in physical mobility." Gentrification can rearrange people in time and space, but placemaking efforts "reinvent the affective life or urban space itself" (ibid, 208). Although this research is concerned with the impact of increased housing prices for existing residents, particularly those producing Black Atlantic music culture, "displacement" is not understood exclusively as physical exodus of a location, but the affective and emotional changes wrought by "placemaking" strategies led by the Council and in private developments.

2.6 Culture, Creative Industries, and 'Regeneration'

Neoliberal political regimes commodify everyday aspects of life, including culture, and the built environment is used as a physical investment receptacle for private excess capital (Le Galès 2016; Harvey 2005). Planning authorities utilise the concept of culture in devising and promoting neoliberal regeneration schemes. I first catalogue how the use of 'culture' in planning and 'regeneration' has changed in the decades leading up to the study period, then sketch out the present-day situation.

Freestone and Gibson (2006) chart the UK planning system's handling of 'culture' over time. In the 1960s and 1970s, "cultures of communities" emphasised large flagship projects and institutions. Existing buildings (including abandoned structures) were repurposed, and "precincts went beyond immediate aesthetic and amenity benefits to stabilise (then inflate) property values, promote the arts economy, and attract new commercial and public investment" (ibid, 28). This abruptly shifted, however, with the

Conservative Government from 1979. Aligned with Kuper Thomas's (2016) tracing the importance of new built assets to the UK's economic growth strategy, the 1980s and 1990s were defined by "cultures in urban development," which entailed slashed arts funding from central government, economic restructuring packaged as urban entrepreneurialism and city branding, and the emergence of professional "cultural intermediaries" from the "construction and consumption of culture [which]...transcended the traditional cleavage between highbrow and lowbrow" (Freestone and Gibson 2006, 32). Regeneration strategies like this persist today, which prioritise tourism, novel flagship buildings and events, place marketing, and branding, administered through and by public-private partnerships, private planning consultancies, special development incentives, and public relations campaigns (ibid). Compared to the dramatic shift between "cultures of communities" and "cultures of urban development," the current paradigm originating in the early 2000s, "the creative city," is more an extension of its predecessor than a change of course, and "cultural led regeneration is now pervasive" (ibid, 36). The role of the entrepreneurial, neoliberal state is to make "the city safe for corporate investment, with gentrification appearing to have become the only way that some city governors can imagine regeneration occurring" (Ward and Hubbard 2019, 196).

In 1998, Zukin described a 'cultural turn' in which cities became sites of "cultural consumption" rather than of production as a means of economic activity and growth. Freestone and Gibson (2006, 40) locate regeneration today in

> *"abandoned brownfields, waterfront and other inner city areas have become the dominant focus of urban regeneration everywhere. The unglamorous and left-over spaces like warehouses and squats of the Fordist city have become central to the post-industrial city."*

Yet these types of places are often "seedbed creative spaces," for which local government has not learned to "sensitively and equitably" address (ibid). These areas are re-designated as zones or quarters to host clusters of creative and cultural industries (CCIs). Flagship buildings in these efforts, and the "agglomeration economies' of creative clusters" (ibid, 198), which are seen in London in the form of Creative Enterprise Zones (CEZ).

City governments marketing cultural institutions and consumption rely on a symbolic economy of historic buildings and the narratives tied to them. City governments or private landowners provision more commercial spaces for cultural consumption, which are predicated on and facilitative of a "continuously mobile lifestyle" and investing value in abstract symbols (Zukin 1998, 6):

> *"[Cultural] strategies reflect an absence of traditional resources for competing for capital investment and jobs. Partly, too, they represent a 'cultural turn' in the advanced industrial societies and a corresponding inflation of image production.*

But cultural strategies of redevelopment also reflect the growing importance, in all mature urban centres, of a symbolic economy based on such abstract products as financial instruments, information and 'culture' - i.e. art, food, fashion, music and tourism. The symbolic economy is based on the interrelated production of such cultural symbols as these and the spaces in which they are created and consumed - including offices, housing, restaurants, museums and even the streets...Thus urban lifestyles are not only the result, but also the raw materials, of the symbolic economy's growth."

Underlying this 'turn,' however, racial neoliberalism persists. Zukin discusses how commercial cultural strategies entail "corporate investment in consumption spaces in low-income, minority-group areas" (ibid, 6) with the simultaneous "retreat from the welfare state" (ibid, 7) and a focus towards the public realm's aestheticisation and privatisation. She details a kind of enclosure and standardisation of cultural and leisure space with a "common denominator" depending on "visual coherence and security guards, a collective memory of commercial culture rather than either tolerance or moral solidarity" (ibid, 6). Tying CCIs into real estate regeneration is primarily focused on external image and place branding. The visual realm in 'cultural' regeneration efforts dominates, and the appearance of safety with the arts functions as the "re-aestheticization of previously redundant and derelict spaces," to generate social and economic capital (Zukin 1996, 6). Spaces of cultural consumption are homogenised, replicated, and controlled via private security and the occupation of spaces by large employers and retailers, even when relying on marketing narratives about a place's 'authenticity,' which may refer to or draw from immigrant ethnicities or other 'minority' groups, and that the 'regeneration' behind them may take place in areas populated by them (as discussed extensively by Zukin, 2010).

Chiming with Furbey's reflections on the changing use of 'regeneration,' language used in developer promotional materials and plans produced by government actors adopts paternalistic concepts of improvement, regeneration, and fulfilment of a place's potential. In the 1990s, property companies responded to public demands for corporate responsibility by appropriating language about community inclusion and partnership (Imrie 2009). Despite this effort to rebrand and humanise property development corporations, at least in part by using arts and culture to signal intangible, symbolic benefits of new development, promotional materials often include isolated grandiose shots of new skyscrapers without any people or activity (Evans 2005). Developers craft brands and corporate identities for private developments, which employ a verbal and visual vocabulary that either implicitly or explicitly names the types of residents, activities, and atmosphere desired, and in which abstract notions of "creativity" and "culture" are integral to regeneration. Transport is frequently the most significant agent of change in regeneration schemes, yet developers or planners apply Florida's ideas and brand regeneration schemes as "culture-led" (Evans 2005). Cities also get branded as a whole, but Evans (2006, 200) explains three

inherent conflicts in a city's pursuit of a single "distinctive tag and image that can satisfy the footloose tourist, investor, and members of the creative class alike":

> *"1. The tendency to gear city brands to the dynamic of an external cash-rich market rather than to that of internal cultural practices and feelings;*
>
> *2. The tendency to objectify and generalise specific cultural meanings by means of 'brands' and then to link these meanings materially to spectacular places and projects;*
>
> *3.The possible danger that 'brands' preclude renewal rather than stimulate it."*

Branding strategies often leverage the idea of 'diversity.' Another ideology prevalent in regeneration discourses is liberal multiculturalism, which "presents itself as a mosaic that cherishes difference and plurality and promotes an image of multiple, thriving, mutually respectful, and appreciative ethno-cultural communities" (Dei 2005, 4). Although it has a cheerier starting point, it sees the "prejudice of individuals, rather than systemic inequity [as] the primary obstacle facing ethno-cultural communities" (ibid) and therefore avoids engaging with embedded discrimination that worsens unequal, racist outcomes. Despite the seeming embrace of previously-problematised 'difference,' liberal multicultural narratives do not meaningfully seek to rectify racial inequalities or change processes of regeneration. Yet Sassen (1993) notes 'international' as a descriptor with varying connotations in cities; working-class immigrant communities demonised in the mainstream press for supposedly sullying the indigenous 'culture,' versus high-rise towers occupied by 'international' business elite. Melamed (2011, 151) further explains how neoliberal multiculturalism is "a global racial formation" that racialises subjects and bestows people with uneven privileges depending on their abilities to contribute to capitalist projects, such as the acquisition of property:

> *"Neoliberal-multicultural discourse resignifies the goals of the [American] civil rights movement-to desegregate neighborhoods and to provide a means to home ownership for all regardless of race-to advocate for the rights of any individual or corporation to own property or to invest anywhere in the world."* (ibid, 155).

Raco and Kesten (2018, 893) describe "generic celebratory narratives" of diversity and culture are commodified by London leaders and the GLA for the purpose of making London a "global talent hub" for "qualified" migrants. Diversity is praised as contributing to "economic competitiveness, creativity, cultural vibrancy and the operation of key welfare services" (ibid, 898). Storylines about cultural vibrancy and London's worldliness are presented as non-political and pragmatic matters to attract investment. The depoliticised nature curbs debate although "the types of growth supported by enhanced diversity generated employment that can threaten terms and conditions for poorer workers" (ibid, 899). In more explicitly conservative political spheres, depicting diversity as fragmenting national character and unity is used to justify welfare cuts, deportations, urge individual assimilation, and limit migration. Raco and

Kesten (2018, 903) explore "what aspects of diversity are privileged…[and] the new vocabularies and representations that are being deployed that re-imagine the city as a commodified and integrated economic and social unit." Their interviewees from the GLA stressed their concept of diversity was a non-political, somewhat contradictory "positive asset that fosters both competitiveness and greater social cohesion as though the two are compatible if only the right forms of recognition are built into policy narratives" (ibid).

"Creative city" proponents and marketing strategies tout diversity as crucial to a city's success, employing utopian melting pot narratives that obfuscate racial inequalities. The GLA's branding campaigns identifying London as a global city are contingent upon immigrants and their descendants, but "cultural mixing" necessary for 'diversity' is difficult to achieve within the same schemes that invoke it, given that "the state has been quite prepared to sponsor gentrification, exclusion and replacement in order...to safeguard the long-term competitiveness of London as an economic centre" (Butler and Hamnett 2009, 53). Similarly, Raco and Kesten (2018, 909) found that despite depoliticised, diversity-centric promotional narratives for "mixed-use communities," the dependence on 'viability' to attract investment limits the capacity of the planning system to create diversity. Initiatives fail to protect "the existing social composition of urban areas which are socially and culturally mixed" from homogenising effects of gentrification (ibid). Bhabha (1996, 56) criticises "liberal discourse attempts to normalize cultural difference," which overlooks "disjunctive, 'borderline' temporalities of partial, minority cultures," and fails to acknowledge historical circumstances (such as colonialism) which bring different cultures together.

Returning to the two conceptions of culture as a commodity or process, Glancey (2003) bemoans British urban development schemes which separate culture from industry and everyday life:

> *"Instead of culture springing from the inner workings of our cities, we see it as the way to make our cities work. We are investing - or gambling - a fortune on this new-look, 24-hour culture. So much so, that it is hard not to see some disappointment in store. It is as if our grand old cities are rebuilding themselves on a virtual floor. Their goal is a new and profitable culture of shopping, leisure and tourism framed by big and shiny buildings, adorned with public art and enjoyable events, but without industry - the making of things - to back it up. Britain abandoned industry in the 1980s with a hedonistic and carefree relish not shared by its European neighbours. In Italy and Germany, the design and making of things, from teaspoons to trains, is considered a cultural as well as economic activity. In Britain, culture has been separated from traditional economic activity. Now we are trying to reinvent a magic wand by which our old cities will be made to shine again."*

Landry's (2001) and Florida's (2002) "creative city" ideas regard culture as a primary, not incidental, commodity to drive economic growth, but metrics for measuring such success are "elusive" (Freestone

and Gibson 2006). Evans (2005, 966) scrutinised various social, economic, and environmental indicators of cultural regeneration. Elected officials, planners, and developers lean on cultural and lifestyle rhetoric in promoting and branding urban regeneration schemes, "which draws on marketing and product life-cycle concepts…[and] cements this convergence of culture and commerce, and therefore of culture and regeneration" yet overlooks its social implications. It suggests economic and social revitalisation of an area depends upon attracting new residents and businesses, inherently discounting potential contributions, knowledges, and needs of the people already there (Evans 2005, 970). Again chiming with Furbey's assumptions embedded in the metaphor of 'regeneration," Evans (2005, 970) notes "[f]requently, regeneration programmes are developed without reference to, or inclusion of, incumbent arts and cultural groups, or past heritage associations/communities" assuming that the area's "quality of life and by association, indigenous culture, is poor and needs 'improving.'"

'Creative class' regeneration strategies rely on public subsidies for "urban consumption systems for a circulating class of gentrifiers, whose *lack* of commitment to place and whose weak community ties are perversely celebrated" (Peck 2005, 764). Lowe (2020), however, points to the importance of time to cement recurrent encounters and interactions into cohesive neighbourhood bonds and successful social infrastructure. Several common methods for measuring cultural outputs of and impacts on regeneration do not rigorously evaluate the economic, social, or quality of life impacts for a city's existing residents, and measuring public good benefits do not necessarily factor how existing community members utilise cultural regeneration sites (Evans 2005). In a review of some 'cultural' initiatives centred on flagship buildings, Evans (2006) notes existing local residents did not enjoy any planning gain, and were often evicted and displaced to make way for flagship projects. Policy makers prioritise quantitative "evidence bases" on budgets, construction timelines, visitor statistics, and ticket sales. Ward and Hubbard (2019, 205) note "more research is needed to establish whether indigenous creativity always suffers as external notions of artistic 'value' take hold" in regeneration schemes, and criticise the "glut of work on cultural consumption in regeneration is not matched by an equivalent body of work on cultural production or labour conditions" (ibid 198). Although some texts talk about inspiring and involving the local community, 'rediscovered' enclaves of ethnic minorities and underpaid creatives whose culture and labour are first exploited to raise property values, then are eventually displaced by the real estate schemes which leverage their image (Ward and Hubbard 2019; Evans 2006).

I now turn to examine a specific text specifically relevant to this research. At the beginning of the 21st century, the ideas about 'the creative city' of Charles Landry and his consultancy, Comedia, became popular with local municipalities seeking to 'regenerate' their cities. In 2001, Lewisham Council commissioned Landry to write *Creative Lewisham*. Landry's book, *The Creative City*, was published first

in 2000 with a second edition in 2008. The 'toolkit for urban innovators' is a non-specific, ahistorical set of generic recommendations using barely-defined buzzwords on how cities can 'succeed.' The overall goal of a creative city, however, is to attract outsiders: residents, employees, and investors.

The Creative City's sweeping generalisations have little substance ("history is complex," p 118) and Landry contradicts himself in both sentence structure ("a focused, wide-ranging…endeavour," p 169) and overall ideas. He offers no critical commentary on the root of 'urban problems,' instead using the stactive voice to ahistorically render a "globalizing dynamic." Landry frequently personifies 'the city' ("cities need to be alert to stay competitive," p 22), and rarely assigns *who* should be doing prescribed actions for a city to 'succeed' (nor does clarify what he means for a city to succeed). He did, however, discuss the shortfalls of the planning profession as hindering creativity through its preoccupation with land use and lack of other relevant knowledge about a place (2008, 276).

Landry merely accepts the encroachment of private finance into urban functioning and suggests ways for local authorities to entrepreneurialise, frequently referring to 'Silicon Valley' or Fortune 500 companies as role models. Early in the book, Landry uncritically discuses financialisation and the outsize influence sovereign wealth funds and other financial institutions exert in cities where they're not necessarily based. His praise for 'creativity' as a limitless "currency" parallels finance as a largely imagined and speculative resource: 'creativity' is the resource, 'culture' is the raw materials (2008, xxix-xxxi). Landry includes "the historical, industrial, and artistic heritage representing assets, including architecture, urban landscapes or landmarks" (2008, xxx) as cultural resources. Elsewhere, Landry circles around the definition of culture, including the "panoply of resources that show a place is unique and distinctive," (2008, 7) which in turn draw from "cultural heritage," or "the sum of our past creativities and the results of creativity is what keeps our society going and moving forward," such as law and language (2008, 6).

The Creative City aligns with the literature's themes about 'regeneration' relying on outsiders being drawn to 'inner cities' (however this may be euphemised), the importance of physically clustering CCIs, and aggressive branding campaigns. Several other features of the book are pertinent to this research. *The Creative City* echoes elements of Burgess' (1985) inner city myth. Landry emphasises throughout the overall aim of making a city 'creative' is to garner recognition from elsewhere, drawing in outside employees and investment, but he subtly classes and racialises different kinds of 'insiders' and 'outsiders.' He implies the "outsiders" and "mavericks" who will come up with seemingly-radical changes that will eventually become mainstream are educated and middle-class, with access and institutional wherewithal to buck the system. Yet he concludes a passage discussing displaced people from places like Albania and Afghanistan, stating "new outsider populations take time to become integrated into the host city: they can be a source of creative potential and of conflict" (p 22). Elsewhere,

however, Landry dismisses any tensions between new 'creative class' arrivals between the existing local population - again in stactive voice - to predict "an alignment is beginning to emerge between the needs of local communities and the global mobile class- and cities need to attract these talented itinerants- as both want a high-quality environment and facilities" (2008, xxxii). Despite "cities" needing to "deliberately [import]" outsider talent for their seeming freedom from institutional pressures and "freshness," Landry goes on to chastise the seemingly downtrodden "insider looking inwards" (ibid, 112). Again, without saying *who* is responsible, Landry says it is

> *"vital to harness endogenous intelligence, creativity and learning potential to motivate people and create local self-reliance and ownership. It fosters responsibility, generates an ideas bank and harnesses resources at all levels. Self-reliance is central to the culture of voluntary groups where, for example, many of the most creative solutions in dealing with social problems have occurred"* (ibid).

This emphasis on "fostering responsibility" is essentially a neoliberal dog whistle (Fairclough 2000) and allows Landry to sidestep any discussion of political choices and funding decisions underlying "deprivation," implicitly blaming victims of racial neoliberal policy. In another example of ahistorical renderings, Landry refers to different waves of migrants moving to London, "one of the most cosmopolitan cities in the world," (2008, 111) without any reference to the British empire's exploitation of the same "minority groups [who] have helped invigorate communities – economically, culturally and intellectually" (ibid). Elsewhere, he uncritically blames "multiple deprivations" for creating "sink estates, where nearly everybody and everything is pulled down" (2008, 31). Only five pages earlier, however, he namechecks the New York City boroughs of Queens and Brooklyn, "the favellas of Brazil and the townships of South Africa" as where "the strongest or most violent…take hold. This collapse of established order can suffocate the generation of a civil society and independent action from which many creative solutions may grow" (ibid, 26-7). For a book so lacking in concrete detail, it is striking Landry calls out these places with racialised minorities and poor people as "suffocating civil society," completely omitting the state oppression and violence perpetrated there.

Landry bemoans "homogenization and standardization of products, especially in the entertainment industry, is threatening local identities, increasingly making cities look and feel alike" (2008, 39). Yet he also praises café culture as a "significant feature of creative milieux worldwide" (2008, 135). Landry first stresses the importance of cities maintaining their cultural distinctiveness "in a world where cities look and feel alike" (p 174), yet a few paragraphs later says "the style and design of a place, how people socialize or dress can itself be turned into value added either as a means of attracting outsiders to visit or to invest" (p 175), seemingly not making the connection between the aestheticisation and commodification of culture to its homogenisation that Zukin did several years prior (1998).

2.7 Converging Cultures and Resistance: the Black Atlantic

Given the broad concepts discussed so far, like 'neoliberalism,' and 'culture,' a more specific focus is necessary for study. This research is situated in the London Borough of Lewisham between 2001-2021, yet the music culture serving as its entry point has a spatial and temporal origin far broader than London. Gilroy (1993) describes the Black Atlantic as the transatlantic routes and networks of the African diaspora borne of European governments' and companies' trafficking of slaves and goods from colonies between West Africa, Europe, the Caribbean, and the east coasts of North and South America for centuries. The concept of the Black Atlantic accounts for the "processes of cultural mutation and restless (dis)continuity that exceed racial discourse and avoid capture by its agents" (Gilroy 1993, 2). It is not a monolith, unbound to any one single country or ethnicity; the Black Atlantic is rather a syncretic, converging collection of cultures encountering and interacting with each other globally, composed of "restless, recombinant qualities of the black Atlantic's affirmative political cultures" (ibid, 31).

Squires' (2002) writing on Black public spheres is instructive of how Black Atlantic culture might be conceived of and approached as an area of study. It provides a more specific focus for engaging with how the omnipresent spectre of race defines everyday life given that "the struggles of Black public spheres for liberation…have been misidentified, overlooked, and misrepresented in scholarly and lay texts" (Squires 2002, 455). She defines (2002, 454) a Black public as

> *"an emergent collective composed of people who (a) engage in common discourses and negotiations of what it means to be Black, and (b) pursue particularly defined Black interests. This definition, although still wedded to the idea that there is a Black social group, does allow for heterogeneous Black publics to emerge, and also for people who do not identify as Black, but are concerned with similar issues, to be involved in a coalition with Black people."*

Although she writes about Black public spheres from an African American standpoint, and acknowledges many heterogeneities across identity, locations, experience, and viewpoints across a Black public sphere, she articulates how counterpublics are borne of resistance to oppression. Groups historically denied full "participation in public discourse" of the "dominant public sphere, a province of white, middle and upper class males" (ibid, 450) through mainstream media or government censorship (ibid, 449) create their own spaces and discourses which interrogate and resist "a specific set of social, legal, or political exclusions" (ibid, 453). These discourses travel through many vehicles, including music.

To explore the potential conflict between the concepts of culture as either a commodity or process, this thesis will explore the spatial dimension of Black Atlantic music culture within Lewisham as a collective artistic movement and function of community, reflective of acute social and political conditions. Gilroy (1987) sketches out several elements Black Atlantic culture that chime with Squires' conception of a kind

of Black public. Many authors (Bradley 2000 and 2013; Charles 2018; Gilroy 2018) argue that despite heterogeneous ethnicities comprising Black British culture, commonalities across the African diaspora are visible. Gilroy (1987, 17) introduces a

> *"more sophisticated theory of culture into the political analysis of 'race' and racism in Britain by claiming the term back from ethnicity. The active, dynamic aspects of cultural life have been emphasized. This is a calculated challenge to the absolutist definitions of 'race' and ethnicity which are shared by contemporary racism, a substantial current in the sociology of 'race', and much liberal anti-racism."*

Gilroy proposes the many heritages comprising the Black Atlantic constitute a "philosophical discourse which refuses the modern, occidental separation of ethics and aesthetics, culture and politics" (ibid, 39). Rather than reducing the outputs of Black Atlantic culture (such as its literature, visual arts, or music) to "the intuitive expression of some racial essence," or aesthetics alone, Gilroy identifies them as a kind of "folk knowledge...an elementary historical acquisition produced from the viscera of an alternative body of culture and political expression that considers the world critically from the point of view of its emancipatory transformation" (1993, 39). Despite different histories and indigenous origins, Black Atlantic culture is united by an African lineage and shared oppression across the diaspora. Gilroy gives agency to its progenitors and practitioners by inverting the "relationship between margin and centre as it has appeared within the master discourses of the master race," and contributes "some *re*constructive intellectual labour which, through looking at the modern cultural history of blacks in the modern world, has a great bearing on ideas of what the West was and is today" (1993, 45).

Black Atlantic music draws from the heritages of the people making it, yet is also influenced by and reflective of the specific conditions where it is created. If Black Atlantic culture is a "philosophical discourse," music is its central medium. Gilroy (1993, 77) emphasises Black Atlantic music

> *"makers and users represent a different kind of intellectual not least because their self-identity and their practice of cultural politics remain outside the dialectic of pity and guilt, which, especially among oppressed people, has so often governed the relationship between the writing elite and the masses of people who exist outside literacy."*

Music and sound are "fundamental to social and political analysis" (Denning 2015, 10): it is a social activity organizing space and time, and when experienced live is as much a physical medium that moves through and thus changes bodies. Denning (2015, 11) writes the

> *"making of music-organized sound-is fundamental to the organization of social order, to creating social space and social solidarity. Sound constitutes subjects as social subjects, creating and sustaining social groups. The work of music is*

not only a performance of a social order; its very forms present an abstract model of the social order."

Music governs many universal rituals and is fundamental to social change (Gilroy 1987, 1993; Bradley 2013; Moore 2007; Denning 2015; Gioia 2019). Music created by folk artists and "everyday" musicians are at the forefront of creating the noise that accompanies the "reordering, the revolution of societies" (Denning 2015, 11). Music is a way of building cohesion and sharing information, and music-makers often innovate technologies to disseminate it (Henry 2006).

LaBelle (2010; 2018) utilises sound as an analytical entry point to modern-day relations and crises. His 2018 book *Sonic Resistance* proposes how "sound and listening are...put forward as a dynamic framework from which to interrogate and transcend 'the surface of the visual world' (LaBelle 2018, 2). LaBelle argues listening is a "productive and organizational act" to make "visible communities often marginalized by social norms or abusive powers, but also...putting into question the power structures that force some to appear over others" (2018, 34). Framing music (like culture) as a temporal process rather than fixed product of implies meaning is inferred through its context and history of performance, beyond its "immediate effect" (ibid). Black Atlantic music draws from indigenous cultures across the African diaspora and reflects the current circumstances of each of them as they change over time, in and of itself a response to the "destabilising flux of the post-contemporary world" (Gilroy 1993, 101). This aligns with LaBelle's (2018, 19) argument on how listening contributes to creolisation,

> *"a process by which colonialism, and systems of dominance, may be negotiated, founded on performative appropriations, or according to what Rastafarian and reggae practices term 'reasoning' and 'versioning': the bending of dominant belief systems and productions through local cultural techniques, a 'black fugitivity.'"*

Music can be considered a kind of discursive formation: the collective output of an area that bears witness to the specific locations, lineages, and technologies, and people that gave rise to them. In this research, music is considered as a form of discourse of collective artistic representations to parallel mainstream racial neoliberal discourses. While Black Atlantic music is a cultural 'product' and sometimes commodity, its aesthetic is not its end state: this research is interested in the process and intentions of the creatives interviewed and their music.

Grouping music made by Black people may, at first glance, lean into racialisation and homogenise Black people in London into a political and cultural monolith. Indeed, some of Dueck's (2014) interviewees, when questioned about their position within Black British jazz, contested the categorisation of "Black British jazz" for that reason. Gilroy (1987), however, lays out why music and other forms of expression created by Black people in Britain is a distinct culture. British imperialists and trans-Atlantic slave traders

stole Africans from their homelands and detached them from their historical and ancestral roots, but a "new structure of cultural exchange has been built up across the imperial networks" (Gilroy 1987; 157). Black Britain "defines itself crucially as part of a diaspora. Its unique cultures draw inspiration from those developed by [B]lack populations elsewhere" (ibid,154). The culture further developed in part because of the UK's hostile racism: "in the mid-1980s, the children of migrants developed strategies of solidarity and assertion to deal with...problems of exclusion" (Doffman 2014). Awate, a rapper who grew up in north London, echoed the sentiment about Black culture as a multi-faceted response to colonialism and imperialism in an interview (Doyle 2018):

> *"The boundaries are starting to disappear, I think. It's all just black music from the African diaspora so whether it's US hip-hop in its countless forms, blues, jazz, dancehall from Jamaica, Afrobeats from West Africa or grime from the UK - it's essentially young black people singing poetry about, or because of, our shared oppression".*

Dividing music into genres is a way for the music industry to artificially control demand (Williams 2014). and frustrate full appreciation of the music as hybrids of different styles. Kinch (2020) described quickly subdividing new music into genres as "a kind of colonialism that's been wrought on what we do." Charles (2018) also criticises genre as a tool for the social organisation and categorisation of both music and people which discounts lineages and continuity between forms as they evolve. Gilroy (1993, 80) laments most

> *"critical accounts of the dynamics of black subordination and resistance have been doggedly monocultural, national, and ethnocentric. This impoverishes modern black cultural history because the transnational structures which brought the black Atlantic world into being have themselves developed and now articulate its myriad forms into a system of global communications constituted by flows. This fundamental dislocation of black culture is especially important in the recent history of black musics which, produced out of the racial slavery which made modern western civilisation possible, now dominate its popular cultures."*

Garofalo (1995, 282), observed a similar tendency in the American music industry, a "market-driven failure to distinguish between African American popular music as a collection of musical genres complete with a cultural context and a history, and African American popular music as a succession of race-based marketing categories" (Garofalo 1995, 283). For this reason, this research will not focus on any single genre of Black British music, which creates the latitude to see the music as the result of long cultural processes, rather than isolated cultural commodities. Rather than segment music by commercial genre, music herein meets Gilroy's description of the Black Atlantic. The concept of the Black Atlantic also accounts for how people's work is influenced by their personal heritages, and with whom they come into contact in every day life. The music shares aural features like distinct basslines, "low-frequency drum, polyrhythm, call and response, interactivity, improvisation, and montage in communication." (Charles

2018, 5). Musicians sample, remix, and "criticize and comment on each other's work, or extend a narrative" (Gilroy 1987, 209).

More so than noise alone, the content and embedded messages of Black Atlantic music are explicitly political (Gilroy 1987, 198):

> *"The struggles for civil rights, black power, racial equality or freedom from police harassment...generate demands which cannot be contained within the structures of the contemporary British political system as it stands...Distinct and explicit anti-capitalist themes, some utopian, some pragmatic and immediate, recur repeatedly...and provide a source of affinity with black cultures elsewhere."*

Whereas state and cultural institutions, often within the professional realm of urban planning refer to "marginalised" people or communities and the need for their greater "inclusion" (without naming who is marginalising them), Black Atlantic music provides a means to claim autonomy by using

> "*the separate but converging musical traditions of the Black Atlantic world, if not to create itself anew as a conglomeration of black communities, then as a means to gauge the social progress of spontaneous self-creation which was sedimented together by the endless pressures of economic exploitation, political racism, displacement, and exile...facilitating the transition of diverse settlers to a distinct mode of lived blackness"* (Gilroy 1993, 82).

Intersections of imperialism, racism, and spatial inequality are represented in Black music's longstanding tradition of political engagement and social activism. Its progenitors largely come from working-class, immigrant backgrounds. Before jazz (one of the early Black music forms) was widely accepted, it spurred the moral panic of the white middle class in the early twentieth century (Moore 2007). Free jazz in particular is created from an egalitarian attitude that defies capitalist notions of productivity and class structures (Kinch 2020). Reggae, particularly emphasises 'roots'- learning and reclaiming history over the "partial and unstable knowledge(ism) which guides the practice of the oppressor" (Gilroy 1987, 208). Grime and drill frequently describe racist police violence (Fatsis 2019). Gilroy (1987, 199) identifies three anti-capitalist themes in Black British music: critiques of productivism and exploitative, discriminatory labour processes; critiques of militarism and imperialism; and the centrality of historical knowledge as an antidote to late capitalism.

Despite the varieties Black musicians have pioneered, such as jazz, drill, grime, jungle, and garage, Bilby (2014) asserts "there does exist a real and distinctive cultural base upon which [B]lack British musicians…have built and can continue to build, even if it has become increasingly diffuse over time." Black music in London spans several commercially-defined genres, but can recognised as a "culture" in that it emerged from a shared set of circumstances (Bradley 2013), the coalescing music of Caribbean and

African diasporic immigrants in an imperial city (Bilby 2014; Bradley 2013). Bradley (2013), for example, chronicles the converging of calypso, reggae, funk, and jazz, and traces a lineage from Jamaican sound systems to the evolution of lovers rock, grime, garage, and other contemporary forms. Gilroy (1993, 95) locates London as an "important junction point or crossroads on the webbed pathways of Black Atlantic political culture," where

> *"by virtue of local factors like the informality of racial segregation, the configuration of class relations, and the contingency of linguistic convergences, global phenomena such as anti-colonial and emancipationist political formations are still being sustained, reproduced, and amplified. This process of fusion and intermixture is recognised as an enhancement to black cultural production by the black public who make use of it."*

Black music in London is polycentric, yet its centres may move as property owners' price increases and evictions force out spaces that incubate music. Several forms developed around London that did not necessarily interact with each other, but still drew from a common diasporic foundation (Gilroy 1987). Neighbourhoods where musicians encountered each other iteratively suffer effects of regeneration (Warren 2019), which converts squats, former industrial buildings, and local businesses like venues, studios, and record stores where musicians can congregate into housing, retail, and office space beyond their budgets. Specifically for grime, Charles (2016, 188) identifies spaces crucial to early cultural development before the music was mainstreamed and commercialised, such as raves, "youth centres, street corners/road, school playground/corridors, record shops, [and] pirate radio." She also examined what other forms of Black music influenced its formation, and the genre's progenitors' relationship to local government (including the police), the experience of living in London during a period of rapid gentrification, and, prior to the internet's ubiquity, how music was shared and furthered. Charles (2018, 7) recognises the spatial elements to the soundscapes of Black British music: public, private, informal community, and semi-public spaces as an "audio ecology…utilized as a form of cultural and social capital in identity formation, belonging, and authenticity."

Music cultures are borne of practices and widespread spatial and social networks built over decades. Indeed, institutional and social racism forced Black music practitioners to adapt and create their own cultural enterprises where the mainstream music industry ignored it and government agencies denied grants (Greater London Council 1982a and 1982b; Bradley 2013; Gilroy 1987). For much of twentieth century, West End clubs frequently denied entry to Black customers, so event organisers created their own venues (Bradley 2013), and pirate radio stations disseminated independently-made music rejected by the mainstream, white-led radio stations in the early 1980s (ibid; Gilroy 1987). Jazz was described as a "hidden economy" as recently as 2014 (Banks et al 2014).

2.8 Black Atlantic Music and the British State

In today's planning context in London, Black British music's commercial element is the facet with which the planning system and other state initiatives relating to tourism or the night-time economy most interacts. Talbot and Böse (2011) relate state-led regeneration initiatives to bolster the night-time economy to their impact on Black music culture. They studied a pseudonymised south London borough's licensing, planning, and policing practices and found that although

> *"popular night-time activities have always been a focus for governmental and intellectual concern...What is new, however, is that the governance of the night-time economy, rather than criminalizing popular entertainment and the spaces in which it operates per se, differentiates between acceptable chain-led, café style and family oriented cultural spaces, and those deemed unacceptable or 'dangerous'"* (ibid, 96).

They studied Black cultural spaces "within this new locus of differentiation" (ibid) and found "the night-time economy was established and promoted...in such a way as to largely neglect its organic base as a centre from Afro-Caribbean and black British cultural forms," even though the whole reason a night-time economy could develop there was because of its existing subcultural nightlife (ibid, 105). This state neglect, or hostility, took the form of stringent licensing practices requiring surveillance and police presence or outright removal of Black-owned or Black-frequented venues. Interviewees from Metropolitan Police made overtly racist statements about Black culture to the researchers.

The commodification of a culture does not necessarily translate to socioeconomic empowerment for its creators; Talbot and Böse instead found that "superficial aspects of black culture have been co-opted in youth culture and the language of multiculturalism rhetorically displayed in promotional literature," yet "the ability of the residing black community to write itself culturally and politically into the local landscape has been resisted" (ibid, 114). They conclude their paper with a critique of neoliberal night-time economy development practices. Since "alternative spaces," including those made by Black people for cultural expression, exist for purposes other than consumption,

> *"socially just 'cultural regeneration' cannot follow from leaving the market...to itself and thereby to competitively minded private actors, but demands a more determined policy of cultural integration by a regulatory approach that concerns itself with questions of exclusivity as well as safety"* (ibid, 115).

Scholars such as White (2017), Bramwell (2015), Melville (2019) explore how creatives from various Black Atlantic music strains operate within the informal economy, as well as how they interact with institutions. White (2017) explores the entrepreneurialism of grime MCs, producers, DJs, and promoters, who adopted (to different degrees) certain neoliberal and capitalist values in the commodification of their creative crafts, yet retained other core characteristics of Black Atlantic music: collaboration (or the 'bring

in,' or creating opportunities for one's existing network), intergenerational networks and mentoring, resourcefulness, rebutting stereotypes, and critiques of the creators' immediate surroundings and circumstances. Bramwell (2015, 26) notes that the circulation of consumption still translate to productive skills for entrepreneurs within UK hip-hop and grime: this informal economy still retains an "ethical dimension." Following Gilroy, Melville (2019, 2) similarly conceived of various Black Atlantic music scenes in London as mostly-informal "moral economies" with the goal of making money, yet also "bounded by particular social and ethical norms…[amounting] to networks of affiliation and creation which are not reducible to financial exchange…which built strong bonds of obligation and mutual care."

As discussed previously, neoliberal multiculturalism focusses on ideals of diversity and harmony while ignoring or amplifying underlying systemic inequalities for the purpose of capital accumulation. This neglect of structural disadvantage aligns with what Fatsis (2019, 1301), echoing Goldberg (2009), describes as racial neoliberalism, in which victims of "state practices that destroy the conditions required to sustain social welfare" are punished and demonised, largely by law enforcement agencies who police them and depict them as enemies. Fatsis (2019) describes how mainstream media reports about certain kinds of Black music use hyperbolic and panic-ridden language similar to that of Burgess' inner city myths.In recent years, scholars have focussed specifically on grime as a medium of both Black expression and state surveillance and repression (Ilan 2012, Barron 2013, Charles 2018). Given its resistant and anti-capitalist theme, and the role Black Atlantic music has played in raising consciousness and resisting oppressive, racist social frameworks, the British state and media have consistently censored, surveiled, criminalised, and repressed it. "Black cultural life is patrolled by hunting down artists who speak their minds or sound their rhymes as courageous truth-tellers about their life in a socially and racially unequal Britain" (Fatsis 2019, 1311). In the early twentieth century, Black British jazz players met in industrial areas and ports neighbourhoods, where police harassed musicians and listeners (Tackley 2014). Notting Hill and Soho both served as cultural hubs, where Black proprietors operated venues, social clubs, and record stores (Bradley 2013). In the 1960s, "jazz or beat clubs were a focus of political discussion insofar as they were perceived to be having a detrimental impact on young people" (Talbot and Böse 2011, 100). In the 1970s and 1980s, "national and local discourses centred on an association between young black males and criminality, and, in turn, an association of criminality with black venues and parties in both areas" (ibid). Today neighbourhoods in southeast London serve the same purpose, and the Metropolitan Police harass young Black men and criminalise their music forms (Talbot 2006; Perera 2019; Fatsis 2019).

The Metropolitan Police have criminalised various forms of Black music and cultural expression for decades, including Carnival, jazz, reggae, drill, and grime (Fatsis 2019; Gilroy 1987; Henry 2006; Moore

2007). Talbot (2011), Fatsis (2019), and Scott (2020) extensively cover how the force's surveillance of young Black men encroached into their cultural production. Various Metropolitan Police operations, such as Domain, Shield, and Trident, entailed monitoring young men's online activity and forcing streaming platforms to remove music videos under the premise they incited violence. Fatsis (2019), however, found the lyrics of these rap subgenres chronicle the social ills rather than causing them (including intense police harassment). Fatsis again echoes Goldberg's concept of racial neoliberalism as both "as both logic and practice," making clear "that it is impossible to discriminate against Black people by policing their music, while also denying the discriminatory nature of such tactics" (ibid, 1310).

Besides online surveillance, between 2005-2017 the Metropolitan Police used the risk assessment Form 696 to gain information about live music events. Although the most overtly racist sections were deleted in 2008, such as specifying the target audience's ethnicity, Form 696 still demanded enough information, and the personal details of event performers and hosts, to infer the demographics of attendees and performers. Form 696 was supposedly voluntary but two years after its introduction, over 100 London music venues in were required to submit it as a stipulation of their licensing (Pritchard 2023). Talbot (2011, 87) criticises Form 696 and an "expanding array of legislation, based around licensing, nuisance, and health and safety laws, to manage the use of space and exclude unwanted events" which colonise everyday life and "[tighten]…the grip of control over cultural production at night" (ibid, 85). Consequences of juridification, or the over-legislation of everyday life, include limiting access to public space, the loss of alternative/subcultures, and forcing of sanitised, family-friendly homogeneity of "culture," especially in the night-time economy (ibid).

3. Theoretical Framework: The Production of Space

Lefebvre's (1991) *The Production of Space* and his spatial triad provide the theoretical structure, a flexible framework "highly relevant for the investigation of city transformation in general and issues of urban social justice in particular" (Leary 2016b, 17). It accommodates the range of research elements: discourse's role in urban planning and music; neoliberal capitalist urban development and 'regeneration' patterns in London; 'culture;' and the inclusion of real physical space. It facilitates exploration of the politicised and contested nature of urban planning in the context of historical and present power dynamics. A theoretical framework grounded in the material world was essential, as physical space is central to achieving

> *"progressive politics and social justice. Spatiality…[is] not simply symptomatic of social relations, but formative of them. And as such, attempts to address injustice and inequality… have to change space"* (Fincher and Iveson 2008, 9).

Lefebvre's interrelated writings on the right to the city and the production of urban space were inspired by his time living in Paris in the 1960s, where he was appalled by state-sponsored slum clearance euphemised as "regeneration" (Leary 2016b, 13). Urban space is both outcome and process, and a "set of relations between things (objects and products)" (Lefebvre 1991, 80). Space is not merely an empty physical vessel, but a social construct given meaning through symbols and symbolism, physical material, and people inhabiting and using it. Lefebvre defines different kinds of produced space throughout the book, which interact with and overlap with each other (as do the people who produce it). Rather than a set of fixed methodologies, Lefebvre offers a mindset which accounts for many factors and actors that create space.

"Space" is an abstract term, but in *The Production of Space* Lefebvre broadly means realms of "everyday life; geometric concepts; of the city" (Shields 1999, 149). Not only is space "matériel, the bits and pieces of arrangements and territories that are our historical patrimony," but its collective uses, held memories, and meanings which "ensures social continuity in a relatively cohesive fashion" to reproduce social relations within space (Shields 1999, 162). Schmid (2008, 30) explains "dialectical thinking recognises contradictions in social reality and rejects "unequivocal relationships and rules of logical associations." In Lefebvre's case, the "fundamental dialectical figure...can be understood as the contradiction between social thought and social action, supplemented by the third factor of the creative, poetic act" (ibid, 33). Lefebvre furthered ideas of Hegel, Marx, and Nietzsche to create a "three-dimensional figure of social reality" (ibid, 33) particularly well-suited for analysis of urban environments.

The crux of Lefebvre's framework is that urban space, particularly in a neo-capitalist context, is borne of three dimensions: firstly, how it is conceived and depicted comprise representations of space; secondly its perception and uses comprise spatial practice; and thirdly, how it is given meaning and remembered form spaces of representation. Theorising space as it is perceived, conceived, and lived demands incorporating study of the physical body and lived experiences just as much as government texts and official reports. A researcher must venture beyond institutions and text to study how space is produced. Lefebvre was militantly opposed to "existing organizations of society" (Schmidt 2010, 285) and sought to make apparent invisible yet oppressive ideological forces that shape everyday lives and experiences. Space and time are "integral aspects of social practice," and "social products...both result and precondition of the production of society" (Schmid 2008, 29).

The spatial triad recognises "importance of power relationships and the linkages between the private sector and the state, for the reproduction of neo-capitalist society" (Leary 2013, 7). One way this is done is the incorporation of creativity and artistry to navigate societal contradictions borne of power struggles.

Central to transcend official representations and physical materials, which often dominate studies and depiction of space are people

> *"in their corporeality and sensuousness, with their sensitivity and imagination, their thinking and their ideologies; human beings who enter into relationships with each other through their activity and practice* (Schmid 2008, 29)."

In addition to art, the spatial triad also has latitude to incorporate financialisation as an element of producing space, as it

> "*sidelines urban space from its traditional formal, geometric and social representations, and replaces them with new financial narratives, decontextualized images and numerical layers, [resulting] in an ideology of the built environment that is intangible and difficult to interpret*" (Toro and Navarrete-Hernandez 2022, 374).

Living, perceiving, and representing space are not three discrete, disconnected activities, however. Schmid (2008, 37) summarises how the three inform each other:

> *"...(Social) space can be analyzed in relation to these three dimensions. Social space appears in the dimension of spatial practice as an interlinking chain or network of activities or interactions which on their part rest upon a determinate material basis (morphology, built environment). In the second, this spatial practice can be linguistically defined and demarcated as space and then constitutes a representation of space. This representation serves as an organizing schema for a frame of reference for communication, which permits a (spatial) orientation and thus co-determines activity at the same time. In the third, the material "order" that emerges on the ground can itself become the vehicle conveying meaning. In this way a (spatial) symbolism develops that express and evokes social norms, values, and experiences."*

The spatial triad accounts for the commodification of "attitudes and habitual practices," or what Shields (1999, 155) describes as "spatialization" of the social order, in which "abstract structures such as 'culture' become concrete practices and arrangements in space." This makes it a fitting framework for exploring 'culture' in the built environment, which we will turn to next.

Figure 1: Spatial triad

The three boxes of the spatial triad contain:

Representing space (representations of space): depicting, conceiving, characterising, organising, grouping

Examples: Census, 'regeneration' narratives, planning policy, music videos filmed in Lewisham, how people envision the place mentally, how they talk about it and characterise it

Interpreting space (spaces of representation): collective memories, giving meaning to place and sentimental attachment, cultural uses (often alternative or subversive), symbolism

Examples: various functions of culture as envisioned by different data sources, such as way to assert the self, bond community, or 'catalyse regeneration'

Living and perceiving (spatial practice): using and moving through space; the material world

Examples: awarding planning permissions and construction of new buildings, demolishing old buildings, funding decisions, everyday habits like going to shops, living at home, going to youth club,

3.1 Culture in The Production of Space

The literature review presented a conception of culture as a site-specific and ever-changing process; similarly, Lefebvre posits the production of space involves long-term historical processes composed of institutional and individual actions (Schmidt 2010, 292). These overlaps in considering both space and culture as fluid processes rather than fixed entities enable the theoretical framework to account for change over time and the confluence or conflict in its representations, uses, and meanings. Bhabha (1994) described culture as interstitial, located amongst difference and in specific circumstances and locations. Lefebvre (1991, 43) similarly asks "what occupies the interstices between representations of space and

representational spaces. A culture, perhaps? Certainly - but the word has less content than it seems to have." (His disdain for the broadness of the term 'culture' is evident in the index for *The Production of Space* – he used scare quotes.) As covered previously, culture is invoked in so many contexts it may seem meaningless. Indeed, Lefebvre at varying points in *The Production of Space* leverages several possible interpretations: the distinction from nature; as increasingly commodified in neoliberal projects; as the accumulated processes and rituals developed by people in a particular place. In his other works, Lefebvre criticized "modern culture" for its divorce from everyday life and the meaninglessness of consumer culture (Shields 1999, 115). Preceding Zukin, Lefebvre (1991, 328-9) anticipated the commodification of 'culture' in regeneration within capitalist societies. He noted paradoxes in leisure and cultural spaces, and that these spaces are often simulacra of true leisure and freedom of expression, tightly controlled for capitalist consumptive purposes (ibid, 384):

> *"Leisure spaces are arranged at once functionally and hierarchically. They serve the reproduction of production relates. Space thus controlled and managed constrains in specific ways, imposing its own rituals and gestures..., discursive forms) what should be said or not said), and even models and modulations in space..."*

He also noted genuine cultural places, people, and processes are fetishised and appropriated by institutions under auspices of "authenticity," after the original locations or progenitors of the culture have been destroyed (ibid, 360).

3.2 (Partially) Producing Space: Language and Discourse

Watkins (2005, 211) points out Lefebvre's spatial triad was not designed to produce a discourse on space as a final product, instead to incorporate the role discourse plays in producing space overall because

> *"every language is located in a space. Every discourse says something about a space (places or sets of places); and every discourse is emitted from a space. Distinctions must be drawn between discourse in space, discourse about space and the discourse of space"* (Lefebvre 1991, 132).

While a study of discourse alone limits understanding of a space, it is a good starting point:

> *"the methodical study of chains of signifiers is...placed at the forefront of the search for knowledge...this search is assumed to begin with linguistic signs and then to extend to anything susceptible of carrying significance or meaning: images, sounds, and so on"* (ibid, 133).

Words, and the discourse they produce, give meaning to real physical places by imbuing it with meaning, rules, and symbolism. These discourses can be created by powerful institutions or actors, or shared "folk knowledge" in everyday life, which Lefebvre locates in "poetry, music, dance and theatre" (ibid, 407). Although language and codes are "part of a practical relationship, as part of an interaction between

'subjects' and their space and surroundings" (Lefebvre 1991, 18), relying on discourse alone discounts the significance of the physical body in producing space, as well as artificially segmenting (or "coding") the world where divisions need not or do not exist. Images and texts reduce the real world into abstract representations, symbols, and metaphors (Schmid 2008, 35), yet the real world eludes exhaustive theoretical analysis, always leaving "a surplus, a remainder, an inexpressible and unanalysable but the most valuable residue that can be expressed only through artistic means" (Schmid 2008, 40).

3.3 Hear Me Out: Sound, Music, and Listening in Space

The Production of Space briefly considers sound's role in producing space and music as a form of language. For a study of how space is produced, music plays two interrelated functions: first, as a physical medium of sound waves moving through and transforming space, and secondly as a form of language that conveys both implicit and explicit messages. Although this research is concerned with the latter function, it is worth noting how sound waves of live music create space through

> *"physical movement of pressures and molecular agitations that is fundamentally invisible, or beyond the threshold of sight – that hovers within this air, or across this skin – and that accordingly is materially between energy and event, transmission and reception"* (LaBelle 2018, 32).

In live music settings, both musicians and audience receive waves travelling from instruments and amplifiers in their bodies. The human body and the kinds of knowledge it generates is central in considering music in its physical form of sound waves moving through space. Sound waves are material within the space: their frequencies alone can have emotional, mental, and physical effects on the audience, and collectively entrain the bodies to these wavelengths, all of which can contribute towards creating communitas, or "collective feelings of community and joy music can usher into a space" (Charles 2016, 284), or simply a "non-visible" way "bodies find one another" (Lefebvre 1991, 225).

LaBelle (2018, 2) argues how both "sound and listening are...a dynamic framework from which to interrogate 'the surface of a visual world.'" Just as Lefebvre cautioned limiting spatial analysis to discourse, LaBelle cautions against a hyper-focus on the visual and visible realms, which Lefebvre associated with spectacle and "capitalist spatialisations" (Shields 1999, 176). LaBelle (2018, 2) suggests how listening gives insight to

> *"plays of recognition and the affective processes intrinsic to finding place, as well as escape routes and new social formations beyond the strictly verbal and visible. From the tonalities and ambient sonorities, along with the soundings and voicing surrounding, one gains a range of skills and resources by which to navigate the pressure and possibilities found in daily life. In this regard, sound is mobilized as structural base as well as speculative guide for engaging arguments about social and political struggle. This allows for reflecting upon particular*

historical conflicts, peace and social movements as well as the nonmovements and emancipatory practices of daily life, to give detail to an acoustics of social becoming.”

LaBelle's (2018) writings coincide with Lefebvre's on how space is imbued with meaning and transmits messages through different media, through which sound is a "relational force," enabling "new formations of social solidarity, especially as weapons against a neoliberal logic of privatization" (ibid, 4). Incorporating sound, a physical yet invisible medium, transcends the limits of verbal and visible discourses and "[transgresses] certain partitions or borders, expanding the agentive possibilities of the uncounted and the underheard" (ibid). He focuses on the role sound can play in people claiming agency and autonomy, and a means to which shared knowledge and sense become commonplace, to form discourses and "a broader intelligence in approaching pervasive realities of crisis" (ibid, 3).

3.4 The First Third: Conceiving and Representing Space

Representations of space is the dimension of the triad corresponding to how space is mentally conceived of and depicted. This is the element most concerned with discourse, what Buser (2012, 284) describes as "conceptualised, defined or conceived...where ideology, power and knowledge dominate," particularly by technocrats (such as planners). Representations are not physical spaces, objects, or people: they are "verbalized forms such as descriptors, definitions, and especially (scientific) theories of space," including maps and images (Schmid 2008, 37). Representations of space entail segmenting and taxonomising space into various classifications and codes. Hall (1997b, 4-5) discusses representations as language:

> *"Representations 'work like languages,' not because they are all written or spoken, but because they use some element to stand for or represent what we want to say, to express or communicate a thought, concept, idea or feeling…they signify. They don't have any clear meaning in themselves. Rather, they are the vehicles or media which carry meaning because they operate as symbols, which stand for or represent (ie symbolize) the meanings we wish to communicate.”*

Several scholars, including Lefebvre (1991, 230), note that although representations of space is the most abstract third of the triad, many institutional and academic studies limit themselves to mere depictions of space, disregarding how it is perceived and lived, instead "exclusively focused on the urban, the economic or the political dimension, rather than understanding in through social relations, and not [considering] the fundamental transformation of spatial subjectivities" (Toro and Navarrete-Hernandez 2022, 362). Watkins (2005, 210) likewise warns exclusive studies on representations of space cause "an abyss to [open] up between the theories of space and the empirical world of actions, interactions and understandings, leaving our lived experiences estranged from the conceptions that purport to represent them."

This preoccupation with conceptions of space allows an "architecture of concepts, forms, and rules whose abstract truth [to prevail] over the reality of the senses, of the body, of wishes, and of desires" (Schmid

2008, 35). This prevailing of technocratic and official discourses and conceptions of space reinforces existing power dynamics – which Lefebvre hoped to challenge with his formulation of the spatial triad. He called on interrogating representations' hegemonic origins, their domination in modern understandings of society (Lefebvre 1991, 41):

> *"If architects (and urban planners) do indeed have a representation of space, whence does it derive? Whose interests are served when it becomes 'operational'? As to whether or not 'inhabitants' possess a representational space, if we arrive at an affirmative answer, we shall be well on the way to dispelling a curious misunderstanding."*

One of this thesis' research questions corresponds to discerning the discourses about culture and regeneration produced by Lewisham Council. Shields (1998, 163) argues official discourses reduce everyday life to "abstract presentation" yet are "central to forms of knowledge and claims of truth made in the social sciences, which (today) in turn ground the rational/professional power structure of the capitalist state." Scott's *Seeing Like a State* (1998) is useful for clarifying how Lewisham Council creates 'legibility' (p 2) for the purposes of administrative convenience and categorizing the population and place based on the state's desired tasks and outputs (p 22-23), which often include an orderly city plan (for easier surveillance and control), resource extraction, and commodification. The 'legibility' the state seeks is for the benefit of outsiders and administrators, a top-down imperialist process that discounts and "excludes the necessary role of local knowledge and know-how" (Scott 1998, 6).

Scott notes the disparity between what is seen and experienced on the ground versus high-level perspectives. Although "state simplifications" are "designed to provide authorities with a schematic view of their society," (Scott 1998, 79), these permeate into everyday society, eliminating "local monopolies of information" and imposing regulated behaviours and patterns of movement. Abstracting "complex ensembles" into "typifications" are "indispensable to statecraft," (Scott 1998, 77) and create new social facts and reality through their repeated use and basis of decision-making, although "[s]ome of the categories that we most take for granted and with which we now routinely apprehend the social world had their origin in state projects of standardization and legibility" (ibid, 64). Fixed categories aggregate, standardise, and homogenise "living, negotiated tissue of practices which are continually being adapted to new ecological and social circumstances" (ibid, 34) for the state's "appropriation, control, and manipulation" (ibid, 78), often at the expense of contextual, historically-specific useful understandings of places that interconnect rather than segment different actors and processes.

3.5 The Second Third: Spaces of Representation, or Meanings, Memories, and Artistic Interpretations to Understand 'Culture'

Symbolic spaces of representation are "formed by human experience" (Buser 2012, 284). Memories and emotions associated with a place contribute to spaces of representation, which are "directly *lived* through its associated images and symbols, and hence the space of 'inhabitants' and 'users'…it overlays physical space, making symbolic use of its objects" (Lefebvre 1991, 39) and use of the imagination (Shields 1999, 164). By "living," Lefebvre is not referring to everyday behaviours. Instead he means non-quantifiable, artistic, metaphysical aspect of fulfilling human potential and experience beyond abstracted and homogenized neocapitalist strictures. Schmid (2008, 41) describes how the artistic realm of spaces of representations draws from and reflects upon the other two thirds of the triad, representations of space and spatial practice:

> *"Representational spaces…obey no rules of consistency or cohesiveness. Redolent with imaginary and symbolic elements, they have their source in history – in the history of a people as well as in the history of each individual belonging to that people."*

This research enjoys the spatial triad's flexibility for studying spaces of representation. Since imbuing emotional and artistic meaning to space is arguably beyond the remit or capacity of state organisations, this research leverages this third of the spatial triad to investigate the function of 'culture' across the three data sources, teasing out how it is given meaning and enacted. Rather than describe mere aesthetics qualities of 'culture,' this research considers how the data sources each position it as a kind of overlay, and what function that overlay serves. It references how the representations of Lewisham inform this understanding of its cultural overlay, and subsequently how this cultural overlay is maintained or challenged by the behaviours and spatial practice of the data sources.

Ward and Hubbard (2019) noted the tendencies of sponsors of regeneration to appropriate the *idea* of representational spaces to rebrand areas as "inherently creative" or "authentic." Neoliberal leisure and 'cultural' spaces employ symbolism of arts and culture for purposes of regeneration, supposedly representing "the ultimate commodification of nature and of space, but which are also the moment of non-work, or jouissance, and festival, which negates the dominant spatialization of the social system" (Shields 1999, 185). In addition to rebranding and supposedly "upgrading" the appearance of the city, these designations contain symbolic value and "produce a representational space that overlays the existing material land symbolic properties of the town with new socio-spatial configurations" (Ward and Hubbard 2019, 202). This conceals the original socio-spatial configurations, as well as the labour of artists and other creatives on which the rebranding and placemaking rely. It is important to not conflate these

culture-led branding strategies, which are forms of representations of space, with actual representational spaces borne of imagination, freedom of expression, and memory.

3.6 The Final Third: Perceiving in Real-Time: Living and Spatial Practice

Buser (2012, 283) challenges researchers to examine "how spatial forms emerge on the ground through lived experience, together with the concepts, values and practices which either support their resilience or break them apart." Shields (1999, 160) similarly bemoans space of everyday life is alternatively "ignored one minute and over-fetishized the next." This third of the triad provides the framework for analysing physical space. It builds on how the data sources' representations of Lewisham and their cultural overlays relate to what exists on the ground - where is "culture" located?

Spatial practice accounts for the physical materials comprising a space and how they are used by inhabitants, or the "daily reality (daily routine) and urban reality (the routes and networks which link up the places set aside for work, 'private' life and leisure)" (Lefebvre 1991, 38). Shields (1999, 162) explains "commonsensical" spatial practice reproduces "social continuity" and cohesion for the functioning of everyday urban life. Spatial practice also accounts for resistant actions which transform homogenised, abstract space borne of neoliberal development practices into alternate uses. Lefebvre (1991, 391) notably mentions making music as a form of spatial practice disrupting homogeneity:

> *"Spatial practice is neither determined by an existing system, be it urban or ecological, nor adapted to a system, be it economic or political. On the contrary, thanks to the potential energies of a variety of groups capable of diverting homogenized space to their own purposes, a theatricalized or dramatized space is liable to arise. Space is liable to be eroticized and restored to ambiguity, to the common birthplace of needs and desires, by means of music, by means of differential systems and valorizations which overwhelmed the strict localization of needs and desires in spaces specialized either physiologically (sexuality) or socially (places set aside, supposedly, for pleasure)."*

Leary (2013, 7) organises spatial practice into three components specifically pertaining to neoliberal 'regeneration' practices:

> *"(1) the physical, material city and its routine maintenance;*
> *(2) its major redevelopment in the context of existing neo-capitalist and state power structures;*
> *(3) routines of daily life that conform with official representations of space."*

The physical entails the tangible and concrete world which "create a stage for specific kinds of action" (Zephyr 2016, 148). With the stage set, specific actions, or what Zephyr refers to as ritual and Leary refers to as routines of daily life, create "social scripts" (Zephyr 2016, 147) that take on meaning through their repetition. As discussed in the literature review, financialized regeneration practices often entail

57

problematising material space in order to justify regeneration (Leary 2013, 17), privatising once-public spaces, and tightly controlling them to maximise return from investment. Regeneration changes the physical characteristics of an area, thereby changing its occupants and how they use it.

This chapter has discussed how overarching and interrelated concepts like racial neoliberalism and the 'London style' of 'regeneration' will be studied and refined through a Lefebvrian analysis of space and Black Atlantic music. Having established how states leverage racist discourses in a 'cultural turn' of neoliberal urban regeneration strategy, Black Atlantic music culture is positioned as a foil to official narratives justifying these strategies, for its history, resistant and autonomous messages and themes, and use of a sound-based (rather than visual) medium to better account for the temporality of this cultural process instead of it as a fixed aesthetic commodity. The next chapter explains the methods used to study the cultural production of space in the London Borough of Lewisham in the context of its state-led regeneration and Black Atlantic music.

4. Research Questions and Methods

This research aims to pursue anti-racist methodologies centring Black Atlantic culture and music in British history, and recognising the knowledge and experience of its progenitors not as that of a "marginalised" or "minority" group but as a diasporic population resisting, reflecting, and reclaiming autonomy through cultural outputs unmediated by the state. This is done by furthering the methods and application of Charles' Musicological Discourse Analysis (MDA), which accounts for the technological, historical, social, and spatial factors determining the distinct sound, distribution, performance, and consumption of different Black Atlantic styles of music.

Pairing planning with Black Atlantic music also forces the research to venture beyond discourse analysis and into the physical world. Scholarship on the 'cultural turn' in planning and regeneration policies primarily focuses on the introduction of new schemes with little research into how the existing inhabitants and 'cultural' landscape is impacted by the superimposition of commodified 'cultural' development activities. This research aims to understand Black Atlantic music culture in Lewisham through a historical and spatial lens, and how the Council's various 'cultural' and 'regeneration' activities impact it.

The literature review set the context of researching 'regeneration' in London amidst the UK's history of imperial exploitation and colonial subjugation and its current policy of racial neoliberalism. This research seeks to understand how these kinds of schemes relate to the long-established Black Atlantic music culture in the London Borough of Lewisham. One research question corresponds to a third of the spatial triad to discern how three data sources, all situated within the London Borough of Lewisham, alternatively represent the Borough, give meaning to 'culture,' and how these representations and meanings inform the physical space created, occupied, or destroyed for 'cultural' purposes.

1. **How do official state depictions, individual music practitioners, and their musical outputs conceive of and represent the London Borough of Lewisham?**
2. **How do official state depictions, individual music practitioners, and their musical outputs give meaning to 'culture' in regeneration discourse and everyday life?**
3. **What kind of places do the local authority, individual music practitioners, and musical outputs identify for 'cultural' uses?**

4.1 Aims and Objectives

The aim of this research is to understand how Lewisham Council and Black Atlantic music practitioners alternatively produce 'cultural space' the London Borough of Lewisham, in the context of the 'cultural turn' in neoliberal regeneration strategies between 2001-2021. This will be reached through several objectives:

- Discerning how state discourse depicts Lewisham in such a way as to warrant regeneration, and how within regeneration the state frames its 'cultural turn,' including how it refers to Lewisham's existing 'culture'

- Documenting the London Borough of Lewisham as informed by the experiences and creative outputs of Black Atlantic music cultural practitioners, including how they interpret various regeneration initiatives in the Borough

- Discerning how the Council's planning permissions align with its own discourses on culture and regeneration, and how these relate to and impact the spatial practice of Black Atlantic music cultural practitioners

Because planning research to-date has limited interaction with race, I sought guidance on how to conduct this research from other fields, notably geography. Bledsoe (2021, 1016) reviews different approaches by geographers and emphasises that multi-method, interdisciplinary approaches are best suited to critique and inquire both the modern world and dominant ways of understanding it, including "arts and humanities, public data, activism, personal interviews, Marxist theories, and historical and historiographic scholarship, among other sources" which link modern capitalist practices with anti-Black racism, and how they manifest in space, and "use Black Geographies as the agentic spatial practices of black populations and how they seek to create ways of existing not typified by anti=blackness" (ibid, 1017). Notably, Bledsoe (2021, 1015) points to McKittrick's contributions on Black Geographies by linking forms of resistance (including music-making) against the anti-Black racism and exploitation "[underpinning] the modern global economy."

A mixed-methods approach centred around textual and musicological discourse analysis was designed to meet these objectives and to ensure that the research left the realm of text alone and ventured into the physical world. Social sciences seek to describe the world through categorisation (Whitaker and Atkinson 2021). Although Dei (2005) and Goldberg (2009) acknowledge the fundamental tension that anti-racist research must engage with race, a fictitious social construct, I was wary of reinforcing the artificial category of race in exploring how Black Atlantic music culture is impacted by 'regeneration' in Lewisham, and further segmenting participants by categories such as age or gender, heeding Wahab's (2005, 37) caution against ethnographic methods which

> *"[vest] the racialized "Other" with culture, which becomes a metonym for race...Culture becomes a glaring metaphor for the erasure of racialized difference, while at the same time invokes race most pronouncedly and violently."*

Although the methods are dependent on creating categories through coding in NVivo, the codes devised for both interviews and the planning catalogue are inspired by Lefebvre's spatial triad on the production

of space, and are thus inherently action-based. When seeking participants I focused on their actions over personal characteristics (such as having close ties to Lewisham, and participation in Black Atlantic music culture). Applying the same analytical framework to government planning texts, interviews, and music set the three data sources on equal terms as actors in the production of cultural space in the London Borough of Lewisham. The subsequent sections detail the three methods chosen, and how they were reflexively chosen and embarked upon.

4.2 Selecting Case Study Borough, Study Years, and Cultural Entry Point

When I first started my PhD, I was interested in studying the London Borough of Lewisham because of its planning circumstances: over one-third of its area fell within two Opportunity Areas, and I was interested in furthering my research on how financialisation impacts the built environment. As I attended live music and researched for music journalism, I was struck by similarities in themes in Black Atlantic music to the academic material I was reading at university (privatisation, institutional racism, gentrification), albeit with different vantage points and interpretations. The London Borough of Lewisham recurred in my research for music journalism given its many veins of Black Atlantic music history (particularly sound systems) and as the site of several historic significant events in Black British history, which will be discussed in the next chapter. Black Atlantic music was selected as the expressive form reflective of a lived culture and everyday experience to ground this research in the everyday world and make 'culture' a more tangible object of study, and in the pursuit of anti-racist research approaches which centre the experiences of racialised, 'marginalised' groups. The study period is bookended by two events which centred "culture" in the Borough's regeneration activities. In 2001, Lewisham began incorporating the idea of 'culture' into its regeneration strategies after hiring the consultant Charles Landry. Nearly two decades later, the Mayor of London awarded the title of London Borough of Culture to Lewisham, which was celebrated with a year of programming in 2021. This convergence of regeneration and culture offered a 20-year timeline to scope how the Council's/GLA's discourses evolved, and how the Council's regeneration practices were interpreted by Black Atlantic music practitioners, impacted their cultural practices, and translated to their cultural outputs. Given the disparate range of definitions for 'culture' and 'regeneration' discussed in the literature review, these events provided parameters to see how the two concepts were operationalised in space, and how this changed over two decades shaped nationally by the 2008 financial crisis, the Tory government's austerity measures in 2010, and the 2012 Olympics. At the local authority level, these events translated into curtailed or privatised public services as the Council sought alternative revenue streams, and intensive beautifying and real estate development in the built environment.

4.3 Data Collection: The Catalogue of Planning Texts

Buhler (2021, 335) describes characteristics of planning documents making them worthy of CDA, and as research objects in and of themselves (rather than the governance processes leading to their formations). These include their defined aim at "modifying city structures and regulation of private initiatives;" their tendency to smooth over the many viewpoints and negotiations to present a "final outcome" as a "collective product without dissenting points of view" that obscure conflicts and rely upon "stabilised statements."

I collated a catalogue of texts predominantly produced by the Mayor of London (MoL)/Greater London Authority (GLA) and Lewisham Council between 2001-2021. I sourced the data first by searching through Lewisham Council's and the GLA website. The most recent publications were easiest to find, and often referred back to previous policy and reports and other relevant texts, which made snowballing the catalogue simple. Their overarching themes address regeneration, planning, and culture in London as a whole and Lewisham specifically. A coding structure using Lefebvre's spatial triad was developed to distil the discourse of how GLA and Council leadership first conceive of the Borough and characterise it (especially as characterised to necessitate its 'regeneration'), secondly the role that 'culture' is envisioned to play in it the Borough's regeneration, and thirdly where it locates 'culture.

GLA texts were crucial to analyse as they provided a discursive foundation for Lewisham Council, which in turn referred to many of the overarching London Mayoral cultural strategies in setting their own policies and visions, particularly in the creation of Creative Enterprise Zones and in its bid to the GLA to be the London Borough of Culture. Beyond discourse, the GLA delineates Opportunity Areas and Creative Enterprise Zones, which influence the Borough's built environment. Lewisham Council texts included strategies for culture, the night-time economy, and masterplans for the Borough. They also included briefs and reports from various commissioned projects like Intercultural City, which stood out for their more detailed descriptions of existing Lewisham culture. These reports did not specify what, if any, policy spurred the commissioning of these consultants to write these reports. Significant Council texts included regeneration reports, local plans, and cultural strategies. Consultant-written texts for the Council and GLA included area-specific assessments and plans, and advised on how to stimulate creative, cultural, and night-time economies.

Many of the planning texts are interrelated. The catalogue included strategies the Greater London Authority publishes regularly under each Mayor (such as the Culture Strategies), which in turn inform subsidiary strategies, like the Cultural Infrastructure Plan. Lewisham Council's regularly published texts include its regeneration strategies, which cover four years at a time and mid-term reviews. These

Borough-wide regeneration strategies in turn inform Area Frameworks, which are planning strategies for specific areas within the Borough. As discussed in the literature review, the 2001 report by Charles Landry, *Creative Lewisham*, was referred to in 12 of the subsequent planning texts, as late as 16 years after it was first published. Additional texts from bodies like The London Assembly (an elected group) were included to see how London leadership scrutinised and measured outcomes of cultural regeneration schemes, and the 2004 Lewisham Crime, Drugs and Anti-Social Behaviour Audit contextualised policing. Additionally, a collection of local news reports and blogs interested in the Council's planning activities offered interpretations of the major development planning applications. The Council's Authority Monitoring Reports from the study period were used to triangulate the discourses with the actual planning permissions awarded and changes in the built environment.

The following table lists the texts analysed.

	Texts Analysed			
	Title	**Year**	**Authority**	**Consultants/authors credited**
1.	Creative Lewisham: the report of the Lewisham Culture & Urban Development Commission	2001	Lewisham Council (LC)	Charles Landry
2.	Lewisham Local Cultural Strategy	2003	LC	
3.	Creative Industries Potential in Lewisham From Strength to Strength	2003	LC	Tom Fleming Creative Consultancy
4.	London Cultural Capital Realising the potential of a world– class city	2004	GLA	No
5.	Intercultural City: Making the Most of Diversity	2007	LC	Comedia
6.	People, Prosperity, Place: Lewisham Regeneration Strategy 2008-2020	2008	LC	Urban Practitioners
7.	Shaping Places in London Through Culture	2009	GLA	London Living Places
8.	Lewisham Cultural Strategy 2009-2013	2009	LC	
9.	Cultural Metropolis: The Mayor's Cultural Strategy 2012-Beyond	2010	GLA	
10.	Working Paper 48 Culture and regeneration – What evidence is there of a link and how can it be measured?	2011	GLA	Nick Ennis and Gordon Douglass
11.	Lewisham local development framework Core Strategy Development plan document	2011	LC	
12.	The London Borough of Lewisham Intercultural Profile	2011	LC	Council of Europe
13.	The Business of Creativity: A Creative Industries Strategy for Lewisham 2012-2015	2012	LC	
14.	Culture on the High Street	2013	GLA	Jennifer Crook

15.	London's Grassroots Music Venues Rescue Plan	2015	GLA	The Mayor of London's Music Venues Taskforce
16.	An A-Z of Planning and Culture	2015	GLA	
17.	People, Prosperity, Place Lewisham Regeneration Strategy Mid-term review	2015	LC	
18.	Imagining the outcomes of London Borough of Culture: What the evidence tells us	2017	GLA	BOP Consulting
19.	Rescue Plan for London's Grassroots Music Venues Making progress	2017	GLA	GLA, Music Venue Trust, Nordicity, Sound Diplomacy
20.	Creative tensions: Optimising the benefits of culture through regeneration	2017	London Assembly	
21.	Lewisham Creative & Digital Industries Strategy	2017	LC	Regeneris Consulting, We Made That and Tom Fleming Creative Consultancy
22.	Culture for all Londoners Mayor of London's Culture Strategy	2018	GLA	
23.	Cultural Infrastructure Plan	2019	GLA	
24.	Lewisham Characterisation Study	2019	LC	Allies and Morrison, Urban Practitioners
25.	Evening and night-time offer: A vision for Lewisham	2019	LC	
26.	New Cross Area Framework	2021	LC	5th Studio, We Made That, Alan Baxter
27.	A21 Development Framework	2021	LC	Hawkins Brown
28.	Catford Town Centre Framework	2021	LC	Studio Egret West, Turner Works, Civic Engineers, Greengage
29.	Commissioning Framework Lewisham Borough of Culture 2022	2021	LC	
30.	Lewisham Local Plan	2021	LC	

Table 1: Planning texts analysed

4.4 Data Collection: In-depth Interviews

Interviews are central to this research. Okolie (2005, 242) stresses the importance of

> *"interventive in-depth interviewing as a necessary component of an anti-racism research framework. This refers to deep, probing interviews in which the researcher goes beyond mere collection of facts or stories and narratives. Rather the researcher, in addition, intervenes in order to get at the subjects' interpretation of their experiences, tries to interpret those interpretations, puts them in their wider sociohistorical and political context, and feeds them back to the subjects as information arranged and presented in a theoretically framed manner."*

Nineteen interviews with 21 Black Atlantic music practitioners provided primary source data on how their cultural practices are informed by and spatially evolve in Lewisham. Their feedback provided a spatial and temporal account of how Black music culture in Lewisham develops, especially in the context of the Borough's 'regeneration.' Interviews add more context to both the analysed music and policy texts, with "personalized, subjectively rich data set" (Charles 2016, 90) full of local history, memories, and understanding, oftentimes from a non-mainstream perspective. Interviews give "power and platform," "insight into respondent views on their social worlds," as well as "space to be acknowledged" and a "voice to direct their own narratives" (ibid). Per Datta (2018), I shared findings freely, answered questions openly, and conferred useful information and benefits back to the participants, and ensured interviewees felt they were represented accurately in writing.

The method is also inspired by Henry (2006), also known as DJ Lezlee Lyrix, whose research and personal experience participating in Black British-Jamaican reggae and dancehall culture asserts the political, social, and technological impact of Black British culture. He encourages researchers to draw from "countercultural forms to use ethnographic renderings of biographical accounts to tell the story of 'real people,' by focusing the analysis on the cultural artefacts the downpressed produce to pass on their personal narratives through the generations" (Henry 2006, 247).

This research utilises Robinson's (2014) four-point framework for conducting interviews: establishing the sample universe, selecting the size of the sample, devising a sample strategy, and sourcing the samples.

Define a sample universe

Robinson (2014, 28) explains "the sample universe is not only a practical boundary that aids the process of sampling, but it also provides an important theoretical role in the analysis and interpretation process by specifying what a sample is a sample *of,* and thus defining who or what a study is about." This research's sample universe included adults who create music broadly categorised as Black Atlantic (or alternatively Black British, or Black) and are either from, residing in, or have otherwise close ties (such as through employment) to the London Borough of Lewisham between 2001-2021. I was particularly interested in interviewing people whose music is obviously situated in Lewisham and depicts everyday life there. Besides these inclusion factors, there was no further set criteria for characteristics like gender, age, or racialization, but I sought interviewees representing various neighbourhoods around the Borough and styles of music. In addition to pursuing interviews as a method in and of itself, Fairclough (1992, 227) argues interviews enhance a corpus of analysed texts by understanding how people who create or are otherwise impacted by the texts interpret them.

Decide on a sample size

Guest et al (2006) found twelve interviews sufficed as a data set in their research of fairly homogenous sample populations, and my experience aligned with this. Given the time constraints of this research, I sought to conduct between 15-25 interviews, which would offer sufficient representation for different styles of music and parts of the Borough while still allowing individual interviewees to have their distinct experiences conveyed. This ended up being an appropriate number: by the time I had conducted half the 19 interviews, the main themes had already emerged, and I had few additional nodes to add to the coding framework beyond that point. I was aware that to secure 15-25 interviews, I would have to reach out to a much larger group of potential interviewees, which is how I devised my sample strategy.

Devise a sample strategy

I employed purposive sampling strategies in seeking interviewees. My music journalism experience was useful, as I already had a modest network and understanding of some of London's Black Atlantic music spheres. I sent emails or social media messages to people whose music I was already aware of, and read publications and websites such as *Offie Mag*, *DAZED*, and GRM Daily to widen my understanding of other music scenes I was not involved in. I also contacted several interviewees because of an existing appreciation of their role and longevity in the Borough, like Midi Music Company founder Wozzy Brewster, and scholar and MC William Lez Henry, whose 2006 book *What the Deejay Said: a Critique from the Street!* was instrumental in designing this research.

Robinson (2014, 38) cautions "the process of recruitment is often influenced by the researcher's own background, location and connections, and if that is the case, appropriate reflexive acknowledgement of any conflict of interests of possible bias also aids transparency." Okolie (2005, 242) is more direct regarding positioning and interviews, asserting it is

> *"best done when researchers interview their own people, people with whom the researchers share one or more of such identities as race, ethnicity, country of origin, class, or gender. It is an interviewing technique that suits contexts of interlocking and intersectionality of oppression/identities."*

Although I was aware that as an outside researcher I would not be privy to every facet of Black Atlantic cultural production, my own background, location, and connections featured in different and nuanced ways throughout the recruiting and interview process. I assumed many people I contacted would likely be reticent to speak to a stranger, much less a white, middle-class academic. However, I felt being American gave me something of an "outsider" status in which interviewees were more open to telling me about their experiences and contextualising what else was happening in London as they were growing up. This chimed with Böse's experience, who felt being a stranger to both the city and country of her research

gave her some distance which "might have helped to compensate in some way for the problematic position of being white and inquiring about experiences of racist exclusion" (Talbot and Böse 2011, 98). Additionally, my experience in music journalism lent me some credibility: at least one interviewee said reading my work online reassured him about my general music knowledge and tone.

Between April-September 2021, I contacted 61 potential interviewees via email, social media, and direct contact at events. Twenty-four agreed to participate initially, yet two stopped answering messages and one cancelled. I ultimately conducted 19 interviews with 21 people. Two interviews were conducted jointly, with two interviewees in each. Interviews took place between May and September 2021, with the last occurring in February 2022 after months of intermittent communication.

I refined my approach to contacting potential interviewees. At first, I was hesitant to deluge strangers with PDFs and paragraphs of information, but later found providing more information up-front got more responses. For interviewees I did not know, I introduced myself, the project, and its aims, and what I was hoping to learn from them. I indicated what music of theirs I was familiar with and why I was specifically interested in talking to them. While this felt exceptionally cloying to do over Instagram, where this was broken into bombardments of direct messages, my response rates increased with this approach. After an interviewee expressed interest, I sent the consent form and information sheet. Participants were also invited to discuss the project on the phone before committing to an interview; three interviewees accepted this offer..

I was already acquainted with three interviewees through social connections and going to jams. I had profiled one previously for *London Jazz News* and had written about another's performance as part of a band for a review, but did not know him personally. Two interviewees (who conducted theirs jointly) were referred to me by an author I had interviewed in 2019. Three interviewees were snowball sampled and referred to me by other interviewees. Although I could not pay participants, I offered to review their music or attend their gigs. In the two years following fieldwork, I wrote a 'Taking Off' profile and album review for one interviewee in *Jazzwise*, a live gig review for another, reviewed three albums on my personal website, and attended nearly a dozen gigs featuring or run by interviewees.

Rather than focus on a specific commercial genre, I instead sought interviewees whose music could broadly be described as Black Atlantic (or, per heir own descriptions, Black British, or Black music). Some interviewees had not heard the term Black Atlantic before but agreed with the classification when I described it. Most interviewees' music defies easy classification, but broadly includes jazz, grime, hip hop, reggae, R&B, soul, pop, drill, spoken word/poetry, and garage.

Most were full-time musicians, some worked additional jobs alongside their musical pursuits (such as in youth work, service jobs, academia, or office jobs). I did not ask interviewees about their sexual orientations, gender identities or social class, but these often came up incidentally during the interview. In these first two categories the interviewees were heterogeneous, but generally hailed from working-class or middle-class backgrounds. Although I did not ask for people's gender identities, it can be inferred that roughly two-thirds of the interviewees identify as men. I question if the male-skewing sample population owed in part because I'm a woman: Charles (2016) found male interviewees seemed willing to "explain" things to her and speculated her asking follow-up questions was more tolerated because of her femininity. Although interviewees ranged in age between 20-60+, half were between the ages of 25-40. This may be because of my age at the time of conducting interviews (31): it was easier to reach out to my peer group, especially if we had overlapping social networks visible on social media. Rather than create a profile of each individual interviewee, which could compromise anonymity, I instead summarise some of their characteristics below.

- Between the ages of 20-65
- Relationship to Lewisham (some interviewees fit into more than one category)
    - Born in the Borough and current resident: 7 interviewees
    - Attended university in Borough and continued residing: 3 interviewees
    - Long-term resident: 4 interviewees
    - Born in the Borough/no longer residing, but work there: 5 interviewees
    - Involved in organisation based in Lewisham: 8 interviewees
    - Multi-generational ties: 9 interviewees
- Neighbourhoods: Deptford/New Cross, Ladywell, Hither Green, Lewisham, Catford, Crofton Park, Sydenham, Brockley
- Ancestries from: Jamaica, Congo, Uganda, Barbados, Sierra Leone, St, Lucia, Nigeria, Ireland, England, first to third generation UK residents
- Music styles: Reggae, grime, hip-hop, pop, soul, jazz, R&B, experimental and beyond
- Music practices: Producers, DJs, singers, instrumentalists, record labels, jam hosts, scholars, music directors, session musicians, founders of music organisations, founder of other community organisation
- LGBTQ+: at least 5 interviewees (confirmed through course of interview)
- Male: 13 interviewees
- Female: 6 interviewees
- Not clarified/other gender: 2 interviewees

Source the sample

Interviews were not rigid questionnaires. They were open-ended and amenable to tangents that more deeply contextualised interviewees' individual experiences and a spatial understanding of the Black Atlantic music scene as a whole. This flexibility enabled me to avoid a pitfall Whitaker and Atkinson (2021, 43) caution against, in which interviewers "inscribe particular expectations or constructions of what kind of 'data' will be forthcoming" and risks romanticising research participants and shoehorning various people's experiences and feelings into the researcher's desired narrative. My supervisors had also cautioned against this, given the explicitly political underpinning of this work, and ensuring I "let the data surprise" me. This did indeed occur: giving interviewees the latitude to speak about aspects of their everyday life in Lewisham revealed granular details of how Black Atlantic music culture is perpetuated in unexpected ways (such as the role public transport plays in it).

Eight interviews were conducted via Zoom, the remainder were face-to-face. They ranged between 90 minutes and four hours. Fortunately, mild summer weather permitted most to occur in Lewisham's public spaces and streets. Two were conducted in homes (including a socially-rented new build in Lewisham Gateway).

Three interviewees accepted the invitation for a walking interview on a route of their choice. Evans and Jones (2011, 857) praise the walking interview "as a highly productive way of accessing a local community's connections to their surrounding environment." These three interviews ran the longest (between 3-4 hours) and were particularly illuminating. Interviewees narrated changes in Lewisham by pointing out specific places and change over time, described the neighbourhoods we were walking through, and the locations of venues or squats no longer there. The walking interviews also conveyed the social networks amongst long-term residents. We encountered other Lewisham residents of varying acquaintance with the interviewees, who would sometimes join in the conversation

Before asking any questions, I introduced myself, my project, and my objectives to the interviewees and reviewed the info sheet and consent forms. I would update them with my progress, including the year I was up to in my reading of Lewisham planning texts. Each interview began asking the interviewee to introduce themselves, their age, and relationship to Lewisham. Next, I asked how they first got involved with making music, and the locations where they did so. From there, the interviews opened up; many interviewees narrated their musical journeys up to the present day with little interruption from me. Interviewees were asked to describe the specific places important to their musical development, and how that changed over time, either in response to changes in Lewisham, or as their own career progressed.

This would naturally feed into insights on how Lewisham has changed over their lifetimes, and what their predictions for how it would impact cultural practitioners in the long-term.

The interviews were a pleasure to conduct. I was inspired and humbled by the gracious openness with which interviewees shared their everyday personal lives. Given the interviewees were all creatives, commentary was often poetic and nuanced, with a deep appreciation of the long historical factors that shaped Lewisham's built environment, and how they themselves moved through it.

Okolie (2005, 260) reassures that

> *"[d]one properly, the interventive in-depth interview not only provides deep and detailed understanding of social processes and discovers new concepts, categories, and issues, but also has the potential for conscientizing the subjects. It becomes an exchange rather than merely a one-sided extraction of information from hapless subjects."*

This was the case with my interviews. I shared what I was learning at various points in the conversation, adding planning policy context to their observations or experiences over the past two decades. I also shared information on topics like OAs, financialised housing, and affordable housing provision, and reflecting on my experiences in making music and conducting research. The rapport built in the initial contact, any preliminary phone calls, during the interview, and post-interview follow-up was likely thanks to my explicitly stated problematizing of 'regeneration' and friendly demeanour. The interviews would often lead to broader discussions of British colonial and slave trafficking history, state violence afflicted upon racialised migrants, and interviewees' predictions and concerns for living in London amidst its financialized and privatised geographies. The process of interviewing was deeply reflexive and reinforced the long-term historical context of my research project, and deepened my spiritual and emotional connection to the music.

I audio recorded and transcribed each interview. One interviewee also recorded our conversation for his YouTube channel. The musical character of Lewisham, particularly the Deptford/New Cross area, was evident on playing recordings back for transcription: music can be heard in the background of each interview, emanating from cars, open windows, businesses, and the speakers of other Lewisham residents enjoying the summer weather.

Unsuccessful Interview Attempts

In October 2020, I contacted 11 people either employed or formerly employed by Lewisham Council or the GLA, as well as four people tied to major private development schemes in the Borough. I also telephoned Lewisham Council's planning office three times. Perhaps because of the Covid-19 pandemic or my tone, nobody responded, or failed to follow-up after initial positive responses. I attempted to

conduct interviews one year later. Through acquaintance working at the GLA, I secured two interviews with employees in the Culture Team. After I modified the language and softened the tone of my informational sheets, I got an interview with Lewisham's Director of Inclusive Regeneration. Given these interviews were conducted in fall 2022, over a year after I had completed my fieldwork and discourse analysis, they were useful in contextualizing and triangulating the catalogue of planning texts, and explaining the working relationships (or lack thereof) between different municipal departments.

4.5 Data Collection: Picking Music to Sample

I considered including music made by non-interviewees for their specificity to Lewisham yet decided against this because analysis would be superficial commentary on aesthetics or lyrics, devoid of insight on *how* the music came to be made. Additionally, although every interviewee practiced Black Atlantic music culture, not all of them had recorded music to consider, like DJs or the founders and employees of music organisations.

Music analysed includes commercially released tracks, music videos, full-length albums, and recordings of live performances (of varying formality, such as impromptu solo freestyles or staged events in a venue). Data was sought from Spotify, YouTube, and Soundcloud. YouTube and Soundcloud also hold more informally-recorded music, such as impromptu freestyles and demos, and recordings of sound system clashes from the 1980s. Music videos uploaded to YouTube enabled richer musicological discourse analysis by adding a visual element.

I sought to include music that represented several of the Black Atlantic music lineages within the Borough, such as reggae, grime, R&B, jazz, and hip-hop. All of the music analysed was made in the second half of the study period (2011 or later). This is because of the average age of the interviewees: the sample group skewed millennial, so they were still children in the early 2000s.

I purposively sampled music referencing the London Borough of Lewisham. The catalogue of music analysed involved eleven pieces, two of which were albums. I familiarized myself with interviewees' music releases or any recordings of live performances, and they gave additional insight into how the music was created. The following table includes the music analysed.

		Music Analysed			
	Artist	**Title**	**Year**	**Format**	**Notes**
1.	Koder	Why You in the Endz?	2018	Single with music video, Undeniable Records	Grime
2.	Koder	Richer	2019	Single with music video, Undeniable Records	Grime
3.	LVTS	Freestyle	2020	Recorded informal performance	Rap freestyle recorded outside half-built high-rise
4.	LVTS	Bounse	2018	Single with music video	Rap, self-released
5.	SAMBA	Another One	2020	Single with music video	R&B, self-released
6.	Love Ssega	Our World (Fight for Air)	2021	Single with music video	Pop/soul; commissioned by Season for Change
7.	DJ Lezlee Lyrix	Guilty at Last – Stephen Lawrence Lyric	2012	Recorded informal performance	Acapella reggae MC'ing; filmed in the Gambia
8.	Kayowa	Based	2021	Single with music video	R&B, self-produced
9.	Nathaniel Cross	The Description is Not the Described	2021	Album, First World Records	Jazz with calypso, hip hop, broke beat influences
10.	Germane Marvel	Taller Deeper Wider	2021	Recorded live performance at the Albany	Spoken word with live band for Imaginary Millions collective
11.	Isobella Burnham	Dancin' Garuda	2021	Album, self-released	Jazz with Bajan (spouge) influences

Table 2: Music analysed

4.6 Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

The narratives of the three data sources provide the empirical material of the thesis, which are analysed through two kinds of discourse analysis (critical and musicological) and structured by the spatial triad to answer the research questions. McKenna (2004, 9) identifies "democracy, equality, fairness, and justice"

as the foundational principles of CDA, with an end goal of "revealing how discourse does ideological work," including normalising how particular problems are framed, the parameters of discourse, and what over time becomes normalised as "common sense" or shared understandings of the world. CDA encompasses a far-reaching set of methods, but at its core is a commitment to "investigating change in language that affects…social and cultural change" (Regmi 2017, 95) and "improving the lives of ordinary people by making transparent the relationships of power that oppress and diminish" (McKenna 2004, 21). Hall (1997b, 6) lays out different approaches to studying discourse. The first is semiotic, which is concerned with "the how of representation," whereas discursive analysis is "more concerned with the effects and consequences of representation – its 'politics.'" This research embraces the second approach. Discourse spans both language and practice as a "system of representation" (ibid, 44) with the power to create knowledges, and "make itself true" (ibid, 49). Referring to Foucault, Hall (1997b, 44) says discourse mediates power relations by constructing topics, which

> *"defines and produces the objects of our knowledge. It governs the way a topic can be meaningfully talked about and reasoned about. It also influences how ideas are put into practice and used to regulate the conduct of others. Just as a discourse 'rules in' certain ways of talking about a topic, defining an acceptable and intelligible way to talk, write, or conduct oneself, so also, by definition, it 'rules out' limits and restricts other ways of talking, of conducting ourselves in relation to the topic or constructing knowledge about it."*

CDA attempts "to see how ideology and power are at play in human society," both in overt utterances and hidden, embedded meanings (Regmi 2017, 98). Ideology is embedded in discourse, and CDA provides a set of tools to untangle and make clear structures of power and domination in text. Gee (2011, 71) describes CDA's potential to make sense of the "life world," or "domain where we speak, value, and act as 'everyday people' making claims based on 'everyday knowledge,' 'common sense,' or the sorts of evidence gathering any 'everyday person' can do." Regardless of whether CDA is parsing institutional or informal texts, it must be done with a historical lens in order to track these changes over time, as

> *"every statement takes place within a history of statements, and indeed can make sense only in that history. That is: a discourse has a history; is a product of a community; has boundaries that determines what can be said; has characteristic ways of saying things; sometimes get conventionalized into genres; and often uses specialized lexis and grammar"* (McKenna 2004, 14-15).

Discourse cannot be limited to a single text; it is the accumulation of texts echoing and reinforcing each other, with common themes, "institutional, administrative or political drift and patterns" which together constitute a discursive formation (Hall 1997b, 44). Fairclough stresses the importance of intertextual readings given the "inherent historicity of texts enables them to take on the major roles they have in contemporary society at the leading edge of social and cultural change" (1992, 102). Similarly, Huckin

and Clary-Lemon (2012, 120) write "intertextual analysis looks for the ways old text affect new contexts, the way contexts alter the rhetorical force of a text, the way a text can accrete contextuality, and the way a text can reconfigure a context." A related concept, recontextualisation, "looks for and interrogates 'chains of events and texts'" of any time scale, or the "ways in which a texts is transformed, reimagined, and even disfigured when it is brought into a new context" (ibid, 121). Intertextuality includes noting where ideas and portions of texts are copied or imitated, but also the "heterogeneity of texts" and the "diverse and often contradictory elements and threads which go to make up a text" (Fairclough 1992, 104).

4.7 Musicological Discourse Analysis

Charles (2018) developed Musicological Discourse (MDA) as an analytical framework to contextualise grime, a Black music form created in London. MDA recognises Eurocentric musical analysis often fails to interpret Afrodiasporic music, insufficiently weighing the actual sound of the music as reflective of its character, and instead focussing too much on their social characteristics. This aligns with Gilroy's (1987, 198) assertion that Black musical forms' meanings must be inferred from both overt elements (such as lyrics and toasts), but also the forms themselves and reflections of "the social relations in which they are produced and consumed," which offers "analysis capable of moving beyond words and speech." Charles' methods are used to understand how music might "read" as a reflection of a particular place. MDA complements a Lefebvrian exploration of space, as it entails mixed methods like live gig attendance and listening to music. Charles also situates in-depth interviewing as a component of MDA; the interviews I conducted were indeed crucial to better analysing the music.

MDA eschews genre classification in favour of a "sonic footprint timestamp," which better accounts for intersecting lineages Afrodiasporic music draw from and the "specific place, time, historical, social, political, and technological context" from which music originates, and recognises music in and of itself is "a form of cultural and social capital in identity formation, belonging, and authenticity" (Charles 2018, 2). Salient to this research is MDA's recognition of soundscapes and audio ecologies, or the "sonic landscape of habitat of a place/space" (ibid). This can be considered the aural element to Perera's (2019) vernacular landscapes, or the "features of young, working-class people's material environment that shape their urban experience." Audio ecologies consist of public and private spaces (such as the open street or homes, respectively), informal community spaces (such as churches and youth centres), and semi-public spaces (like the top of tower blocks). Getting a sense of audio ecologies is crucial to understanding how urban regeneration plans impact local cultures. MDA examines the origins and perspectives of subcultural social values and explores how the music creators' audio ecologies influence the sonic characteristics of the music. This research is more concerned with the spatial elements of Black Atlantic musical development than technological innovations, or describing its aesthetic qualities. Although I refer to how lineages of

different kinds of Black Atlantic music are furthered and morph over time, my primary concern is locating the physical places, in time and space, where these developments occurred and where these new sounds are forged.

Experiencing music first-hand is paramount to understanding its function. I attended live performances by interviewees and other Lewisham artists within and beyond the Borough from the beginning of this doctoral project until its conclusion. These included jams (to which I often brought my own saxophone), improvised nights like Steamdown (where two interviewees are regular musicians, and several other interviewees have played), gigs at commercial venues and pubs of varying size, festivals, DJ nights (both with and without MCs), public events like the Jerk Cookout at the Horniman Museum and Lewisham People's Day, and an impromptu performance at a park. Attending these events (many of which I would have gone to even if I wasn't doing this research) did not necessarily generate empirical data, but provided further insight to the communal, spiritual, and economic roles of Black Atlantic music.

The coding frameworks, which structured all three data sources' analysis, will be discussed in the next section. While coding lyrics was as straightforward as analysing the planning texts and interviews, coding music beyond lyrics alone required tailoring Charles' framework. MDA has not been applied in planning studies and does not foreground the role of institutions in its spatial analysis, but several scholars' previous work emphasising place in their studies of Black Atlantic music inspired me as to how MDA could be adapted for this research. Examining rap in the UK, Bramwell and Butterworth (2020) add more nuance to the interactions of rap artists with institutions like universities and youth clubs, which alternatively elevate or repress rap culture beyond its stereotypical location on 'the street.' Melville (2019, 5) similarly employed a Lefebvrian framework to explore how rare groove, acid house, and jungle, three strains of Black Atlantic music developed in the 1990s and early 2000s, were "spatialising [technologies]" that created alternative public spaces used to forge political change by integrating and socialising diverse audiences. The physical locations where the music was developed and consumed were directly informed by and related to the "hostile environment" of London's "racial geography" and racialised spaces both while these musics were formed, but in preceding decades as well. White and Ilan (2021)'s "ethnographer soundclash" also provided insight into how music videos could be analysed in conversation with each other, identifying unifying themes across various Black Atlantic lineages in London.

The music was analysed through several steps that worked towards understanding how the specific features of the London Borough of Lewisham influenced their sound. This included coding lyrics in a Lefebvrian framework discussed in subsequent sections, identifying locations in music videos along with how both the locations and subjects within frames were represented tonally. Interviews with the makers of

75

the music were crucial for interpreting music videos. Chiming with White (2017), learning who interviewees had collaborated with was important, as this spoke to place-bound interpersonal links necessary for sustaining cultural processes. Interviewees also contextualised certain visual motifs, for example discussing how they about the Metropolitan's Police presence in the Borough impacted their experience of moving through it, if or how they interpreted various regeneration initiatives not being "for them" resonated across the catalogue of music, either through overt references or aligning shots of police cars with lyrics criticising the state. These conversations led to a coherence across the catalogue of analysed music. Determining tone and messaging from less overt artistic choices, such as camera angles and distances, and what scenes accompanied lyrics, and what stories were depicted through the footage. Other considerations included how shots leveraged distance (between the camera and subject) to convey intimacy or otherness. I was concerned with the reasons for particular locations shown in music videos, and where musicians said they worked on their crafts (everything from writing to recording to performing).

While paid performances, recordings, and music videos present finished products, jams are particularly useful events for understanding the function of Black Atlantic music culture explained by interviewees. Jams are nights for musicians to come together and collectively improvise. They can be recurring scheduled nights in venues, pubs, or studios, but also frequently happen in people's private homes. Their formality varies: some are tightly run with pre-selected tunes (jazz standards, for example), and musicians wishing to play must sign-up, but a jam can also be a group of friends making music in someone's living room. Most jams are strictly improvised music and do not play covers; people may refer to or borrow parts of other song but do not copy them outright. Some jams attract large audiences, which creates an exciting energy but may limit experimentation or intimidate amateur musicians from joining. I attended a mix of interviewees' performances within and outside Lewisham, as well as other gigs not by interviewees in Lewisham. I have only included the list of gigs by interviews performed in the Borough in the following table.

	Live Music Attended			
	Performance	**Location**	**Date**	**Notes**
1.	Koder	Hilly Fields	12 June 2021	Free performance
2.	Steamdown	Matchstick Piehouse	11 August 2021	Weekly semi-improvised show
3.	Rezon8 Launch	Albany	8 October 2021	Youth record label launch
4.	Jerk Cookout at Horniman	Horniman Museum	13 July 2021	
5.	Undeniable showcase	Mountsfield Park	16 July 2022	Blue Borough Stage at Lewisham People's Day
6.	Rezon8 showcase	Mountsfield Park	16 July 2022	Blue Borough Stage at Lewisham People's Day
7.	Alchemy 'Your Silence Will Not Protect You'	Goldsmiths	December 2022	

Table 3: Live music attended in Lewisham

4.8 Coding Frameworks for Discourse Analysis

Coding is a "form of measurement, in that it explicitly calls for the categorisation of data" through the researcher's "successive rounds of practical decision-making" (Whitaker and Atkinson 2021, 47). Because researchers decide what patterns they are looking for, themes "are not 'found' so much as created" (ibid, 48). Indeed, even the software used for coding can influence the data produced. NVivo, the programme I used to code the planning catalogue and interviews, is designed on "hierarchical relationships between codes" (ibid, 52).

As discussed previously, much planning research stays in the realm of the state and its representations of space, while treating physical space and lived experience as afterthoughts. All three data sets (planning texts, interviews, and music) were analysed with coding structures based off Lefebvre's spatial triad. Rather than segment the data sources according to what actors produced them, the spatial triad was operationalised in its entirety to analyse how each source conceives of and represents the London Borough of Lewisham; perceives and gives meaning to culture and its function there; and how this is physically embodied in spatial practice. This kept the three sources on equal footing and in conversation with each other, and kept the research grounded in "the everyday" of Lewisham.

Planning text analysis and interviews were conducted concurrently over the summer of 2021, which helped identify and triangulate similar themes for coding about the built environment, regeneration, culture, and music. I read each government text and interview at least twice (I also transcribed the interviews myself, which was useful for familiarising myself with the material), and listened to the music

extensively – at least 10 times per track. The music was not uploaded to NVivo, as the software does not allow for video uploads, but I utilised the same framework to analyse it. The following section details how each third of the spatial triad was accounted for in the coding frameworks, summarised in a table at the end. I made two separate coding frameworks for the planning texts and the interviews, each with three main categories that corresponded to a third of the triad (and thus research question). See the codebook in Appendix 1 to see how each research question was coded for, with examples from the data.

Conceiving and Representing Space

Coding how space was conceived by the three data sources was the most straightforward, largely following the planning texts' document structures and headings. These included topics like housing, green spaces, economy, and demographics. My interest was in the kinds of categories and descriptors the Council leverages to represent the Borough in official texts, particularly as they problematise the Borough to justify 'regeneration.' Although representing and conceiving space is usually associated with official and institutional actors, learning how interviewees conceived of Lewisham was crucial to contrast it with the Council's official representations (and problematising) of space in its regeneration plans. Interviewees' conceptions of Lewisham often emerged organically over the course of our conversation, but I also asked pointed questions about their predictions for the future of Lewisham. Codes in this category included the facets of Lewisham described by interviewees, such as its housing stock, policing, existing diversity and creativity, and observed changes over time. Within the music, I sought explicit indicators of song lyrics that discussed everyday life in Lewisham. Although several songs directly mentioned specific places or postcodes in Lewisham in the song lyrics, this was also represented visually by filming place indicators like street signs, murals, transport stations, and other landmarks. The focus was on how the music located itself in Lewisham, and what it was saying about it. As I watched music videos repeatedly, certain motifs and shooting choices/camera angles (such as from a distance, or closer portrait-style) conveyed the creators' attitudes towards the subjects, especially as the imagery aligned with lyrics.

Giving Meaning to Culture: Spaces of Representation

Spaces of representation are typically researched as the purview of more anti-establishment actors, or everyday creatives outside institutions, and was the hardest third of the triad to code in the government texts. Most of the Lefebvrian research I encountered analysed each third of the triad through the actors it traditionally corresponds to. One exception to this was Toro and Navarrete-Hernandez's research (2022) into how financial real estate actors in Santiago operationalize the triad in its entirety. It was perhaps the

most flexible use of the spatial triad I found and was a good example of demonstrating how state or institutional actors invest meaning in financialised space to commodify and codify it.

Having established how Lewisham Council represents its jurisdiction, I next analysed how the Council fit the idea of 'culture' into narratives about the Borough generally, and specifically its ongoing regeneration schemes. Following Toro and Navarrete-Hernandez (2022), who designated spaces of representation as the information and emotions conveyed to shareholders, I coded where government texts talked about the function of culture in the Borough and meaning invested in it. With interviewees, I structured questions about the function Black Atlantic music culture plays in their lives, through the lenses of their respective heritages and unique experience of growing up in Lewisham. I asked how Lewisham was reflected in their music and influenced their creative practice. Spaces of representation were also (somewhat surprisingly) hard to correspond to music analysis. This is perhaps the music is a cultural output, in and of itself the evidence of culture functioning in space – this *is* the space of representation! Insight from interviews was important for contextualising the music, such as how it came to be made (networks involved, recording/performance locations), the motivation behind it. Particular attention was paid to the artists referencing stereotypes or external perceptions about the Borough and refuting them to assert themselves as individuals and members of their communities. This is also where attending live music was helpful, as it gave me firsthand experience of the function music played in the physical world and everyday life.

Living in Space: Spatial Practice

Coding government texts and interviews regarding spatial practice was Simpler. I coded specific locations (such as the Albany), or kinds of locations (like youth clubs) mentioned as sites of cultural activity. Specific locations were important to understanding Lewisham's unique sonic landscape, but the main goal was to understand the *types* of places used and how that changed over time, either in response to changes in Lewisham's built environment, funding schemes, or interviewees' career progression. Learning where both Lewisham Council and interviewees situated 'culture' was important for anticipating how the Borough's ongoing regeneration schemes and long-standing Black Atlantic music culture related to each other. Interview questions dealt with specific locations people had their first musical experiences in, and what kinds of spaces they used as they furthered their practice. It was important to understand the function(s) each place played, and why interviewees used those spaces. The catalogue of music was coded for where music was recorded and music videos were filmed. Attending live gigs, however, factored heavily into coding for spatial practice. The locations of live performances like informal jams to free public festivals to ticketed gigs indicated long-standing traditions within the Borough (such as

Lewisham People's Day and the Horniman Museum Jerk Cookout) as well as the kinds of spaces people can access easily and safely.

4.9 Ethics

This research is low-risk but has several potential ethical issues, mitigated by adhering to the Social Research Association's (2003) guidelines. The first risk was the possibility of distressing interviewees. This research delves into systemic racism and asking interviewees about their interactions with law enforcement and the impacts of gentrification in their area could have provoked discomfort or traumatising memories. To reduce this risk, I notified participants what my research was about, what the interview would cover, and their option to not answer questions they did not want to. They also had the choice to submit written responses, but no participant opted for this. Another issue was the potential to expose locations or people integral to an underground subculture. To prevent this I omit specifying these locations and anonymised all interviewees' quotes. When speaking in their capacity as the head of a public-facing organisation, or referring to their music, I use their names as provided to me.

4.10 Researching with Anti-Racist Principles and Methods

Dei (2005, 3) summarises some tenets to anti-racism and related research: "anti-racism is about power relations. Anti-racism discourse moves away from discussions of tolerating diversity to the pointed notion of difference and power." It proceeds from the starting point that "prejudice [is] an integral part of the social order" (ibid) and "emphasizes persistent inequities among communities that are embedded in relations of domination and subordination" (ibid, 4). It asks how "colonial and imperial relationships, social alienation, and cultural ideology interface in contemporary human experience" (ibid, 15) and permeate into Western research methods, specifically what kind of sources and kinds of knowledge are valued.

Antiracism, although it seeks to end racism, must still engage with race as an invented social concept. It cannot simply deny the existence of race in the hopes of creating a post-racial society. The power of anti-racist research hinges on describing the structures that perpetuate institutional racism, not its effects (Bhabha 1994, 50). Hahn (2016, 334) emphasises the importance of contextualising: "grand-narrative history is crucial for understanding and challenging racial injustice and whiteness." This chimes with Goldberg's earlier insistence that antiracist efforts (2009, 21) "requires historical memory, recalling the conditions of racial degradation and relating contemporary to historical and local to global conditions."

Hahn (2016, 350) discusses some elements of anti-racist rhetoric, first by comparing it with writing with "ambiguous agents, weak verbs, disguised stative statements, hidden tautologies, and historicity-without-history [which] threaten to…mystify the past-and-present concrete historical dynamics in which we all

80

grasp and rework society." Anti-racist researchers instead explain history using concrete actors, active verbs, and broad narratives to put policy decisions, significant events, and individual activity into context. Rather than nominalising, or describing states of being, Hahn (2016, 332) insists on writing with "active predications…to describe how things got to be that way, how things are changing, who is doing the changing, and who and what are being changed."

While this research is scoped between 2001-2021, it was crucial to understand centuries of racist violence across the former British empire as relevant to present-day Lewisham, particularly its racialised residents.

I write in the first-person throughout this thesis. Although this is contrary to traditional academic writing style, I do so because I cannot extricate myself from the research. Anti-racist research principles acknowledge researchers cannot be truly "objective," and so to write myself out of the live music events and collaborative interviews I was present at would be to lend a disingenuous air of neutrality.

4.11 Reflexivity and Positioning

Countering Western social research's academic starting point of dominance or authority, "anti-racist researchers are conscious of their position and subjective positioning relative to the subject matter of research" (Okolie 2005, 248), and recognise the power dynamics between an outside academic researcher seeking knowledge from a different demographic (Datta 2018, Okolie 2005). Dominant framings of "positioning" as a mere inventory of a researcher's more characteristics (such as age, race, class) which overlook professional identities, disciplines, and institutions, thereby leaves methods and dominant paradigms unquestioned and risks perpetuating structural inequalities and unjust power dynamics. The following sections describe how a researcher becomes conscious of their position at the individual and disciplinary level.

Researcher Positioning

Wahab (2005, 43) criticises researcher positioning in which white scholars merely acknowledge they are white without interrogating *whiteness;* simply stating one is white as some kind of disclaimer only reinforces that whiteness "does much to underscore the invisibility and perceived neutrality of white hegemony in everyday life." In order to meaningfully situate herself, a white researcher with anti-racist objectives must also interrogate whiteness, a "universal something, yet something so empty of content that those situated within its ambit do not see it as there. Whiteness becomes something beyond ethnicity, history, privilege, or struggle" (Arber 2000 in Wahab 2005, 43).

It may be useful to sketch how whiteness first impacted my planning studies and how that changed over the course of my research. My interest in urban planning was centred in public transport and large

infrastructure projects. While studying the MSc in Transport and City Planning, I grew disenchanted with the planning profession and cynical that, as Simmie (1974) wrote decades before, the planning profession exists to benefit landowners and the ruling class. In terms of my positioning as a white researcher, the most significant shift was learning how neoliberal mechanisms and policies of the planning system perpetuate racism.

Several years ago, I would not have been able to detail *how* systemic racism is operationalized in the planning system. My whiteness insulates me from experiencing personal and institutional racism. One way my whiteness was brought into relief in the context of undertaking this research was an ignorance of the power of collectivism and self-organisation. I had never participated in a local grassroots social movement and had no direct experience of being part of a local network mobilised to provide itself with the resources denied to them by the state. Referring back to the Arber quote on whiteness being devoid of content, I came to appreciate how much of my spatial practice was not informed by heritage or cultural precedent, rather capitalist individual ambition. Extensive self-interrogation, discussions with peers and mentors, and involvement in Black-led music collective has cultivated better spirituality, self-knowledge, and sense of interconnectedness to undertake this research.

Disciplinary Reflexivity

Beebeejaun (2022) bemoaned 'positionality' in academic research limited to individual reflection, failing to critically engage with locating researchers within their disciplines and institutions. Beyond individual characteristics, the epistemology, discipline, and methodology must also be reflexively positioned. Whitaker and Atkinson (2021, 18) assert reflexivity is a "fundamental and inescapable feature" which "demands comprehension of the inevitable complexity of relations in the field, and the researcher's relationship to the field" (ibid, 7), including "the scholar's disciplinary membership, the methodological approach adopted, the forms of representation that are deployed, as well as the investigator's own biography and identity" (ibid, 19).

"Research methods create categories, types and phenomena" (ibid, 19), which in turn set conceptual parameters (similar to previous discussion on 'seeing like a state'). Approaching Black Atlantic music culture and urban regeneration from a discipline with colonial origins warrants extensive reflexivity. The inclusion of music to a planning doctorate is an effort to stretch beyond planning's usual 'ways of seeing' and give considerable weight to certain forms of expression and land uses typically not in in planners' purview.

The planning profession avoids substantial anti-racist efforts (Thomas 1994, 2000, 2018). Thomas and Krishnarayan (1994, 1891) assert British social conservatism extends into the planning system, "[reflecting] existing patterns of social and economic disadvantage." Specifically in London,

> *"local government bureaucracy…discouraged planners from claiming too wide a role in social engineering or community…[forcing] them back to a narrowly defined technical expertise in administering state regulations and managing aspects of the land-development process"* (ibid).

Gale and Thomas (2018, 460) discuss the "persistent recalcitrance of the UK planning system to injunctions, advice, and analyses promoting race equality." This was consistent with Thomas and Krishnarayan's (1994) findings 24 years prior. They document the profession's aloofness to race equality and anaemic record on engaging with the subject, and the limitations of hiring "race advisors" to advocate for minority communities. Thomas and Krishnarayan (1994) argue that because planning is embedded in within wider power relations, planners must situate themselves within the wider political arena, where racism is endemic to the processes and structures, but the Race Relations Act Joint reports by the Royal Town Planning Institute and Commission for Racial Equality from 1983, 1993, and 2007 received little traction and appear to have minimal impacts on the daily practice of planners.

4.12 Heading Southeast

Anti-racist research principles informed the methods selection and overall approach. Through individual, disciplinary, and methodological reflexivity I selected three complementary methods – CDA, in-depth interviewing, and MDA, that give all three data sources the same weight. Rather than correspond one side of Lefebvre's spatial triad to one data source, each third is leveraged to analyse each data source to interpret how all three represent, give meaning to, and physically live in the London Borough of Lewisham. Imperative to this analysis is Fincher and Iveson's (2008) situating of local governments as parts of everyday life, valuing the experiences of people within Black Atlantic/Black British culture as not a "marginalised" group within Britain but a central, inseparable part of British history, and considering the cultural outputs of this group beyond their commodification and as historical artefacts, means of resistance, and a means to "read" a place.

5. A Black Atlantic Introduction to Lewisham

This chapter sketches how Lewisham's history is informed by its ancient maritime economy, including the transatlantic slave trade, migrations of people from across the British empire, and those settlers resisting racist violence imposed on them by the state, police, and private enterprise, and self-organising to provision their own social infrastructures. The below map and diagramme show Lewisham's formal ward boundaries and Lewisham's 'character areas,' as set out in the Council's 2019 Lewisham Characterisation Study.
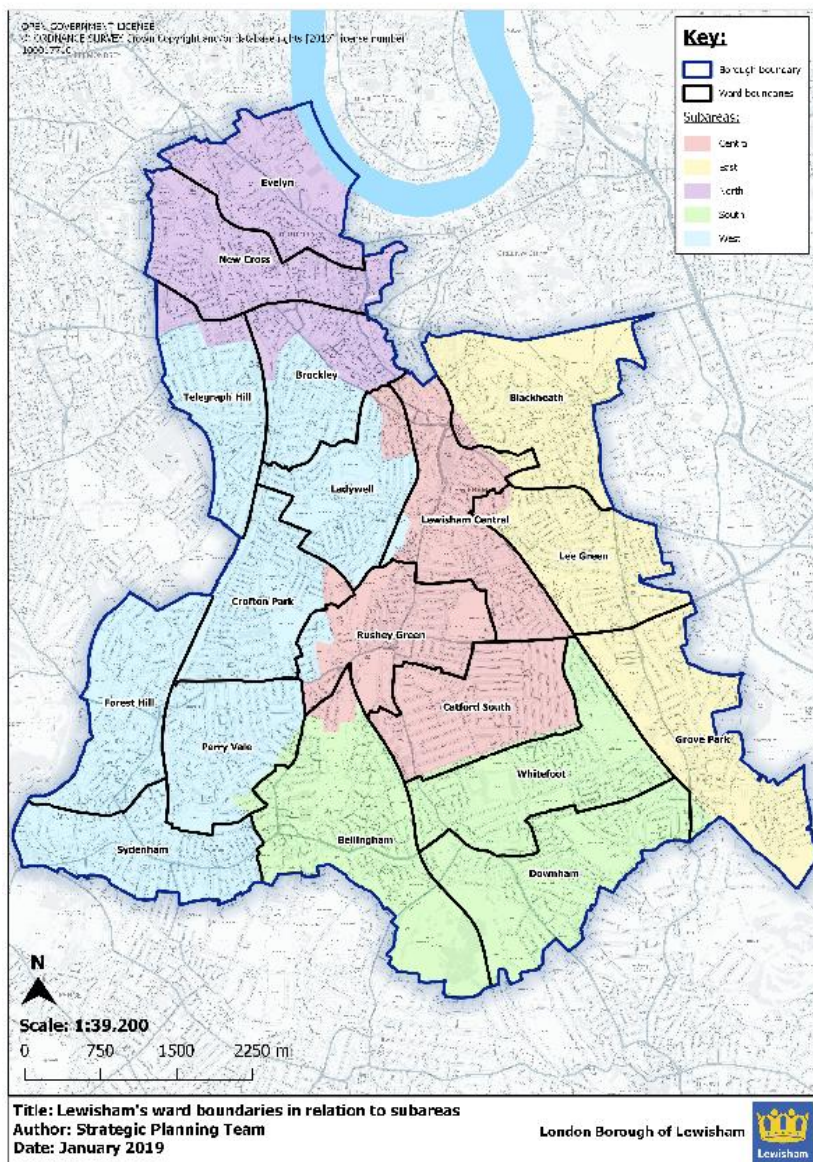
Figure 2: Map of Lewisham's wards and subareas (Lewisham Council)

Figure 3: Lewisham neighbourhoods/character areas (Lewisham Council: lewishamsmallsites.co.uk)

5.1 Early Black Atlantic History

Anim-Addo's book *Longest Journey: A Black History of Lewisham* (1995) gives an extensive history of Black people in the Borough. Africans working as soldiers in the Roman Army were in present-day southeast London at least 2,000 years ago. A small number of Africans appear in records in Tudor England, including a trumpeter named John Blanke working for Henry VII and Henry VIII. Lewisham's early Black Atlantic history is closely linked with Deptford (whose name is derived from "deep ford") and the maritime industry. The Deptford Docks were an important location to slave traffickers and related industries of the transatlantic slave trade from the mid-1500s (when England began to compete with Spain) until the 1800s, when England abolished slavery. By 1778, British plantations in the West Indies were valued at £70 million, but none of that wealth transferred to Black people, on whose labour it was earned. Ships setting out to steal Africans from their home and transport them to sugar cane plantations in the Caribbean departed from and returned to Deptford, from which "a number of local [white] residents

85

profited directly from the African Caribbean connection" (Anim-Addo 1995, 29). One of them, Samuel Pepys, who later became the Secretary of the Admiralty in 1673 and was a "frequent visitor to Deptford Dockyard" (ibid, 23), wrote condescendingly and disparagingly about Black people in his diaries. A large estate in Deptford is named after him.

Anim-Addo (1995) found a growing record of Black people in Lewisham throughout the 1700s, who were enslaved by wealthy residents or worked as servants in their homes, but also worked as mariners and sailors. "As the distinction between slave and servant was blurred in the case of Africans in service, so too was that between seaman and slave" (ibid, 35). Slavery and the exploitative apprenticeship system ended with passage of the 1833 Emancipation Act. By the end of the nineteenth century, Lewisham's "Black population was largely a settled one. There were few newcomers and those were mainly transitory from the recently acquired colonies in Africa and India" (ibid, 67), and many Black residents had only ever lived in London. Black seamen stayed in "accommodation offered by Carrington House on Deptford Broadway," which opened in 1903 and could accommodate 345 guests (ibid, 77). Black people were still denied access to pubs and dances, which they sometimes protested. Although Britain no longer trafficked slaves, it still had an empire, and all its subjects were indoctrinated with racist propaganda about English superiority. Despite this, a small class of educated Black professionals began to form, some of whom resided in or spent time in Lewisham. Anim-Addo (1995, 70) mentions doctors like William Henry Strachan and Harold Moody resided in Brockley and New Cross, respectively, in the early 1900s. Moody also established the League of Coloured Peoples in 1931.

5.2 The Windrush Generation and Mutual Aid

After World War 2, Britain needed more people to rebuild the country. The 1948 Nationality Act enabled mass migration from the Caribbean (predominantly Jamaica) to Britain. The popular narrative played out in British press was that these immigrants were sailing

> *"to the motherland as British citizens exhorted to play their part in the rebuilding of post-war Britain. Newspapers, radio and the church continued to process the patriotic rhetoric that made the purchase of a passage to Britain seem a natural and glorious next step"* (Anim-Addo 1995, 89).

The first ship to arrive under this kind of migration was the HMS Empire Windrush, which docked at the Port of Tilbury. Several passengers listed addresses in Brockley and Deptford in Lewisham. Anim-Addo (1995, 92-93) details how Caribbeans migrants' high expectations of life in Britain were based on "faulty information" and "sanitised images of English life" disseminated by churches and the British media. Within days of the Windrush's arrival, "11 Labour MPs called for the control of black immigration" (ibid, 98). Even if immigrants had higher education, they were barred from employment in their trained fields.

In 1956, "Picture Post ran an article headlined 'Thirty Thousand Colour Problems', a reference to the number of West Indians expected to arrive in Britain that year," although the immigrating workforce saw themselves as skilled, hardworking, and answering the call to rebuild Britain (ibid, 110), and many had served in the British Army in World War 2.

In the 1960s, politicians such as Enoch Powell gained power with violent anti-immigrant and racist rhetoric. In response, Lewisham residents established several organisations campaigning for the protection of West Indians and racial justice. These included the Brockley International League of Friendship, which in 1964 picketed a pub in Forest Hill that denied Black people service. The Pan-Africanist Fasimbas, as well as the more militant Black Unity and Freedom Party, "known colloquially as the 'black and white unite and fight' group" (ibid, 116) were also founded in Lewisham. In 1969, several Lewisham residents established the Ladywell Action Centre, an extensive community group that provided services like childcare, but its most "effective role...was in taking up particular cases of black people discriminated against by the police" (Anim-Addo 1995, 118). In 1980, the Ladywell Action Centre established the Black Leadership Project to "encourage and train black people to take on responsibilities within public life" (ibid, 119). In 1971, Orland Nurse was appointed the first Black member of Lewisham Council as an alderman. That same year, the local government established the Lewisham Council for Community Relations (LCCR). The Race Relations Act of 1965 permitted local authorities to hire Community Relations Officers. Asquith Gibbs took over this position for Lewisham in 1970 and held it for over 25 years. Beginning in 1973, another wave of people of Caribbean origin living in Europe began settling in Lewisham when England entered the European Economic Community (ibid, 206). In 1978, Russell Profitt was elected as the Borough's first Black councillor.

Black Lewisham residents responded to a lack of government-provisioned social services by organising and making their own networks for childcare, eldercare, and mentoring young people. These included the LCCR, which worked to establish multi-racial playgroups at in churches and "Lewisham Way, Rokeby Road, Brockley Rise and Hither Green Lane" (ibid, 144). Anim-Addo (1995) credits Sybil Phoenix for organising people, who was a Lewisham resident instrumental in the founding and operation of the Moonshot Centre (which will be discussed later). For her work as a community worker, she was awarded an MBE in 1973 (the first Black woman to receive one). The Caribbean Women's Progressive Cultural Association was founded in 1973 and centred around providing childcare for working mothers, and the Pagnell Street Centre Women's Group offered a variety of support for working mothers also facing racism and homesickness. The Black Parents Network was founded in 1994.

The LCCR in its early days also provided space for older Black pensioners to meet, as they found the Council day centres "unwelcoming" (ibid, 144). Cecile Murray, a community development worker,

founded the Calabash Club, which was built on a vacant lot in Catford despite racist opposition from white local residents. The Rose Apple Group was also an important club for Caribbean elders in Lewisham to meet in New Cross (ibid, 164). Youth AID (founded in 1973), the Positive Image Education Project (founded in 1992), and the Deptford Enterprise Agency (founded 1986) were all organisations to support and empower the Borough's youth population (ibid). *The Wire*, a youth magazine written with Lewisham youth clubs in mind, was published in late 1976 and sold out 500 copies in 10 days. Step Forward catered to young women and was based in Forest Hill's Rockbourne Youth Centre.

5.3 Racist Violence: Metropolitan Police and National Front

Following White (2020), I am including details about the Metropolitan Police presence in Lewisham as it is just as much part of the urban fabric as the transport system or green spaces. Anim-Addo (1995) chronicles centuries of violence perpetrated by police in London against Black people. In addition to terrorising individuals, they disrupted political organising relating to working class rights, abolition, and suffrage. In March 1846, the police swore in hundreds of additional constables to disrupt a meeting of Chartists (which included Black members) in Blackheath, where 700 people assembled to demonstrate for working-class rights, including voting.

White supremacists in Lewisham terrorised their Black and other immigrant neighbours for decades, which went largely unreported by the press and unsolved by police (Jeffrey 1999). Higgs (2016) chronicles how the Metropolitan Police routinely protected fascist and white supremacist political groups throughout the 1970s, while attacking and blocking demonstrations of anti-racist and anti-fascist organisations, and sometimes killing protesters. Black residents who approached police for help were often ignored, and police harassment was the norm:

> *"Fights and confrontations with hostile police had become part of everyday reality for many young black people, particularly men. Black youths found themselves in a no-win situation. Whether they were 'subversive' or not, there was a strong likelihood of criminal charges following such confrontations"* (Anim-Addo 1995, 127).

Within Asquith Gibbs' first year as Lewisham's Community Relations Officer, he dealt with 44 complaints against the police, including cases where officers planted drugs on "suspects." Lewisham Council, back in Labour control after Tories help the majority between 1968-1971, passed a motion in 1972 (Tory councillors opposed) asking the Home Office to open an inquiry into Lewisham's policing. The Home Office declined (ibid, 129).

The Metropolitan Police routinely failed to investigate a "pattern of random attacks on black people" throughout the 1970s and 1980s, including arson, burglary, murder, sexual assault, and harassment

(Anim-Addo 1995, 193). Although the Battle of Lewisham in 1977 is the common reference point for National Front Activity, arson and firebombing of Black spaces was common throughout the 1970s and 1980s. A 1971 party in Forest Hill was firebombed, seriously injuring 22 people. Several days later, a group of Black Unity and Freedom Party (BUFP) members were leaving the hospital and were threatened by a group of knife-wielding white youths. When the BUFP members "[hailed] a passing police car," officers "refused to search the knife-wielding white youth. When the Black people boarded the bus they were pursued by the police and subsequently arrested" and charged with threatening behaviour (ibid, 126). 150 people marched in protest to the Ladywell police station. Two white party-goers were later sent to prison (ibid).

Other sites targeted by racists included youth clubs. Moonshot Centre was borne of the Telegraph Hill Neighbourhood Council in 1968 and rotated through church halls until it had a permanent space in 1970. Membership quickly grew to several hundred members within a few years, and "by 1972 was meeting five nights a week" (Anim-Addo 1995, 141). Programming included basic skills training, martial arts, sports, literacy, and music. The Moonshot Centre was also home to the iconic Shaka Sound System, which was founded by Jah Shaka (who died in 2023) and was a source of empowerment, entertainment, and community cohesion to local Black residents before gaining its international fame. Before 1975, local police had a somewhat amicable relationship with Moonshot, providing some funding and playing sports there. The relationship soured in 1975 when police made an unplanned visit to a weekend disco under the auspices of searching for a suspect. Many people were arrested and police damaged some of Moonshot's equipment. Later that year, racists inflicted over £1,500 of damage to the sound system. Two years later, in December 1977, the Moonshot's building was firebombed. At the time, London fire fighters were on strike and the Moonshot was decimated. Lewisham residents fundraised £50,000, and a new centre was built on Pagnell Street (Anim-Addo 1995, 142).

Like the New Cross Fire in 1981, police never made any arrests for the drive-by shooting of Carl Foster in 1978. Jeffrey (1999), who taught and lived in the area, adds to this account a constant stream of violence perpetrated by white racists, specifically gangs of white schoolboys, against Black and Asian Lewisham residents. Oftentimes they would travel from Eltham into parts of Lewisham, where Millwall Football Club in Bermondsey was their "Mecca" (ibid, 29). In 1998, hundreds of Lewisham residents rallied in Downham after a Black teacher named Allison Moore was attacked by a gang of white young people (ibid).

In the 1990s, public transport accessibility was compromised by the white supremacist terrorisation of the National Front and gangs of white youth:

"From May to October 1996 no buses ran after six. Companies withdrew all six routes, serving 30,000 people, because of muggings, hijackings and assaults on drivers - especially black drivers. These were the work of gangs of white boys aged eleven to fifteen" (Jeffrey 1999, 28).

Buses and bus stops were particularly dangerous for young Black students - "black dads and teachers" (ibid, 29) routinely guarded them, and were not supported by police until 1993, when two racists, Gary Dobson and David Norris, murdered Stephen Lawrence in the neighbouring borough of Greenwich. Five years after, "yards from the bus stop where Stephen was stabbed, a mixed race family had their home petrol bombed twice" (ibid, 27).

The Metropolitan Police has set a precedent of piloting new, militarised tactics in the London Borough of Lewisham (Anim-Addo 1995). In 1994, the Council and Metropolitan Police launched the Lewisham Crime Prevention Initiative (ibid, 198) which was predicated on many racist assumptions by the Metropolitan Commissioner of Police. Other initiatives carried out in Lewisham (and beyond) within the study period of 2001-2021 include Operation Trident, Operation Concern, and the Gangs Matrix.

Battle of Lewisham

As covered previously, in the 1970s and 1980s the British media demonised young Black people, and the government criminalised them. Henry (2006) summarises a public, racialised panic surrounding "muggings," in which Black youth would rob white victims. In May 1977, the Metropolitan Police conducted a series of pre-dawn raids to arrest 22 young Lewisham residents and charged them with "'conspiracy to rob,' a crime which required practically nothing in the way of evidence to convict" (Higgs 2016, 72). The Metropolitan Police filmed and photographed suspects but had not obtained any special permissions to undertake this "high technology surveillance" (Anim-Addo 1995, 131). David Foster, the father of an arrested teenager, established the Lewisham 21 Defence Committee in response, which organised a demonstration in protest in July in New Cross. The National Front (NF), a white nationalist and far-right extremist group, physically assaulted the demonstrators and announced an "anti-mugging" march for the following month in August, not only "targeting an area for its multicultural population, but purposely following where the state and media had led" with "headlines about a supposed black crime wave" (Higgs 2016, 72). The NF had several strongholds in southeast London; the previous year, one of their candidates won 44.5% of the vote in a Deptford local council by-election (Townsend 2017). Despite local elected officials and church leaders speaking against it and the National Front's overt violent white supremacy, the Metropolitan Police issued a permit for the march and provided its security.

A coalition of organisations united as the "All Lewisham Campaign Against Racism and Fascism" (ALCARAF) to march in protest on the same day. Some of the different member groups of ALCARAF

decided that in addition to a morning rally, they would also meet the NF at their assembly point to prevent the fascists from marching through Lewisham. Nearly 4,000 counter-protestors confronted nearly 500 NF racists at their staging point. "At the junction of Lewisham Way and Algernon Road the marchers were stopped by solid ranks of police whose priority appeared to be to ease the movements of the NF" (Anim-Addo 1995, 133). Later in the day, the Met Police escorted "1,000 NF supporters along Pagnell Street to New Cross Road. The role of the police in protecting the racists was clearly appreciated" by NF organisers (ibid, 134-5). Anti-racist protesters, undeterred by the re-routing of their march by police, stayed in the area to confront the NF, and the groups violently clashed. For the first time on the British Mainland, the police deployed cops in riot gear and used horses. Many people were injured and 214 were arrested.

5.4 New Cross Fire and Lewisham People's Day of Action

On 18 January 1981, Yvonne Ruddock and Angela Jackson were celebrating their birthdays at a house party on New Cross Road. The house caught fire, in what was largely suspected by the local population to be a racist arson attack (given the NF's violence in the area). Thirteen Black teenagers died, and compounding this staggering loss was the silence of British elected officials on the tragedy and scant reporting in the British media. Local organisers were sceptical the Metropolitan Police sufficiently investigated the fire. "Thirteen dead and nothing said" became a rallying cry, and the newly formed New Cross Massacre Action Committee organised a Lewisham People's Day of Action for 2 March 1981. Approximately 15,000 protesters marched 12 miles north, chanting "Blood ah Go Run, if Justice Na Come" from the house at 439 New Cross Road to Westminster, where they delivered letters to the Metropolitan Commissioner and Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher (who refused to acknowledge the fire and victims) and to memorialise the victims (Shabazz 1981).

5.5 Housing History in Lewisham

The quality, quantity, and affordability of housing was a central theme in learning about places important to Black Atlantic music cultural development. Before delving into Lewisham's housing stock and its changes over the period of study (2001-2021), I will first review some of Lewisham's housing history as it relates to Black residents.

Landlords and Council housing services discriminated against Black people in Lewisham, or what Higgs (2016, 67) described "unchecked racialism" after World War 2. Where Black tenants were able to secure accommodation, it was often substandard quality with shared toilet and kitchen spaces. They suffered vermin, damp, and overcrowding. Black men travelling for work in the 1950s found "there were not even single rooms...in many cases people began by renting a bed" shared with someone on opposite shift work

(Anim-Addo 1995, 97). Other predatory practices included homeowners selling overpriced houses to Black families or withholding information the buildings were slated for demolition (ibid, 98). In the late 1960s, banks charged Black homebuyers 25-30% interest rates. The crushing costs of housing prevented saving, especially to workers denied higher-paying jobs. Housing costs were inflated for Black people; in the 'Caribbean quarter' of New Cross Estate, small substandard houses' prices quadrupled within a few years in the 1960s (ibid, 112). Anim-Addo (1995, 113) described a common 'inducement' system in the same period which artificially and rapidly raised rents for Black tenants:

> *"At the core of this issue was the practice of a £250 inducement system, approved by Housing Minister Henry Brooke. By this means, one of two white families of sitting tenants, whoever first accepted the inducement, would vacate the property. The property would then be sold at inflated prices to new purchasers, often black but more willing to pay the higher rate. Tension within individual households frequently escalated when the new landlords were black."*

Despite cultural gradients amongst West African and Caribbean immigrants, Black Lewisham residents initiated saving systems called 'pardner' or 'sou sou' (as they are known in Jamaica and Grenada, respectively) in which pools of people would contribute a regular sum, the total of which was given to one of the members on a rotating basis. This enabled many people to pay deposits to buy houses.

Asquith Gibbs, Lewisham's Community Relations Officer for Lewisham from 1970-1995, brought the attention of housing to the Council within months of his appointment. Black people were given little information on how to access council housing, and certain requirements, like a five-year residency requirement within the Borough, which denied recently-arrived immigrants council housing (Anim-Addo 1995, 123). On council estates, white supremacists would write racist, threatening messages in public spaces. Anim-Addo (1995) makes several references to regular arson attacks on homes, which persisted into the 1990s. Lewisham Council rarely responded meaningfully to Black tenants' complaints of racist harassment and attacks and maintained a 'transfer as a last resort' policy until 1995. In 1994, the Council won funding from a Single Regeneration Budget to "tackle racial harassment on Silwood Estate," and "take legal action against perpetrators, build a self-confident multi-racial community," evict racists, and other practical projects (Anim-Addo 1995, 198).

Mutual aid also extended into self-build housing projects and co-ops, some of which are still around today. UK's first purpose-built housing co-op, Sanford, was founded in 1973 and houses 120 residents in 14 homes. Rent is extremely cheap (about £65/week) and the co-op has a number of community spaces, including gardens and music rehearsal spaces. The Deptford Housing Co-op was founded in 1978 and has a similar model, housing 138 residents. In addition to two self-build neighbourhoods constructed in 1996/7, the Rural Urban Synthesis Society is a community-land trust. RUSS was established in 2009. It

has over 900 members and at the time of this writing (January 2022) is building 33 permanently affordable new homes in Ladywell. Another self-build project was constructed in two phases between 1979 and 1984 on Walters Way in Honour Oak Park. Twenty-seven homes were built on Council-owned property where the land was too soft or sloping to permit higher-density construction. In 1996, the National Front launched three arson attacks on two Black-led self-build projects in Lewisham – one on Nubia Way, the other in Brockley – and continually harassed the resident-builders. The two self-build projects were the work of "a co-operative of African-Caribbean Londoners, called Fusions Jameen, but held in perpetuity by a housing association to rent securely to people in housing need" (Ponsford 2019).

In the years leading up to and throughout the study period, several Council estates underwent either "renewal," privatisation, or demolition. The Pepys Estate, in Deptford and bordering the river, has been subjected to all of these. Pepys was completed in 1973 and consisted of 1,324 homes in three 24-story and ten 8-story towers. The council demolished five of the mid-rise towers and privatised some of the blocks. The Pepys Estate Renewal, which was supposed to run from 1990-1997 and involve local residents, was intended to improve design (such as removing catwalks), replace 44 demolished flats with social housing of 3 and 4-bedroom homes, and new public spaces. However,

> *"just when the scheme should have reached completion, it all began to fall apart. The Council…claimed it had run out of money. It could no longer afford refurbishment, the blocks left were not worthy of refurbishment. New architects were appointed, with no input from the tenants"* (Potts 2008b, 16).

Parkins (2005) notes the tower blocks deemed "not worthy of refurbishment" were the prime real estate locations on the waterfront. In 2002, for £11.5 million, the Council sold the tallest block of Pepys Estate, Aragon Tower, to Berkley, a private developer who at the time was expanding its portfolio of riverfront real estate in London and converting its acquisitions (often council estates) into luxury flats. By 2008, seven replacement housing blocks, under the management of a social landlord, were completed, but this was largely unpopular amongst the existing residents, 222 of whom were displaced entirely from the estate (Estate Watch, n.d., a). A condition of the sale was that the tower be completely vacant, and each evicted resident received £1500 in compensation. By 2006, Aragon Tower was five stories taller with 14 penthouse units added (Potts 2008b).

Another part of Pepys Estate was sold to Hyde Housing, a Registered Social Landlord, for £6.5 million, which several critics speculated was an extremely undervalued deal for the Council (Parkins 2005). Although current residents were not evicted, their tenancy agreements became more precarious and expensive, and the design of the replacements blocks Hyde Housing were criticized for a multitude of reasons, including a less sustainable heating system compared to the previous buildings (ibid).

5.6 Local Authority Structure

Lewisham is divided into 19 wards, each represented by three elected Councillors. In 2002, the Borough elected its first Mayor, Steve Bullock, who was re-elected three times and served until 2018, when Damien Egan succeeded him. Both are Labour politicians. The Council has had a consistent Labour majority since the 1970s, with the exception of 2006-2009 when there was no overall control by a single party (there were 26 Labour, 17 Liberal Democrats, 6 Green, and 3 Conservative councillors). Since 2014, there have been zero Conservative Councillors.

The Mayor and Council set the Borough's budgets and policy priorities. The Mayor chairs the Council and appoints up to nine Councillors to a cabinet, with posts for: Housing Development and Planning; Children and Young People; Health and Adult Social Care; Communities, Refugees and Wellbeing; Housing Management, Homelessness and Community Safety; Finance and Strategy; Environment and Climate Action; Businesses, Jobs and Skills; and Culture, Leisure and Communications.

Additionally, the Borough is managed by a Chief Executive who oversees five directorates (Children and Young People. Community Services, Place, and Corporate Resources), each headed by an executive director and further subdivided into different departments. The 'Place Directorate' includes departments for the public realm, housing strategy, inclusive regeneration, and planning.

5.7 Earlier Regeneration Schemes and Opportunity Areas

Although this research is framed between 2001-2021, Potts (2008b, 11) observes the concentration of 'regeneration' initiatives in the north of the Borough:

> *Deptford and its surrounds have weathered every kind of UK regeneration programme, including City Challenge, four Estate Action Programme (EAP) projects, six Single Regeneration Budget (SRB) programmes, and a New Deal for Communities (NDC) programme.*

Between 1989-2001, "the Deptford and New Cross area had been the subject of more than £150 million of public regeneration money…through 18 different agencies and initiatives," yet in 2008 was still a "recognized deprived priority area" (ibid). One of the largest initiatives was the 1994 Single Regeneration Budget (SRB), which

> *"combined twenty previously separate programmes designed to bring about economic, physical and social regeneration in local areas and its main purpose was to act as a catalyst for regeneration in the sense that it would work to attract other resources from the private, public and voluntary sectors in order to bring about improvements in local areas to the quality of life of local people"* (ibid, 12).

Another was the City Challenge, which was a £37.5 million programme between 1992-1997 and was administered by the Deptford City Challenge Trust, which in turn provided grants to voluntary and community organisations to "improve the quality of life for people who live and work in Deptford" (ibid, 13). By 2008, however, in devising its Core Spatial Strategy, the Council adopted a "growth scenario option" to "promote major growth in the most sustainable areas - these are the major town centres at Lewisham and Catford, and in the Thames Gateway area of Deptford and New Cross" (ibid, 5) which turned to intensifying the kind of real estate development patterns characteristic of the 'London style' discussed in the literature review.

Lewisham Council's policies are guided by local plans and regeneration strategies which set long-term strategic vision for the Borough. Planning policy is informed by the London Plan, Lewisham Core Strategy, and Site Allocations Local Plan. Lewisham has two OAs, which were designated by then-Mayor of London Boris Johnson (See figure 4). The GLA's website currently lists the boundaries of OAs in Lewisham as "emerging," despite their designations in 2004 (Deptford Creek/Greenwich Riverside) and 2008 (New Cross/Lewisham/Catford). Although significant construction has been completed and more is underway, no OAPFs or other master planning documents were produced by any authority until 2018 for the New Cross/Lewisham/Catford OA. The only planning document for the Deptford Creek/Greewich OA has been a single draft consultation, produced in 2021. This means the Mayor of London has potential power to override the local authority's planning decisions over nearly 1,000 hectares of Lewisham's area bereft of strategic or master plans. The OAs will be discussed more in the empirical chapters.
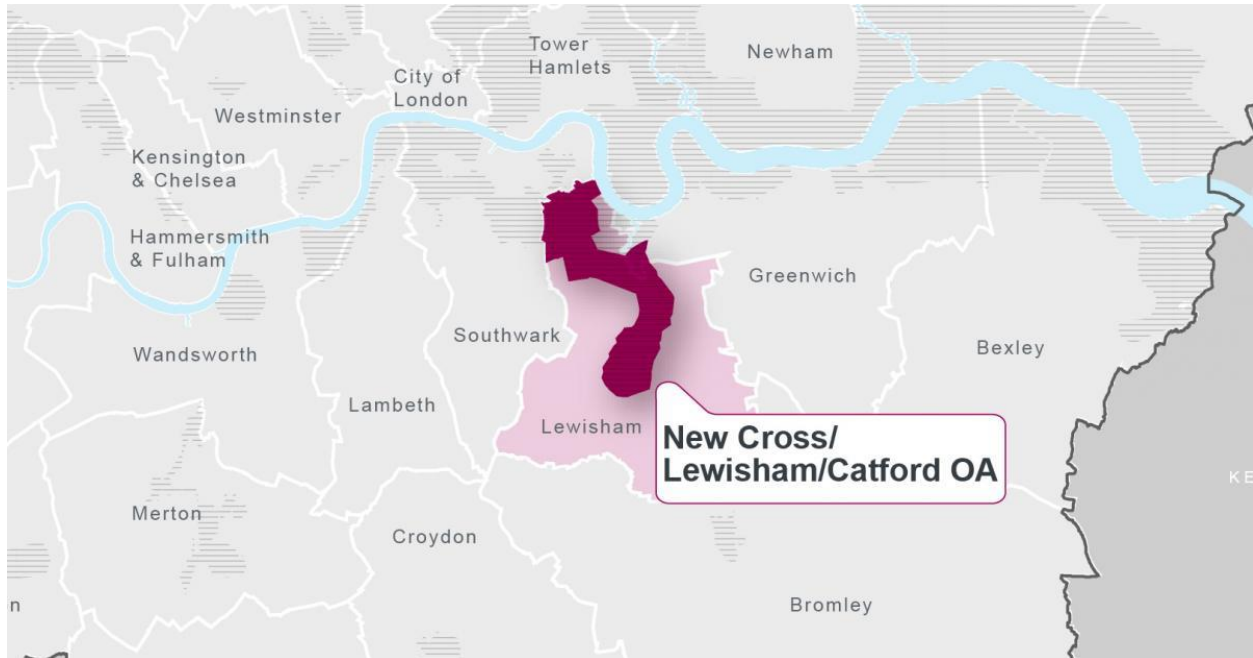
Figure 4: OAs in the London Borough of Lewisham. Source: Mayor of London

Two of the four "strategic" sites (100+ housing units) in Lewisham are briefly sketched out here to exemplify attributes of the 'London style' of regeneration. Lewisham Gateway, located in central Lewisham, entailed the transfer of public land on a 250-year lease from the GLA and Transport for London to the property developer Muse, which is part multinational conglomerate Morgan Sindall, whose majority shareholders include international investment and asset management agencies like Blackrock and JP Morgan (Market Screener 2023). Lewisham Gateway buildings will be operated and rented out by Get Living PLC, which has properties on 'regenerated' land throughout London (most notably the former Olympic Village in Stratford). Get Living PLC is a subsidiary of Delancey, a multinational development corporation whose money comes from DOOR (a Jersey registered collaboration between Delancey's DV4 fund and Oxford Properties, part of Canadian pension fund OMERS), APG (Dutch pension fund) and Qatari Diar, the Qatari investment authority (Get Living PLC 2023). None of the homes in the Lewisham Gateway development will be for sale for at least 15 years, and the housing mix does not meet the existing needs of Lewisham residents. The 2016 planning application included no affordable housing. This application was rejected, but the revised application (including affordable housing) was approved in 2018 despite many objections from Lewisham residents. The Lewisham Gateway's current housing mix entails 649 new rental homes, 424 of which are market rent, 106 affordable, and 119 for "co-living," a housing typology the Council criticised as risky, untested, and unsuited to the needs to Lewisham residents (Lewisham Council 2018b). Part of the development's success was hinged on the extension of the Bakerloo Line, plans for which have been halted since 2020.

Convoys Wharf is another major development site, 16.6 hectares bordering the river in the north of the Borough described by the developer as a "derelict brownfield site" (Convoys Wharf, n.d.). Convoys Wharf is owned by Hutchison Property Group, which is in turn owned by CK Asset Holdings Ltd, a

> *"leading multinational corporation committed to achieving long-term sustainable growth through continual strengthening of its existing property businesses, and steady enhancement of its recurring income base via a prudent global investment strategy"* (ibid).

The land was first sold by the Ministry of Defence to the media company News International, who then sold it to its current owner in 2008. Then-Mayor Boris Johnson overruled the council's rejection of Hutchison's planning application in 2013, which entails three massive towers promising to deliver 3,500 new homes (500 of which will be affordable) on the Borough's largest contiguous development site (Lewisham Council, n.d.). This proposed development was also widely objected to by Lewisham residents, who felt that the area was divorced from Deptford's heritage and aesthetics and did not sufficiently provision community resources. Its non-existent cultural strategy will be discussed in later chapters.

5.8 Funding, or Lack Thereof

This section draws from the Council's annual Statement of Accounts, the earliest publicly available of which is from 2006-07. Lewisham Council's main sources of funding are central government's Revenue Support Grant (RSG), council tax from residents, and business rates. For that period, the council received £478 million from Central Government, and its main expenditure was its Housing Investment Programme. In this year, the Council received £88 million in council taxes from residents and £38.7 million in business rates. Also in 2006-2007, the Council entered its Private Finance Initiative (PFI) for schools (funding was provided from central government for payment to private contractors) and Mayor of London Ken Livingstone allocated £3.27 of Transport for London funds to improve Lewisham's local transport.

In the latter half of the study years, the Council's budget was dramatically changed because of central government's cuts to funding local authorities and specific programmes. Under the leadership of Prime Minister David Cameron, in 2010 central government began slashing RSGs, and local authorities in turn cut their funding and raised council taxes. In 2009-2010, the Council received £543 million from central government. In the latter half of the study years, the Council cut its budget each year. In 2012, central government stopped providing funding towards housing for local authorities, instead subsidising PFIs wherein payments went to private contractors carrying out services rather than the local authority. General grants from central government to the local authority for services like housing and childcare also

plummeted. For example, between 2013-2014, the Council's budget was £284.5 million, £124.9 million of which came from the RSG and £77.7 million which came from council tax; the following fiscal year, the RSG was reduced to £102.6 million, the Council collected £80.7 million in council tax, and cut its budget by £16.5 million (5.8%).

Between 2010-2019, the council cut £173 million from its budget, or 41%. By 2016-2017, the Council's budget was only £236.2 million, which was further cut by £3.5 million (1.5%) for the following year. Central government decreased Lewisham's RSG from £59.6 to £46.1 million, and Council tax collection increased from £84.9 to £91.1 million. Business rates did not increase commensurate to council tax; between 2016-2017 and 2017-2018, business rate revenue went from £87.1 to £88.9 million. In the last few years of the study period, the RSG had a small increase from £27.5 million in 2019-2020 to £28 million for 2020-2021, which was only slightly more (in real pounds) from the funding received over a decade before (£24.2 million for 2006-2007).

As the literature review discussed, local authorities starved of funding look to 'entrepreneurialise,' or seeking revenue from sources besides central government. In London, this mostly entails high-value real estate development (off which higher rates can be collected), selling off or the long-term leasing of public assets, and making aesthetic improvements for the benefit of attracting wealthier businesses and residents to settle in the area. This desire for rebranding and aesthetic improvements was translated into an overarching value of "creativity" and "culture" in the early 2000s, which like many cities and local authorities in around the world, the London Borough of Lewisham bought into.

5.9 Lewisham in 2001: Charles Landry and 'Creative Lewisham'

2001 was chosen as the start of this research's study year because of a text published then which influenced Council policy for the next two decades. In 2001, Lewisham Council hired the private consultant Charles Landry to write *Creative Lewisham: the report of the Lewisham Culture & Urban Development Commission*. Landry chaired the commission, and his report is referred to in many subsequent reports and policies of similar nature, as recently as 2017. *Creative Lewisham* is in the same vein of Landry's book *Creative City* discussed in the literature review. The report's "guiding vision" was "to see how Lewisham can be enlivened by encouraging sky high ambition mixed with realism, not as a flight of fancy, but because visions so often erode in the details of implementation" (Landry 2001, 4). The Commission aimed to

> *"[c]reate a climate to enable residents of Lewisham and visitors to experience and participate in a rich cultural life; Equip Lewisham residents with the skills and expertise to flourish in every field of creative endeavour so supporting their economic and social well-being; Provide an urban design framework that results*

in a physical environment that engages, inspires, and enthrals; Produce an overall ambience and public realm that triggers a sense of pride in residents and admiration in visitors" (ibid).

The report went into little detail of the existing cultural makeup of Lewisham and focussed mainly on how the public realm's appearance could be improved for the purpose of attracting new residents, business, and real estate investment from outside the Borough, but also mentioned raising the "ambition" and "self-esteem" of the Borough.

Following Landry's recommendation, in October 2001 Lewisham Council formed the Creative Lewisham Agency (CLA) and appointed a director (Andrew Carmichael) by December. Landry (2001, 19-20) recommended the CLA be

> *"a small, flexible, helpful, supportive device to the stakeholders of Lewisham. This light-footed organisation should be reviewed after 3 years. Its style should not be to seek to accrue power, but rather like an impresario to generate ideas, assess feasibility, trigger and help launch initiatives, seek synergies and in doing so to devolve and sub-contract whenever possible. If it does its work brilliantly it will devolve itself out of existence."*

In 2002-2003, CLA received £527,000 in funding from the Council. Based on Council meeting notes and reports from 2002 and 2003, the Council embraced Landry's recommendations and aspirations in a variety of different ways, and praised that Landry's report and inception of the CLA coincided with the re-opening of the refurbished Horniman Museum and new Trinity Laban dance centre. In 2002, £50,000 was allocated to "identify unused council premises and convert them for use by new businesses in the creative sector" (Lewisham Council 2002a, 43). That year, the Council also hosted a "Quality Homes awards evening to recognise the contribution of designers, funders, developers to the highest standards of urban design in new housing schemes" (Lewisham Council 2002b, 45). In January 2003, a 12-month review of the CLA's first year reported it attracted 45 creative businesses to the Borough (more than double its target of 20); establishing a website to capture the provision of creative workspaces and future demand; improving the creative "milieu" of the Borough via the DeptfordX festival and three public art installations. By October 2003, however, the Council proposed externalising CLA as a charitable company limited by guarantee, a board with members "nominated by partner organisations" (Lewisham Council 2003b).

5.10 Conclusion

Rather than relegate Lewisham's Black population to a "marginalised" or "minority" segment, this research positions Black history and culture as a central, inextricable part of British history. Lewisham has been home to Black residents for centuries, who have consistently resisted institutional and

interpersonal racist violence, especially that of the Metropolitan Police, National Front, and housing providers. This brief review through a Black history lens equips the reader with the context of how individuals, families, and networks of people from across the African diaspora self-organised and provisioned, creating lasting networks that persist into the study period of 2001-2021, and beyond.

6. Conceiving of and Representing Lewisham: Artificial Categorising, Erasing History, and Problematising the Present

This chapter answers the first research question, which asks **how official state depictions, individual music practitioners, and their musical outputs conceive of and represent the London Borough of Lewisham.** It focuses on narratives that conceive of and represent Lewisham drawn from three data sources: planning texts by the Mayor of London/Greater London Authority (MoL/GLA) and Lewisham Council between 2001-2021; individual Black Atlantic music practitioners; and a catalogue of some of their musical outputs. This research question corresponds to representations of space, or conceived space, within Lefebvre's spatial triad. Although Lefebvre attributes this realm to powerful institutions, planners, and other technocrats (and is traditionally researched in this way), this chapter utilises all three data sources to examine how each characterises and depicts the Borough. It finds divergences, convergences, and nuance in how all three data sources represent Lewisham, and how these representations alternatively create and contest narratives problematising the Borough and thus justify its 'regeneration.'

6.1 What is Lewisham Like? Coding Signifiers

Data sources were coded for how each respectively conceives of and represents the London Borough of Lewisham. This was straightforward for the catalogue of planning texts, which referred to a similar narrative and set of statistics throughout. I made the coding framework following the headers of the planning texts, which formed the skeleton for the coding framework for the other two data sources. These included representations about the Borough's population, such as demographics and educational attainment, supposed perceptions about the Borough like its bad reputation and the fear of crime, and its economy and built environment.

Coding the interviews was more nuanced. I asked interviewees for their reflections on living in Lewisham and how that changed over time. The overall context for the interview was not just their memories, experiences, and opinions on Lewisham, but how their growing up, residing, and/or working there influenced their musical practices. Interviewees' conceptions were particularly elucidated as they discussed how the Borough's 'regeneration' changed the built environment and overall feel of being there. Additionally, discussing what I had read in the catalogue of planning texts with interviewees was helpful, as they provided their own insights into the Borough's characterisations, alternatively agreeing with, disputing, or adding more nuance them. The coding framework was updated to reflect these nuances, and added additional categories such as policing.

Analysing music combined straightforward coding of lyrics describing Lewisham and people within it with interpreting artistic choices, such as music video shooting locations and how subjects were depicted,

such as the camera's proximity and how visuals aligned with the lyrics. Oftentimes these artistic choices implied an understanding of the Borough or referred to shared memories. Although I was able to discern several of these insider visual and lyrics references and was familiar with most of the slang, it is likely I did not understand all of them. See Appendix 1 for the codebook indicating the themes used to analyse the data.

6.2 Locating the Blue Borough: Postcodes, Endz, and the Thames

Lewisham is conceived of as a distinct entity across the three sources. Council texts describe the Borough in terms of its square mileage (13.4), the historical economic significance of its northern border formed by the Thames, its 19 wards, and 26 town centres. Place-oriented characterisations and regeneration strategies grouped town centres and neighbourhoods, whereas demographic information tended to be presented more along ward boundaries.

Interviewees' characterisations of the Borough sometimes aligned with the Council's listing of town centres, but they were more likely to use neighbourhoods, such as Brockley, Ladywell, Hither Green, or Deptford, and where they attended school. Music videos analysed situate themselves with obvious markers like postcodes, road signs, Lewisham's municipal logo on bins and street signs, murals and public art, transport and stations such as the Docklands Light Rail and Overground, and landmarks like the Catford cat. LVTS's video for 'Bounse' is clearly based in Catford: one of the opening shots is of the Catford Centre and includes the Catford cat. As the music starts, he disembarks the Docklands Light Rail and starts making his way through the area, the camera showing road signs pointing to Lewisham and Ladywell. 'Why You in the Endz?' and 'Our World (Fight for Air),' by Koder and Ssega, respectively, are about spatial problems of gentrification and air pollution in their neighbourhoods, and mostly film in the public realm. Ssega, like LVTS, also includes a shot of the Catford cat, as well as murals painted under railways identifying the neighbourhoods (simply reading 'Catford' or 'Crofton Park'). Ssega's track is about air quality, especially around the South Circular road, and he sings from a traffic island and includes shots of road signs. One of the opening shots in Koder's video is of a news anchor standing outside the Brockley Overground station, immediately followed by a large graphic outside a store reading "SE4." The camera pans over a railway overpass with a mural that says 'Brockley.' These neighbourhood-identifying murals are throughout the Borough and use the same font. Several interviewees criticised them as a kind of disingenuous placemaking device for the sake of rebranding. Both Koder and Ssega include shots of Lewisham's rubbish bins, which are blue, and the reason for Lewisham's nickname as "The Blue Borough," which Interviewee 10 wryly acknowledged as strong place-branding:

> *"Lewisham is called Blue Borough because all of our bins are blue, the rubbish trucks they're all blue as well, and then our road signs are blues. So you know the branding is strong, the one thing I give Lewisham."*

Postcodes were also used to reference where they went to school or getting involved with an organisation because it was in their same postcode. Kayowa opens 'Based' with

> *"SE14, the ends I be repping,*
> *so you best keep it steppin*
> *or I'll teach you a lesson...*
> *Where my bad B's from the south side, where you at?"*

Interviewee 5 described how children and young adults in Lewisham may develop different spatial awareness dictated by gang activity and rivalries across postcodes and neighborhoods, or 'endz.' The point that he ends on is that official actors are either unaware or indifferent to how various Lewisham residents conceive of the space, including its official and unofficial boundaries.

> *"When I was younger, there was a big gang culture in Lewisham. It's a bit cliché to say, it feels weird to say it, but it's true. There was postcode stuff…. I'm just saying that because I'm talking about there's a code that governs how the built environment changes, but there's another code you're really aware of, especially if you're a young Black man in London, not just Lewisham. That proper governed the way we move through where we're from. I think that's also really important. That's a cultural understanding of place, but it's so different to "culture" around planning.*
>
> *You could call that a whole other planning system. Some of these guys were like, expert planners. They knew what estate was in what area, what road was the border of Brockley and Lewisham, they knew everything, and they'd quiz you on it. If you couldn't respond, you'd get a knife pulled on you. I just think when I work now, and doing what I do now, people talk about London and the city and culture and regeneration, I'm like, there's a whole life that people are living there that you don't understand.*
>
> *…There's something really profound about having your own understanding of space. This whole concept of endz is such a thing… If you just unpick what somebody's built environment context means to them, it can tell you so much about how they understand themselves in relation to the world. Something in planning really misses that and there's an assumption that what the GLA perceives as useful is what people perceive as useful. How the GLA perceives space is an indication of how they see the people in that space. It's really like, empowering when you give people a voice to share their perspective of themselves in space with other people."*

Although the three data sources consider the same geographical area, physical structures, and people within them, how they "see" and categorise them is informed by different starting points and motivations. The catalogue of planning texts is 'seeing' like the state (Scott 1998) and derives its categorisations from

central government, such as the Census' racialising categories and measuring 'deprivation.' This is to provide a higher-level aggregate view of the population and the Borough to select areas for 'regeneration' and other interventions. Interviewees' conceptions of and representations of Lewisham are informed by where they spend time and with whom they interact. This may include their everyday lives and habits, considerations for their safety, where they feel welcome, and where they work and like spending time. This is much more situated at the ground level and derived from direct, personal experiences. Interviewees had more distinction between the physical space of Lewisham itself and the people within it. The music's representations similarly aligned with interviewees' conceptions and often refuted official conceptions, but were captured with the intention of projecting them a wider audience who may be from unfamiliar with the Borough.

6.3 Local economy: 'Microbusinesses,' creativity, and the shops

One of the common representations about Lewisham in the catalogue of planning texts is its small yet creative economy, which underscores many of the Borough's calls for 'regeneration.' The 2002 Cultural Strategy (p 12) offers a typical characterisation:

> *"Lewisham has been characterised as providing a dormitory and local service area within the wider regional economic system…Only one-third of Lewisham's total labour force works within the Borough. Lewisham has the lowest business density in London, although there are examples of large enterprises (from Citibank and the established supermarket sector) and a small but dynamic and growing creative enterprise sector – in all around 4600 enterprises operating in the private sector. The Council and other public sector industries are the dominant local employers. In terms of size Lewisham's economy is ranked 30th out of the 33 London Authorities."*

The 2015 mid-term review of Lewisham's Regeneration Strategy, 'People, Prosperity, Place' (p 11) counted the number of jobs amongst major employers, and noted most businesses have fewer than 10 employees:

> *"Lewisham has a comparatively small economy comprising some 82,000 jobs…In total 8,825 active businesses operate in the borough. Most are 'micro businesses', with over 89% employing between 0-9 people."*

Four years later, the 2019-2020 Authority Monitoring Report (AMR) (p 47) reported an increase in the number of businesses to just over 11,000, of which microbusinesses represented 91%. 'Cultural and creative industries' (CCIs), which include music, feature heavily in the Borough's regeneration strategies. Many planning texts mention CCI microbusinesses and the concentration of cultural and creative activity thanks to flagship institutions such as Goldsmiths University and Trinity Laban. A passage from Lewisham Arts Service's The Business of Creativity: A Creative Industries Strategy for Lewisham 2012-2015 Strategy (p 3) is typical:

"The Borough boasts nationally recognised cultural beacons such as The Albany, Goldsmiths, University of London, The Horniman Museum and Trinity Laban Conservatoire of Music and Dance. Some of the best talent in art, design, theatre and dance was developed or is resident in the borough. Alongside major cultural institutions, there are a number of small, experimental but commercially successful organisations. Lewisham also benefits from entrepreneurs who promote the creative product of the borough to regional, national and international markets."

Several interviewees are CCI microbusiness proprietors. Their framing of 'the economy' in Lewisham was much more personal, talking about specific kinds of work and small businesses important to their daily lives. When 'the economy' was discussed, it was often contextualised through Black people's disenfranchisement from many facets of the mainstream workforce, and thus relying on a DIY ethos and existing networks. Interviewee 14, for example, considered his record label a way of building an independent, autonomous economy in Brockley.

Interviewees' commentary on Lewisham's economy was nested into broader discussions about changes they observed over the study period. In addition to new housing, thirteen interviewees talked about shop turnover and loss of small businesses. Like Comedia's 2007 Intercultural City Report, interviewees discussed small businesses as crucial to the functioning of neighbourhoods, and referenced their closures and replacement with shops less relevant to the existing populations' shopping needs over the course of the study period. They situated this turnover within broader gentrification patterns which changed the overall atmosphere and experience of being in their local neighbourhood. Interviewee 1 catalogued changes in Hither Green:

"You see subtle changes and then drastic changes. Oh, your favourite seamstress has now left. That's sad, then you realize it got replaced by a plant shop...There was a tarot reading shop, an incense shop that had to leave….Since I've been here, things have been shut down and replaced with things no one wants or needed. There used to be a carpet shop, used to sell different fabrics on the corner. It's now "Coming Soon" a patisserie and bakery, boulangerie. Who needs that? We've got the co-op and Good Hope has moved in as well. That used to be a little pub. Now that's overpriced coffee. We don't need this. But then, other people have now moved in. People who have this money, so it makes sense."

Small businesses' importance was conveyed through shooting of music videos in them, especially barbershops, off-licenses, and restaurants (which will be discussed more in the chapter about spatial practice). Using small businesses as filming locations indicated a close relationship between their proprietors and serving a social function in addition to economic. The turnover of businesses many interviewees referenced may indicate that in addition to losing more affordable and practical shops, social networks are fragmented when new shop owners are not local to the area.

6.4 The Homogenisation of "Diversity"

All three data sources acknowledge "diversity" as a characteristic of Lewisham, but with varying interpretations. In the Council texts, both the population and physical place of Lewisham are described with several stock words and statistics, such as "vibrant" and "diverse." In 2002, the Council reported Lewisham was home to 240,000 residents. The population increased 19% between 2011-2020 (Lewisham Council 2021c), and as of 2022 exceeds 305,000. The Council framed the population with a similar set of statistics across the catalogue analysed with rote categories like age, racialisation, education levels, and income of residents. They also include the proportion of young and elderly residents, wards amongst the most "deprived" in England, the below-average employment, and lack of employers in the Borough beyond the NHS and Council itself. A few texts further distinguished into languages spoken, religion, and disability (Comedia 2007; Lewisham Council 2015d).

Although some reports mention over 140 languages are spoken (Lewisham Council 2008b) and flesh out various ethnicities within the Borough (Comedia 2007), many reports conflate racialisation with diversity. The Council's 2008 regeneration strategy, *People, Place, Prosperity* (p 9), for example, says

> *"43% of its population are from Black and Minority Ethnic (BME) groups of which by far the largest group is African-Caribbean. As new groups are added to the established community, including immigrants from central and eastern Europe, our diversity continues to broaden."*

Oftentimes the reports do not differentiate between the cultures within "African-Caribbean," and omit other characteristics like religion. Although some Council reports indicate Christianity is the dominant religion (60%), followed by no religion (20%), Islam (4%), and Hindu (1%) (Comedia 2007), Lewisham Council texts fail to mention Rastafarianism, which drives Lewisham's sound system culture and has a long precedent of community engagement through co-ops and other mutual aid groups (Anim-Ado 1995, 174).

A recurring point in many of Lewisham's reports and policies is its growing youth population and high proportion of 'BAME' (Black, Asian, and minority ethnicity) residents. In 2008, 25% of the population was under the age of 19 (Lewisham Council 2008b, 16). In 2011, the average age was 35 (Lewisham Council 2011b, 13). 'BAME' people are particularly represented in the youth population. The 2011 Census indicated the youth population (aged 0-19 years) had grown the most since the 2001 Census, while the older segment of the population (aged 65+ years) had decreased since 2001. The 2021 Lewisham Local Plan, however, anticipated the number of older people living in Lewisham would increase by 50% over the next 15 years (Lewisham Council 2021b, 219).

No interviewee described themselves or other people as 'BAME,' however. This acronym homogenises what could otherwise be described as the "global majority" into a singular bloc, thereby normalising the narrowly-defined white British character trumpeted by Thatcher, "othering" residents who are not white. The texts also refer to the high number of immigrants and influx of residents who are travellers, refugees, or seeking asylum (Lewisham is a Borough of Sanctuary for refugees). A typical representation, from the Council's 2002 Cultural Strategy (p 12) reads:

> *"A significant demographic factor is that Lewisham is one of the most diverse London boroughs and is home to a vibrant mix of communities. About 32% of the population are black or from another minority ethnic group, a figure that has increased by 100% over the past three years. Lewisham has the fourth highest percentage of Black Caribbean people in London, and the third highest proportion of 'Black Other', i.e. black residents who do not consider themselves Caribbean or African, including those of mixed race. Almost one in five of the 'Black Other' population is aged under five, and almost half are aged under 16."*

Lewisham's 'diversity' and cohesion is considered in more nuance in Comedia's 2007 Intercultural City report. While acknowledging different backgrounds, languages, and religions, the reports says 'diversity' mostly co-exists in separate realms, and that Lewisham's population is highly transient. The Intercultural City report said with 25% of its population turns over every 5 years (Intercultural City 2011, 1). The 2011 Intercultural Report (p 7) states Lewisham's population is distinctly 'atomised,' yet people are connected to their surroundings through faith groups, which the Council engages with more than other local authorities. This turnover is not discussed in Council texts, which instead aspire to represent Lewisham as a place for families, although the current housing stock is often not suited for households of more than three people (Lewisham Council 2021b, 44; 183).

Interviewees contested the representation of an 'atomised' population and detailed how their classmates, neighbours, and friends from different backgrounds were a point of exchange across class and heritage differences. Interviewee 11, for example, whose parents are from Congo, talked about learning and adopting Caribbean culture. Interviewees described themselves as "Black," especially when discussing more public-facing aspects of life (like how they felt the state saw them), but referred to their families' specific ethnic and national backgrounds' influence on their upbringings and cultural development. Interviewees discussed the Borough's diversity more historically and in more granularity than the planning catalogue. In addition to the Windrush Generation, interviewees talked about subsequent waves of migration across the past few decades from different parts of the world. People differentiated between what generation of Londoner and/or Black British they were, and where their parents and grandparents were born. Multiculturalism was not limited to different nationalities, religions, or ethnicities, but also

different lifestyles and social classes. Interviewee 5 suggested why people from 'diverse' backgrounds settled in Lewisham before any 'regeneration' took place:

> *"My parents and a lot of my friends' parents moved to South London because it was cheap. That's why it's all Black. It just meant a lot of my white friends and their parents weren't rich. They didn't move here because it was 'up and coming,' it was where they could afford to live. I think there was a really genuine kind of grassroots culture. There were a lot of people with parents who were kind of left-wing or hippies….I think it was very fertile soil for a very authentic appreciation of culture, and a space for it in public as well."*

Interviewee 7 talked about informal networks of music, mutual aid, and squatting that brought together an array of people in the late 90s and early 2000s. These include long-term residents, newer arrivals, people suffering homelessness, punks, and Rastafarians who together created a sense of tolerance and community:

> *"There was a real fusion of the community. I'm talking punks, like ones with tattoos all over their faces. Then you have the Rastafari community, the sound system heritage around here is really deep. You get a real mingling of those two worlds in there. You get that crossover, reggae, ska, dub. That was happening in there and had a real influx of all the local estate kids and a few of the more free-floating student population."*

As discussed previously, Black residents in Lewisham have organised to provide social services denied by the state. Anim-Addo (1995) documented many of the organisations founded by Lewisham residents to mobilise against state and institutional housing discrimination, police violence, and racist violence from neighbours, to self-provision services denied by the state and banks. Interviewee 7 talked about independent community efforts, and the planning catalogue similarly refers to the large number of voluntary organisations and churches concentrated in the northern and central parts of the Borough. The texts, however, do not speculate historical factors behind these high levels of civic engagement.

Whereas pan-London efforts to attract investment, students, businesses, and residents from overseas tout the city's international population as a strength, the Borough treats its own 'diversity' as both a strength and source of conflict. The Council reports its young and older population are among the most "deprived" in the UK (Lewisham Council 2020a, 18). The 2019 Lewisham Characterisation Study (p 20) considered its diversity "a noticeable strength" yet conceded "the great influx of migrants in the post-war period led to race tensions." This problematising of migrants "leading to race tensions" fails to hold racist individuals and institutions perpetrating violence against migrants to account. Without naming the historical precedent for community involvement, texts like the 2002 Cultural Strategy call the Borough's voluntary sectors one if its "greatest strengths" (p 34) and praise the Borough's strong sense of "self-supporting communities" (p 18) eager to work with the Council:

> *"Lewisham is characterised by a strong sense of community. It has an exceptionally diverse population of self-supporting communities each with its particular linguistic and cultural heritage, which in some cases includes a strong faith element. In consequence there is a well established and robust voluntary sector which has shown itself keen to partner the Council in a range of broad cultural initiatives."*

Interviewee 1 said self-made networks amongst families moving from the Caribbean after World War 2 formed out of necessity:

> *"Most people lived in Lewisham or Brixton who came over after World War 2 to rebuild. My grandfather was a carpenter, and him and his neighbour came over from Barbados to start a life in London. They moved into a house together. Especially on Hither Green Lane, there's still a few old families that have made roots here. It was basically, you stick together because nobody's helping you, so you have to help yourself. Even if you didn't know the Jamaicans a couple doors down, you'd meet them because they were the only other Black faces there. People and the police weren't looking after you."*

While Lewisham is represented as "diverse," the benefits of having a multi-lingual population with global experience for employers, or the wealth of cultural traditions and expressions that could be leveraged into the Council's programming are not imagined in the catalogue of planning texts.

This lack of distinction amongst the 'diverse' population brings into question if the Council considers the varying needs within the Borough's existing population, which will be discussed later An exception to this is Comedia's 2007 Intercultural City report, which explain how different ethnic groups utilise public space or conduct life mostly within the private realm.

6.5 Who Controls the Resources? 'Deprivation' versus Ambition

Lewisham's residents are grouped by age, education, and income, often intersected with their respective levels of "deprivation." The Council stresses the importance of cultural programming as a means of being active in the community for both young and elderly people. The youth population is problematised for its high unemployment, low educational attainment, and perception of criminality. The 2002 Cultural Strategy (p 13) describes deprivation in the youth population:

> *"The Borough is economically poor, rated in 2000 as the 14th most deprived district in England …This effect is compounded by clusters of significant deprivation contrasting against historic areas such as Blackheath or residential affluence such as Forest Hill. Four Lewisham wards are within the worst 10% of England's 8414 wards … specific instances of deprivation include amongst the highest levels of teenage pregnancy, 34.8% of its primary pupils and 40.5% of its secondary pupils are entitled to free school meals, a high proportion of youth unemployment and a high level of youth crime."*

The same document described shortcomings with 'life skills' like numeracy and literacy (p 13):

> *"23.6% of the population aged between 16 and 60 in Lewisham have low numeracy skills, and 23.4% have low literacy skills. This equates to over 33,000 people. Including English as a second language, over 40,000 people in Lewisham have basic skills needs. In certain wards the percentage of low numeracy and literacy skills rises to over 35%, placing Lewisham amongst the boroughs with highest level of basic skills needs in London. It is these people who have the most difficulty in accessing cultural activities as well as many other opportunities."*

The Council's Characterisation Study (2019, 26) notes "Lewisham has the highest proportion of children and young people (29.6%) and older people (25.7%) in economic deprivation in England." Lewisham Intercultural Profile (2011, 1) states the Borough

> *"it has by far the highest rate of lone parent families in London at almost 18% of all   households."*

The Council's 2008 *People Place Prosperity* regeneration strategy (p 10) reported that Lewisham "has one of the lowest proportions of residents with a degree or equivalent in inner London," but the 2011 Census documented the "proportion of residents with no qualifications has decreased from 24.2% in 2001 to 17.7% in 2011. There has also been a notable rise in those with Level 4 or higher (degree or equivalent)" (Lewisham Council 2012b, 15). It was not clarified if this was because existing residents were attaining more qualifications, as was the stated ambition of earlier years' planning texts, or if new residents with degrees were moving into Lewisham. The 2019-2020 AMR (p 47) segmented the population, those who "have a high rate of economic activity" alongside "lower skilled" and "experiencing in-work poverty:"

> *"There is a duality in the borough where there exists a resident workforce who have a high rate of economic activity and are well qualified; alongside lower wage jobs and part-time employment within Lewisham itself and residents who tend to be lower skilled, coming out from achieving lower attainment levels from schools or NEETs (not in Education, Employment or Training) and experiencing in-work poverty while living in the pockets of deprivation areas in the borough."*

The 2019 New Cross Area Framework (p 33) links the area's deprivation to its culture:

> *"Local deprivation & grassroots culture: Both historically and currently New Cross has shown high levels of deprivation, which has been a contributing factor to the rich grassroots culture within the area. Affordable housing and workspace has attracted people with low incomes to New Cross and Deptford for a number of decades."*

One of the framework's main takeaways (p 50) romanticises that "historic grassroots movements and events have significantly shaped the culture of New Cross." While this is true, failing to acknowledge what 'events' instigated grassroots movements abstracts interpersonal and institutional violence and racism. Elsewhere in the framework, 'culture' is discussed in terms of live music venues, Goldsmiths

University, and the night-time economy, including pubs, divorcing a "rich grassroots culture" borne of "deprivation" from economic activity.

The planning catalogue's overall representation is that of a deprived dormitory Borough: the largest employers are the National Health Service and Council itself, unemployment is higher than the capital's average, and most people commute out of the Borough. Another recurring statistic, as seen in the 2011-12 Authority Monitoring Report and 2011 Local Economic Assessment, is that Lewisham's economy ranks 30th out of 33 London Boroughs. There is no historical or political context as to why Lewisham residents are "deprived," like discriminatory housing policies, poor transport connection, and disinvestment from community infrastructure.

Interviewees did not use the term "deprived," but where poverty was represented in interviews and music, it was alongside messages and motifs of ambition. Whereas Lewisham planning texts point to "culture" as a way raise residents' ambitions and aspiration (which will be discussed later), interviewees' music indicates they are already resourceful and enterprising. In 'Richer' (2019), Koder tells a story of becoming financially sound through his own efforts. It is a dramatic video about a young man deciding to make his way:

> *"Like she ain't driving to my old CDs*
> *Old employers hanging on my old CVs*
> *Grinding all my life, never happened overnight*
> *Ever since a kid I had the passion and the drive*
> *Stuck in traffic in my mind, my brothers traffick in the light*
> *When the dark calls your name it's hard hangin up the line*
> *How you talking about a person that you ain't ever met (ssh)*
> *Where's your self respect (ssh)*
> *Gotta make some bread though*
> *Best dressed though, whoa*
> *Told my hottie let's go*
> *Where was you when I was broke, my card declined in Tesco."*

Interviewees discussed topics like employment prospects with a deeper nuance into resources available to residents, cycles of poverty, and ongoing racial discrimination. The central government's regimented decimation of local authority budgets (also known as 'austerity') since 2010 was linked to earlier periods of mass state disinvestment. Interviewee 14 talked about how his parents' generation were denied opportunities thanks to state resource withdrawals in the 1970s and 1980s:

> *"… I see a lot of [my parents' generation] talent shining through now. It does*
> *kind of sadden me…when they was growing up, there was no outlets for that.*
> *There was because they had sound system culture and that, but it wasn't like they*
> *had a studio in a basement. They had a youth club but at the time, the government*
> *wasn't saying it was available…I hear all these amazing stories about here where*

111

[my mum] was like, the fashionable one…We could have been in a whole different situation if she was able to pursue that…I've seen a lot of people of that generation have mental health problems and certain things, but when you speak to them they have an attachment to something they weren't able to do when they were younger."

Ssega's music refers to local ambition, and existing residents of Lewisham aspiring to live and work there despite heavy traffic disrupting the public realm and polluting the air. His video's footage of local streets in Lewisham include many school children, invoking Lewisham's long-term future. In 'Our World (Fight for Air)' he sings

> *"Welcome to our world, South Circular*
> *It's more than a thoroughfare*
> *For people who want to live, breathe and reside here…*
>
> *We don't need hyperbole or distractions*
> *Give us the facts we don't want the factions*
> *We have people we have stories*
> *Show us pictures not allegories*
> *More than just the posters on the streets*
> *This is where we live, die and eat*
> *So if you want to break bread with me then*
> *Come and take a seat."*

Germane Marvel's spoken word piece 'Taller Deeper Wider' explores ambition and potential against false capitalist metrics:

> *"In these days of capitalism, fast commodity, where everything's so cheap, like dirt cheap. Then I wonder, where does that phrase come from, dirt cheap? Is that us cheapening love? Mother earth, one with the dirt, but of course that's just love. When you overstand how they pay all the land via dirt, recapitalize it, call that love. So I'm cheaper than dirt because I know my worth and the reason I know it is largely to do with you. Like every single person and every single version that you've ever been, all that you've ever been through…"*

Two instrumental works analysed reflect ambition in their sounds, and the interviewees behind them described how they challenged themselves in creating their EPs in interviews. Nathaniel Cross' EP, *The Description is Not the Described*, contains themes of realising ambitions, self-reflection, and growth in the face of loss and failure. Song titles include 'Charge it to the Game' and 'Who Looks Inside, Awakes.' He detailed the process of composing, arranging, and recording the music:

> *"Especially with the 'UK jazz thing,' seeing my peers become quote-unquote famous, I kind of just wanted to spend time defining myself…I just wanted to make it be as good as possible with the resources I have...I wanted to capture what I've studied, get something that captures the essence and get to that level. ...I wanted to capture something that people on all levels could listen to. Even the way I recorded it, making sure it was produced well, more like a studio than a live*

112

recording…Trying to learn from the greats. On another level, it's like, ok the production, this is properly recorded. We spent a year and a half refining. I wanted it to be about the craftsmanship as well. I'm a believer that you can't fake intention…"

One interviewee shared what the everyday experience of being young in the Borough and looking for ways to make money. He offered insight into how the area's bad reputation was predicated on superficial understandings of criminal activity, rather than appreciating how poverty, state disinvestment, and housing instability compound each other:

> *"Stuff happens here, stuff happens everywhere. It's basically like, when it's being spoken about, it's like the cause of knife crime is drill music, things like that. More times, it's like a situation is happening because they got thrown into a situation where they have had to find ways to make money… but they don't really look at it as a thing where…they've been thrown into a council estate in a home with a family with a poor income or low income and it's not often where they're gone to the kid in the family and saying, 'Let's change that and help them get an education or put them in a situation where they can do something out there.'…*
>
> *They're left there, and whatever happens to them happens to them…When you're from an area like this, or you're in that situation, you feel iffy about everything. Not everything is so welcoming and accepting. You just feel against everything. They don't really think of it like that, they think of it like, 'Yeah we're giving opportunities for young people,' but like, they close all these youth clubs. A youth club won't get them out of their home or living situation, they need extra support and there's just a bunch of things to it. They just say, 'oh yeah, this person, from this area, stabbed this person from this area.' It's not a thing where they look at well, they've been doing this, the whole reason they started is because they had to make money because their parents aren't earning that much and they've grown up in a bad area where this stuff is happening. They haven't wanted to be in this situation and they're trying to get out of this situation but they haven't had much choice. From the jump, I see they get into that more accused than help."*

The lack of nuance in the catalogue of planning texts' on historical and ongoing contributors to 'deprivation' starkly contrasts with interviewees' understanding of 'deprivation' (a term none of them used unless with scare quotes), which considered effects of multi-generational disenfranchisement and oppression suffered by their ancestors at the hands of the British state. The above commentary on how the negative representation by the state only further entrenches negative perceptions, thus limiting opportunities and young people's sense of themselves calls into question how the local authority may better conceive of young people in precarious or unsafe situations as to not further demonise them.

6.6 'Don't stab me:' Bad reputation

Landry (2001, 42-43) summarized how Lewisham is varyingly perceived (if at all) by outsiders:

> *"So far there are multiple images of Lewisham and these differ for insiders, who often have deep loyalty to places that outsiders push aside with an off hand remark. Many of the images outsiders hold are undistinguished and are based on a perception of blandness, and this is in part because people don't know what Lewisham is or its component parts. When Lewisham is broken down an unfolding picture emerges with some bright sparks such as Blackheath or Deptford for the cognoscenti; there is a gloomier picture too – Catford for some or complete ignorance – Downham."*

A recurring statement in Council-produced texts was that the external perception of Lewisham's crime and danger was worse than the crime rate itself. The crime rate is, and has been, comparable to other London Boroughs throughout the whole period of study, if not slightly lower than other inner Boroughs (Metropolitan Police 2017). The 2004 Lewisham Crime, Drugs, and Anti-Social Behaviour Audit (p 3) reported that despite being relatively safe, the Borough had a bad reputation:

> *"...the borough has the lowest crime levels of any inner London borough. This is important because often the perception of an area is at odds with reality. It may fail to acknowledge change and improvement. For a number of years Lewisham has had a reputation which is not borne out by the facts, or by the experiences of the overwhelming majority of its residents. Obviously, being London's safest borough does not mean that crime does not occur. The difference between 27 and 45 crimes per 1000 residents a year may not feel significant to our day to day lives. This status as inner London's safest borough may not continue indefinitely."*

The same report disputed other misperceptions repeated elsewhere in the catalogue: that adults, not youths, were behind most anti-social behaviour, yet an increase in violent crime that year was connected to young people. Interviewees and catalogue texts alike referenced a negative external depiction of Lewisham, largely stemming from the quality of the built environment and perception of crime. This perception was held by both Lewisham residents and outsiders (Comedia 2007). The Council refrains from condemning its own residents but points to negative outside perceptions discouraging outside investors and would-be residents from settling in the area. The 2002 Cultural Strategy (p 16) blamed a combination of poor branding and actual problems as confounding the Borough's reputation:

> *"There is a tension between Lewisham's emergence as a recognised centre of cultural provision and a place where people choose to live. Lewisham has many things going for it but its image has not been generally perceived as being culturally exciting. While it suffers from all the problems associated with the inner city, road congestion, improving but still underdeveloped public transport links, air pollution, some ugly streetscapes and crime 'hotspots' there is still much to celebrate."*

Although the Council's catalogue focused more on how outsiders perceived Lewisham more than how existing residents feel about their neighbourhoods, Comedia's 2007 and 2011 Intercultural reports

focused on residents' experiences of crime, including hate crimes. The 2007 Intercultural City reported (p 28) that despite

> "a relatively good level of acceptance of difference there were unfortunately still many serious cases of racially motivated verbal and physical abuse. The Muslim women reported that there had been a serious increase in the level of abuse since the 2005 London bombing and indeed some feared for their lives after attacks on their homes."

Similarly, the 2011 Intercultural Profile (p 6) referred to Lewisham's bad reputation as racially motivated and historically precedented, relating to persistent white supremacist activity associated with Millwall Football Club fans.

This perceived negativity about Lewisham was echoed by interviewees and their music, but they added more nuance to economic, political, and social issues contributing to crime in the Borough. In 2020, LVTS made a series called 'My Sydenham Story,' in which he interviewed proprietors of various local businesses like Caribbean restaurants and barbers and interviewed their proprietors, which gave him more understanding of crime as a symptom of poverty:

> "I could be looking at the high crime rate, somebody gets murdered in the area…Looking at stuff from a deeper level now, why does this keep happening? Where's the funding, where's the youth clubs? I wouldn't have looked at it like that before…when I write lyrics now, I'm thinking more long-term solutions to problems."

Counteracting narratives about Lewisham as unsafe and undesirable were interviewees' and musical representations of social cohesion amongst neighbours, taking pride and ownership in where they are from. This local pride was represented in filming music videos in everyday settings with everyday people. In Ssega's video, over footage of Lewisham residents working, exercising in leisure centres, and rollerblading in parks, he obliquely addresses negative perceptions about Lewisham that discount the importance of the place to the people already there and feed into apathy about the air quality. This cohesion is despite-or perhaps because of- Lewisham's negative external reputation. In the opening verse of 'Our World (Fight for Air)' he sings,

> "Welcome to our world, is this the place, the South London voiceless speak? Because I can't see them past the non-existent headline."

Whereas the Council texts seek to rehabilitate the Borough's reputation (in the hope of attracting new residents and investment), the artists question the external perception and assert themselves despite it. The music video for 'Another One' depicts SAMBA in her home, smoking, relaxing, and trying on different outfits for a night out. The home is depicted as a place of comfort and intimacy – it is dimly lit with candles and warm lights over a slow R&B beat. She asserts her pride in being from south London:

"Yeah I'm sexy, it's the south in me,
 they say that south girls are really freaky,
giving you another reason to love me."

Interviewee 11 recalled moving to south London from France as an adolescent and how a sense of local pride and identity was engendered by friends who unapologetically represented themselves:

"[There was] a girl I grew up with… She was white, but very much a Lewisham girl, south London born and bred. It was nice that she understood that. She would express it so much and not feel judged about it or just not care. 'Yeah, I'm from Lewisham, south London, I love getting long extreme nails, being in the hair shop trying out loads of shit.' I loved that she was pushing it. A white woman, it was like she's not embarrassed because she has privilege. She could've wiped the slate clean and pretended she wasn't from here. The connotations about Lewisham aren't always the greatest, so it was inspiring for her to be proud of where she was from.

My friends pretty much influenced, or made me comfortable with where I was from. Moving from France and then moving here, I kind of struggled having an identity…It was weird to live my truth, let's say, because the reputation Lewisham had wasn't great- 'poor, marginalized,' all those words. I was like, that's not me. It is because the system has made it this way, but I still feel a lot of joy from living here. I wouldn't take my experience and change it for nothing."

LVTS represents himself in 'Bounse,' countering the stereotype of young Black men selling drugs and carrying weapons:

"You said you trappin, it's a lie
My mentality, do or die
Subtract a pagan tell me why
That's just adding to the divide
There's a difference between being awake and being alive
So I build an enterprise and bounse to just block out the lies
…
I never carried a gun, never sold no drugs
But I got superpowers
Take your woman and then she'll wonder who you was…"

In Koder's video for 'Why You in the Endz?', a reporter broadcasts from the Brockley Overground station with the satirical headline "ECLIPTIC URBAN STAR – GRIME STAR: WHY YOU IN THE ENDZ?" Whereas Love Ssega references "non-existent headlines" to convey the state's lack of urgency in improving the Borough's deadly air quality, the news station in Koder's video references outsiders' interest in and fetishization of Lewisham.

Kayowa's video contrasts with Koder's skewering of outsiders' fetishisation of Lewisham. 'Based' includes shots of her singing on a balcony; although she is the only person in the scene, her interactions

with the camera operator are familiar and affectionate, conveyed through close shots, interacting with and looking directly into the camera. Kayowa's video has a homemade, DIY aesthetic, which reinforces the easy familiarity with New Cross. The camera follows her into a typical Londis off-license, singing on a bus stop, and hanging out on a balcony:

> *"When I'm in the offie after picking up a bag*
> *I pop up to the road and see what's happening*
> *in the south side, where I'm based, where I'm at."*

Interviewee 7 speculated the Borough's poor reputation was deliberately cultivated in the popular media for the purpose of driving land values down ahead of regeneration:

> *"They were really criminalising the area, calling it Murder Capital in the press, and a lot of that was to lower the value of the area, from my perspective. When the property value went to shit, they started to buy everything up. Whoever, these property developers, Goldsmiths own a lot...people in that realm with the money to do so were buying everything up. I'm sure they're connected to the people making the value fall out, connected to the newspapers saying ghetto ghetto ghetto, stabby stabby stabby. That was feeding into the Black Boy stereotypes."*

This observation aligns with Zukin's (2010) progression of how external actors characterise areas prior to and during regeneration, suggesting 'regeneration' processes may include informal or unannounced actions years before any state land is privatised or planning permissions are awarded, in which the mainstream media and property owners work in concert to poorly represent an area and drive down land values, which in turn facilitates the consolidation of land ownership to large-scale private developers.

6.7 Representing Regeneration: Opportunity Areas

The GLA exercises regional control and gets closely involved in the planning process of "strategic" developments through measures like OAs, two of which are in the Borough. The GLA and Lewisham Council represent Lewisham as site of large-scale regeneration. Parts of Lewisham fall within the westernmost edge of the 40-mile Thames Gateway, which was first designated by Secretary of State for the Environment Michael Heseltine in 1991 (and originally named the East Thames Corridor until 1997) and was a cornerstone of Prime Minister Tony Blair's New Labour agenda. Texts from earlier in the study period reference its mere location within the Thames Gateway as an "opportunity" for regeneration funding, but offer no further specifics.

In our interview, Lewisham's Director of Inclusive Regeneration framed the Borough as falling outside of London's Central Activities Zone (CAZ), which the GLA (n.d., a) describes as "London's vibrant centre and one of the world's most attractive and competitive business locations. It contains the seat of national government and is renowned worldwide for its shopping, culture and heritage." The Director attributed

this remove from London's CAZ to difficulty to attracting employers and gaining particular kinds of planning permissions:

> *"It's a predominantly residential borough compared to pretty much any other borough in London, we have relatively low numbers of jobs…, second lowest job densities of all London boroughs which is quite strange given we are a central London borough. The topography of Lewisham is interesting in the sense that we don't have any central activities zone, so we don't have any of the planning protections on non-residential uses you get in the CAZ...Nor do we have big volumes of industrial land, which outer London broughs have had and held because planning policy lets them retain them."*

On our walking interview, Interviewee 7 pointed out new developments' marketing leverage proximity to other parts of the city (like City of London and Canary Wharf) to dispute this perception:

> *"This place being developed right now, it's one of the most recent areas where people were squatting in it built a big protest camp within the last 2 years. They've only just been thrown off this land. This has come up really quick. I saw one of the developers, a real cocky guy, put a video on YouTube calling people [here] scumbags…I remember seeing the original adverts for those flats, the ones near Deptford Station, the guy was doing a tour, saying 'you're so close to Canary Wharf... it's up-and-coming area, artists on the rise.' The sales pitch was so cringey. I remember showing it to people like, 'look what's coming.'"*

Music videos also represent a remove from central London. Koder and Kayowa, for example, include distant landscape shots of the skyscrapers of central London. In the last 30 seconds of Koder's video for 'Why You in the Endz?,' he dances on the rooftop of a block of flats, the skyscrapers in the CAZ miles away, reflected in a disorienting mirrored shot of the night skyline. In 'Based,' Kayowa stands on a balcony and throws her hands towards central London; the camera follows her movement. One of her lyrics is "Concrete buildings tower over me, palaces and kingdoms in your dreams." Both her and Koder's shots of central London's skyline show physical distance from central London, separating their everyday experiences from the iconic towers often leveraged in London place branding.

The 2011 Intercultural City Report (p 10) echoes the paradox of Lewisham being an inner-London Borough excluded from the "global centres of political and financial power" several miles away:

> *"Lewisham exhibits many of the advantages and some of the disadvantages of being part of one of the great world cities. It is intensely fluid and dynamic and yet parochial; within sight of global centres of political and financial power and yet isolated and shut out from them; economically and socially homogeneous and politically egalitarian, but dictated to by more powerful trends towards polarisation and exclusion; its normality is a state of intense ethnic diversity and mixing, and yet it is part of a national culture and system of governance which remains segregated and ill at ease with cosmopolitanism."*

Many of the Council's texts organise planning and regeneration schemes based off areas designated by the MoL and GLA. These include OAs, Creative Enterprise Zones, and the designation of the London Borough of Culture. As discussed in the literature review, OAs are a form of branding (Robinson and Attuyer 2021; Ferm et al 2021) with housing and job projections related to London's "strategic" needs, not those of the local area in which they are situated. In 2004, then-Mayor of London Boris Johnson designated the 72-hectare Deptford Creek/Greenwich Riverside OA, which straddles both the London Borough of Lewisham and the Royal Borough of Greenwich. The 2004 London Plan anticipated the Deptford Creek OA would yield 5,500 jobs and 1,000 new homes by 2016. The 2011 and 2016 London Plans reported this OA's boundaries had expanded to be 165 hectares, with an estimated 4,000 jobs and 5,000 new homes.

The 2008 London Plan (published under Boris Johnson's Mayoralty) named another 815-hectare OA in the Borough, covering the town centres of New Cross/Deptford, Lewisham, and Catford. The Plan estimated 3,500 jobs and 6,000 homes would be "delivered" by 2026, contingent on improvements to the Docklands Light Rail and completion of the Bakerloo Line Extension. The 2011 London Plan (also written under Boris Johnson's leadership) increased these estimates to 6,000 jobs and 8,000 homes by an unspecified year. This number stayed consistent in the 2016 plan, but in the 2021 London Plan (written under Mayor Sadiq Khan) the jobs estimate was reduced to 4,000 and homes estimate was increased to 13,500, which seemingly contradicts the Council's previously-stated ambition to transform Lewisham from less of a dormitory and to grow its small economy. Given that OAs subsume local authority's needs in favour of city-wide 'strategic' targets, this change in housing projection perhaps reflected a desire to simply attract wealthier new residents who would still commute out of the Borough to central London, utilising the new transport links added in the early 2000s. Indeed, the 2011 Intercultural City report (p 30) stated

> *"We were told that there is a noticeable increase in the numbers of people catching the train in the morning and returning in the evening. Traders were concerned that commuters might not spend their money in Deptford as they have access to shops in London. Others raised the concern that the newer arrivals might not have such as strong association with the area as those who had lived in Deptford for a long time."*

OAs rely on discourses about "derelict" and "brownfield" land to justify their dense real estate development, yet the New Cross/Lewisham/Catford OA encompassed land fully occupied with housing, businesses, schools, and other basic locations of everyday functioning. The 2016 London Plan (p 359) envisaged a Deptford Creek/Greenwich Riverside OA should:

> *"benefit major concentrations of deprived neighbourhoods across the two boroughs and capitalise on its waterside and heritage character. Subject to*

119

> *resolution of wharf related issues, parts of Convoys Wharf should be developed for a range of uses. The area as a whole has potential for a cultural quarter, for smaller scale leisure and tourism-related provision, business workspaces and additional housing."*

The same 2016 London Plan said of the Lewisham, Catford, and New Cross OA (p 365):

> *"This Area contains a series of centres with scope for intensification, regeneration and renewal. There is scope for further intensification in central Lewisham where strategically important regeneration is already planned. Projects such as the Kender Triangle gyratory removal and Lewisham Gateway will provide development opportunities, improve the public realm and raise design quality in the area. The scope to address poor legibility, severance and traffic congestion should be investigated."*

The GLA's prescription of "intensification, regeneration and renewal" is so vague as to lack concrete meaning. This kind of abstractness creates an unclear image of what or who, exactly, is being changed. Since the Mayor of London designated the two OAs in 2004 and 2008, the OAPF progress for both has stagnated in the first "proposed" stage despite ongoing construction within them. The lack of OAPFs has not stopped development, however. The Council has published supplementary planning documents (SPDs) for several smaller developments, such as Surrey Canal or Bromley Road, and private developers of significant regeneration sites like Lewisham Gateway and Convoys Wharf have published masterplans, but it is unclear how planning is coordinated within the OAs are coordinated without OAPFs. the many landowners, developers, and other stakeholders coordinate and inform their planning activities. Additional masterplans for Catford and A21 development (covering central Lewisham) were not published until 2020.

Interviewee 20, the founder of a music education organisation, contested supposed benefits of 'regeneration' when discussing Convoys Wharf:

> *"There needs to be more community involvement, not after the fact. I think once there is a piece of land, and we know who the buyer is, they're forced to engage in communities, and that the community has a contribution in what you design. That build that's going to take place, the planning permission that's been agreed for Convoys Wharf is to me, it's dire, it's horrendous for the communities who are generations of living in around that. It was a paper mill, and there were lorries coming out of there, but nobody lived there. Now that more people are going to be living there, that end of the High Street, what's that going to be? More traffic. Where does that traffic go when it's on the edge of the river, and why are you building walls this way, back into the community for your new build to the river? How dare you put your back to us? Will any of our community to be able to afford to live in them?"*

Interviewees were not necessarily aware of OAs as a planning devices, yet were familiar with large-scale developments within them and felt they were mostly divorced from the surrounding area in terms of their

aesthetic, costs, and occupants. A few had anecdotes about checking out a new place only to find it unwelcoming. This feeling of separation in the built (and thus mental) realm may be attributed to OAs' different master planning process and closer involvement with the GLA, the regional and not local authority, in awarding permissions.

6.8 Housing: Abstraction by Narratives and Numbers

Housing is omnipresent in the catalogue of planning texts, was a central point of discussion with interviewees, and features in their music. Although housing is rarely intersected with 'culture' in urban planning and property development, housing is an inextricable element of Black Atlantic music culture development in Lewisham. I used the Council's Annual Monitoring Report (AMR) to triangulate the Council's discourses about regeneration and culture with their planning decisions and the consequent physical changes in the built environment.

The earliest available AMR is from 2004-05. Every AMR through 2020-21 features a photograph or rendering of a new building (usually residential) on its cover, devoid of activity or inhabitants. Although its structure has changed, AMRs review planning permissions and upcoming and completed development. This includes net gains or losses in retail and employment space, housing, and community spaces. Although every AMR details losses of retail and employment space, six do not address housing losses at all, only suggesting there were demolitions by identifying "net" housing gains. Some AMRs mention the quantity of homes demolished, not always locating where it occurred – were entire developments demolished or one-off residences? The 2011-12 and 2012-13 AMRs discuss the planned demolition of Milford Towers, specifying that the demolition of 200 homes and limited rebuilds would cause a net loss of 76 homes. The 2017-18 AMR's (p 43) representations are somewhat confusing, avoiding hard numbers of housing loss but reporting "13% of the supply of new dwellings has been the replacement of older affordable housing units that have been demolished and re-provided." Every AMR from 2018-19 includes the same language about the statistics possibly misleading readers, given the delay between the demolition of housing and construction of its replacement, but the AMRs offer little detail on the reconstruction of demolished estates to demystify the net loss of housing.

Several Council texts intersect statistics relating to housing and demographics. The Strategic Housing Market Assessment (SHMA) said

> *"BAME groups are more likely to be social renters (38.1%) compared with all households (31.1%). BAME groups are also disproportionately affected by overcrowding, with 17.1% compared to 12.1% of all households, due to the low proportion of family homes within the affordable stock and the uneven distribution of such housing across the borough"* (Bullock 2019, 14).

The 2007 Intercultural City report (p 35) stands out for the granularity and nuance in representing 'deprivation,' relating substandard housing to 'social problems:'

> *"Cramped housing conditions for large families leads to a range of social problems that then impact on other aspects of the city. For example the impact on children and teenagers in particular of living in a crowded household include poor educational outcomes and an increased likelihood of ending up in the juvenile justice system. Imagine how difficult it would be to concentrate on homework when there are say six or more siblings vying for space in a two bedroom flat. The resulting low educational performances have flow on economic impacts such as limited employment options or worst still a decline into crime. Likewise we were told that the cramped home conditions result in teenagers, especially the boys, spending a lot of time out on the streets with their friends. this leads to antisocial behaviour or inter gang rivalry and violence."*

Significant events relating to Lewisham's housing stock within the study period are entirely omitted or discussed in such little detail as to minimise their significance, like the planned or completed privatisation or demolition of parts of Reginald House/Tidemill Gardens, Axion House, Milford Tower and the Woodpecker, Pepys, and Achilles Street Estates. Although AMRs calculate net loss of housing and have policies about rehousing and compensating evicted residents, popular accounts indicate the Council and various Housing Associations operating do not offer sufficient compensation to allow residents to stay in the existing area, and were hostile to residents who resisted eviction (Wonke 2007; Witton 2018). The homeless charity Shelter designated Lewisham an "eviction hotspot" in 2014, where "one in thirty tenant households...received a possession order, meaning they were subject to legal process where their home was at risk" (Lees and White 2020, 1702). The organisation Estate Watch (n.d., b) indicated three estates within Lewisham are at risk of demolition at the time of this writing in January 2022, all of which are in areas designated by either the Mayor of London or the Council for intense regeneration and include the Achilles Estate in New Cross (87 homes, 17 shops at risk), the Milford Towers in Catford (276 homes), and Reginald House in Deptford (16 homes). This seemingly conflicts with the Council's four strategic housing policies, laid out in its 2004 Unitary Development Plan and repeated in the 2005-06 AMR (p 26):

> *"• to prevent the loss of viable residential property as a consequence of development*
> *• to protect and enhance the character and amenity of residential areas*
> *• to ensure a mix and balance of residential provision to meet the full range of identified housing need in the borough*
> *• to make provision for at least an additional 11,178 dwellings in the borough for the period 1997 to 2016"*

Interviewee 7 related his observations of estate cleansing and demolition in the early 2000s. He interpreted activity like raids in Deptford and New Cross as property owners intentionally driving land

values down so they could be purchased more easily and evict the inhabitants. He felt the criminalizing of the estates was done by the police and Council at the behest of large landowners in the area, such as Goldsmiths University:

> *"They were definitely criminalising and stigmatising people and pushing them out, but in Woodpecker Estate down there, a lot of the high rises were taken down in the late 90s and early 2000s…If you go to Pepys Estate by Deptford/Creekside, that's a whole estate that was taken down. If you go down Old Kent Road, that was all taken down and turned into Peabody Trust. Pepys Estate, when I was living here, that was a real traveller squat-party sound system crowd people who were mainly living in there, as well as families and people just trying to be alive. With the onset of things like the Criminal Justice Bill, they managed to get everybody out, criminalize people, taking things down. There's been a lot of protests about where people are gonna go, but it's reminiscent of St Agnes place. That's another place we used to go and have parties. When they came and took it down, it was under the pretence of health and safety, but they had plans to regenerate."*

Interviewees discussed housing in much more personal terms. They shared how the loss of housing and lack of affordable housing disrupted social networks and harmed residents through displacement and dispossession. Interviewees discussed new developments as a kind of visual intrusion and signifier of dramatic change. Even if they remained physically located in the in the Borough, their affective and emotional relationship to their locale represents the kind of displacement described by Bloch and Meyer (2023). Many interviewees represented 'regeneration' and gentrification as a violent process akin to colonisation, of which new buildings were the physical embodiment. Interviewee 13 commented the construction of newer housing next to neglected estates was in and of itself a message the Council does not care about poorer residents:

> *"They put new developments next to estates and it's not solving the problem long-term because [current residents are] still living in those conditions, but you can see something over the balcony that might make you feel worse because you can compare the two. To [the Council], it sounds good, let's just get rid of this, like it's Legos… 'Regeneration,' really you're just demolishing and knocking things down…people from their area are so annoyed with gentrification is because of the intentions. People aren't angry at nice buildings, they like to see nice buildings, but it's the intentions behind it. Why are you doing this? I've lived here all my life, I'm comfortable, and people don't really like change as well...It looks like a demon put this here. The intention is the problem, and so if the government can better explain that to the people who live there, it'll ease the process. They're not communicating it, and people can see through bullshit, they're not stupid."*

In LVTS' 2020 'Freestyle,' a new high-rise of luxury flats, still under construction, looms behind him. LVTS said he filmed it spur of the moment while coming home from the shop in 2020. He did not choose that backdrop deliberately, but it lends gravity to his words:

> *"Things is changing the economy's shifting, the devil's getting a grip in the time is ticking wicked people that stay constantly existing soon to be wiped out, ceased from existing."*

The happenstance backdrop of LVTS' freestyle suggests the inadvertent relationship between existing residents of an area and the regeneration around them. As Interviewee 13 commented, if new homes are not intended to house current residents, and are marketed to outsiders, or their construction was predicated on the demolition of existing homes or Council flats, 'regeneration' is a visual, physical, and symbolic intrusion.

6.9 Home Costs and 'Viability'

The 2015 Consultation for the Local Plan noted "60% of the demand for affordable housing is for three or four bedroom dwellings" (Lewisham Council 2015f, 19). The 2018-19 AMR, however, reported 91% of new affordable housing does not meet this description. Besides a shortage for three- or four-bedroom dwellings at any price point, the Council routinely fails to meet its own affordable housing thresholds. The Director of Inclusive Regeneration for Lewisham Council distinguished between Council-led housing schemes and those of private developers when talking about the delivery of affordable housing, but conceded it was all dictated by "market economics":

> *"The reality is that every single authority in an urban context in Britain has a housing waiting list much longer than they're ever going to meet in the short and medium term because the housing need on that list is often the most expensive to deliver and in a strange way, the way housing economics works in terms of grant and money, the delivery of smaller units is where you get the marginal gain on your investment, whether you're private investor or public sector. But clearly the need is always for larger housing because it's more expensive in the open market and as a result harder to deliver. We will always, a matter of course, try and ensure we are delivering in any given development as big a proportion of larger family housing as we'd call it, affordable housing, as we can afford. We look to cross subsidize in all sorts of ways. We don't do private sale in our own programme, but if in conversations with developer interests, if we need to cross-subsidy for smaller units because they tend to yield more for your investment to enable larger family homes, then we'll do that. But it's incredibly challenging to deliver larger units when land values are high and demand far outstrips supply."*

Between 1992-2000, 28% of new builds, or 1,794 affordable housing units, were constructed in Lewisham (Lewisham Council 2005). Although Lewisham's housing prices have consistently been under the London average, between 2011-17 private rents increased by 50% (Lewisham Council 2021b, 181). House prices have risen 312% between 2000 (when the median price was £99,995) and 2018 (median price £412,250) (Bullock 2019, 10). The 2019 SHMA noted although rent and house prices in Lewisham were lower than the London average, the average resident's median income (£38,000) was still not able to

pay for "affordable" (or 80% of market rent) housing. The author delineated "affordable" housing into several categories that factored existing residents' incomes rather than the just the rents and prices, using salaries of professions like nurses and teachers to gage what was genuinely affordable (no more than 35% of their wages for rent, or no more than 3.5 times their annual salary for a house purchase). The author worried "only social rent and affordable rent are affordable to Lewisham's households on lower quartile and median incomes," and for

> *"the relative affordability of accommodation across most tenures within the Borough, and particularly for the key workers and wage earners considered. Arguably, the ability of households to enter the general market without very substantial deposits is severely restricted"* (ibid, 80).

The AMRs report the widening gap between increasing housing costs and the average income of a Lewisham resident. The typical representation of house prices in the Borough is that they are about 80% of the London average, yet far beyond the means of an average Lewisham resident. The 2017-18 AMR (p 26) reported house costs were about 12 times of the average income in the Borough. The 2021 Lewisham Local Plan did not appear to factor this into its own definition of "genuine affordable housing," which is listed in the glossary (p 820) as "housing at social rent levels or the GLA London Affordable Rent level (in Lewisham this is GLA London Affordable Rent minus the 1 percent above Consumer Price Index uplift)."

The Council's 2011 Core Strategy set a policy that 50% of new houses from all sources would be "affordable." The proportion of affordable housing built has fluctuated from year to year (for example, 47% in 2011-12, 8% in 2017-18, 21% in 2019-20) but consistently remains below 50%. Each AMR excuses flouting the Council's own policy, saying the Council takes "into account market conditions, development viability and the need to balance the provision of affordable housing with the wider regeneration benefits of individual developments" (Lewisham Council 2018b, 39). "Viability" is not explained in any easily-accessed public documents, but is a significant representation of the housing market for which the lack of affordable housing is justified. In 2019, Lewisham Council paid French bank BNP Paribas to conduct a Viability Assessment as the appendix for the 2021 Lewisham Local Plan (as of writing in January 2022 it remains in draft form). In its modelling of affordable housing and workspace options, BNP Paribas treated quantities and levels of affordability as flexible variables, but kept a 6.5% investment yield and a 20% landowner premium as fixed formula inputs (BNP Paribas 2019, 31).

Without this explanation in Lewisham's AMRs, it can appear "viability" assessments are neutral, technical exercises that justify the Council violating its own policy every year. However, BNP's model implies the government guaranteeing developers' return on their private investment takes precedence over providing affordable housing for Lewisham residents. There is no discussion how "capitalising" market-

value rents with a 6.5% investment yield and 20% landowner premium may impact housing and workspace prices in Lewisham. The following year after Lewisham Council outsourced its Viability Assessment to BNP Paribas, BNP Paribas loaned Clarion, a controversial housing association in Lewisham, £100m the following year. The model used by a governing body planning permissions was made by a multinational financial institution with links to the Borough's housing providers, and these documents are not publicly available. Using the word "viable," whose root meaning is about giving and sustaining life, to describe private developer property margins and to justify the Council's succumbing to "market economics" is a particularly nefarious representation of housing. It subjugates the needs of existing Lewisham residents to guarantee private property developers to earn a particular return on their investment. The local authority fixes private real estate investment at the expense of provisioning housing at the price points and bedroom requirements of people already in the Borough and on housing waiting lists. Despite the refrain that Lewisham housing prices still remain below the London average, the 2020-21 AMR (p 21) described the skyrocketing cost of housing the past two decades:

> *"Median prices increased from £99,995 in 2000 to £430,000 in 2020, an increase of 330%. This rate is significantly higher than that experienced across neighbouring boroughs and London as a whole (+192%)."*

Although the Council AMRs report a net increase in affordable housing, interviewees were generally under the impression that the Council was getting rid of its housing stock and that "affordable" housing was not genuinely so. Interviewee 6 discussed where house prices in the Borough weren't outlandishly expensive, it was because of poor quality construction:

> *"I've seen a few prices for these new things, and they're so cheap. You wouldn't expect the new builds to be as cheap as they are to rent. To buy would probably be expensive. They're all within the 600, 700 bracket. Fair enough, that may not be too cheap, but I think for London that's pretty ok. But it's because it's shit quality. They're just trying to get loads of people who don't live in London, people coming from outside London areas, white people to live in there so they can commute and create their dream lives in London, I guess."*

Local news sites NewsShopper and London News Online run frequent stories about dangerous aspects of housing in the Borough. These include housing associations, the Council, or private developers refusing to fix problems like mould and leaks, dangerous and overcrowded temporary accommodation, neglected maintenance of estates slated for demolition, the high number of vacant properties in the Borough compared to the number of people on the housing waiting list, not accommodating disabled tenants, and evictions (for examples see Firth 2022a, b, c, and Twomey 2019, 2022). Lewisham Homes is the largest social landlord in the borough and manages over 19,000 units. Eleven other social landlords operate in the Borough. Interviewees widely expressed dissatisfaction with the quality of socially let properties and the landlords' customer service and management of the properties. Despite the volume of local news

stories about housing associations neglecting their properties and tenants, the 2012-13 AMR (p 9) suggested housing associations should "become commercial developers in order to ensure financially viable affordable housing schemes." Interviewees pointed to existing housing developments as fulfilling the function that council/affordable housing should be filling, like the Sanford and Deptford Housing Co-ops discussed previously. Interviewee 20 contrasted the community spirit versus profit-driven value of these organisations with larger housing associations:

> *"For us locally, we had Deptford Housing Co-op and Sanford Housing Co-op, they are the real affordable housing associations. If you think about places like Sanford Housing Co-op, that is the true epitome of housing association, co-op. It's got a cultural and creative community, a young community, it's like the first-time opportunity to do shared housing and get out on your own… There are some down in New Cross, go towards Brockley side. The others, the Hexagon Housings of the world, don't listen, and they're making profit. It's all about the profit, it's not about the communities, it's certainly not about the cultures."*

Council texts make passing references to the net loss of housing in Lewisham, but interviewees gave specific insight into casualties of Lewisham's regeneration, including the privatisation or outright demolition of estates and the eviction of tenants. Interviewees also offered more nuance on the relationship between the owners, developers, and inhabitants of new builds with the surrounding area. They viewed the scale of these developments and the large amounts of housing owned by a small concentration of companies (like L&Q) as a problem. Interviewee 5 discussed the loss of council housing over the years and the lack of replacement with other social housing:

> *"This might not be right, but in my head, a lot of social housing is in the north of the borough. Deptford, New Cross, and as you come further south, and then Downham is a whole different kind of social housing, that kind of 1930s terraces, which I live quite close to those areas. I think because of where I live, where there is social housing but it's way more in spurts, I haven't seen whole horizons falling in front of me, but what I do know is that in Deptford, it's changing a lot. The part of Deptford which borders Greenwich, there's loads of new constructions where I believe there was social housing. I don't know that for sure, but the kind of scale and rate at which they're building these shiny new builds, which aren't social housing, which suggests they're replacing social housing with that. I know people who lived in Pepys Estate and those bigger estates in Lewisham, there's a threat of eviction. Milford Towers in Catford, I think they're planning to knock it down and replace the Tesco. There's another estate, Achilles, in New Cross, and I guess I mention all of these names because these are kind of like the legendary estates. Pepys Estate definitely is. Very famous estates with big reputations, but over years have just heard about how there's plans to demolish them. When I go to Deptford, I'm like, 'oh yeah this is gone.' It sounds like there is a huge assault on the bigger social housing estates in the borough, if not now, in the next few years they'll start to be demolished and rebuilt, and then it'll just be the percentage of the new ones that are socially rented. That's where the eviction happens."*

As discussed in the Literature Review, large-scale financialised private development characterising OAs are wealth-extracting. Rental and sale profits will be diverted out of Lewisham to the private consortiums financing them. Koder and Ssega both allude to this draining, extracting nature of gentrification. Ssega sings:

> *"If divide and conquer got us here*
> *And oil prices are your fear*
> *Because Black gold is not the people*
> *It's your mineral extraction."*

Similarly, Koder asks:

> *"Why you in the ends tryna take away the gold*
> *Why you in the ends tryna take away the souls?"*

Kayowa also comments on Lewisham's housing situation:

> *"On the south side, where I'm based, where I'm at*
> *And the rate of homelessness is so damn saddening*
> *London raised me, most high made me*
> *In a bad bad world, man fuck them Tories."*

Aligning with the 2007 Intercultural City Report's observation about Lewisham's high population turnover, Interviewee 10 predicted short tenancies and a lack of family housing will create a population of "rolling stones" who don't stay long enough to develop an attachment, interact with their neighbours, erasing the 'vibrancy' the Council uses as a blanket descriptor:

> *"The main thing which you don't put in the reports and you don't put in the headlines and you can't really quantify is that if you cleanse an area of something, you are going to have these young people be influenced then what's going to come out in the music, if these people if everyone's transient everyone's like knock this down buy itself, or whatever, what type of thing, are we, is it just a whole country of rolling stones where people don't even spend long enough to get an experience or you know rub up against these people to know its Chinese New Year, and all of these different experiences. As soon as that's the other negative effect so whether they like it or not, they're going to bring in some beige thing."*

According to several interviewees, long-established families in the Borough first settled in Lewisham because of its lower housing prices, yet subsequent generations have left for other Boroughs or cities entirely because of housing costs.

6.10 Dirty Air and Dirty Cops: Lewisham's Public Realm

Landry's 2001 *Creative Lewisham* focused on the 'degrading' appearance of the built environment as a major limiting factor to the Borough's regeneration (quotes from p 8 and 11, respectively):

> *"Lewisham's visual environment needs a significant uplift to mark the change in attitude and ambition. It is not enough to transform people's sense of themselves and their possibilities, say through the arts, if they are then dropped into a mundane and at times degrading urban setting. A litmus question to ask is simply: Does the urban environment in Lewisham uplift or deflate, and if so where?*
>
> *The new buildings in Lewisham so far though feel less new than they should do and the architecture is less bold and innovative than it could be. For most first impressions of Lewisham disappoint and first impressions are also our last. Lewisham's offer is both seamless and rather samey and for outsiders can feel disorienting as there are insufficient landmarks or moments of surprise to guide the visitor, to seduce and encourage them to stay on. The key issue in competitive terms is 'Is this enough'?"*

The 2019 Lewisham Characterisation Study echoes criticisms from elsewhere in the catalogue, including poor intra-neighbourhood and Borough connectivity owing to disruptive railroad lines and bad road design, limited retail offer, car dominance, lack of trees and greenery, ugly scenery, lack of public gathering space with suitable seating and lights, and "cluttered" streetscapes. A lack of investment (by whom is not specified) in infrastructure is also a common characterisation.

The 2004-05 AMR (p 15) reported

> *"Lewisham has excellent transport links to central London and is just 12 miles from the M25 motorway. It is criss-crossed by the London strategic road network (A2, A20, A21 and A205) which, as a whole, carries a third of London's traffic. During the week, approximately 250,000 vehicles within the borough travel to and from central London. Within Lewisham there are 20 mainline stations, 3 DLR stations, 2 underground stations and 42 bus routes."*

Transport connectivity varies throughout the Borough, however. In the planning catalogue, transport is usually represented through its connectivity to central London. Despite transport projects like the Docklands Light Rail and Overground, which were expanded throughout the middle of the study period, according to the 2019-20 AMR some areas of Lewisham have a public transport accessibility level of zero (the lowest possible level), while others have the highest score possible of six. There are more north-south routes to link to central London than east-west connectivity within Lewisham and into neighbouring boroughs.

Over the course of the two decades which this catalogue covers, a number of transport links opened in the Borough that better connected it to central London, such as the Overground and Docklands Light Rail. A more optimistic framing of the Borough's transport connectivity, especially into the CAZ, emerged over the course of the catalogue study period as this occurred. In 2008, the Council said Lewisham was "exceptionally well served by public transport. We have regular train services from the borough's main

stations to Central London, and fast access to Canary Wharf, a major employment hub, via the DLR"
(Lewisham Council 2008b, 32). Another major transport infrastructure project referred to in the second
decade of the project study is the Bakerloo Line Extension. This would add stations south of Elephant and
Castle, including two in the Borough of Southwark and two in Lewisham (New Cross Gate and
Lewisham). The GLA and TfL ran consultations between 2014-19 on the route, but in late 2021 the plan
was suspended for funding reasons.

The "criss-crossing" of the strategic road network is presented as a significant strength in the Council
texts, despite emissions from vehicles causing significant, deadly air pollution. Air quality in Lewisham is
consistently poor and is largely attributed to the heavily trafficked South Circular road. 153 deaths in
Lewisham were caused by air pollution in 2008 (Mayor of London 2012, 17). Three years later, the
Council published an Air Quality Action Plan that included initiatives like a 20mph speed limit
throughout the Borough, mitigating emissions from new developments, improvements to active transport
infrastructure, car-free developments, and education and programming. 64% of Lewisham's pollution is
caused by vehicular traffic on its roads (Lewisham Council 2016d). In February 2013, nine-year old
Lewisham resident Ella Kissi-Debrah died of an acute asthma attack on a day when air pollution was
particularly heavy. The main theme of Ssega's track 'Our World (Fight for Air)' is the dangerous air
pollution around the South Circular, but Kayowa also has a line about it in 'Based'- "Air polluted lungs,
you get for free." Ssega distinguishes that although the air quality disproportionately impacts working
class and Black residents, it still threatens the "well to do:"

> *"HGV 6 axles, 44 tonnes 2 inches and 54 foot on top of that*
> *As it circles around our south Happily chugging*
> *And leaving our children's lungs black*
> *NO2 means something to me*
> *But what does it mean to you*
> *Or do you not care*
> *Because you think you're in an area that's for the well to do?*
> *But it's not about wealth or taste*
> *Carbon monoxide will get you too*
> *No haste*
> *Now let's see what will happen*
> *Respiratory bad patterns*
> *Can even get the man at the top*
> *He survived it others did not 150,000 plus can't be forgot*
> *So please let us breathe before the breathing stops."*

The music video positions the dual use of the South Circular as both a local thoroughfare for pedestrians
and as a major artery for heavy polluting vehicles enroute to Dover as a conflict. Vehicles are represented
as a disruptor and nuisance, particularly heavy trucks on long haul routes. Although most of the video

feels familiar, friendly, and intimate, vehicular traffic is represented as visual and physical obstructions which contaminate the air. The video is interspersed with close-up shots of exhaust pipes and heavy polluting vehicles driving through the area amongst schoolchildren. When Ssega is singing on a traffic island, passing trucks interrupt the shot and obscure him. When he references the "well to do," images of Goldsmiths University and two white joggers briefly flash across the screen.

Interviewees spoke of the subpar traffic network in the Borough, and were sceptical the re-design of the notorious gyratory in central Lewisham had done anything to fix its danger and congestion. The catalogue of texts broadly positioned Lewisham as an "up and coming" area thanks to its improved transport links to the CAZ, many of which (like various Overground and Docklands Light Rail stations) opened within the study period. Transportation infrastructure and other improvements to the public realm were frequently considered by interviewees as a way to attract outside investment and new residents who would be commuting outside the Borough and, and not to serve existing residents. Interviewee 9 pointed to certain beautification before the 2012 Olympics, and improving the look of the routes from the Borough to central London:

> *"It started to get cleaner, new buildings around for the purpose of making sure that the road leading from New Cross leading into the West End into the city or down to Greenwich was just clean houses, clean places, clean whatever."*

Policing

Although the catalogue of planning texts made scant reference to the Metropolitan Police, policing cannot be extracted from a study of Black Atlantic music culture development in Lewisham. Several interviewees described their experience of moving through Lewisham's public realm was influenced by the Metropolitan Police.

In 2001, construction began on what was then the largest police station in Europe on Lewisham High Street. A department store and Army & Navy store formerly occupied the site, and older interviewees described it as an important shopping destination in Lewisham. The 10,000 square foot police station opened in 2004 and occupies an impermeable city block and includes a multi-story car park and stables for 36 horses. The station also has 34 jail cells (the largest capacity of the Metropolitan Police) and in 2006 was reported as having one of the "highest turnover of prisoners" (Bainbridge 2006). Bridget West, Lewisham West MP, claimed the building would "improve the look of Lewisham" (quoted in Higginson 2001). The police station is operated under a 25-year PFI, in which many of the administrative jobs, as well as jailers and "subject processing" staff are outsourced to a for-profit private contractor (Equion) for £120 million (Shaw and Higginson 2001).

The Metropolitan Police has four satellite stations in Deptford, Brockley, Sydenham, and Catford. Each ward is surveilled and patrolled by "Safer Neighbourhood Teams." Beyond this physical infrastructure, the Metropolitan Police have consistently maintained a heavy presence in Lewisham. Several Freedom of Information requests offer a glimpse into the use of Section 60 stop and search powers in Lewisham between 2004-2018. Stop and searches peaked in 2010, when 16,249 were carried out in a population of 272,525. In 2012, the Metropolitan Police announced it would scale these back after the Equality and Human Rights Commission criticised them as unlawful and discriminatory. Accounts vary in the probabilities, but Black people are stopped more often than any other racialised group. In 2012, *The Guardian* reported an "African-Caribbean person is up to 27 times more likely than a white person to be stopped by police using those powers" (Dodd 2012). In 2021, London News Online reported "Black Londoners are 3.7 times more likely to be stopped and searched than white Londoners – this increases to seven times more likely for stops involving weapons, points or blades" (Cuffe 2021). Stop and searches have been trending downwards since then – in 2018, police conducted searches 4,773 times in Lewisham (Metropolitan Police 2020). Lewisham's "positive outcome" (or when the police find something on the searcher person) is comparable to the rest of London, at only 3.5% (Cuffe 2020). Lewisham residents have the lowest level of trust in the Metropolitan Police of any Borough (ibid). Across London, "82 per cent of people agreed that police should use stop and search. But in Lewisham that figure drops to 65 per cent" (Cuffe 2021).

"Failure of the police to provide protection and assistance to the poor is…a recurrent theme," in Black London music and modern-day British society is seen as an extension of "slave judicature" in which the social and economic relations of capitalism depend upon police brutality (Gilroy 1987, 204). Krug and Gordon (1983) give a damning summary of the relations between police and Black people in Britain: police were frequently accused of "harassment, racist abuse, assault, and the partial use of the law." Small (1983) wrote accounts of young Black people in London and the mistreatment inflicted upon them by the Metropolitan Police. Iterations of commissions and investigations convened at various levels of government over the past 50 years receive evidence from voluntary organisations, charities, think tanks and individuals echoing these allegations. In addition to police mistreating Black people on the streets and disproportionately enforce some laws against them, once arrested and within the criminal justice system, face further mistreatment and harsher sentences than white people (Fero and Mehmood 2001), and complaints to the police about their own unequal treatment, or reporting racially motivated attacks, are not taken seriously (Krug and Gordon 1983; Fero and Mehmood 2001).

A central aspect of how some interviewees conceived public space in Lewisham was the Metropolitan Police's presence in it. Interviewees' and their music discussed Borough's extensive history of racist

violence perpetrated by organisations like the National Front and Metropolitan Police. Particularly for young Black men, the Metropolitan Police threatened their safety and impacted how they moved through the public realm. Several interviewees suspected the "criminalising" of the area was one of many steps in repairing the area's reputation, both after 2011 racial uprisings across the city, and ahead of London hosting the 2012 Olympic games.

In interviews, policing was discussed as a tool of the state to do landowners' biddings (such as clearances from squats) as early stages of regeneration and gentrification. Police activities such as raids and evictions, cancelling gigs, and 'sus' stop and searches heavily impacted the everyday of experience of many interviewees, and this is conveyed in their music. Officers and police cars are motifs in the videos, seemingly inevitable in any footage taken on streets in Lewisham. The music refers to the police as a threat who manufacture problems (such as introducing drugs) and harass and stereotype residents. Police are not depicted as protectors of public safety. Interviewees shared anecdotes of being antagonized, assaulted, and wrongly stopped by police officers, and this is reflected across the catalogue of music. One interviewee in his early 20s related that the day prior to our conversation, police stopped and searched him while on his way to work. Another interviewee, several months after we spoke, was violently arrested by police for cycling on the pavement on a one-way street while working as a delivery rider; a van full of Territorial Support Group officers pinned him to the ground.

In Koder's 'Why You in the Endz?' video, friends hang out on the steps and rooftop of an estate and he asks,

> *"Why you in the endz tryna make the mandem beef*
> *Why you in the endz tryna shepherd, we ain't sheep*
> *Why you in the endz, never show up when there's grief*
> *Why you in the endz, we don't need no more police*
> *Why you in the endz, tryna tap into devices*
> *Why you in the endz I can see you're so divisive*
> *Why you in the endz, I aint running from no sirens*
> *Gave us all the guns then try and blame us for the violence."*

Within and beyond the study years of 2001-2021, the Metropolitan Police have led many operations and initiatives that by their own accounts disproportionately target Black people (Metropolitan Police 2020a, 2020b). For many male interviewees, the Metropolitan Police were the most direct manifestation of state violence and an omnipresent threat. One interviewee described what it was like being a young Black man in Brockley in the early 2000s, and that the constant threat of stops and searches (sometimes multiple in one day) "just makes you want to stay in your house." Koder's video for 'Why You in the Endz' represents the relationship of policing to the gentrification of Lewisham. In one scene, a cop whose face is concealed behind a white mask in a car trails Koder, who is walking on the pavement. After getting out of

his car and handcuffing Koder facedown on the street, he removes a fork from Koder's pocket and replaces it with a butterknife. He addresses this duplicity with the lines:

> *"Why you in the endz tryna disrespect the ting*
> *Tryna bring my war to my queens and my kings*
> *Why you in the endz tryna wash away your sins*
> *Nickin us for drugs when it's you who brought them in."*

This line is matched with a shot of a police car driving in Brockley, filmed from a distance at the back. LVTS's 'Bounse,' includes a similar shot while he raps they "take your drugs and sell it back to you." While most of the music's reference to the police are more generalized and their omnipresence in everyday life, Lezlee Lyrix's 'Guilty at Last' is about a specific case of police malfeasance. He recorded his freestyle "somewhere in the Gambia" in 2012 in response to the guilty verdicts of Gary Dobson and David Norris for murdering Stephen Lawrence in 1993. Lezlee MCs in a Jamaican tradition, albeit without any musical accompaniment. He invokes Rastafari and tells the story of Stephen Lawrence's murder and botched police response, and situates this in the greater narrative of white racism against Black people:

> *"So we say guilty, we find them guilty at last*
> *It's good that some boy can't escape them past*
> *Guilty, we find them guilty at last and if we have our way we would have end them*
> *Rastafari know 18 years back, you killed Stephen Lawrence standing at the bus stop*
> *Him and him bredren reason and chat when some racist white boy launched them attack*
> *1 to 1 them to not fight like that, 6 to 1 them love the odds like that*
> *And to feel ever bigger they call you the n-*
> *Swing swing swing and them chop chop chop*
> *Him Bredren run wey when they come back?*
> *In sight poor Stephen and lay down flat?*
> *And when them see they blood him start screaming and people gather round and try resuscitating*
> *But to not avail when they hear siren*
> *When the Babylon come that's when the arms os Begin*
> *When they see the color of the youth dem skin, they wouldn't believe it was a racist killing*
> *And tell Duwayne Brooks they was gang fighting and treat him as a suspect and not a victim*
> *And from the day me born me no sight such a ting*
> *They would not accept it was a racist killing*
> *So me say guilty, we find them guilty at last it's good some boy can't escape them past*

Now you must overstand the tribulation the Lawrence family have gone through from day one
Them live in a port of some police station, they never get ease nor satisfaction
And no mention, no mark for a son, that [MacPherson] report make a joke of the situation
And find that Babylon guilty of corruption, they're not taught about the institutional racism
Cause no police never charged, and still at large, and a patch? on the street in inner London
That's why I'm glad for the conviction, but 4 murderers still have them freedom.
That's why I give praise to the almighty one, to give the Lawrence family the strength to carry on
In the pursuit of justice for them son Stephen and every African victim of white racism."

Unlike most of the interviewees, who were between the ages of 20-45, Lezlee Lyrix is in his 60s and was an adult when Gary Dobson and David Norris murdered Stephen Lawrence. Representing a widely-known event musically through the lens of Jamaican culture preserves an alternative historical memory beyond the purview of the state and mainstream media. Although this murder occurred in 1993 in southeast London, Lezlee Lyrix reinforces the UK's centuries of "white racism" by referring to Stephen as an "African victim." Using the symbolic "Babylon" rather than a specific institution, such as New Scotland Yard or the Met Police, serves to zoom out of the contemporary institutions and represents the police neglecting to properly investigate the murder of a young Black man not as an aberration but deliberate function of a systemically and historically racist and oppressive society.

6.11 Conclusion: Imagining and Contesting the Inner City Myth

This chapter has analysed how the three data sources respectively conceive of and represent the London Borough of Lewisham. The analysis overall shows disparities between entities with power to make land use decisions and everyday people and their artistic outputs conceive of the London Borough of Lewisham. Although there are some convergences in their representations, such as an acknowledgement that the Borough suffers from a poor external representation, the data sources' vary in the depth of context for these negative characterisations, and what should be done about them.

Burgess' (1985) inner city myth underpins the official state depictions of the London Borough of Lewisham, which in turn permeated into the other two data sources' representations. They rely on top-down statistics to negatively frame the Borough and justify its intensive real estate interventions. These representations were recycled across the two decades of the study years and repeated by consultancies commissioned by the Council to write regeneration reports. Although buzzwords such as "vibrant" and "diverse" were used to seemingly compliment the Borough, regeneration policy and planning permissions

were informed by the problematisation of the Borough and its inhabitants, which were often conflated as one entity in need of improvement.

Individual Black Atlantic music practitioners' representations of the Borough were informed by their personal lived experience and family histories. The inner city myth also impacted their representations of the Borough, in that they added more nuance or contested its stereotypes, particularly those used to describe the population that they themselves did not ascribe to. While some of these overlapped with official state representations, their characterisations of Lewisham (such as its 'deprivation') were understood through their own observations and experiences, not statistics, had more nuance, and used different terms. More dire representations of the Borough (for example its high crime rate and bad reputation) were tempered with direct experience of places that provided refuge and safety borne of networks of people providing for themselves. Their musical outputs disputed official representations of the Borough, countered negative stereotypes of the inner city myth, and depicted everyday life there, which included the significance of small businesses and relationships with neighbours. Although the music analysed was still personal to its makers, it also served the function to put themselves in the bigger context of Lewisham, longer-term histories, and communicate their identities to a wider audience who may have understood Lewisham previously through mainstream media representations of it.

The literature review described how processes like privatisation and financialisation impact the planning processes and what gets built; CDA, in-depth interviews, and MDA used in this chapter add further insight into how these interventions are contingent on narratives that problematise the Borough in a way as to justify its 'regeneration,' and how interviewees and their music create alternative narratives. Interviewees criticised new private developments as both physical and symbolic intrusions that intentionally did not mesh with the surrounding area. Although OAs are not physically demarcated on the street, interviewees observed dramatic differences the OA developments had from the rest of the area, and that these large-scale developments were designed without local needs in mind. Whereas Council texts utilised other conceptions of space such as wards, and frequently emphasise differences between the north and south parts of the Borough, interviewees and their music conceived of Lewisham at the neighbourhood level, postcodes, and their respective endz. Their representations of housing were much more personal and reflected on changes within the study period, including new developments, demolished estates, and the cost of living. As interviewees relayed, many Lewisham residents had families who had been there for generations. Once settled in the Borough, people forged communities with their fellow 'diverse' neighbours, yet these long-established "communities" were fragmented by younger, non-property owning members getting priced out of the area.

This chapter contributes a methodological originality in the exercise of the spatial triad and incorporation of musicological discourse analysis into planning research. It gives equal weight to official state representations, the conceptions of interviewees involved in Black Atlantic music practices, and representations within their musical outputs of the London Borough of Lewisham. It leverages Lefebvre's flexibility of how space is produced to consider how people within an area conceive of and represent the place, beyond categories imposed by the state. Understanding how different everyday actors in the built environment conceive of a space is critical for further research into how they use it. The next chapter builds off these varying representations of the Borough to explore how each data source envisions 'culture' within the Borough at different scales, including regeneration schemes, community, and for the individual artist.

7. The Many Meanings of Culture in Lewisham: Spaces of Representation

The previous chapter explored how the data sources conceive of and represent the London Borough of Lewisham, particularly in the context of its 'regeneration' between 2001-2021. I now examine how each data source gives meaning to 'culture' to answer the research question: **how do official state depictions, individual music practitioners, and their musical outputs give meaning to 'culture' in regeneration discourse and everyday life?**

Although there are some convergences between the three data sources' prescription for 'culture' in the built environment and 'regeneration' schemes, how they operationalise culture differs significantly. This chapter corresponds to Lefebvre's (1991) "spaces of representation," or the realm of creative interpretation, imagination, and resistance. This is perhaps the most ephemeral third of the spatial triad, which

> *"need obey no rules of consistency or cohesiveness. Redolent with imaginary and symbolic elements, they have their source in history – in the history of a people as well as in the history of each individual belonging to that people"* (Lefebvre 1991, 41).

Spaces of representation correspond to culture and cultural outputs, borne of collective memory and experience of a space. 'Culture' and its creative 'products,' such as music, are receptacles for their creators' interpretations of the spaces they inhabit. Spaces of representation are the emotive, sentimental, and often alternative or subversive attachments to place beyond the institutional, ordered strictures of representing spaces as discussed in the previous chapter. An official entity like a local authority arguably cannot produce spaces of representation for this reason, so the critical discourse analysis of the texts rather discern how the Lewisham Council *envisions* culture's function in the Borough, particularly as an outside 'catalyst' for regeneration introduced from elsewhere, and how these imaginings of culture influence planning and funding decisions. This is then triangulated with the other two data sources' interpretation of culture and its function in the Borough to discern how these interpretations shape the built environment.

7.1 What's 'Culture' Doing in Lewisham? Coding Signifiers

For the catalogue of planning texts, I searched for how 'culture' was defined (if at all). I then coded how 'culture' factored into discussions for regeneration, including how it would be introduced and by whom. I also coded how references to the 'culture' built into regeneration plans referenced and related to the 'culture' and 'diversity' discussed in the previous chapter, or how it might be positioned as a remedy for

the problems with the Borough identified in the previous chapter. Across the catalogue of planning texts, 'culture' and 'creativity' were sometimes conflated, as well as the terms 'cultural and creative industries' (CCI) or 'creative industries.' When the terms were used more broadly, I coded for their functions; however, when specific CCIs were referred to unrelated to music (such as tech start-ups), I did not code them.

Interview transcripts were similarly coded about the role 'culture' (and specific cultural practices like jams) plays in interviewees' everyday lives. This included both personal and collective functions, and particularly how various expressions and functions of culture draw from interviewees' immediate environment and experiences. I also coded for interviewees' understandings of how 'regeneration' impacted their interpretations of 'culture,' including how they interpreted the Council's drawing from or incorporating the Borough's existing local culture (if at all).

One challenge for this chapter was coding the music, which is in and of itself a cultural output, so to analyse how the music gives meaning to culture risked becoming a circular description. To describe the music only in its most perceptible traits is to miss certain parts of it best experienced live, in real time and space. It is not only the music, but the way in which it is distributed, and shared that to show how the social networks collectively perpetuating the culture are reinforced through the music. Rather than quote the music frequently, I discuss historical and present factors influencing its sounds, distributing, and consumption to flesh out *how* the culture functions.

The coding framework for the catalogue of planning texts and interviews overlapped in broad cultural functions – for example, the development of business, asserting one's identity and self, and community bonding. However, the underlying assumptions and motivations informing these conceptions and roles of culture varied widely between the catalogue of planning texts and the interviews/music. The coding framework helped understand how culture can be alternatively understood as a commodity, deliberately introduced by official actors, or and a process, the lived innate modes of everyday life informed by people's heritages and surroundings. See the codebook in Appendix 1 for how culture's definitions and functions were discerned in the data sources.

7.2 Functions of Culture: Definitions and Disjointed Discourse

To understand how culture is interpreted and applied in regeneration texts, I first sought how it and other interrelated concepts were defined. In culture-related reports and plans produced by the MoL/GLA and Lewisham Council between 2001-2021, regeneration and culture are abstract, flexible processes or entities, rarely with explicit definition. As covered in the literature review, the origins of the word 'regeneration' imply utter transformation of an object, and in contemporary urban planning contexts has

strong neoliberal and evangelical underpinnings. Despite invoking 'regeneration' hundreds of times throughout the catalogue, brief definitions of the term are relegated to glossaries, as in the Mayor of London's 2004 *London Cultural Capital*, which says regeneration is "the social and economic renewal of an area/community" (p 247). The 2011 Lewisham Core Strategy defines regeneration (again in the glossary) as "the process of putting new life back into often derelict older urban areas through environmental improvements, comprehensive development and transport proposals" (p 199). The brevity of definitions for a breadth of decades-long interventions renders 'regeneration' an abstraction, an ongoing process with no final end state or clear indicator of completion. The lack of verbs specifically attributed to policy measures or tangible actions also adds to the discursive vagueness of the term. "Renewal" or "putting new life" are metaphors, obscuring long, large-scale processes like the privatisation of public land and financialised real estate development. 'Regeneration' encompasses the construction of residences and flagship buildings and attracting employers and large institutions to set up offices in the Borough. Additionally, describing places as "derelict" implies some kind of actor or agent has neglected or disinvested from the area, yet these definitions never specify who,, again abstracting historical processes. The Council's 2008 (p 12) regeneration strategy, *People, Prosperity, Place* states

> " Regeneration needs to respect and enhance the existing rich cultural life of the
> community. It must protect the things that people value most about their local
> area. We will constantly seek to find better ways of involving and engaging people
> in the development, planning and delivery of regeneration activities."

This brief passage contains several features which abstract real actors and processes. It places the onus on a long-term, metaphorical process (regeneration) rather than specific actors to respect, enhance, and protect "cultural life." The Council, rather than explicitly stating it will involve and engage people, only "seeks to find better ways" to do such. The double verbs of "seeking to find" adds two layers from the actual activity of involving and engaging residents.

In the Mayor of London's Cultural Infrastructure Plan (2019, 8), culture is described as "an essential ingredient in London's success" and that London's cultural infrastructure ensures "everyday experiences and opportunities for people to access culture on their own doorstep" by providing physical space to either "produce" or "consume" it. It describes culture as "our city's DNA. It's the thing that binds us all together-both in times of crisis and in times of celebration," yet fails to note what, exactly, the characteristics of this city-wide shared culture are (ibid, 5). The London Borough of Lewisham's Creative Industries Strategy (2012, 2) says the borough "has long recognised the value of culture and creativity to local communities," yet prioritises attracting outside talent in creative industries (which will be discussed later).

Several texts acknowledge the breadth of definitions applied to culture and include some definitions more aligned with Bhabha (1994, 1996) wherein culture is a process or suite of historically-informed expressions, attitudes, and behaviours. The Council's 2002 Local Cultural Strategy (p 4) quoted Landry's (2001) description of culture as the product of people collectively responding to their surroundings:

> *"Culture is about beliefs, traditions, identity and ways of living and how they affect behaviour…All development is cultural as it reflects the way people perceive their problems and opportunities. Culture is central because it is the sum total of original solutions that a group of human beings invent to adapt to their environment and circumstances."*

The same strategy names four strategic objectives culture could achieve: improving the natural environment, developing a 'sustainable' economy, improving residents' skills and knowledge, and enhancing their quality of life.

Interviewees similarly frame 'culture' as the long-term networks and patterns of everyday life resulting in particular outputs and aesthetics. Culture is place-bound because of the people in it, not an inherent container for activity. Interviewees speculated on culture's dilution or dissolution through regeneration schemes and processes pricing residents out of the area, disrupting their social cohesion and cultural practices. When I asked Interviewee 21 to describe what Lewisham culture was, he spoke to the importance of networks and casual relationships, often taking place in the public realm, in capacities the Council does not necessarily recognise or appreciate:

> *"I'd say [the culture] is loads of little things that aren't noticed…Black people selling fruit at the market, recently there's that Jamaican shop opposite Deptford Station… I walk past it every day and I recognise that smell every time, when I walk past my hair studio, people chilling outside the shops every day. We see them, we say hello to them, it's that for me. Even things like the barber shop, seeing the same people in the barber shop every time I go there. Knowing the people, knowing the shop owners, I don't think any of that gets recognised because if these people were to go in the shop, they'd buy their thing and leave, they don't know about the relationships that are being formed. Especially shop owners, and people on the market, even the people that go just to chill outside the shops. It's very welcoming, but it's only welcoming but if you embrace that. The Council don't embrace that. They only care about the image, looking from the outside in."*

His response encapsulated other interviewees' sentiments about Lewisham's culture being enacted through constellations of long-term residents and businesses. Their sense of Lewisham's culture differentiated what made it 'diverse' (rather than just calling it so), and how people moved through space in their everyday lives as informed by their surroundings and cultural heritages. Interviewees shared a consensus that despite the Borough's 'diversity,' Caribbean (and specifically Jamaican) culture most

influenced its music, use of public space, and social activities. Interviewee 11 talked about culture embedded in small businesses that provide the means for self-expression and cultural identity:

> *"When you come into Lewisham and talk to people from here, we love where we live, we love the community, we love that it still has its element of Blackness…when I think about Lewisham, some places are gentrified, I still can go to my hair shops, my markets, Caribbean and African food. That part of my identity is still here."*

The Mayor of London's *London Cultural Capital: Realising the potential of a world-class city* (2004, 30) employs a more external-facing, commodified idea of culture, invoking "vibrancy," an abstract noun that with its adjective (vibrant) is ubiquitous throughout catalogue:

> *"[culture is] a complex web of activities made up of a number of discrete but not exclusive sectors—heritage, sport, libraries and so on. It is the sheer quantity and breadth of cultural activity in London that gives it its vibrancy, energy and critical mass."*

In 2009, the Lewisham Cultural Strategy (p 2) defined culture as more rooted in the existing environment:

> *"In Lewisham 'culture' means the way our surroundings and the creative and leisure sectors reflect and nurture the aspirations and creativity of all it's [sic] communities. Lewisham has a history of recognising the role culture can play in improving people's quality of life. The cornerstone of this strategy is that culture makes a crucial contribution to the wellbeing of individuals and communities by enabling them to express themselves and to stay healthy…The term 'culture' is a wide reaching one. Culture is about what people believe, how they see themselves and others, and how they interact with their surroundings. When we speak of the cultural sector we mean the activities, services and built environment that a local authority has a duty to provide and shape."*

Rather than saying what culture *is,* several texts allude to what culture *does* and its many functions in cities. A year after London hosted the 2012 Olympics, the GLA's 2013 *Culture on the High Street* (Crook 2013, 4) situated culture at the "heart of the capital's economy:"

> *"Culture is at the heart of London's high streets and they are in turn at the heart of the capital's economy. During the marvellous summer of 2012, culture breathed new life into our high streets, with spectacular, free performances and surprising reimaginations of what these everyday places can be."*

Later GLA descriptions mention history and heritage as elements of culture, such as in the 2015 *A-Z of Planning and Culture* (p 4):

> *"Great cities are defined by their culture. They are defined by their history – through their local heritage, museums and archives, historic buildings, festivals, food and local traditions. But a great city is also defined by its contemporary culture – its artists and arts venues, film and television, music and games, photography and crafts, fashion and design, and its buzzing informal offering from skate parks to restaurants, pubs and night clubs. Great cities are also*

142

defined by their ambitions for the future. So when we talk about 'culture' we mean all of the above."

These vague, romanticising definitions align with Young's (2006) description of a "culturalised" economic and organisational life, in which culture under modern capitalism is commodified, its outputs invested with symbolic value (Zukin 1998). The lack of concrete definitions is also striking given the significance of "culture" in regeneration over the study period. The Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) of the New Labour government of 1997-2010 "proved a consistent proponent of culture-led urban regeneration strategies" (Ward and Hubbard 2019, 201). Its 2008 *Creative Britain: New Talents for the New Economy* forecasted CCIs would be the largest economic driver in cities over the coming decade. Central government provided local and region funding for "culture-led strategies and initiatives, such as establishing 'cultural quarters'" and flagship buildings (Ward and Hubbard 2019, 201). New Labour government's attitudes, approaches, and policies towards culture and regeneration persist at the local level, particularly as they relate to waterfront locations and flagship buildings (ibid), which is seen in Lewisham Council's selling off waterfront estates (like Aragon Tower), and will be discussed in the next chapter. Local authorities rely on attracting outsiders as a way to supplement revenue in the wake of the 2010 Coalition's government withdrawal of funding.

The breadth of how culture is described (or not) makes it everywhere and nowhere: culture is simultaneously an expression of everyday life, a 'complex web of activities' in formal and informal spaces, a tourist attraction and 'catalyst' of regeneration, how people assert themselves and form community, the heart of high streets, and a crime deterrent. While Lewisham Council's narratives remained relatively stable between 2001-2021 (indeed, the same Mayor served for 18 years), GLA discourse shifts between three London Mayoral administrations. Under Livingstone's administration (2000-20008), the GLA took some efforts to investigate and make policy that accounted for the city's diverse population. In 2005, for example, the Mayor of London published *Delivering Shared Heritage: The Mayor's Commission on Asian and African Heritage*, which acknowledges culture as a function of heritage and a way to promote "workforce diversity" and "inclusive education." It also recommends how university student bodies and museum collections could better reflect the people in London, "a microcosm of the world's populations and cultures – each of them important and invaluable" (Mayor of London 2005, 6). Livingstone, however, was still concerned with attracting external investment into London, which he cited as one of his main motivations for bidding to host the 2012 Olympics. GLA texts during Boris Johnson's mayoral administration (2008-2016), however, refer to European classical music and William Shakespeare as common cultural denominators, and leverage culture more as a tool with which to rebrand areas and stimulate the economy than his predecessor (Ken Livingstone) and successor (Sadiq Khan). Johnson was also more focussed on the built environment rather than specific social

programmes, and frequently invoked his Mayoral powers to override local authorities' denying of planning permissions (Murphy 2017). Sadiq Khan's administration (2016-present (2023) seemingly blends the strategies of his two successors – both leveraging London's international diversity as a strength in pursuit of financialised, foreign-led real estate investment schemes.

7.3 Obscuring Conflicts between Culture and Regeneration

The Mayor of London acknowledged in the 2018 strategy *Culture for All Londoners* (p 26) that London "must embrace a broad definition of culture that includes less formal places and spaces." While this aims to define culture more inclusively, tying "culture" to place, not people, risks discounting the importance of long-established and intergenerational residential, familial, and other social networks to cultural formation and production. Culture is a process perpetuated by people, not a concrete entity spontaneously introduced to a place. Across the differences of Mayoral administrations and within the GLA, the flexibility of the term 'culture' may cause internal tension between departments and private developers depending on their interpretation. A dearth of indicators and clear conception of 'culture' makes it difficult to connect the influx of international investment to the success of local culture and its infrastructure. For example, despite the proud association of culture with the 2012 Olympic Games, several sectors of London's culture did not appear to benefit. By the GLA's own reporting, between 2007-2015, over a third of London's grassroots music venues and over half of the city's LGBTQ+ venues closed.

In 2016 (under the leadership of Mayor Sadiq Khan) the GLA implemented a Culture at Risk Office, which focuses on supporting existing cultural organisations. My interview with the Culture at Risk Programme Manager conveyed a wider, evolving conception of culture and cultural spaces than the analysed texts. The Culture at Risk Office assists local campaigns, conducts and disseminates research to local authorities, and mediates potential conflicts between developers and existing cultural venues, such as new residences that may make noise complaints about a nearby music venue with a late license. The Programme Manager for the Culture at Risk Office described its remit as

> *"safeguarding and protecting cultural and community spaces that we understand to be at risk. Organizations ask for support and apply for support. In the past year and a half, we prioritized and developed into an equity-first programme. We target 80% of our casework is to support minority-led organizations with a focus specifically on Black and minority ethnic groups that have space, because we know that historically those groups have had a harder time, faced barriers to access. We also carry out research…to inform Boroughs of strategic issues and risks that are coming up around the city so we can do some shared language. We can also be partners to work towards our aims towards supporting these vital*

144

spaces. We carry out work on a priority case-by-case. We work directly with organisations around specific issues they're facing, try to lobby and advocate for support, provide resources and trainings. Recently we started to develop a series of more strategic projects, so that's looking at more systemic issues being faced by groups of people coming to us for support and coming up with new and exciting ways to partner with outside organisations on ways to find innovative solutions for them."

The Culture at Risk Office takes a more historical view than the catalogue of planning texts (that merely describe problems like 'deprivation') by advocating for existing groups who have "faced barriers" or been "historically excluded" (albeit without specifying who was doing the excluding). It was not clear, however, how the GLA reconciled its various missions of seeking foreign investment, residents, and businesses while ensuring existing residents and their cultural groups are not displaced in the process. This appears to create a paradox where the GLA simultaneously promotes and seeks foreign investment for regeneration schemes, then advocates (within its limited power) for the local organisations that may risk dispossession because of the consequent changed land uses and increased values. The Programme Manager described networking with existing organisations and amplifying campaigns of groups at risk of losing their spaces. When asked how the Culture at Risk Office interacts with other GLA departments, the Programme Manager explained a primarily advocative and consultative role. The Office has also contributed to implementing planning protections in the London Plans (such as agent of change principles, so music venues cannot be closed due to the noise complaints from new residents), but these measures risk being undermined by central government's loosened regulations on permitted development, in which property owners can convert non-residential buildings into housing. The Programme Manager talked about the limitations of the planning system imposed by central government, and that protections unfold over many years:

> *"The planning system cannot control the knock-on impacts like increasing land value and business rates that come from new developments. But if you add permitted development rights to that, and chipping away planning regulations from government, that is like a whole other world of complication. Then coming out of covid, funders' coffers are more depleted, local authority budgets are more depleted…the funding landscape is super challenging. Organisations are just going from one crisis to the next. So there's just this huge set of additional challenges that I suppose are not within our purview to control…*
>
> *I would also say that as we improve our planning protections…I don't want to use the word tedious, but it is this slow draw, incremental change…As we seek to protect existing culture and community spaces, I think that it will make it more challenging for developers who want to just move forward with planning applications that radically abuse spaces. Now there is a broader context to this, which is things outside the Mayor's control. There is a huge shift in planning regulations very recently brought forward by the government. They introduced a*

series of planning uses and they also increased the amount of permitted development to reduce the amount of protections that certain places have…I think that there is an opportunity for communities now to be better heard in the planning process and I think there's an iteration coming forward where... there's an opportunity to feed into that as there's engagement, opportunities that come forward. If there are concerns about communities continuously not being able to benefit from these new schemes coming forward within what can be controlled through planning, we'd continue to evolve to be improved to represent more voices and what people want to see."

I asked about the Culture at Risk Office's relationship with the London Borough of Culture (LBOC), curious if the two offices' missions would overlap in preserving existing 'at-risk' cultural organisations. The Programme Manager said her office had limited, more incidental interactions with the LBOC team. This separation is curious given the LBOC's stated objective to put "culture at the heart of local communities, where it belongs, illuminating the character and diversity of London's boroughs and showing culture is for everyone" (GLA, n.d.). Lewisham's Director for Inclusive Regeneration, however, talked about the LBOC being both a source of cohesion and local pride, yet with the ultimate goal of attracting outside private investors:

> *"Absolutely in terms of thinking about how the legacy of the Borough of Culture is retained and becomes the driving force for a lot of the change that we want to see. That's thinking about it both in terms of how we appeal to other private interests by saying 'look, there's this incredible diversity of culture in this borough, and that should be a draw for you in terms of your investment,' whether that's as an employer or a developer. What are the cultural assets we want to see secured as a result of the LBOC?"*

The non-specificity of why cultural organisations are displaced from or dispossessed of their physical spaces, or who is responsible for it, creates latitude for other GLA departments to pursue regeneration strategies that may jeopardise them. Between 2007-2015, 35% of London's live music venues closed (Mayor of London Music Venues Taskforce 2015). In response, the Mayor formed a Music Venues Taskforce (MVT) and hired the consultancy Nordicity to investigate the underlying reasons and devise a "rescue plan." The MVT's Rescue Plan (2015, 15) somewhat obfuscates why one-third of the city's grassroots music venues had closed in less than a decade, first blaming 'market failure' in the music industry before turning to 'external forces' like

> *"London's urgent need for housing; rising property values; the planning system; local authority licensing requirements; police priorities; plus competition from state subsidised venues in other European countries."*

The MVT's 2017 Progress Report argues grassroots venues are worthy of preservation foremost because of the profits reaped by the city. Half of the 10 key facts in an infographic address either profit, tax revenue, or investment. The first rescue plan (2015, 8) outlined similar priorities, referencing venues as

"big players in the music history of London, [that] fed the UK's £3.8 billion music industry with a stream of talented acts and they were part of the international story of 'Brand Britain.'" Within the Music Venues Rescue Plan are contradictions in how 'regeneration' is framed and related to live music, and how developers and local authorities can revive live music. The Taskforce recommends developers and local authorities work together to create 'Music Zones,' and that developers should build 'grassroots' music venues, which will "add community value and improve a project's image" (p 26). It is unclear, however, if an external private developer's venue would pass the report's own 'elephant test,' in which "musicians and audiences in the town/borough/city think that is the grassroots music venue" (p 34). It is also unclear if private developers would be interested in taking on the kind of lower-revenue, higher-risk, yet artistically necessary programming found in grassroots venues. This disconnect between leveraging 'culture' to catalyse regeneration in an area, and what happens to that culture once regeneration occurs is evident in the Music Venues Rescue Plan, which claims (p 9)

> *"Grassroots music venues are a major factor in regenerating urban areas. Their presence benefits town centres, high streets and local communities across London. The local nighttime economy also benefits from audiences attending shows at music venues. Going to a gig is an enriching social activity and every gig brings hundreds of people into an area who also use local pubs, bars, taxis and restaurants."*

Six pages later, however, the GLA blames property value increases and noise complaints resulting from 'regeneration' as contributing to music venue closures. Two highlighted quotes from people within the music industry frame regeneration as a threat to their sectors. The CEO of the Ministry of Sound, an iconic club in the Borough of Southwark that fought to stay open amidst noise complaints from new residents of the Eileen House development, said (p 18):

> *"Regeneration shouldn't be a threat to our industry. We spent four years and well over a million pounds on one case fighting for our existence. A smaller business would not have survived. We were totally on our own.*

Although the MVT recommended developers take on the financial and cultural risk of opening grassroots music venues, a senior adviser within another GLA team, Cultural and Creative Industries, said developers often lacked a clear cultural strategy for their planning applications, for which the CCI team referred them to consultancies:

> *"A lot of the big developers will approach with a huge masterplan coming forward and they want advice on how to include cultural infrastructure, we can't take on that work, we're not resourced for it, we advise them to work with a cultural consultant. With the research we have, we will encourage them to be really open-minded about what the local infrastructure might be, look at what's in the area already, what does the community want, what is the pan-London picture of the typology they're looking at, what kind of place do they want to*

> *build, do they want to look at meanwhile uses, which then integrates into the main scheme, so we'll have a discussion like that with them, and really making sure that they think of developing a cultural strategy as part of that masterplan, that it's just another one of the consultants they need to bring on board…They're well-funded organisations, they can pay consultants to do that work."*

Interviewees 7 and 16 pointed out sites of closed venues while walking through Deptford and New Cross. In 2021, over 2,300 people signed a petition to protect the Birds Nest, an important local pub and grass roots music venue, from noise complaints from new residents in the Creekside Development. The Council put in an 'agent of change' principle for the planning permissions, preventing noise complaints from new residents in the Creekside Development from closing the venue (Deptford Dame 2021). Interviewees, however, listed many other venues that closed during the study years.

The Licensing Act of 2003, administered by the DCMS, plays a crucial role in urban development. Roberts et al (2020) argue licensing's objectives, such as preventing crime, disorder, and public nuisance, maintaining public safety, and protecting children assume a controlling, antagonistic stance towards the night-time economy and inhibits cultural development. The authors found the economic expansion of 'central London' suppresses cultural creativity because of rent hikes and property price increases, and licensing overlaps with policing through imposing conditions on venues, like CCTV and searching patrons prior to entry. Roberts et al (2020) recommend planners get more involved in licensing to better integrate night-time uses into town planning, and ensure a diverse, inclusive mix of land uses. Researching another south London Borough, Talbot (2004, 2006, 2011) and Talbot and Böse (2007) found licensing requirements were more onerous for non-white applicants, and particularly amongst Black-owned night-time enterprises, such as clubs and pubs.

7.4 Culture's Functions: Asserting identity and branding

Within the catalogue of government planning texts, the GLA consistently refers to culture and CCIs as branding devices to attract international businesses, investors, and tourists. A typical example is from the Mayor of London's *Cultural Metropolis: The Mayor's Cultural Strategy 2012- Beyond* (2010, 8):

> *"London is an acknowledged centre for arts and culture and commercial creative industries, all of which make a vital contribution to London's economy. Not only is the sector a major employer and economic generator, with a turnover of over £18bn, it also plays an important role in terms of boosting the visitor economy and ensuring London's position as a global capital for creativity and commerce."*

The previous chapter discussed the consensus between all three data sources on Lewisham's bad reputation. Beginning with Landry's *Creative Lewisham* (2001) the Council positions 'culture' to change outsiders' perception. Landry prioritises the external reputation of the Borough and potential newcomers over benefits conferred to locals, whom he assumes are ashamed of being from Lewisham (p 13):

> *"Over-riding everything should be a concern with Lewisham's projection and image, which should operate at a number of levels - internally and externally, to niche markets and broader audiences. This should not be seen as a simple PR exercise, but as a long term policy objective based on a deep sense of what Lewisham is and could be.*
>
> *Done well it will increase the sense Lewisham residents have of themselves and their resulting self-esteem. If Lewisham people feel ashamed that they come from Lewisham how can they aspire? If Lewisham's image feels rich and multi-textured outsiders will consider Lewisham as a place to be, to invest and enjoy, thereby becoming unconscious ambassadors for the borough."*

Given this strong language about Lewisham residents' assumed dejection, one questions if Landry diagnosed a lack of aspiration derived from the input of the 300 residents he supposedly consulted with to write *Creative Lewisham*. His positioning of culture to convert residents into "unconscious ambassadors," implies a lack of residents' agency, and that improved morale would ultimately be in service of attracting others to "invest and enjoy" the Borough. Landry (2001, 42) advised the Council:

> *"[Lewisham] has to put across a sense of the rich texture that is Lewisham – a mixed borough of potentially far more flourishing neighbourhoods. A place in transformation. Yet the hype must not proceed reality; it is far better for reality to push hype…*
>
> *The image should be built up step by step, firstly creating a sense that there is a 'Lewisham' - a set of connected, flourishing, and distinctive neighbourhoods, places or villages - then secondly that it is a multi-faceted richer experience than people might think at first sight and then finally to spell out its depth. Inevitably the arts and urban design will play a central part in creating images for Lewisham. The target is regional, national and international, yet given resources Lewisham needs to identify niches to which it can market rather than using a scatter-shot approach."*

Culture as a branding mechanism for the Borough is discussed as a primarily visual endeavour, such as public art imbuing developments with character, like sculpture and murals "on approved walls." Flagship buildings, such as the Albany Theatre, Deptford Lounge, the Trinity Laban Dance Centre are credited as lending the Borough a sense of distinctiveness.

Interviewees conveyed a sense of pride rather than shame of being from Lewisham, largely because of its existing culture. Interviewees put the Borough's 'deprivation' in the context of institutional racism and austerity. They did not gloss over or deny problems like poverty and violence, but rather than feel embarrassed, they credited being from Lewisham as bestowing them with a wider worldview because of the integrated diversity around them and close relationships with their neighbours. A typical sentiment is reflected by Interviewee 9:

149

"I loved growing up here. It was violent, I'm not going to front, that was the only downside. Like with most areas you had that, but the culture and the music was amazing. It's a complete melting pot and I grew up with a mix of friends from different cultural backgrounds and I absolutely loved that. There was just so much music."

For interviewees, culture is a way to assert themselves despite the area's poor reputation, and to express collective and individual identities. Music particularly was a means to make themselves heard and visible on their terms. Whereas Council texts position the Borough's poor standing amongst outsiders as something to be redeemed through 'culture,' interviewees described musical practices firstly as a way of caring for themselves rather than cater to the impressions of others. Interviewee 2 said the following:

"Sound systems were crucial, in my humble opinion, to us, retaining our sanity, retaining a sense of African love, in the sense that we can love Africa, we can love being of African ancestry."

Interviewee 20 said:

"Music, to me, is that platform, culture, is that platform for the working classes, for those diverse communities, Black, Asian, minority ethnicities, migrants, refugees, to have a voice…to be able to express self…"

Musicians depicted their areas as they are, not as the Council aspires them to be. Interviewee 14's international travels and interactions with his fans abroad inform why he shoots his music videos in Brockley. Contrary to the Council's calls for cultural interventions to repair the Borough's external image, he refers to a long-standing fascination and glorification of his local culture, for which he is already an ambassador:

"Most of my videos, if not all of them, are shot in Brockley because I got the opportunity to travel very early, to New Zealand, Germany, France, a couple other places…It showed me how impactful our culture actually is outside of us. In New Zealand, I see people trying to talk and dress like Londoners, people in France referencing Top Boy. It's good, but because I've lived the life, directly from that community, it's nothing new to me. But to someone else outside of it, it's mind-blowing we live the way we live, how we dress, how we talk. There's a lot of cultural currency here.

It is being exploited by governments and stuff like that because they're going to other countries saying 'hey look at what we're doing.' I was then like, ok cool, if that's how fascinated people are by what we wear, what we dress like, let me show that in my music. Let me use my platform to showcase my area, showcase my people, my culture, my way of life, what we get up to, how we talk…"

Similarly, Interviewee 13 referred to an upcoming release that proudly shows his neighbourhood as-is:

"I have a track coming out soon about the community and how I see the world through my eyes when I walk day-to-day on the streets. I really just wanted to put

people and to paint a picture for people who aren't from where I am for them to see it."

The two youngest interviewees said the Council's rebranding efforts were at the expense of addressing existing problems and ignored the current residents:

> *"20: [The Council is trying] to get people from outside the area in to make the area, to them, look better. Why not focus on the people who are living here? Come out to the area who have done something for their community rather than trying to get people who aren't part of this community in. I feel like that causes more conflict and problems than them not doing anything in the first place. In Lewisham I am surrounded by people who are used to Central London, I don't want to walk around feeling like I'm being judged all the time.*
>
> *21: And at the same time, they're not going to feel safe.*
>
> *20: They're not going to feel safe because of the image that they've been presented, not because they don't know the area. If they got to know the area and were used to it, that's cool, but from our side of Lewisham, looking in, they're just hearing about knife crime, I don't know, bad statistics, pretty much. Unless you're a part of the area, you wouldn't know what it's really like. I say that a lot about Deptford, sometimes telling people I'm from Deptford, you get a bad reaction…To me, it's a nice community and a friendly community. There's never been any issues with me or other people that I know. I'm not saying there's not issues, but there are issues in all areas, depending on where you're from. What's different is how they're dealt with by people higher up. Here they don't really care."*

This indicates a tension between the Council's and existing residents' leveraging of "culture" to convey themselves to outsiders. The planning texts assert the Borough must be changed and imbued with 'culture,' largely experienced visually, to make it more palatable to outsiders. Interviewees and their music reflect Lewisham as-is and take pride in it because of its people and their existing networks, not its appearance. Understandably, as they did not create the built environment, the residents interviewed did not fault themselves for disinvestment in infrastructure or poor transport links. Rather, part of asserting themselves and their identities as hailing from Lewisham was their networks and sense of self *despite* the Borough's bad reputation.

7.5 Increase residents' ambition and self-esteem

Planning texts alternate between personifying Lewisham as a discrete entity with low self-esteem and diagnosing its residents with a sense of shame about the place. Given the framing of Lewisham's population as under-employed and "deprived," both the GLA and Lewisham Council promise culture as a means to increase "aspiration" of a population whose area warrants regeneration. The Mayor of London's Music Education Strategy (2010, 6) said music should

> *"be a part of every young person's upbringing, not only because it brings many benefits in terms of personal development, education, and training, but also because music can be life enhancing and is a source of human pleasure and understanding. Music education is also part of the Mayor's wider strategy to engage young people from diverse backgrounds and address a culture of low aspiration."*

The end of this particular quote, which is not further elaborated on and closes out the report section, assigns a "culture of low aspiration" to "young people from diverse backgrounds." This judgement of low aspiration is condescending at best, and is made relative to a particular viewpoint of achievement in life. Alternative positions could be given, that many residents do not have the same opportunities, such as in education, relative to other wealthier boroughs, so it is not surprising that attainment might be lower. This is not really an aspirational issue. Or indeed, there may be a different set of aspirations to the GLA officer writing the Music Education Strategy. Other texts like the Lewisham Council Cultural Strategy (2009c, 3) similarly point to the potential of culture to deter young people from crime, or as a tool for people to "fulfil their potential." The Mayor of London's strategy *Culture for All Londoners* (2018, 5) positioned culture to prevent people from 'getting sucked into' crime:

> *"as a tool to steer young Londoners away from trouble and towards education and employment. It can open up new and positive paths forward for our young people, offering an alternative to getting sucked into a life of crime, gangs and violence."*

Another factor that 'catalysed' Lewisham's regeneration was the International Olympic Committee's selecting London to host the 2012 summer Olympics. The Council's 2008 regeneration strategy *People, Prosperity, Place* referred to the Olympics as an opportunity to "inspire and engage people in London to get involved in sporting activity, improving health and raising aspiration" (p 8). The state's framing of culture as a device to raise ambition and aspiration of local residents further problematises them, implying they do not possess culture already, and that residents' 'deprivation' is due to character deficiency rather than a lack of resources, or the cyclic and systemic nature of poverty. It is difficult to not interpret these passages as furthering racist discourse, in which individual people from groups who have been historically denied access to resources by central and local governments are described as having low aspirations as a cultural feature. This concept directly relates to the overtly racist and xenophobic discourses of the 1970s and 1980s discussed in the literature review, when immigrant culture was inherently problematized and manufactured inequalities and substandard conditions on Council estates were falsely attributed to the "culture" of the people living there, instead of the state actors or private home associations who failed to design or maintain quality homes.

The GLA reinforces this sentiment in a 2011 working paper exploring the link between culture and regeneration. The authors suggest 'culture-led regeneration' will inspire local residents: (Ennis and Douglass 2011, 11):

> "Culture-led regeneration relies on a number of indirect impacts, though, and these must also be considered. We might want to consider evidence of people's perception of their neighbourhood and their happiness living there. Other indicators to watch are improvements in confidence and changes in the mindset of local residents. For example, do they begin to consider a wider range of opportunities available to them, whether in terms of housing, social activities, or in work?"

This passage is striking for both its far-ranging vagueness and seeming call for residents to consider leaving the area whose very culture will supposedly improve their confidence and mindset (yet the authors offer no suggestions as to how these personal feelings should be measured or monitored). To select from a "wider range" of housing requires more income and other flexibilities. This framing of 'ambition' as something lacking within the population is another ahistorical assessment, faulting people for their own 'deprivation' rather than the state's withdrawal of resources and systematic criminalising of certain groups. The tacit encouragement of existing residents to leave as the area it 'regenerates' suggests they are not its intended participants or beneficiaries.

Interviewee 14's commentary on the value of 'culture' to young people aligned with the Council's framing of it to keep kids out of trouble, but he and other interviewees pointed to Council's closing nearly all its youth clubs as undermining cultural activities and putting young Lewisham people back out on the street:

> "Growing up I always had to figure it out. Ok you guys are talking about the crime rate rising and people getting stabbed. Well, I know if I make a studio available in my area, then we are contributing to that number falling, whether it's 1% o zero-point-whatever, that's one studio…It might not be super dramatic, I intend for it to be, but it's gonna be more dramatic than whatever you guys would do. I know the kids who hang around on the street. It's boredom, sometimes, just a lack of opportunities melted into a pot. If I facilitate to that boredom or cater to that boredom by making a music studio or a filming grant...I can see they're coming back and their whole range of how far they're seeing changes because they're able to be like, raaa I've shot this now, can we talk about marketing it. They're talking the language in the music industry and they're talking about equity and ownership…When I start seeing people come back to me and talking about ownership and certain things, and change their whole lifestyle around, I just multiply that number, times everything by 10. That's one person that's had their direct circle of influence that they'll go into as a more developed individual, they'll inspire their circle. Someone from that circle will inspire their circle. That's the solution."

The specific function youth clubs play in the Black Atlantic music will be discussed in the next chapter, but the Council's systematic closing of most of them and nearly halving its youth services budget seemingly contradicts its discourse about preventing youth from getting "sucked into" a life of crime. Interviewee 14 links 'culture' to potential economic benefits for young people. Despite the levels of 'deprivation' in the Borough, the planning catalogue rarely envision the economic benefits of 'culture' as directly translating to employment and income opportunities for people already in the borough. Abstractions about culture bettering the lives of locals are divorced from sections describing 'culture' as an economic stimulant in the planning texts. Council texts fail to connect the Borough's large youth population as a potential source of entrepreneurs and employees; rather 'cultural programmes' keep them occupied, and 'cultural activity' designs out crime hotspots (as in the Council's 2002 Cultural Strategy, p 8):

> "Cultural activity, particularly in public spaces, can be encouraged by increasing footfall and designing out crime hotspots. The delivery of effective cultural programmes can also help in reducing the number of young people at risk of offending."

The Council positions culture as a way for residents to feel better about themselves, thus diverting young people from being drawn into criminal activity (this also ignores the economic drivers behind crime, not mere boredom). Although some planning texts refer to cultural initiatives in schools as equipping young people with more skills, the planning texts generally fail to expand upon how a population with better self-esteem and inflated ambitions could be translated to bolstering the Borough's small economy, predicating the Borough's desired economic growth on outsiders.

7.6 Community bonding and well-being

One of the planning catalogue's envisioned functions of culture was to bring together people living in the same area. The catalogue made frequent mention of health benefits of participating in culture, such as lessened feelings of loneliness. Culture is also positioned to promote community cohesion and pride in self and place, to improve tolerance and understanding across different groups, and reduce crime and the fear of crime. A typical sentiment echoed in the Mayor of London's 2010 *Cultural Metropolis* (p 87) declared:

> "Cultural activities can bring communities together and drive social cohesion, they can inspire and motivate people of all ages to actively participate in their community and have a positive impact on all areas of people's lives including promoting lifelong learning, reducing crime and fear of crime, instilling confidence, and encouraging good health and well-being."

The Lewisham 2009-2013 Cultural Strategy proposes cultural activity can (p 18):

*"• Build vibrant and cohesive communities by encouraging participation in
cultural and leisure activities.*
• Improve access to participation for all Borough residents
• Strengthen the recognition of cultural heritage and sense of belonging
*• Maximise the potential of leisure and cultural facilities to encourage
neighbourhood and community involvement*
*• Increase the number of leisure and cultural programmes that support
community safety initiatives."*

Lewisham's bad reputation was largely owed to perceived crime rates and ugly public realm. The 2002
Local Cultural Strategy (p 8) said

> *"Recent statistics indicate that Lewisham is now the safest borough in inner
> London with a record of delivering a joint approach to tackling crime and
> disorder. Lewisham residents perceive the opposite, however, which acts as a
> disincentive for them to participate in activities - especially at night."*

Other documents make quick reference to "community" benefits of culture, yet offer no specifics on how
these interventions or their supposed benefits might be monitored or measured. Although the London
Assembly and GLA have both published reports questioning links between culture and regeneration (in
2017 and 2011, respectively) and how to measure them, I could not find any discussion by Lewisham
Council on this issue.

The Catford Town Centre framework (Lewisham Council et al 2021) invokes 'regeneration' and 'culture'
frequently and so vaguely to the point of circularity, saying that a 'green town centre' can confer
'social/cultural' benefits like 'property values/marketability,' 'social/economic regeneration,' and more
time spent outdoors, leading to improved physical and mental health (p 42). As the MVT's Rescue Plan
contradictorily argued for and against regeneration, the framework says tree-lined streets can raise
property values as high as 30% as a carte-blanche benefit, without considering possible negative
consequences for renters and Lewisham residents. When discussing the planning catalogue with
interviewees, many expressed wariness at the state's use of the term 'community,' feeling it was simply a
euphemism for Black neighbourhoods. Interviewee 1 called it a 'triggering' word, and Interviewee 14
said:

> *"'Community,' they love that word. They used to say 'urban,' now it's turning
> into community, a lot of people are now having a problem with that word because
> it's another way of saying Black people or whatever, urban music, urban
> community."*

Interviewees also talked about 'culture' as interactive activities that build community cohesion.
Interviewee 2 described the affirming spaces sound system dances created when he was growing up in the
1970s and 1980s in Lewisham:

> *"Sound systems have always been an alternative, pro-black, African centred public arena for me. From day one, when I went to the first big sound system dance, to it's the music. And it's the message in the music and it's the vibes and it's seeing yourself surrounded by, you know, hundreds of people who look like you, were feeling the same thing as you."*

Interviewee 12 elaborated on affirming messages in music. They host Steamdown (a recurring improvised show in Deptford with a set band that began as a jam), described that beyond individual expression, music also promotes community bonding through conveying shared experiences and values; having people listen to you; and listening to others. Improvised settings are particularly potent for bonding. People jamming together create feelings of recognition for each other through music: taking turns, playing ideas and idioms back at each other, repeating lyrics. Interviewee 12 described this as profoundly healing, particularly for young Black creatives:

> *"There was always this spiritual undercurrent, Steamdown providing a place of healing, for lack of a better word, from the trauma for people who have lived in Lewisham and have seen the gentrification, wave upon wave upon wave, which led to several venues being closed down….Steamdown had never charged entry, which was really important, especially at the beginning, because it meant a lot of young POC people who weren't middle class – yet were able to go to this night…For me, going as a member of the audience, which I was at first, I used to call it my weekly musical therapy and spiritual warfare training. These sentiments were echoed by a lot of people. Some people called it their church. It was a time where you could come together with a lot of people who held the same kind of values, decolonisation, resistance to gentrification, all these kinds of things. Even if you weren't gonna talk with them directly, there'd be this thing happening with the band of which you were a part because the energy would go back and forth…You'd have a shared experience, which was all subjective. We were all getting different things from the music, but afterwards when you'd talk to people about the different moments of the night, what was coming up for people was so similar. It was a real collective experience…That's what music all about, especially when you're playing with other people. The keys player might come up with something, and everyone starts paying attention and starts following along and change, somebody might come up and sing something, a line that sticks out, and I sing it back to them, and you can see that person getting a cathartic relief from the outside fucking me over, I'm trying to express that, and you're getting that and telling it back to me. It's relieving me of that stress. 'I'm not alone, someone gets it.'"*

Musical networks in Lewisham borne of long-term residential connections and collaboration giving rise to professional endeavours are a testament to social cohesion. In interviews, both Nathaniel Cross and Isobella Burnham referenced wanting to play with the best musicians they could (indeed, the former plays on the latter's album *Dancin' Garuda*), and ended up recording with people mostly from Lewisham or other parts of South London. The strength in recording with these musicians was not just for their individual talents, but the length of time they had known and played with each other. Many of them met

in primary school, or participated in programmes formative to shaping the 'jazz scene' Nathaniel referenced, like Tomorrow's Warriors. In addition to some shared Caribbean cultural upbringings, they had a collective rapport, knowledge, and tradition of learning music, as Interviewee 1 described:

> *"For me, I wanted to play with incredible musicians. They all happened to be living in southeast London.. Whenever you step into a room, especially with the musicians I pulled together, you can feel the sense of history, this ran in someone's family, this is what they were meant to do in this life. That energy is so important when you go into make a record. The sound of the London jazz scene is basically the sound of South London."*

Germane Marvel's spoken word performance 'Taller Deeper Wider,' was filmed in The Albany for *Together in the Room,* an album by the poetry collective Imaginary Millions. The vocalists and musicians in the recording are a testament to overlapping music networks in Lewisham (and south London generally). Musicians and vocalists are positioned in a round, an arrangement that facilitates communication and closer listening amongst the band for them to improvise and play off each other's ideas, and an artist draws in real-time as a visual response to the sounds.

7.7 Welcoming CCIs and Displacing Creatives: 'Culture' for Economic Growth

The literature review discussed how city governments, per the advice of consultants, envision cultural and creative industries (CCIs) as 'catalysts' of regeneration. The catalogue of planning texts concentrates 'culture' and 'creativity' in commercial enterprises and revenue-generating activities, often in designated geographic quarters. By improving the physical appearance of the Borough, outside investment would bring new housing, workspaces, and private employers to the Borough. Texts throughout the study period stressed the importance of both private and public funding, starting with Landry (2001, 33):

> *"Public-private partnership has become an accepted element of the cultural funding landscape, including business sponsorship, social investment (driven by a burgeoning corporate social responsibility agenda which is slowly coming to see culture and within that the arts as possible partners), corporate patronage, individual philanthropy and trust and foundation support. These sources of finance are increasingly complex and inter-related, and are interrelated too to public funds driven by regeneration objectives. Yet private finance is an essential leverage tool for public money, which can bring with it not only wider support networks, but also improved managerial practice and higher profile."*

The focus on private funding sources intensified after central government introduced austerity measures in 2010. GLA texts link the capital's standing as a global financial centre to the potential to fund culture: the London Assembly's report *Creative Tensions: Optimising the benefits of culture through regeneration*

states culture "is as much part of London's global brand as financial services" (p 6). *Cultural Metropolis* (Mayor of London 2010, 41) states

> *"the relationship between commerce and culture goes both ways, and just as the latter has benefited from London's economic success, so the subsidised artistic, cultural and heritage offer of a city can bring tremendous benefit to businesses."*

The GLA frames CCIs as an essential part of London's global branding, which in turn perpetuates its financial activities, and attracts further international investment. *Cultural Metropolis* (2010, 66) said:

> *"London has a strong reputation as a commercial centre, but the current economic crisis means a greater need to promote the capital's attractiveness to foreign businesses and investors. There is also a need to rebalance the perception of London's strengths and emphasise its economic diversity, reminding the world that London excels in many ways, not only in the financial services, but also across a range of sectors – including of course, the creative and cultural industries. Culture can be a powerful tool to reach out to both established and emerging markets, and help businesses cultivate relations with investors abroad."*

The Mayor of London's *A-Z of Planning and Culture* (2015, 6) says "culture is as important to London's success as finance and trade." Despite the optimism about culture as a tool of the market, the London Assembly (2017, 14) cautioned a

> *"type of regeneration, that reduced culture to economics, also created many threats and challenges. Some regeneration processes have clearly been working at the expense of the preservation of heritage, the needs of local communities, and their access to social and cultural resources."*

Across the catalogue, texts alternatively recognise risks of implementing 'culture' in regeneration schemes to local communities (such as higher housing costs), yet also includes these potential threats as indicators of successful regeneration. The GLA's (2011) Working Paper titled 'Culture and regeneration – what evidence is there of a link and how can it be measured?' suggested listing 'property values' as one economic indicator. 'Social indicators' include (p 2):

> *"Confidence and change in perception of area and person; Volunteering and social capital; Community cohesion; Educational and skills achievement; Health and wellbeing; Crime reduction, including truancy."*

How a local authority might measure "community cohesion" or a change in "confidence" is not elaborated on, but this may not have been a priority. Later in the report (p 12), the authors speculate displacing poor residents is not 'necessarily a bad thing:'

> *"Regeneration is a significant undertaking and will take some time to fully play out. Measuring the impact of culture-led schemes by a simple evaluation not long after the investment has occurred is probably not the right way to understand how culture-led regenerations schemes work. Instead it would be more useful to*

monitor changes over time, both to place and to people. One of the criticisms of regeneration is that it often 'gentrifies' an area by displacing poor residents or by attracting a different, and often richer, population to move into an area. While this obviously happens, there is no reason to think it is necessarily a bad thing. But it will never be fully understood without longitudinal data that tracks the movement and changes to the lives of people."

The authors of this report do not appear to consider that people displaced may be the same progenitors of the 'culture' being leveraged for regeneration. Indeed, interviewees and their music conveyed concern the existing local culture was commodified as a marketing device by the Council (especially in LBOC programming), with unclear short- and long-term benefits conferred on the people who actually produced the culture. Interviewee 15 talked about being priced out of a flat in Deptford, and connected London's status as an international financial capital to the negative impact on artists like himself:

"I used to live in Deptford and was literally gentrified out. We had a little studio apartment there, and this just like, on the spike of people going "oh, Deptford is up and coming." We moved out of 2016/17 maybe after living there for 2-3 years. The freeholder was like "oh great, up and coming, my property value has spiked, I'm gonna cash in." It was mental, they sold studio apartments in pretty serious states of disrepair for maybe half a million… With property, it's only going to get worse especially since we've left the EU. London is just going to turn into a tax haven. What's going to become worse is already happening. I have a friend who lives in a nice flat just off the Thames, it's really expensive. One of the floors in the building is completely unoccupied. The person, or people, or company who owns it are not British, it's someone hiding capital from a government they're evading."

Interviewee 12 similarly echoed he was both an agent and victim of change:

"As an artist, I feel like I'm almost the harbinger of gentrification. I've been told it's not my fault…Someone I was relating my fears to said that may be, but I'm also a victim. The reason I'm having to search for these low rents is because I'm actually doing something worthwhile for people but it's difficult to do that and get paid… yet I'm moving into spaces which are not really fit for good standards of living."

The Mayor of London's 2010 *Cultural Metropolis* also acknowledges the possibility of 'regenerating' areas at the expense of dispossessing people who already live there, yet conceals the state's role in displacing small businesses ahead of the 2012 Olympic Games. For example, the London Development Agency served over 200 compulsory purchase orders to evict small businesses in east London ahead of the games (Raco and Tunney, 2010). These forced displacements are abstracted to a vague, agentless "pressure" in *Cultural Metropolis* (p 124):

"A commonly observed irony is that artists themselves tend to be both the pioneers and the victims of cultural-led regeneration. Time and again, the boutique cafes, bars, retail outlets and other commercial developments that

follow the artists tend to raise property prices, attract private developers and price-out the artists themselves. This has often been the case in London, and with the economic activities and investment associated with the Olympic Games there is an even greater pressure on workspaces meaning that East London's artists and practitioners are slowly being dispersed, and new artists being discouraged from coming to this part of the city."

Specifically within CCIs, the catalogue refers to tourism and the night-time economy (NTE) as an agent of growth and way to attract new audiences to the Borough. Although a 'vibrant' NTE can help rebrand an area as more exciting, the surrounding local area's needs (especially those of residents) may temper licensing hours and street activity, *Cultural Metropolis* (Mayor of London 2010, 117) cautioned

"Whilst London's strong night-time economy brings benefits to the city by attracting visitors and creating jobs, a balance must be maintained with the needs of residents and businesses and their concerns about safety, noise and excessive consumption of alcohol. Sustaining the provision of culture in the evening also makes demands on public services, requiring round-the-clock street cleaning and waste disposal difficulties, as well as higher levels of police presence, a greater call on the emergency services and the provision of late night transport."

GLA texts about CCIs discuss competition with foreign cities like New York and Tokyo, and although Lewisham Council texts have a decidedly more local frame of reference, the preponderance of its work still appears externally-focused.

An agenda from a 2003 Creative Lewisham Select Committee meeting reviews the CLA's past year of progress. Improvements to the "milieu" of Lewisham were for the benefit of making the area "attractive to the creative sector and thereby helps to stimulate the more directly commercial regeneration" (CLA 2003, 2). The main 'milieu' improvements included the DeptfordX festival and 3 public art installations in new developments. It celebrated attracting 45 creative businesses into the Borough (25 above its target), yet noted a lack of affordable workspace, funding (both revenue and for capital projects), and training/business support inhibited further CCI growth.

Creative Lewisham (2001) reported the high number of creative microbusinesses in the north of the Borough and the need for bigger employers. Starting with the Borough's 2002 Cultural Strategy, the catalogue consistently notes the many small and medium creative enterprises and alumnae of Goldsmiths and Trinity as the bedrock of the creative industries in Lewisham. The following year, another consultancy, wrote (by their own admission) an insufficiently detailed scoping report on the potential of creative industries for the Borough, which stated Lewisham was "32nd out of 33 London Boroughs in terms of 'CI employee jobs in 2000', with just 1,900 jobs" (Tom Fleming Creative Consultancy, 2003, 4).

The discourse of the analysed texts separate culture as a function of community cohesion and benefit from culture as a driver of economic growth. Culture supposedly confers ambition, well-being, and stronger community ties, although little is offered on how to measure these non-material benefits over time in a population that may be displaced anyway. In the way of economic growth, however, the discourse turns outwards beyond the local community, in which external investors, employers, and new residents are drawn to Lewisham by its culture. There is very little explicit connection made between existing residents and culture benefitting them economically.

Interviewees discussed how the state's oppressing certain kinds of Black Atlantic music limited translating creative practices into income sources, such as Metropolitan Police's Form 696, an administrative measure to surveil, censor, and cancel live events between 2004-2017.

Despite the catalogue of planning texts' pointing to 'culture' as a way to reduce crime, Interviewee 17, music director at the Horniman Museum at the time of our interview, pointed to how Form 696 created associations between certain kinds of Black Atlantic music and criminality, deterring venue owners and promoters from programming them:

> *"[There is this] perception that Black musics… are somehow riskier than other genres…Form 696 is a way Black music has been pushed out of public spaces, and I named the festival 696 as a way to acknowledge that by a public institution. The data on the form like race was used to determine "risk." You could not write "bashment," which is a type of reggae dancehall music, on a poster. There are nights I've put on where the venue owner has come up while a DJ's playing and said, 'absolutely not, you can't play this…not because we don't like it, not because it's not the scene we cultivate here, because it's 'not safe.''"*

Interviewee 17 detailed long-lasting impacts of a generation of musicians' performance opportunities being curtailed by the state, and the lack of meaningful remediation:

> *"There's been no deliberate intervention responding to the artistic or the economic impact of something like Form 696…*
>
> *What's actually fair? The form was scrapped, but 10 years is a long fucking time, excuse my language, to go, 'you people and this style of music can't happen live.' Think about the impact on the artists at the grassroots level who weren't able to perform. It's so important for early-career artists to play in grassroots music venues because it's what teaches them stagecraft. You can't go from being in your bedroom to an arena. You need to know what it's like to perform in front of 15 people who are bored by you…There's been nothing to deliberately address that, to address the economic impact on those promoters. It's their jobs, how they're trying to earn a living…it's great that Stormzy can play Glastonbury and we can watch from home on the BBC, or if we're lucky enough to get a ticket we can go, but there should be opportunities to see artists like that as they develop. Who doesn't love to say, oh, I saw that person and there were 50 people there*

and it was really intimate? As music fans, we deserve that with all the genres of music we listen to."

The state has taken no reparative action for the career damage done to promoters and performers while Form 696 was in place. Despite this, the 2018 *Culture for all Londoners: Mayor of London's Culture Strategy,* grime is referenced as a defining element of London's culture to the rest of the globe (p 41):

> *"The established or more institutional aspects of our culture are vital to London's heritage, as is equally London's street style, its global leading music genres such as Afro-pop and grime, and its video gaming."*

Grime did not begin as a commercial endeavour, rather an outlet for young Black people to represent themselves. Grime lyrics frequently reference poverty, oppression from the state and police violence (Charles 2016, 2018). This above quote situates grime outside London's 'established' culture, instead placing it on the 'street' alongside another Black Atlantic style, Afro-pop, calling into question if the use of 'street' -not unlike 'urban' – is a euphemism to continue the relegation of Blackness outside the 'establishment' and its 'institutions.' As will be discussed later, the state has disinvested from spaces like youth clubs that were critical to grime's formation, yet since the genre has achieved mainstream success, the state proudly appropriates it as a 'global' commercial output borne of the city (Charles 2016; Fatsis 2019).

The GLA's current embrace of reggae and grime does not mean state actors have stopped repressing music forms. Two interviewees from a youth record label described ongoing censorship of drill and music that discusses violence, disputing that it conveys people's life experience, and that this censorship inhibits creative development:

> *"20: At Woodpecker [youth club]…you could go and make the music you wanted. After, I don't know if you know about Showkey, he was a young artist from Deptford, but he died. After that, they started restricting the type of music you was allowed to make in the studio. They had a sign outside that literally said, 'no swearing, no music that incites violence or talks about violence in general.' It's not even about inciting violence…A bunch of people have stopped using [the studio]*
>
> *21: That's the way of development. That's how they start, that's what they're living right now...If they was to live in the countryside around horses and stuff, then that's what we'd rap about, 100%. Riding horses, going on planes, on the boat, that's what they'd rap about.*
>
> *20: Especially with drill music, it's really misunderstood. A lot of the time, it's not about them being violent towards other people. It's about them telling their story and what they're experiencing…A lot of people just look at it as causing problems, they don't listen to the music and say, 'oh what's going on in their life, how can we help them, what can we do for them.' They listen to the music and will be like, 'oh this is why, because you keep talking about it.' …But it's not*

about that, it's about what you can do to prevent them from getting to that point in their life or helping them get out of those situations rather than telling them to stop talking about the situation and you'll be fine. It's people who have never been in those situations telling them to do this, or in charge of what they should be talking about."

As discussed previously, the catalogue of planning texts relies upon an ahistorical and stactive representation of the Borough inadequately accounting for systemic disinvestments and oppression causing and compounding "deprivation" there. These interviewees' commentary gives insight into how the state maintains this ahistoricism by repressing voices of "deprived" residents conveying their life experiences and interpretations.

Rather than censor people, however, Alchemy at Goldsmiths, which equipped these two interviewees to start their own record label, takes a different approach to translating people's experiences of violence into creative outputs and skills. Its founder described the long process of mentoring and engagement that may lead to careers in creative industries:

" [Drill] is an amazing genre, it's complex, it links back to early African music and polyrhythms, especially the way the voice relates to the drum beats. It's very sparse, it can be very poetic, there are very violent versions of the genre, but it's grown into so many different forms, like hip-hop. It's such a fascinating thing and such an amazing form of expression. I always say you can record drill, but we use it as a way to have conversation. Let's say…talking about women in a particular way, for example. Or to talk about violence. A lot of them are talking about first-hand experiences. Is that something you really saw? How does it make you feel to have seen that, or to have been there when it happened? It's centred around their creativity, their voices being heard. We just take a backseat and make sure they've got what they need."

Regardless of how various interviewees turned music into commercial endeavours, it generally took years. Even once established as a professional, freelance work fluctuates and grants and funding are competitive and precarious. Some interviews felt there were ceilings of success to working in music and expectations to work for free or pay incommensurate to their time and expertise. These ceilings came from a lack of genuine care in the most powerful echelons of the music industry, limited funding from central government and other arts organisations, and a dearth of Black-owned spaces and companies to elevate their music. Rather, interviewees leverage smaller-scale and informal networks to build creative enterprises and distribute their work. Some interviewees in their forties and older recalled the importance of pirate radio stations playing music the BBC and large commercial stations refused. Interviewee 1 said the gradual building of networks and collective endeavours of making money took years, often beginning with regular use of smaller venues. Although Interviewee 14's music has mainstream traction and is played on BBC Radio, many of his fans know his music from knowing him:

163

"I started going to [my uncle's] house and recording my own songs, mixing them, and distributing them on MSN messenger. Then they started getting viral locally through there. I remember I never had the confidence to talk to girls back in the days, but I'd go on the bus and all the girls I fancied were singing my song, but they didn't know it was me…People then started to realize it was me, and life kind of changed from there because I started to get a local buzz and build a core fanbase, people who are still with me now. They still come to my shows, they followed me ever since MySpace to Vebo to Facebook to Twitter to Instagram. Now they're on TikTok or wherever. They've followed my journey. That's how I got started, being local with my friends, hanging in the ends, on the block… Back then, we didn't apply any business. Well, I did because I was burning CDs and stuff. I didn't do it to make money, I was doing it because I wanted my voice to be heard…Then you get older and come up with a business strategy."

Some interviewees had interactions of varying scale with official organisations and corporate sponsors. For example, several were involved in the 2022 London Borough of Culture programming, yet were wary of being tokenised and losing their autonomy in dealing with the Council. Interviewee 14 described navigating the tension of paid performance opportunities and exposure between 'ticking boxes' for officials:

"I'm not gonna be used in a way that I'm going to be at a table to tick a box. I'm very connected in terms of like, when I wanna press that button of tapping into a network of people who are decision-makers in London, I've got that network as well. I have people telling me, 'if you expand this studio based on this idea of making communities more sustainable, economic structure in the ends to directly benefit the community.' They sell it straight-up, they're honest with me in the sense that they told me like, 'you do this, it'll be super successful, and you'll tick a lot of people's boxes.' They told me straight, there are a lot of people who will get bonuses off you implementing this idea because you're directly coming up with a solution that they haven't thought of yet that is going to allow them to tick boxes. They will give you any amount of money you want to do this, because they money they'll get off it, and what they'll be able to do with that is beyond what you're trying to do. I don't want the money, I want to start small and to keep ownership."

A stark divergence between the planning texts' and interviewees' representing 'culture's' economic functions is its starting point. Whereas the former points to bringing in culture from elsewhere through CCI employers and retaining alumnae from the higher education institutions in the Borough, the latter talked to long-term networks that mutually assist each other.

7.8 Conclusion: Cultural Colonisation

Government planning texts' discourse abstracts 'culture' through multiple definitions and functions bereft of measurement. Although sentiments about local cultural participation may be well-meaning, without tangible actions to provide affordable housing of suitable quality, quantity, and tenure, 'regeneration' threatens the ability of families to stay in the Borough. Some texts within the catalogue question who

ultimately benefits from culture and regeneration, notably the GLA's *Culture and regeneration - what evidence is there of a link and how can it be measured?* (2011), and the London Assembly's *Creative tensions: optimizing the benefits of culture through regeneration* (2017), yet the catalogue lacked measurements and evaluations for intangibles like "community cohesion." While the Council paid consultants like Charles Landry, Comedia, and Tom Fleming (who had no clear local connections to the Borough outside their contracts) to make broad recommendations, these were not attached to any policy levers and were often devoid of proposed funding mechanisms. Their reports usually misunderstood the local context and gave a set of misplaced, condescending recommendations that have nonetheless influenced Lewisham's redevelopment processes.

This calls into question the value of advice from external consultancies with no direct connection of the place on which they are advising. Beholden to the agenda of their commissioning clients, they largely rely upon top-down representations which reify artificial categories and superimposed ways of "seeing" and problematising the area. Given the colonial origin of the planning profession, and its functions of segregating people and preserving landowner interests, the introduction of 'culture' into planning warrants scrutiny given all three data sources' discussion of displacement resulting from regeneration. The reliance upon external consultancies neither from nor tied to the place, which is characterised as "deprived" and in need of "regeneration," implies a colonial dynamic in which outsiders advise on land uses for the benefit of increasing land values, boosting revenues for the local authority, and further attracting outside people and investors to the area. Outside actors prescribing "culture" as a catalyst to "transform" an area chimes with the scholars (Burgess, Talbot, Gilroy, Fincher and Iveson) who discuss how state actors create narratives to justify certain interventions. While not as overtly racist as the "inner city myth" enacted by the state and popular media in the 1970s and 1980s, these discourses are still underpinned by Goldberg's (2009, 18) description of state racism manifesting less so as explicit violence but as "ongoing impoverishment by dismissals of their lingering lack of skill rationalized away by claims to cultural poverty." The urban planning discipline remains as a process facilitating increased profit for the developers and other powerful actors and still does not reflect the views of the local population. This has been a perennial weakness over decades and remains unresolved. In Lewisham, there are very clear racist implications.

Several interviewees invoked colonisation to describe the Council's regeneration activities. Interviewee 12 described the opening of an expensive tapas bar within one such "deprived area" as "localised colonialism," in which regeneration activities are catered towards the aesthetics and price points of aspirational residents and wealthier investors. The comparison to colonisation holds when looking beyond the discursive function of 'culture' and considering the extractive financial mechanisms through which

"regeneration" is pursued by the Council and private developers. It is contemporary colonialism at the neighbourhood level. Beneath the discursive function of "culture," planning permissions are in fact predicated on viability and market economics, which prioritise long-term returns of private real estate developers and the multinational consortiums of which they are part above the immediate housing needs of the existing population. It is not clear how overarching, financialised development strategies which invoke 'culture' in later implementation stages reconcile the extractive nature of financialisaton with the endemic nature of culture.

Given the similarities between colonialisation and the Council's regeneration activities, the significance of the Black Atlantic music made by residents of the Borough takes on more weight. A function of and theme within Black Atlantic music is resistance to oppression. As the discourses surrounding Lewisham follow Zukin's (2010) identified trajectory of blighted inner city to authentic "up and coming" to "chic" aspirational destination, Black Atlantic music made by people in those areas will continue to put these mainstream, state-sanctioned narratives into relief. As discussed by Interviewees 20 and 21, young people today communicate musically through drill (which in turn grew out of grime) and use the medium to relay their everyday life experiences, some of which are informed and impacted by institutional racism, state disinvestment, and policing. Whereas its musical predecessors, namely grime, are now celebrated in government texts and commercially, interviewees described grill being banned from youth clubs.

The catalogue of planning texts euphemises potential consequences of 'regeneration' like displacement into 'threats' or 'pressures,' and which public servants resignedly described as beyond the controls and remit of the planning system. Specific discussion of the interconnectedness of 'culture' and spatial issues is forfeited to grand unspecified agents and objects ('forces') like 'the market' that can be blamed for seemingly causes 'crises' of their own will, like widespread music venue closure, austerity, and skyrocketing home prices. This calls into question the responsibility of institutional actors who knowingly initiate schemes with follow-on effects that do not serve, or at worst harm and displace, their constituents, yet which they can neither prevent nor fix.

This chapter's contribution lies in its interrogation of how racist sentiments underpin state discourses of planning's "creative turn." Whereas more explicitly racist discourses informed planning decisions in the 1970s and 1980s, the justification for regeneration, or wholescale transformation and 'bringing new life' to areas is predicated on conflating people with place, abstracting the functions culture plays in this process, and separating abstract community benefits from commodified activities introduced by and catered to outsiders. Given this research's criticism of the abstraction of 'culture' in planning texts, it seeks to make the concept more tangible by including both practitioners and cultural outputs as data sources given the same analysis and thus equal weight of government documents. This is possible through

utilising Lefebvre's spatial triad to analyse how 'culture' is defined and operationalised to create spaces of representation (as envisioned differently by each data source), and for what purposes. How these different appropriations of 'culture' translate to the data sources' spatial practice will be explored in the next chapter.

8. Feet on the Ground and Live Sounds: The Spatial Practice of Culture

This chapter moves into the physical realm, which is crucial to fully understanding how cultural space is produced (or lost) in the London Borough of Lewisham to answer the research question **What kind of places do the local authority, individual music practitioners, and musical outputs identify for 'cultural' uses?** It explores how the previous two chapters' findings on the Council's, interviewees', and musical discourses about the conceptions and representations of the Borough (particularly as related to regeneration) and the roles 'culture' plays in both 'regeneration' and everyday life inform the physical experience of being in Lewisham.

Data sources remain the same as the previous two chapters: the catalogue of planning texts by the GLA and Lewisham Council; interviews with Black Atlantic music practitioners from or based in Lewisham; and a catalogue of some interviewees' music which depicts Lewisham and relates to the themes of regeneration and local culture. This chapter discerns how discourses covered in the previous two chapters translate to spatial practice. The Council's annual Authority Monitoring Reports (AMR) were used to gage how the Council's discourses about culture and regeneration aligned with actual planning decisions shaping the physical experience of being in Lewisham. How do narratives about the Borough justifying its 'regeneration' inform the kind of places built, destroyed, or invested in for the sake of 'culture?' How do these places align with the places identified by interviewees and their music as important for cultural development?

'Culture' is an abstract, flexible term, its many meanings deployed by different actors to serve different purposes. Grounding discourses about culture back in the physical world of Lewisham is important for several reasons. Firstly, as Lefebvre and his scholarly followers bemoaned, institutional and academic preoccupation with official representations of space fail to fully grasp a place and its many meanings, memories, and uses. Official state representations predicated on artificial categories discursively segment activities, locations, and people for the purpose of easier administrative control and top-down decision-making. Although the metaphor of 'regeneration' connotes utter transformation of an object, and in contemporary urban planning discourse has evolved from a lineage of racist and classist neoliberal rhetoric (Furbey 1999), the discourses analysed in the period's study years employ celebratory, vague, and racialised liberal multicultural narrative when discussing Lewisham's 'culture' and regeneration, which interviewees largely disputed.

This chapter elucidates how the Council and Black Atlantic cultural practitioners create, lose, or utilise space for cultural purposes. Close readings of the planning catalogue and listening to interviewees and

their music illuminated the spatial practice of 'culture' in the context of regeneration and Black Atlantic music traditions, or what kinds of places are important for 'culture,' and why. Throughout the course of this research, I attended and participated in different kinds of Black Atlantic music events, both within and beyond Lewisham, including interviewees' gigs and the wider music community. They ranged from informal jams in private homes and squats, jams in venues, house parties, sound system dances, gigs, and festivals. They added insight into how different groups of Black Atlantic cultural practitioners utilise specific spaces, the reasons they are in those places, and how these relate to 'regeneration' in the Borough. I have added details of some of these events that took place in Lewisham to contextualise what the spatial practice of Black Atlantic musicians entailed and what the use of physical space for music can give rise to.

8.1 The Location of 'Culture:' Coding Signifiers

Coding the data sources was fairly straightforward to discern cultural spatial practice in the London Borough of Lewisham. Although I considered some specific, recurrent locations such as the Albany, the focus was on identifying the *types* of places the data sources situated 'culture' as occurring. I coded references to specific locations within the Borough and indicated what kind of place it was (such as a venue, school, or organisation). These also include the geographic zones designated for culture and different kinds of public spaces. I also coded new developments considered part of 'regeneration,' such as large-scale projects in OAs. The Council's discourse on cultural locations was triangulated with the AMRs, which review the Council's planning permissions annually. I identified some contradictions between the Council's discourses with what was actually funded, built, or destroyed. Further triangulation was gleaned through various reports and local news articles about topics like youth clubs and libraries closing and the privatisation of Lewisham's schools. Whereas the AMRs' main focus is what the Council has approved and what has been constructed, these additional sources gave more insight into what was demolished or lost, and how local residents interpreted it.

I asked interviewees where their musical endeavours began and how that changed over time, either as their own practices evolved or in response to changes in the built environment. The three walking tours were particularly insightful, as they put specific locations in wider context of their surroundings and Lewisham's regeneration. Walking through various parts of Lewisham (such as Crofton Park, New Cross, Deptford, Brockley, and Downham) with people who grew up and live there gave me a better sense of what everyday life feels like. Besides current places important to their cultural spatial practice, the walking interviewees pointed out former sites that had since closed or changed function or ownership. Rather than focus on the singular venue or youth club, for example, interviewees situated the change

169

within the broader changes in the surrounding area and how 'regeneration' had altered the built environment and overall milieu.

Analysing the catalogue of some interviewees' music included discerning references to places in lyrics and music videos, and was further contextualised with interviewees' commentary on where the music may have been recorded, distributed, and performed. Music videos depicting the Borough were particularly useful both for understanding places important to their spatial practice, and places they are critical of.

The data sources both overlapped and diverged in the kinds of places identified as important for cultural spatial practice. The catalogue of music, for example, referenced certain places the catalogue of planning texts identified as important for 'culture,' yet did so with a more negative tone, or to identify them as intrusions to their locale. Also, for some kinds of places recurring in more than one data source (such as schools and parks), the way these places were used were not necessarily the same – such as being used at different times of day, with varying formality, or separate parts of a building. See the codebook in Appendix 1 for how the spatial practices of the data sources were analysed.

8.2 Cultural Zones and Infrastructure

The catalogue of planning texts stressed agglomerating CCIs in designated areas or 'quarters' to reach a critical mass of professions, foster networking, and build the Borough's profile as an attractive place for employers to relocate to 'catalyse' regeneration. The first reference to a Deptford/New Cross Creative Enterprise Zone (CEZ) is in Landry (2001, 43-44), who proposed clustering CCI activity "brings in more investors and improves the physical environment." These zones' boundaries are not demarcated physically on the ground but draw from the existing cultural practices and creative industries to attract more funding and investment within them. Existing clusters of CCIs are concentrated in the north of the Borough, particularly Deptford and New Cross. The Council's 2002 Cultural Strategy (p 10) notes

> *"Currently the north of the Borough represents the heart of Lewisham's cultural effort. The north/south divide represents one of the key challenges facing the sector. The south is largely residential, and although it enjoys extensive green space it lacks the voluntary infrastructure which characterises the north and centre, and will therefore demand a different approach."*

The Council's 2008 (p 18) regeneration strategy *People, Prosperity, Place* credited Landry for the creation of the Creative Lewisham Agency (CLA), which "led to the development of creative hubs locally." The following year, CLA managed the Deptford Creative Business Enterprise Zone, whose purpose, as set out in the 2002 Cultural Strategy, was to "develop creative capacity across the Borough and [attract] external funding and partnerships" (Lewisham Council 2002c, 19). The 2017 Lewisham

Creative and Cultural Industries strategy advised a CEZ would "help to formalise incentives to support the retention, growth and viability of micro and small CDI businesses" (p 20).

Deptford and New Cross have both been sites of transport investments (such as the Overground and Docklands Light Rail) and fall within an OA designated in 2008. Deptford and New Cross recur most throughout the catalogue as 'creative hubs' prioritised for investment and development, in no small part because of the higher education institutions there. The 2012 'The Business of Creativity: A Creative Industries Strategy for Lewisham 2012-2015' recommended concentrating investment and activity there (p 7):

> *"There is a vibrancy in certain areas such as New Cross and Deptford which has translated into real business growth and a high profile beyond the borough. The creative sector demonstrates strong clustering, where numbers of micro businesses, organisations and networks exist in certain places with good transport links to the rest of the capital. It is important to target our work on initiatives based in these established and emerging centres of activity."*

This strategy also situates Lewisham's unique CCI profile within the broader UK and London context, attributing its formation to cheaper housing and flagship institutions:

> *"With relatively affordable housing, a strong enterprise culture, thriving networks, world class academic institutions, cutting edge galleries and affordable studios, Lewisham continues to attract creative individuals to the borough and is well positioned for growth in the creative sector*
>
> *Employment across the creative industries is characterised by a high rate of self employment and small businesses, structures which suit the physical environment of Lewisham with its good quality and relatively low cost housing stock. In 2010, 24% of the workforce in the creative industries were self employed, compared to 13% for the economy overall…*
>
> *32% of creative industry jobs in the UK are concentrated in London and between 2005–08 (the most recent data available) Lewisham was one of the top six boroughs in London for creative industry job growth when 2000 additional jobs were created.*
>
> *In 2008 there were 1,080 individual VAT registered creative businesses in Lewisham…The number of registered creative industry companies grew by 30% between 2005–08 and there was a 20% growth in the numbers of people employed"* (ibid, 2).

This passage puts a much more positive spin on some of the characteristics discussed in the first empirical chapter on representations of the Borough. For example, the housing stock is described as better quality, affordable, and conducive to microbusiness enterprise. The Borough's small economy and preponderance of microbusinesses is presented through the lens of opportunity and growth rather than problematising the dearth of large employers.

Under the administration of Mayor Sadiq Khan, the GLA began cataloguing and mapping different forms of 'cultural infrastructure,' or the "buildings, structures and places where culture" is either "produced" or "consumed" (Mayor of London 2019, 10). Interviewees from the GLA both said their employer's understanding of "cultural infrastructure" is constantly expanding, and typical definitions of cultural infrastructure may not encompass how communities use space for cultural purposes. An interviewee from the Culture at Risk team explained the GLA's response to learning what additional kind of spaces constitute "cultural infrastructure:"

> *"The Cultural Infrastructure Map sets out a series of typologies and that was in the cultural infrastructure plan. A lot of those definitions were largely derived from the DCMS, the government definitions that were set around culture. Some were added on the basis of demand from organisations that were reaching out to us. Skate parks are on the list, community centres are on there, even though there's a grey line if they're cultural or social infrastructure…It's too prescriptive, essentially, for the GLA to say this is where culture happens, and this doesn't count as where culture happens… our most recent mapping exercises, and data commissioned, we are testing different approaches to citizen research for mapping so that we try to think of, through this research, and share with boroughs, different ways for assets to be defined by people with local knowledge for that reason.*
>
> *The other thing we found is that especially when you're working with groups who have historically been shut out of accessing and operating spaces for a variety of different reasons, they don't necessarily always exist or have access to traditional forms of cultural infrastructure. We know that we are taking on cases in spaces wouldn't necessarily fit into those labels, so then it's kind of like, how do we work to map these spaces that communities value, which is supposed to be like our north star and why we live to protect space."*

In 2018 the GLA initiated a London-wide CEZ scheme for local authorities to apply for funding and other support. In late 2018, the Mayor of London designated the intersections of New Cross and Deptford a CEZ, which operates under the name SHAPES Lewisham. SHAPES describes itself as a "a creative network which was conceived as part of the [CEZ] initiative and aims to promote, celebrate and connect the creative community in Lewisham" (SHAPES, n.d.). In an interview, a senior advisor in the Culture and Creative Industries team at the GLA described CEZs, the application process, and the relationship between the GLA and awarded local authorities:

> *"[CEZs] are Mayorally-designated geographic areas that Boroughs have to apply to become. In the first round, we had a number of different boroughs apply, one cross-borough, which is the Hackney Wick-Fish Island one. They can range in scale and size and a big one is Lewisham, as well…They all have different thematics and what they're working to in terms of the types of creative industries there…They need to apply and meet a number of criteria around skills and providing space, setting out the right policy, and community. It means the focus is very much in that geographic area for that programme. It is competitive*

because we only have so much funding for it. They get funding from the Mayor,
it started off a much bigger amount but now it's much smaller, it's £70,000 per
zone to go towards maybe match funding, or providing initial programming, or
a kickstart. It used to be half a million per zone, it was huge. Lewisham would
have gotten that kind of money when it first started. Now they're in their second
phase, so they did 3 years and then reapplied for reaccreditation, so they're going
to be doing another 3 years."

Lewisham Council initially received £500,000 from the GLA, which was put towards establishing the SHAPES network and building 85 affordable workspaces and studios. SHAPES' website includes a directory of cultural businesses and individuals as well as a Culture Map for the Borough and grant opportunities for small creative enterprises. London Councils (2020, 2) reported SHAPES Lewisham aims to "retain graduate talent to grow its creative economy and increase affordable space." In addition to the Council, CEZ partners include The Albany, Studio Raw, Trinity Laban, Goldsmiths University, Second Floor Studio and Arts, Lewisham Arts Education Network, and Cockpit Arts, a charity that describes itself as a "creative business incubator." Lewisham's Director of Inclusive Regeneration discussed the CEZ in the north of the Borough as a business network anchored by institutions:

"Ultimately it's a big business support network where we seek to shine a light on
the sorts of activity that's happening there and draw more interests and create
the potential for the agglomeration impacts of that economic activity to grow, to
scale. The programme of investment is more modest now but we continue to focus
on it because it's a real opportunity, again like the London Borough of Culture,
to use a spotlight to shine on forms of activity that we really want to see more of
in the Borough."

The 2019 New Cross Area Framework (5th Studio et al 2019) underpins the area's cultural offering on Goldsmiths and other 'cultural institutions.' Interviewees, however, interpreted the influx of 'creativity' and 'culture' into Deptford and New Cross more critically, and just another form of gentrification. Several pointed to the real estate development outside Deptford Station as the archetypal changing of the public realm. Behind the station looms a block of new privately owned, market-rate flats. The open plaza in front of the station is bound by the railway and the arches underneath, out of which operate small businesses like a Caribbean takeaway, upscale coffee shop, and radio station. Walking along these arches, one arrives at a small underpass, formed by a pedestrian footbridge leading to station from Deptford High Street. A public square is on the other side of the underpass. Although this is all a contiguous piece of land, interviewees pointed to the dramatically different feel on either side of the footbridge. The square on the other side of the footbridge is more of a social gathering space. It is bordered by The Albany and a footpath through a residential area linking New Cross to Deptford. I conducted parts of several interviews in this square in summer 2021, and older men were playing music, smoking, and socialising on the benches around its perimeter. People congregate there before and after shows at The Albany. The founder

of the record label Rezon8 films some of his artists' freestyles in this tunnel partially for its acoustics, but also because it reflected a physical boundary of gentrification:

> *"When I walk through that area, I'm like, why is this here? None of these shops are directed towards anyone in this area. None of them, not one. But I like that tunnel because it's between the gentrified part of Deptford…It's right in the middle."*

Although there would be little to indicate to a person on the street that they were within the CEZ, these designations impact where 'investment' is directed and what places get put "on the map." Interviewees from other neighbourhoods, such as Sydenham and Ladywell, however, recounted closures of youth clubs and libraries throughout the study period, despite the 2007 Intercultural City report (p 32) identifying libraries as "the most important civic facility and a key gathering point for people across the communities." In 2011, Lewisham Council closed the New Cross, Blackheath Village, Crofton Park, Sydenham and Grove Park libraries (Holdsworth 2011). The 'cultural' concentration in Deptford and New Cross dwarfs the cultural references made in the 2021 A21 Area Framework, which covers the stretch of the A21 running nearly the length of the Borough, through Lewisham Town Centre (South), Ladywell Village, University Hospital Lewisham (and its Park and Greens), Rushey Green and Catford Bellingham, and Southend Downham. In this planning framework, 'culture' is barely referenced, and defined, invoked when discussing small community "anchors" or "clusters," and rarely specifying exactly what they are.

Kinch (2020) and Gioia (2019) note that cultural exchange and innovation occur in port cities and the working class residential neighbourhoods within them. Such is true of Lewisham, particularly its riverside neighbourhoods of Deptford and New Cross. Like the planning catalogue, interviewees recognised Deptford and New Cross as cultural hubs of Lewisham because of the higher education institutions (some interviewees were alumnae) and certain venues supportive of Black Atlantic music culture, such as Buster Mantis and Matchstick Piehouse. The primary attribution, however, to Deptford and New Cross's cultural significance were multi-generational residential networks and their embedded heritages, which formed because of the lower housing prices and initiatives of residents. Interviewee 20 offered a long-term overview of how regeneration initiatives like Deptford City Challenge and the Single Regeneration Budget in the late 1990s and early 2000s prioritised Deptford's existing residents rather than changing its reputation, and how that has changed over the course of the study period:

> *"I feel at the moment, what is going on in the little packets of new build that there are some, like Deptford Market Yard, there are some shops that are certainly there for those of us from the Manor, we engage with and utilise, and then on the*

High Street, there are some shops that we don't engage with or utilise, because no, we're not paying your overpriced prices where we grew up…

I don't always blame the local authorities. For me, the best regeneration programme was Deptford City Challenge [DCC], that I was personally involved in... I was also involved with some delivery of the Single Regeneration Budget, not just for New Cross but also Greenwich because we cross borders. The legacy that was left by DCC was the best legacy for the area. Now, we are faced, across the road behind the Albany, with what we call the new coloured flats. They look like an office block with some coloured things stuck on it. It looks out of place. My friend lived in the flats opposite there. She was on the top floor, had a beautiful view across London, and that came up and blocked that view. She's now moved from there. You kind of go, when you develop, it overshadows the Deptford Housing Co-Op as well, the only good bonus out of that build, was they got to own the freehold to their land. That was a negotiation off that…I'm more interested in social housing than I am more build for private sells, upping the prices of areas like Deptford that people who come from here can't even afford to buy here. That doesn't grate well.

When we think about Deptford as Deep Ford, go back to Henry VII, Walter Raleigh, Christopher Marlow, Samuel Pepys, all that history Deptford has, and the generations. There are people who live in Deptford who are fifth generation, sixth generation, and these new interjections where you want to kind of move on but have your kids be close, the communities are eroded by these kind of new structures in between our communities. Yes, you may argue that of course, bringing money into the area, redeveloping Deptford train station, the arches, is amazing, but if you talk to a lot of the shops, some of them like Terry's. Terry's been a shop since I was a kid here, he was the butcher, then he sells all the bric and brac and household goods. He's still on the high street, but that whole development was pushed out and demolished…"

Her commentary shed light on the changing nature and meaning of "regeneration" in Lewisham from the years preceding the study period of 2001-2021. The Midi Music Company's inception was possible with "regeneration" funds from Deptford City Challenge, which was money provided by the Department of Environment between 1992-1997 and focused on community programmes rather than real estate development. Interviewee 20 attended meetings as an interested local resident, but ended up joining the board. She said DCC had more meaningful consultations about what DCC should fund, and that local elected officials were more receptive to their feedback, compared to the schemes for today for developments like Convoys Wharf.

8.3 It Starts in the Home

Almost every interviewee mentioned the home – either their family's or friends' – as sites of their earliest music exposure. Regardless of if they were privately owned or rented, or on council estates, a wide array of cultural activity takes place at home. Interviewees talked about listening to pirate radio or their parents' vinyl collection, watching early digital platforms like Channel U, practicing their instruments, making

beats in their bedrooms, and socialising at parties. Within the home different rooms served different purposes. Interviewee 17, for example, described bedrooms as the

> *"original studio, the rehearsal room...recording studios are expensive, so that's a barrier...the bedroom is a free space. I don't just mean free financially, but it's your own space. That to me is the original music creation space."*

Several interviewees write and record their own music at home, or at least started there in the early stages of their career, especially if older family members had equipment and experience. Interviewee 6 said "I do everything from my bed. I'm at home. I don't want to pay for studio. I'm a very DIY person, I have autonomy over everything that way." SAMBA filmed her first music video in her bedroom at her parents' home because it made for an affordable set already reflective of herself. Beyond the bedroom, people hosted social functions for making and enjoying music. Interviewee 14 said in the absence of the Council providing youth clubs and before opening his studio, his house became a de facto youth club for young people to gather and make music. Entertaining in homes, as an expression of Black Atlantic music culture, dates back to the blues parties of the Windrush generation, as explained by Interviewee 3:

> *"Basically you had to make your own entertainment back in those days, due in most parts to racism and not having access to spaces or clubs or even churches, so you know a lot of the social element of living life was having to be recreated and that included social gatherings... They used to have these parties, where the aunties and uncles and neighbours used to come and myself and other school friends were invited and they had just one deck because nearly every household of you know, whatever black extraction, you would have a record deck."*

Within the study period, blues parties were called "shoobs" (shortened from shebeens), which Interviewee 11 described attending as a teenager and where music was the central focus:

> *"We went to loads of house parties, reggae, dancehall, that whole notion of massive sound systems and the vibe, but just in a house. When you see house parties on TV, you see the music but it's like background noise, whereas when we went to parties, music was the main thing. There'd be a DJ in the house. There was so much respect for the DJ to play the tunes and stuff. House parties in south London was like, the best way of being introduced to sick music.*
>
> *You're gonna get there and get some good food, you're gonna get some good music, some good vibes. People were chatting and stuff like that, but not as conversation, chatting probably about the music, how they were feeling, singing song lyrics. That's the vibe you want to keep. If there was any trouble, you'd see people get so mad. Don't bring the trouble to the house party, this is the only place, like our safe space.*
>
> *For the most part, you'd see a lot of people coming together. Sometimes there'd be conflict over guys from different areas. The party would get locked off, done, you need to go, it might get a bit sticky. But for the most part, you'd see people merging and meshing together, there'd be no beef, we're just there trying to enjoy some music. It was our escapism, enjoy, have a nice time."*

In addition to house parties, people hosted jams, or gatherings where musicians collectively improvise. Although many commercial venues host recurring jams, free jams out of homes reinforce existing community ties and afford a degree of artistic freedom where there is no audience to satisfy, as Interviewee 8 described while recounting a jam at her house:

> *"Loads of people came down. We started doing it fairly regularly because it was nice, we just opened the doors to whoever wanted to come in. It'd be friends of friends, there was this couple who lived at the end of the road who were so happy to hear music, they stopped by. For us, again, that thing of just wanting a space to play and hang out with other people. The nice thing about doing it at your house is there's no bar or entry fee, or whatever. We got so lucky, the neighbours, I think everyone around there was young people and students. I do wonder if it's the history of this area because of sound system culture, the attitudes towards culture around music…It's part of the sound of the area. They were loads of fun. It's that thing of just creating a community. So many places are so shut off from each other, you never get to know your neighbours."*

Social events in private homes provision for Black Atlantic music culture outside the surveillance and repression of the state and private venues. Homes are a refuge from racism, but spending time in them was not necessarily a choice made for the sake of being at home. Interviewee 14 described the intensity of Metropolitan Police stop and searches, as well as Joint Enterprise (in which multiple people can be charged for the same crime if they are in proximity to where it occurred), in the early 2000s. Young Black men antagonised by police on public streets sought refuge in homes and quieter corners of estates. One interviewee made this point after we encountered a group of his friends listening to music outside while we walked through an estate:

> *"I grew up in the era when stop and search was rife to the point where--- how my friends was just hanging on the corner there, just chilling, they've got the car, they probably playing some instrumentals, rap, vibe, drink---we wouldn't do that. We'd have to be like in the back of some estate somewhere out of the reach of police. Even standing on the corner like that, police would go back and be like, 'You're up to something. We have the power to stop and search you. We can take your belongings out of your pocket.' And if there were certain phones people used to trap off, which means sell drugs off or whatever…If they caught you with an old Nokia, they could take it and investigate it. They'd scour through your texts…I grew up in the era of Joint Enterprise. A fight breaks out on the main road, every single person that witnessed the fight is getting arrested and facing the same charge as whoever the actual aggressor was…it just makes you want to stay in your house."*

In the 1980s, pirate radio stations often broadcasted from homes, with equipment mounted on tower block roofs. Pirate radio was crucial for playing various kinds of Black Atlantic music, often made locally, that would not get airtime on mainstream licensed radio stations (Henry 2006). Interviewee 16 said in the "early days of grime, back in the day, it was only on pirate radio stations and our mobile phones." Blues

FM, an iconic reggae pirate station, was broadcast from the roof of Hawk Tower, one of the remaining blocks of on the gradually-demolished Milton Court Estate in New Cross, which Interviewee 7 pointed out on our walking interview. Interviewee 17 described the significance of pirate radio stations between 2005-2017, when the Metropolitan Police used Form 696 to censor and cancel Black live music events:

> *"Live performance, particularly at grassroots level, was taken out over this period, and it started to move into pirate radio. You'd get live performances happening on pirate stations and cyphers and that stuff, that started to emerge much more where it could happen through media, but not live."*

In addition to the physical spaces of homes, simply residing in an area for many years shapes collective experiences. Talking specifically about jazz in London, Interviewee 12 described how decades of long-term residences created an interrelated talent pool of young musicians trained by elders:

> *"A group of individuals who had been around the London scene, if scene is a right word...Everyone who had seen a lot of different institutions, for a looser word, rise and fall, like Passing Clouds, STEEZ, a lot of it came up from and began with Jazz Warriors back in the 80s, which created Tomorrow's Warriors, which created this whole massive group of young musicians, young Black musicians predominantly, and they just needed a space, really."*

The long-term familiarity and rapport built from similar music educations and experiences created a shorthand between the musicians which opened more latitude for innovation, yet interviewees discussed the increasing cost of living, particularly rent and house prices, as one of the most tangible, direct threats to Black Atlantic cultural production because it disrupted long-established networks of creative collaboration. Interviewee 20 discussed families established in New Cross and Deptford for upwards of five generations could no longer afford to live there. People relocated to places as far as Kent, which limited their ability to regularly work with their long-time collaborators, and that this relocation had a profound emotional and professional toll on the dispossessed. Interviewee 14 speculated this is perhaps particularly amplified for people working in music, which is generally not a lucrative profession yet is concentrated in London:

> *"Some friends have had to move to Bracknell, and places outside of London. Our music producer used to be able to come to studio every day, but he couldn't afford to live here anymore, and that had a direct effect on him, his mental health. There were ramifications for me because he couldn't come in, but they're miniscule, but for him, he had to make a dramatic move...if he moves back, it's gonna put him under financial strain again. But he really needs to be in London because that's where the music business is thriving."*

Interviewees 16 and 1, whose families lived in Crofton Park and Hither Green, respectively, for decades noted the subdivision of homes into flats, and the Council's trend away from providing family housing. The subdivision of houses and construction of new homes that, by the Council's own assessments

(Bullock 2019) do not meet the needs of existing Lewisham families, threaten long-term networks that can form in childhood. Interviewee 1 said, "houses are being done up that were left as halfway homes are now being sold for a couple million." Similar to Interviewee 10's point that a population of "rolling stones" bleeds an area of culture, and Interviewees 12 and 14's observations about displacement outside London, Interviewee 3 observed subdividing family homes into flats creates transience:

> *"...These houses that housed one family or two that will have three or four stories is now multiple occupation. People don't know each other and* they're *leaving every six months…*
>
> *The people who sold those homes, their children cannot afford—generally, not always-- over a million pounds to buy a house they grew up in. I'm lucky, a consequence of my parents, I bought this house just before the DLR came in and before the prices went up to six figures. I couldn't afford this house now... That's the impact. It is about displacement. People are not moving out of Lewisham to Bermondsey or wherever, they're moving to Kent because to get the equivalent space at a fraction of the price…"*

Even vacant homes served a purpose until central government curtailed squatters' rights, and the Metropolitan Police conducted to evict squatters. Several interviewees described that in decades past, when squatting was not criminalised to the extent it is today, vacant properties (including homes on the Pepys Estate) offered space for parties, jams, and shelter. Interviewee 7 pointed to the loss of self-regulating communities, who, like Interviewee 14, contextualized changes in the built environment based on their proximity to transport investments:

> *"Around the DLR, there was a few interesting things. That block I was pointing out earlier, this tall one, is new. Before they developed that, they had to take down this other really big building that was kind of iconic in the area. It was populated by artists in a very squatting fashion. I don't think anybody was paying anybody anything, but it was self-regulated, and there was a lot of community outreach going on. People were doing skill-share workshops and teaching how to make clothes, sharing art galleries and hanging out... Tattoo artists and musician, studios. It kind of shows that without any regulatory body, people came come together, cooperate, collaborate, make a space and not be robbing off each other. It's organic and nice, you know? It was like that for quite a while. It reminds me on Deptford High Street, they took it down a few years ago but there was a thing called The Ragga School. They were all across the country, it meant a community-run school. There was also a homeless shelter....It was a place to be. They were very caring people in these places. They took it down and developed some fancy flats. Again, it wasn't being looked after by the Council or an estate or anything, it was the squatting population. You think of squatters, you think of people getting drunk and trashing the place, but they were keeping the place nice and doing creative stuff and contributing to a healthy environment."*

Although the Council promotes a creative economy and cultural participation, Interviewee 11 expressed concern the increases in housing prices would make the area beyond the affordability of working creatives, changing the character of Lewisham:

> *"What I noticed as I was growing up and walking around Lewisham, there are a lot of houses that just play music. Musicians would link up and play together. Even walking here through the back of Ladywell. There are 3 or 4 houses where you'll hear your horns or some keys and signs outside advertising "piano teacher" in the windows. I don't see that anywhere else. That's a nice little thing.., [but] you're forcing people to move out of Lewisham and getting people who can afford it to move in. For me, it's like, you're going to run out of culture. The culture is going to move somewhere else."*

Interviewee 1 explained new residents with little appreciation for the history of the area are hostile to cultural practices and traditions of long-established families. Her grandfather emigrated to the United Kingdom in the 1950s from Barbados and bought a house in Hither Green. Her family throws an annual summer party, but new renters have called the police on them:

> *"These neighbours are not friendly as the people who were there before. You're not willing to share. For us, we had a big party on the first Sunday in August at our house and it was just known, you put speakers out in the back garden and it goes until midnight. You know one day a year, they're going to be very loud. There have been some times where people have moved in and called the police instead of just coming over and hanging out, because yeah, it's loud. It's not on a work night. They're like...no...our Black neighbours are doing it again."*

8.4 Higher Education and Their Fancy Buildings

One reason for the designation of various cultural zones in Lewisham was based off the colleges and universities in the north of the Borough. The Council's 2008 Regeneration Strategy (p 18) said:

> *"Lewisham has a remarkable cluster of nationally and internationally recognised educational and cultural assets including Lewisham College, the Trinity Laban centre, the Horniman Museum and Goldsmiths, University of London. The reputation of these institutions… attract students from all over the world."*

Institutions in Lewisham are positioned as playing several roles in both cultural activity and regeneration. The 2019 Lewisham Characterisation Study (p 137) said Goldsmiths was "at the heart of [North Lewisham's] creative community." Higher and further education institutions like Goldsmiths, Trinity Laban, and Lewisham College were key partners in the 2022 LBOC programming, and provide much of the Borough's existing creative workforce. Universities also raise the profile of the Borough, particularly through their flagship buildings, such as the Gateway Building at Goldsmiths and the Trinity Laban Dance Centre, the latter of which received funding from "the National Lottery, the London Development Agency and Lewisham Council" (Lewisham Council 2002c, 14) for its construction.

The Council makes frequent mention of universities as cultural anchors, but the ways they interact with the surrounding population was interpreted differently by interviewees. Some felt the Metropolitan Police raided squats at Goldsmiths' behest. Walking along a stretch of New Cross Road, Interviewee 7 pointed to a long row of buildings:

> *"This is all owned by Goldsmiths University, this whole block of buildings. As part of the foresight for regeneration they already planned, they shut that down. They did a raid and got the police involved. Had everyone arrested for a little bit of ganja, they lost their license and re-opened as something a bit more swanky. That whole street used to be more residents, and one by one they were moved out and it was turned into Goldsmiths facilities. I've got one friend still living there, holding on. Their neighbours are all Goldsmiths library workshops…Goldsmiths basically own the place, they're the landlords of the area. The police are basically doing their will."*

The 2019 New Cross Area Framework (p 57) praises Goldsmiths as a "local asset" throughout, but also cautions it threatens a "monoculture," and "needs to better address accessibility and outreach to the local community with regards to cultural offer." Some interviewees moved to Lewisham as young adults for university and remained after graduating. Although they credited university for teaching technicalities of their instruments, their artistry and creativity were developed outside the institution. Interviewee 8, who attended Trinity, criticised its pedagogy and disregard for the surrounding music scene:

> *"The head of jazz at the time…didn't like people mixing jazz with hip-hop or dub. It was a very white male, jazz tradition that's been around since the 70s and 80s that he was stuck in. The students who were like that were celebrated, and everyone who wanted to do something else, he stuck his nose at up. He was encouraging to do stuff within the mold, like playing at Ronnie Scott's, or Pizza Express. For a lot of us, it was our own stuff we were doing outside. I wouldn't say Trinity had anything to do with helping southeast London music scene develop."*

Despite being a major landowner, many interviewees felt Goldsmiths remains insulated from the surrounding area. Interviewee 12 said of the universities, "there's an idea what culture and art includes, and it doesn't include Blackness." Interviewee 1 questioned the separation between music's origins and the people teaching it:

> *"Institutions like [Trinity] make me feel weird. We're obviously in a country that enslaved people and they're teaching a Black music by Germans or English people. They've changed since, but when my friends went there, they were only teaching this is the one way…Sometimes it's the blatant disregard for the culture and for the history, they don't teach it properly."*

An exception to interviewees' consensus on universities' isolation from surrounding areas, is the Alchemy music programme, founded by Mikey Kirkpatrick, wherein teenagers referred by three local schools spend Saturdays in Goldsmiths music department and received training and support from staff

and students. While studying at Goldsmiths in the early 2000s, he ran his own record label and put on music events in the local area. Later as a Goldsmiths employee, he found the university's disengagement from the surrounding community inappropriate, and the music department disuse over the weekends a waste. In 2017, a teacher from a local secondary school contacted him, concerned for several students who stopped going to school after their friend, a rapper named Showkey, was murdered:

> *"[He] said…we're really worried about them and would like to do something, just bring them together, have a positive opportunity to get together and do some music…I did a 10-week project, they came into Goldsmiths. I had very little access to resources, but we got a computer, some mics, some music equipment. It was 15 of them, we basically just got to know them. We worked together and wrote some tracks. We did a mixtape and ended up doing a performance as part of a festival."*

Alchemy provides open-ended mentorship and musical training: the teenagers are allowed to make of it what they want. Kirkpatrick described the environment at Alchemy:

> *"We had these things running in parallel: music, make new friends, access to resources and equipment, record and produce your music, learn about the creating of the music, production of music, and the actual promotion, plus mentoring...but with an openness to use that mentoring for what you want. We're not giving youth therapy, we're not asking too many questions, we're just available to talk about whatever…. The exciting thing about is that we've been able to just basically say, this is your space. You can do what you want with it, and we've got a diverse team of about 10 different people who are there and available to support with different music styles, different kinds of mentoring, with different backgrounds and experiences, and we are kind of, it's an organic thing, the team shifts a little bit each year but there's a core team. There's lots of performance opportunities and opportunities for them to perform in front of their families and friends and wider community and we study mixing, production, and I guess all I can say is that my intention here is purely to open up the space so they have access to it."*

Alchemy's budget (which came from Goldsmiths' "Widening Participation" department) had fluctuated widely and unpredictably, and at its peak of funding (£40,000 for the year), was justified by certain Lewisham neighbourhoods being designated a "low participation zone" in higher education by central government. Once these neighbourhoods were no longer designated as such, Goldsmiths cut Alchemy's budget by over 50%. Interviewee 21 was aware of the duality of the programme: while it was founded and run by people who genuinely cared for participants, Goldsmiths tokenises its participants, "basically using the project for numbers," and their inconsistent funding makes it a "mess" for the people running it. Another interviewee felt Goldsmiths leveraged Alchemy for tokenistic purposes:

> *"I think we are valuable to the University because when anybody criticizes the University for being racist or whatever, they'll point to Alchemy. Around 80% of the young people are from BAME backgrounds, whatever."*

Alchemy participants performed around Lewisham, at the Albany and at festivals like Lewisham People's Day and events relating to the GLA and Creative Enterprise Zone. In December 2022, I attended 'Your Silence Will Not Protect You,' the end-of-year showcase for Alchemy named after Audre Lorde's book. Participants performed music they had written, either solo or with support. Band members included Goldsmiths staff and music students, and other Alchemy participants. The event offered a window into the everyday lives of the teenagers, and what grassroots development and mentoring looks like. More experienced musicians helped the teenagers calm their nerves and develop stagecraft, like introducing their bands and audience participation. Mikey cultivated a friendly, low-pressure environment throughout the event through a call and response affirming each performer and reminding them the audience was there to support them. The musical styles varied; some were only accompanied by an acoustic guitar or piano, others had beats they had produced, and some played with a full band. Self-produced tracks skewed towards drill music. Lyrical themes chronicled hardships in their everyday life: heartbreak, romance, loved ones' deaths, violence, and poverty.

Although Goldsmiths granted access to its music department, consistent and sufficient funding hinged on the participating schools' areas designation as "low participation zones" in higher education – a paradox where services to the local area would be cut once a minimum threshold was reached, rather than further investing in the long-term educational attainment of students. Long-term motives and inconsistent financial support from institutions who leverage the programme for branding and institutional image management purposes may not necessarily negate the immediate benefits conferred to the participants, such as making friends and learning how to produce, write, and perform music. Although it was founded at and funded by Goldsmiths, Alchemy now runs in partnership with the Albany because of Goldsmiths' inconsistent, dwindling funding over the years.

8.5 Arts Specialists and Stairwells: Schools

The Borough's population skews young, and its 'diversity' is concentrated amongst residents below the age of 25, so schools are sites of encounter with people from different backgrounds (Comedia 2007, 6). In the first few years of analysed planning texts, Lewisham Council advocated primary and secondary schools as sites of cultural activity. *Creative Lewisham* (Landry 2001, 30) suggested Lewisham dedicate one secondary school as a "specialist status for the arts," but curiously suggested this was to benefit the Borough's higher education sector, not the students themselves. In 2005, Forest Hill School was named the performing arts school for Lewisham. Interviewee 14 attended Forest Hill School at the time and recalled an influx of resources:

> *"All of a sudden, they cared about creativity. I just remember it went from being all about sports and like maths and science to them being like, 'hey! Drama*

class.' All of a sudden, the music classes were open at lunchtime... Everything became creative arts, all of a sudden they cared I'm not paying attention in class because I want to rap lyrics, but now the conversation to write lyrics is more supported rather than just kicking me out of lesson because I'm writing lyrics…The agenda shifted. It'd be like music classes available, there'd be people talking more about like, encouraging to play instruments like piano and things like that. The teachers started to get more engaged in the lyrics happening at lunchtime. We'd all get into a big circle and rap. Then the teachers would show up when you're rapping about hating your teacher. It's not cool anymore when you have Miss Whatever standing there when you're rapping how you could truant school and get away with it."

The 2002 Lewisham Cultural Strategy (p 17) stressed the importance of schools for introducing children to cultural participation. The catalogue placed a range of activities within schools, such as music education and other special curricula delivered by outside organisations. The Mayor of London's 2018 cultural strategy *Culture for All Londoners* (p 107) said culture was necessary to prepare children for the future workforce of creative jobs, and they could be set on these employment pathways at school:

"Creativity will separate us from robots, so we need to start planning for creative skills in the same way we currently plan for infrastructure. And we need to nurture the right confidence, literacies and range of experiences so that people can engage in this next stage of the technological revolution. This must start the moment a London child begins school. Children should have the opportunity to engage with many art forms at school: to learn how to play musical instruments, read a variety of books, write creatively, sing, paint and dance. Culture in schools helps young people from different backgrounds work and socialise together. It develops our future creative talent pipeline, but the impacts go further."

Many interviewees who were primary and secondary-school aged through the early 2000s included school as a central location for music exposure and creation. This included both formal and informal outlets. Different parts of the school served different functions throughout the day. Some interviewees mentioned their school (such as Forest Hill, Tidemill, or Prendergast) had a suite of music equipment, or recalled singing in choir or playing instruments. Primary and secondary school programmes gave some interviewees their first performance opportunities at recitals and assemblies. Interviewee 9 credited individual teachers who pushed students to write and perform their own songs. Interviewee 11, who attended Prendergast recalled:

"Prendergast was the school for music and languages. We had a whole music block that's still there. I think in year 9 we had a whole room kitted out, we had new laptops and everything to make music.. We had a music production teacher, it was proper sick. That's when I had experience even before college, when I was 15. I was like, yeah let's make Mariah Carey covers! In secondary school they pushed for us, like choir practices. That was during the school day, but you could book out the music block after school, which was nice."

Several interviewees said early forays into music-making gave them a source of pride and autonomy that motivated them to continue making music, as Interviewee 13 recounted:

> *"I was first properly introduced to music in primary school. I remember one time I was 8 or 9 years old and they gave everyone a recorder...it just felt so special. Like, this is my instrument, I can control what sound it makes and I got really good at it at one point, when I got about 9 or 10, I started playing the piano, and I really enjoyed it. I think it started through school and I think it was my aunt bought me a keyboard...I played it for quite a bit of time, got really good at it, and in year 5, there was a talent show, and I won."*

After 2004, however, Lewisham Council made less frequent mention of schools as sites of cultural activity (although the GLA continued to in 2010, 2015, and 2018 cultural plans). The last mention of schools as sites for cultural activity in Lewisham was in the 2008 *People, Prosperity, Place* regeneration strategy. One possible explanation for this discursive shift is that the Council's education budget was redesigned to support five costly private finance initiatives (PFIs). The decline in mention of schools as cultural sites precedes the introduction of five 25-year "Building School for the Future" PFI contracts-between 2009 and 2012 with HSBC Infrastructure Fund Management Ltd and Bouygues to demolish, rebuild, and operate schools in the Borough. Under the PFIs, the schools are rebuilt by private contractors, who also attend to the physical operation of the schools, such as maintenance, reception, and management for waste and utilities.

Many Lewisham residents organised against the PFIs. The National Union of Teachers, students, and parents protested in 2007 (The News Line 2007). In 2009, parents at Lewisham Bridge school protested the Grade II-listed building's demolition (Stuttle 2009). In 2011 and 2017, staff at Forest Hill school went on strike in protest of proposed redundancies (Powell Davis and Newby 2011; Weale 2017). The school PFIs are tangential to the discourse discussed here, but it is worth including in the overall discussion because the long-term privatisation of schools are a symptom of neoliberal policies and disinvestment via austerity alongside financialised real estate regeneration. The worsening financial situation created by entering the PFIs may have diverted some of the Council's education budget from programming (like music education) to contractor payments. Interviewee 7 recounted how many residents perceived the PFIs as criminally mismanaged:

> *"Even some local schools around here, they were all given funding about 10-15 years ago to renovate, and it was a big scam...that went to the developers and the corrupt politicians. Next to John William Close, it's a primary school, and it's a listed building, so they didn't go through with the whole regeneration. They weren't allowed to renovate it and lo and behold, about two months in, the place went on fire. It was one of them ones, like in Elephant and Castle, near Corsica, a suspicious fire when they want to redevelop the place."*

Another possible explanation as to why the Council stopped discussing schools as sites of cultural activity is the conversion of Lewisham Music Service (which was established in 2000 and mostly operated in schools) from a Council organisation to a charity predominantly funded by Arts Council England in 2017 and renamed Lewisham Music. Lewisham Council divesting its music service aligned with an England-wide trend, instigated by funding uncertainty and "austerity" from Central government; charities were able to apply for a wider range of funding than local authorities (Lewisham Council 2016b). Today, schools pay fees to Lewisham Music to provide music education.

Beyond the role of schools formally training students in music, interviewees described other cultural practices happening at school, like settling disputes via rap battles in stairwells. Interviewee 13 described his first rap performances in a fire exit at college:

> *"The rap battle was in school but in the fire exit. It was quite loud in the school, teachers were around, everything happened in the fire exits. We'd all go there, put the beat on. I rapped, but he didn't, so I don't know if you could call it a rap battle. More of a confrontation. He tried to come back with something but it didn't hit as hard because he took too long."*

Cultural exchange also happened on the way to and from school. Several interviewees in their late 20s and early 30s recounted that in the early 2000s, people would share music between mobile phones via Bluetooth and play them on the bus. This means of distribution was particularly important for sharing locally-made music, which Interviewee 14 credited for building his early fanbase. Beyond local music, Interviewee 13 recalled popular hits also were played on the bus:

> *"Giggs released a track called 'Talking the Hardest.' In 2007 that was the biggest song ever, and I was like, please, anybody with this track send it to me through Bluetooth. When I got that track, I'd listen to it over and over…Back in that day, we'd go on the bus and play that song out loud. If some girls came on the bus, we'd start it over and play it loud."*

Interviewee 5 observed consuming music in a public setting like the bus is in and of itself an expression of Black culture:

> *"You'd go into buses and people would just be playing random grime songs off their phones to the whole bus. Music was literally everywhere, and this was when technology was terrible.... The bus used to be loud, you'd go onto the bus, and people would be like, playing music off their phones, singing, stomping on the bus. It was just a very noisy environment…this is the thing, in planning people talk about things like a zone, this is for community use, this is for residential use. That's not how people live, especially people from not this part of the world originally. Things are way less formalised. I think the bus was definitely a place of public consumption of culture."*

For the Borough's significant young population, schools are everyday sites of cultural exchange and practice, sometimes because of the deliberate provisioning of music instruction and equipment. Yet whether schools are designated for the arts, young people still have their own channels of cultural expression, exchange, and creation.

8.6 Public Spaces

Parks

Several kinds of public spaces recurred as cultural sites across all three data sources. The planning catalogue, particularly texts published by the GLA, reference parks as sites of festivals and other large gatherings. Lewisham Council planning texts discuss Lewisham People's Day, in the 2009 Cultural Strategy (p 10):

> *"Lewisham People's Day, now in it's [sic] 25th year, is the largest and longest running community event in South East London. Each year over 25,000 visitors are entertained by an eclectic mixture of community and professional performers showcasing music, dance, sport and youth arts alongside craft markets, world food and drink and street theatre."*

Lewisham People's Day did not occur between 2018-2021, but was resurrected as a central feature of LBOC programming in 2022 (but was not held in 2023). Several interviewees participated in Lewisham People's Day. Two interviewees' record labels had showcases on the Blue Borough Stage. Interviewees also used parks in more mundane ways. Just as buses were crucial for cultural exchange and communal listening of music, simply because they were how people got to school, some interviewees discussed parks as everyday sites of cultural activity, simply because they are nearby, pleasant, and free to access. Interviewee 1 brings a cordless amp to Mountsfield Park to practice when the weather is nice, and in 2021 filmed an album promotion there. Public spaces were also informal performance venues. In summer 2022, Koder hosted a barbecue and performance at Hilly Fields. He had recently released a single, 'My Pagan's Girl,' which he performed, and then later filmed additional footage on the basketball courts for a music video. Interviewee 13 filmed a music video in the public spaces around Surrey Quays for the waterfront's romantic ambience.

I attended several live performances in parks while conducting this research. I attended two of Koder's live performances: the first in summer 2021 in Hilly Fields Park, and the second in summer 2022 in Mountsfield Park on the Blue Borough Stage of Lewisham People's Day. Koder has utilised public space elsewhere: over the 2022 Jubilee and 2023 coronation weekends, he organised an outdoor party in Brockley on a street fans would also recognise from his music videos. The 2021 performance in Hilly Fields felt like a family party. His team prepared food for all the attendees. As Koder described learning

music from relatives in sound systems, he continued the practice of creating opportunities for other artists. Before he performed, two other Undeniable artists performed, one of whom had never performed live before. A testament to a cohesive local music culture were the number of people who knew the lyrics to Koder's songs, many of whom were his early fan base.

Another live music event in public space was the Jerk Cookout. It was a day festival that ran each summer between 2006-2011 at the Horniman Museum and Gardens, a public museum, and was resurrected as part of Festival 696 (named after Form 696) in summer 2021. In 2011, the event drew a 20,000-person crowd (well over the Horniman's capacity), creating gridlock in the surrounding area. The Horniman's musical director at the time said "basically anyone who lived in SE23 was furious about it," yet Black residents felt discarded after the event was cancelled indefinitely:

> *"When that event stopped happening, it sent a huge message to the Black community that the Horniman doesn't care about you and doesn't want you here. Prior to this year, I still hear from people…[who] are Caribbean or of Caribbean heritage, they were like, 'yeah you know since the Jerk Cookout, the Horniman doesn't care about us.'… It was important to bring it back, and in partnership with the person who had originally been running it."*

Interviewee 17 said because most Jerk Cookout attendees were Black, the event was inherently criminalised and local opponents asked overtly racist questions about the policing of the 2021 Jerk Cookout, a £12 ticketed family-friendly event with vendor and food stalls, an antique car show, dance performances, and live music throughout the gardens, a main stage, and bandstand:

> *"I read the event safety advisory group's report on the last event, there were a lot of recommendations that thing that would need to be in place for it to happen safely, including a very high level of policing. Bear in mind, these are family events. This is not a rave…*
>
> *We got complaints about this event prior…There's one particular local resident that was just sending some absolutely vile questions our way, it's just so out and out racist. A local resident came on Saturday and was overheard saying they should keep this sort of stuff in Brixton. Another person called up and complained about the style and volume of music, and asked do they know Beethoven? Somebody even emailed in advance of the Jerk Cookout to ask how we would minimise the risk of crime in the area. It's a family event. Not all people who have an issue with noise are racist. But organising a Caribbean family event, those are the sorts of things we come up against. We are a national museum, so to be an independent promoter to try to mount that stuff and be confronted with it is horrible. But, on the flip side, so much of our community, regardless of their backgrounds, you were there, but it was vast majority Caribbean, or Black attendance. It was a really mixed crowd. Historically, it was a hugely-loved event. So many people have reached out since we announced it that they were so pleased and excited it was coming back. It definitely holds in people's memories, sometimes with negative connotations, sometimes it's really positive. I think it's*

> *important to say that the reason we're doing an event like this is because it's part of our core mission as an organisation that we should be doing."*

Festival 696 and the Jerk Cookout did not focus on any one genre: jazz, gospel, and reggae were performed. The main stage featured lovers rock singer Carrol Thompson, saxophonist YolanDa Brown, and R&B singer Liyah. Tomorrow's Warriors, the jazz education programme several interviewees had participated in as teenagers and young adults. Tomorrow's Warriors performance was led by its co-founder, bassist Gary Crosby OBE, who himself was part of the group Jazz Warriors in the 1980s. The bandstand had performers from DEM1NS, a collective based in Hither Green that featured DJs and experimental music. The popularity of the event, which hadn't taken place in a decade, was a testament to the collective memory and meaning attached to it.

High Streets and Shops

In 2013, the GLA published 'Culture on the High Street,' (Crook 2013) which mostly reiterates themes about culture's functions in regeneration discussed previously, but applied specifically to initiatives on High Streets, drawing on case studies from around London to suggest ways to defend against the (p 8)

> *"attack from expensive rents and rates, competition from out-of-town precincts and online shopping. There are currently around 3,400 empty shops across the city, mostly in outer London. In many places, these vacancies create a downward spiral as closures reduce footfall. This leads to yet more closures - further damaging the cultural, social and civic functions of these unique local amenities."*

This passage abstracts actors of regeneration who increase rents and rates, nor does this intersect the relationship between the 'attack' of expensive rents and cultural initiatives. Throughout the planning catalogue, streets are described as ideal locations for busking, public art installations, places of everyday socialising, and providing the physical fabric connecting the night-time economy and businesses. Interviewees and their music similarly described high streets as sites of everyday cultural activity. Harkening back to the quote in the previous chapter where an interviewee in his early 20s described Lewisham's culture as everyday interactions taking place in Deptford Market and Deptford High Street, several other interviewees, such as Interviewee 13, described the loss of that culture and its replacement:

> *"I think it's definitely separating. You can clearly see the divide between the two. Deptford Market Yard has a bridge, you can see the Deptford Market Yard, you have got this shop called Viet something, and everybody's outside, drinking their beer, eating, then you go to the other part of the bridge, and it's just people smoking, talking, maybe a bit louder, and you can see the divide between the two."*

Interviewee 11 lovingly recalled Lewisham Black Market, a former market on Lewisham High Street that catered to African and Caribbean clientele with record stores and hair shops lost to redevelopment:

> *"...Black Market was on Lewisham High Street, which has been taken away and changed into a cocktail bar for cocktails for £8. At Black Market you'd go and get your patty and coco bread at the beginning, and there'd be a guy sitting selling hundreds of CDs, somebody was always playing music, there was a music store. It wasn't a venue, but it felt like a venue. It was open space. You'd hear people busking...The whole strip was Caribbean and African...It was called Black Market for a reason. We'd always been walking up and down Black Market. But then it got redeveloped...It wasn't that long ago, definitely within the last 10 years. I was old enough to get cocktails there. We tried to boycott it. We thought they were gonna bring it back and upgrade it. That's what was sold to us. The culture is completely gone from Black Market. It's not even called that anymore. Now it's gone. None of it is left. They literally removed the whole thing."*

After closing for several years, it reopened in 2014 under the name "Model Market," where local residents reported being charged entry into an open market they previously frequented for free, much higher-market stores and expensive goods operated by Street Feast, a company that owns several markets in rapidly-gentrifying areas around London (Mad News UK 2014).

Shops were also places for social interaction, which led to further collaboration and the sharing of music. Other enterprises like record stores and studios within the music industry, and small businesses outside it such as hair and barber shops were a place for musical exchange. Interviewee 12 said the first time they heard hip-hop was in a hairdressers. At small local businesses, musicians could drop off their music, and film videos. Interviewee 21, who runs a label, said businesses are sites of networking amongst people from the local area:

> *"We know each other just from growing up. I don't think there's much to it. I remember before, what I used to do, in the barber, there always used to be someone talking about music or doing music, and after just going to talk to them...' Little things like that. People I've grown up with who I know do music, going to studio, meeting new artists with them."*

Interviewee 17 discussed the centrality of barbers for listening to Black Atlantic music:

> *"That's where the original curators, like DJs, come from. One of the first spaces that most people, most men, will go to hear their music out loud in front of other people. Somewhere that's a safe space for certain types of men to engage in dialog about their music and discuss and debate about it. It's one of the only semi-public spaces that plays pirate radio out loud. Usually you either listen at home, in the car, but you have places where you'll have pirate radio on, which is one of the main vehicles to get Black music out... It's a shared listening experience."*

High streets and shops feature prominently in music videos. Familiarity and cohesion are shown through people utilising public spaces and patronising small local businesses in the music videos like those of

190

Kayowa, Koder, Ssega, and LVTS. In Ssega's 'Our World (Fight for Air)', businesses are the backdrop to portraits of and interactions between people. This video includes barber shops, off-licenses, Caribbean takeaways, Chinese and Turkish grocery stores, a tattoo parlour, a fitness/dance studio, and bakery. The musicians have friendly interactions with employees – the opening shots of 'Bounse' by LVTS are of him getting his hair done at the barber. Ssega said he deliberately included a spread of local businesses as an indicator of the variety of people behind them. This footage gives a sense of everyday life in Lewisham, including the changes wrought by 'regeneration.' In 'Why You in the Endz?,' Koder references:

> *"Gentrification, Caribbean shops get closed, nice eggs benedict and bacon*
> *A man feels alien, community fadin',*
> *Shops play soul when the soul's been takin*
> *Please, time to set up speakers on the streets*
> *We're undeniable so we don't ever take the feet [he pantomimes running away]"*

Other videos convey the activity of the Borough through departing and arriving trains, riding on buses, and pedestrian-filled cafes. 'Bounse' by LVTS and 'Based' by Kayowa depict the artists taking transport, walking through their neighbourhoods, running errands and going to shops. Koder walks through Brockley in 'Why You in the Endz?,' beleaguered by police officers. As discussed previously, panoramic shots of central London's skyline in Kayowa and Koder's videos convey distance between Lewisham and central London. A similar separation between newer developments and the existing surrounding area is related in music videos. In contrast with the close portrait-style shots that conjure cohesion and familiarity, new developments and residents are filmed at distance (often from across the street) that convey a physical and emotional remove. In Koder's 'Why You in the Endz?,' the camera pans over new cafes patronised by mostly white, middle-class residents across the street outside Brockley Overground station. I met several interviewees at this station, all of whom suggested we conduct the interview elsewhere. Interviewee 21 described filming music videos on the high street simply to show the local area as it is:

> *"I'm [filming] it outside the Londis shop and the pub which is called Dirty South.*
> *That just shows like, like in every area there's a Londis, and there's pubs…I'm*
> *on the main road outside the Londis, Chinese shop, and the pub. It just kind of*
> *shows the area, to be honest."*

Youth Centres

One of the biggest deviations between the planning texts and the other two data sources was the decades-long importance of youth centres/clubs to nurturing Black Atlantic music culture in the Borough. Interviewee 2 described how youth clubs, especially Moonshot and Lewisham Way, were the entry point

191

for many people's participation in sound system culture in the 1970s and 80s, as well as receiving supplementary education from older generations:

> *"That was what was crucial about that youth centres, they were alternative public arenas, but they were learning spaces…these were hubs where people would bring their skills and d expertise in there…for me, the most crucial youth club for me was Moonshot Youth Club, because I got expelled from school at 15… Then you had Lewisham Way Centre, I forget what year that opened, but that was an essential space for us. As a Black youth every day of the week, barring weekends, you could find a youth centre to go to in Lewisham. Every single day. You might go to like if you're into pool, we used to play table tennis, whatever. But the point is there were always education aspects stitched on to it…These were intergenerational communal spaces and that's what the edification was based on it, it was about transferrable knowledge and skills."*

He argued youth clubs as sites of Black and working-class empowerment is what provoked central government to disinvest in them:

> *"They were shutting down the youth centres in Lewisham left, right and centre, but the crucial thing about Thatcher, and you need to document this, the assault wasn't just on the Black community. The assault was on the white working-class communities and the unions. She destroyed the unions."*

Amongst several interviewees, the closure of the Lewisham Way Youth and Community Centre in 2018 was both a material and symbolic loss, as it provided educational and recreational activities to African-Caribbean residents since 1973. Seven interviewees discussed youth clubs and their recording equipment as critical aspects of their musical development. Youth clubs provided young people unable to afford private studio time a means to create music, express themselves, and learn skills. As Charles (2016) found, new music genres like grime (and later drill) were developed in youth centres where young people could commune, experiment, and share their experiences in safety. Interviewee 14 said youth workers served as relatable role models who organised trips and activities:

> *"Youth club was the most important thing ever because youth club was ran by people I identified with. They either grew up in my area or they've gone through something similar to me. Youth centre was like, that was where I saw a difference. I was like 'raa, the people there are from these communities and I respect this guy telling me not to do that, because I know he's gone through things I've gone through.' It doesn't feel like my teacher coming from a whole different world telling me what I should focus on."*

In the early 2000s, youth clubs remained important to young people as a place to keep busy after school, meet peers from their area, and participate in activities like sports and music. Interviewees in their early to mid-twenties observed consequences of state disinvestment like short staffing and equipment falling into disrepair before the club would ultimately close. Although youth clubs were an important source of

education, leisure, and safety, Lewisham Council has systematically closed most of its youth clubs in the past two decades and cut 34% of youth service funding between 2011-2018 (Berry 2018, 7).

Many interviewees emphasised their closures were devastating to youth and music culture in Lewisham, and felt racism at least partially motivated closures. Without youth clubs, young Lewisham residents, particularly coming from lower-income families, were denied safe, free places to congregate, learn, and make music. Interviewee 2 described the impact of their loss:

> *"In my 20s I became a voluntary youth worker in the Borough of Lewisham as well, and some of those clubs I worked in were predominantly white and nearly everything was about either sports or table tennis thing, not really educational. Whereas, for us, the educational, the supplementary bit was fundamental. That is why Thatcher closed them down, because she knew that, the government knew that. It wasn't just about 'these Black kids, let's deprive them,' it was because they knew they were alternative education spaces, and they also knew what sound system culture did."*

While walking past a now-closed youth club, Interviewee 14 noted uneven disinvestment across youth clubs which follows 'regeneration' patterns – the remaining open youth clubs are close to transport stations:

> *"That was our youth club there. This area is called Turnham but I feel like it's just been left. The crime rate's very high around here, but I do always link it to the opportunities that they've had. Crime rates are lower in my side of Brockley, but the opportunities we've had because we're closer to the main road and train station and we're closer to wherever, the cafes and stuff like that, there's been a lot more money pumped into this area."*

Interviewees in their early 20s said the remaining youth clubs, like one on the Woodpecker Estate, forbid drill or any music with explicit language or references to violence from being recorded there, which deterred people from going. These interviewees also said particularly for teenagers, travelling to other neighbourhoods was neither convenient nor affordable, and that they were unsure if they'd encounter problems from other teenagers for being from different neighbourhoods. Towards the end of the study period, Lewisham Council re-opened two youth clubs, bringing the Borough's total count to six. One, however, at the time of this writing (early 2023) is currently closed. Five are managed by Youth First, an outside entity, and the other is managed by the Grove Park Youth Club Preservation Trust. Most are open no more than three days a week for a few hours in the afternoons.

The Council's planning and regeneration texts make no mention of youth clubs as sites of cultural activity. The GLA acknowledges the loss of youth clubs in the Mayor of London's 2018 *Culture for all*

Londoners (p 37) while maintaining 'culture' can deter people from crime (this passage was preceded by a paragraph about increasing crime rates):

> *"Due to budget pressures at least 85 youth centres have closed across London, and a £145m gap in funding for youth services has been built up since 2011. Participating and engaging in culture cannot bridge this gap. But engagement and even volunteering with arts and cultural activities supports self-expression, promotes a shared identity and can provide an alternative perspective to the pressures of growing up in the capital. Key to the prevention of reoffending is secure paid employment. With 1 in 6 jobs in the capital in the creative economy there is clearly a role for culture in offering people a way out of crime."*

This passage again abstracts the agents of disinvestment, blaming "budget pressures" for closing youth centres. When read in the context of interviewees' criticism on the lack of nuance in discourses discussing crime in the Borough, for example, that young people may be pushed into criminal activity because they do not have other employment options and need to provide for themselves, the suggestion that young people instead volunteer to escape the non-specified "pressures of growing up in the capital" calls into question the authors' knowledge about the lives of these hypothetical would-be criminals. Additionally, the CCI sector often amplifies, not mitigates, class inequalities, in part because entry into the field is predicated on under- or unpaid labour which poor or working-class creatives cannot afford to take on (Oakley et al 2017).

8.7 New Developments

The 2007 Intercultural Strategy (p 25) stressed how new private developments can meaningfully interact with the existing cultural fabric, but the Council should require developers to conduct cultural assessments:

> *"If new private developments are to make a major contribution to cultural life in Lewisham the developers and their teams need to understand Council's objectives of supporting diversity and building a meaningful public realm in which people can lead rich, inclusive and financially rewarding lives. It is critical in briefs for new projects that Council has initiated should draw upon the knowledge gained through the intercultural research process and sets out clear intercultural objectives."*

Although some other earlier texts, such as the 2002 Lewisham Council Cultural Strategy, make passing mention of the potential of new developments as cultural sites, these suggestions went largely unheeded, as large 'strategic' developments like Lewisham Gateway, Convoys Wharf, and New Bermondsey lack substantial cultural provision. Landry (2001) suggests leveraging Community Infrastructure Levies and S106 payments for cultural initiatives, yet a review of the AMRs found no mention of funds applied for cultural purpose, although in the 2018-19 AMR (p 101) stressed the importance of new developments to the borough's culture:

> *"Whilst new development in the borough places additional demands on social infrastructure, it can also help to alleviate this demand by providing opportunities for new community, health and educational facilities and by creating new places where communities can flourish and where the borough's culture, and cultural facilities can be enhanced."*

The Council's 2015 SPD on Planning Obligations does not include obligations related to cultural provision. Among 11 "topic areas," the closest to "culture" the SPD comes is for art installations in the "public realm" topic area. The 2012 CCI Strategy (p 5) discusses developers' providing workspaces for creative and cultural enterprises, and creative businesses occupying 'meanwhile' spaces (it is not clarified how these businesses will be accommodated once the space is occupied by permanent tenants or demolished). The Borough's Director of Inclusive Regeneration clarified in recent years the Council has focused on providing affordable workspace:

> *"In my role, particularly and currently and over the past 5 years or so has been focusing on affordable workspace, an incredibly overused and ill-defined term. Whenever I think about workspace, there is in my mind at least, absolutely about culture. That's about ensuring there are spaces in new development and old development that are able to accommodate uses which don't drive towards to what the market derives in terms of commerciality. We're seeking to secure spaces [with] different uses and affordabilities and typologies that enable other things to take root… as an example, the S106 in Convoy's Wharf requires the delivery of some affordable workspace…I see that as potentially having, whether that's what I'd term creative workspace, affordable workspace, often ends up being occupied by creative digital industries which by very nature tend to be more dispersed and in sectors which are less populated by big SME businesses… there are agglomeration benefits, and a sort of market failure the local authority needs to intervene that there's space for those things to take use.*
>
> *If you're thinking of cultural uses as a theatre, a music venue, a dancehall or something like that, there probably aren't that many examples in Lewisham in terms of planning decision securing those sorts of uses, largely because no single development could justify the delivery of one of those, but we have an incredibly rich set of civic cultural buildings anyway. So we don't need to replicate them, but we look to ensure that planning gain enables us to secure sums that can invest in some of our existing cultural infrastructure. I think that's just as important as it is to invest in new cultural infrastructure. You might not see the securing of a new theatre through planning gain, but you'd certainly see the accumulation of S106 monies so they can partially invest in existing cultural infrastructure or where they can affordable workspace or forms of workspace.."*

The Catford Town Centre (Lewisham Council et al 2021, 87) regeneration plan is led by the Council (rather than private developers) and makes frequent mention of 'culture' in the 2021 planning framework, including the construction of a 'culture house' within the new civic campus intended to be a multi-use leisure space. In addition to reconfiguring the public space with more green and blue infrastructure, Catford's regeneration is heavily predicated on existing cultural assets like the Broadway theatre,

dancehalls, library, and cinema. The nearby Lewisham Gateway contains a cinema, but seemingly no other cultural provision (and indeed, going to a cinema only fulfils a limited number of functions which the Council and GLA set out; it is hard to imagine how going to the movies can substantively improve mental health or community cohesion). New Bermondsey, a 30-acre redevelopment project in the north of the Borough run by the developer Renewal (whose executives have many close ties to Lewisham Councillors), approved plans for a multi-faith centre and artist workshops, which have not materialized. Rather, the space for the multi-faith centre went exclusively to the evangelical Hillsong Church.

Another notable example of a new development seemingly bereft of any cultural strategy is Convoys Wharf, which sits on the riverfront. Landry (2001, 44) specifically noted that Convoys Wharf is "a truly ambitious development…that connects with Deptford's past heritage, contemporary arts and future opportunity is possibly the borough's most significant potential catalyst." Over twenty years later, the development is not complete, and planning permissions were only awarded in 2014 by then-Mayor Boris Johnson at the request of the developer, because

> *"the local authority was unable to consider it before the statutory 16 week period to determine planning applications of this nature expired. At the request of developer Hutchison Whampoa, the Mayor chose to take on the role of planning authority in an attempt to bring the plans to fruition"* (Mayor of London 2014).

The S106 agreement mandated the developer, Hutchison Property Group, provide a 'Cultural and Meanwhile Strategy' within three months of its masterplan approval in 2014. Several local news organisations and activist groups opposed the plans, for reasons including reduced affordable housing, "affordable" housing which is not genuinely so, or shared ownership, and segregation via separate buildings and entrances between the market-rate and affordable housing. As of 2018, the development's Cultural Steering Group had only met twice despite a mandate to meet quarterly since 2014. In 2017, the Strategic Planning Committee rejected Hutchison's initial cultural strategy for failing to include the local community in terms of getting their feedback, provisioning for affordable workspaces, involving the local arts sector, and unclear uses of meanwhile spaces (Voice 4 Deptford, n.d.; Deptford Dame 2021).

New developments are largely praised for their ability to improve the visual and public realms. Many texts point to award-winning design, such as the TNG Youth Centre in Sydenham, Glass Mill Leisure Centre, PLACE/Ladywell. The 2021 Lewisham Local Plan (p 191) said the Borough was "gaining a reputation as a location for innovative housing design." Yet interviewees largely disliked the heights and styles of new buildings, which they felt were starkly different from the surrounding areas and blocked light. The use of "new" in developments is also critical; although many texts emphasise the importance of respecting and retaining an area's existing character, renaming areas as "new locations," such as in New

Bermondsey and New Lewisham on the Sundermead Estate divorces them from their history and the existing neighbourhoods they are embedded in (Hatherley and Owen 2016).

Beyond explicitly-designated cultural spaces within new developments, the kind of housing awarded planning permissions does not align with the Council's representations and taglines discussed in the previous chapter about aspiring to make Lewisham the "best" place to live, nor does it align with the kind of housing needed as diagnosed by the SHMA. Comparing the Council's discourses about Lewisham's housing and regeneration with the Council's planning permissions for new developments indicates a sharp divergence. These include failing to provision affordable housing in accordance with its own policies and granting planning permissions for housing typologies (studios and one-bedrooms) that do not satisfy the urgent requirements for larger family homes.

The most common kind of new home built is flats with less than two bedrooms. This accounted for 91.6% of all planning permissions in the 2004-05 AMR. The difference between studios, 1-bedroom, 2-bedroom, and 3+ bedrooms is stark. The 2005-06 AMR, for example, reported in that year the Council awarded planning permissions for 658 1-bedroom flats and 540 2-bedroom flats, but only 92 that were 3-bedrooms or more. The 2011-12 AMR reported 85% of all new builds were flats, and 83% contained 2 bedrooms or less. In 2018-19, 90% of the new dwellings built had two bedrooms or less. AMRs after this year only list the number of bedrooms for affordable housing.

The 2004-05 AMR justifies building 2-bedroom or less housing with a 2000 GLA estimate that two-thirds of Lewisham's households contain no more than two people, and that one-third of Lewisham households will be single-person by 2016. Although the Council presents these predictions in household change as occurring of their own accord, one must question the somewhat circular logic justifying the planning permissions awarded. These housing statistics fail to intersect with other demographic statistics, and indeed contradict other Council reports and policies. In 2007, for example, despite the Borough proudly representing itself as a Borough of Sanctuary to migrants and refugees, the Intercultural City Report said many migrant families (particularly in Deptford) suffered overcrowding in 2-bedroom flats, and that the current housing stock did not accommodate intergenerational living or large families, and that developers "currently perceive the consumer demand is for two bedroom apartments" (Comedia 2007, 40). A year later, the Council's regeneration strategy, *People Prosperity Place*, then-Mayor Steve Bullock prefaced the introduction by claiming Lewisham was a place where "families are raised" (Lewisham Council 2008, 2).

By 2021, over 60% of all housing in Lewisham was two bedrooms or less, yet 5,100 families on the Council's housing register were living in overcrowded conditions (Lewisham Council 2021b, 181). The

Council's own 2006 (p 8) Residential Development Standards SPD (part of the Local Development Framework) noted

> *"Lewisham suffers from a shortage of larger housing units, particularly 3+ bed properties ('a family dwelling'). Provision of family housing is therefore particularly valuable in Lewisham."*

Despite over a decade of approving planning applications for building new studios and 1- and 2-bedroom flats, the Council reiterated this need for family housing in its 2021 Local Plan, yet predicted the "trend" towards smaller units would continue, as if it the Council itself is not the approving body for these new builds with the power to make "trends." The 2019 SHMA estimated "there are around 8,200 more households than there are dwellings and according to the 2011 Census around 14,000 households (12.1%) were overcrowded. This mismatch of dwelling type and size verses actual occupancy is a key driver of affordable housing need" (Bullock 2019, 14). Overcrowding increased 5% between 2001 and 2011 (Lewisham Council 2012b, 9).

Some interviewees noticed segregation between private and social renters within new builds (such as in Lewisham Central). The building where I talked to Interviewee 11 had separate entrances for private and council tenants, the latter of whom had no access to the 2-story, mostly empty underground parking garage. Interviewee 11 observed large swathes of housing were controlled by a small number of owners who build towers that did not appeal to local residents:

> *"Over here, there might have been a few estates to knock down this whole shit. Lewisham Homes, L&Q, they popped up out of nowhere and I remember all of us on my road, we all changed to L&Q... It's private. Imagine, the majority of this building is council, but then the parking is private. So my friend has been here for 10 years and can't park here because it's private... the fancier building has concierge.*
>
> *I couldn't afford to live here. A one bedroom was £1150 at least. How can Lewisham residents not afford to live here anymore, and why is the rent so expensive? I have loads of friends now who live southwest, in Norwood, near Croydon, which is much cheaper and has bigger houses...I think we'll see more of these tall towers near the station. We thought it was insane when they built them, but it filled up so quickly.*
>
> *I speak to loads of people in Lewisham, and the housing situation is super tight. It's just expensive. You might be on a tenancy you have like 5, years ago. Rent for your one-bedroom is maybe £700 or £800, and you can't move into new builds now. I think it's the most ridiculous thing ever. You're forcing people to move out of Lewisham and getting people who can afford it to move in."*

Interviewee 20 associated new developments, especially Convoys Wharf, with the loss of culture because of the evictions of existing resident and demolitions of their homes, which fragmented social networks.

Interviewee 3 both observed that renderings of forthcoming developments printed on hoardings around construction sites were not reflective of the local population and did not include Black people:

> *"Where [Fizz, the developer] put up the hoarding for that development, there were no Black faces on that hoarding. So I find it very interesting Lewisham Council is talking about community to be diverse because, when I complained to Fizz, they basically swatted me away like I was a nobody, and the Council backed them up."*

This observation calls into question whether developments that provided community or cultural infrastructure would actually be utilised by existing residents. The mere provision of infrastructures in "accessible locations" does not guarantee that people will utilise them, as use also hinges on

> *"a sense of perceived closeness or ease of social access to facilities and services, for diverse social groups. Adequate access to services and facilities in a place require perceived closeness to the services being provided, perception of a welcoming attitude in the services offered in a place, or a sense of belonging or entitlement to them"* (Fincher and Iveson 2008, 35).

Interviewees' broad consensus that new developments were not "for them," as interpreted through their prices, advertising, and developers' limited engagement with the community calls into question if cultural programming and services in new developments (if provided) would draw from or otherwise be relevant to existing residents.

8.8 Music Venues and Organisations

Another overlap between data sources was the role of both grassroots and commercial music venues. Anim-Addo (1995) mentioned several venues important to Black Atlantic cultural exchange going back to the nineteenth century. In 1886, the Fisk Jubilee Singers travelled from Nashville, Tennessee and performed in Catford. Other African American artists such as Turner Layton and Clarence Johnstone performed at the New Cross Empire in 1932, and Louis Armstrong performed there a year later. Paul Robeson performed to over 800 people in Lewisham Town Hall in April 1949. That same year, thirty Black men were arrested outside Carrington House for singing and dancing in the street as protest against pub and venue owners' barring their entry. In later decades, cultural luminaries such as Bob Marley and Stevie Wonder also performed in Lewisham at venues like the Albany (ibid).

Interviewees specified grassroots music venues like the Goldsmiths Tavern, New Cross Inn, Royal Albert, Amersham Arms, Fox and Firkin, Matchstick Piehouse, and Isla Ray as important to musical development and stagecraft, to network with local venue employees, proprietors, and other musicians, leading to more work. Interviewee 9 described the New Cross Inn as a long-standing, welcoming venue:

> *"The New Cross Inn has been a trooper, that's been going forever and it still going… As a songwriter, I'd sit at home, write something, take my iPad down to the New Cross Inn on a Tuesday if I wanted to test it out in front of a crowd, it's that free and that kind of chill... because the area is so diverse and still has maintained that cool vibe of free spirits, again, anything the act before you could be indie or grunge or punk and the act after you could be hip-hop. It was just a nice vibe."*

Interviewee 1 described grassroots venues as important to developing artistry and networking in lower-pressure local environments:

> *"Smaller venues are important because it's our step into the industry. For them to host nights for younger people having a safe space to grow as an artist or grow into something beautiful. And to give us the space, really, to commune in safety. At the end of the day, wherever you are in London, you're not really safe...You build out such a sense of community. You go down, your friend invites you down. Then next week you come back, you get to know the staff. Then they book you because they've heard you a few times for a show the next week. Out of that the community grows because everyone is making money. The talent invites their friends, everyone gets hungry at some point, and needs some drinks. It kind of becomes like a barter system. Maybe we'll sell tickets at the door, we've made enough money we can pay you £40 or 50, which is not great, but if it's a weekly gig. They're just offering you the best they can do. That's better than having a corporate gig somewhere in central London. At the end of the day, it's more community-based than anywhere else."*

Grassroots venues often built rapport with musicians and would provide space for creative development, even it if it was not profitable. Small venues provided a space for people with collective memories and experiences to come together, hosting regular open-mics or jam nights to occur. STEEZ, for example, was a recurring jam at Fox and Firkin that brought together creatives from many different styles across southeast London together, including music students from Trinity and Goldsmiths. Several experimental and jazz musicians credited STEEZ as being the forum bringing musicians together, who went on to future collaborations defining the "south London music scene." Interviewee 1 explained why having consistent access to the same spaces is important for both individual and communal creative development, using Steamdown as an example:

> *"Consistency is key to just having a healthy relationship with the scene you're in and having a space to call home..It'd be very different if Steamdown didn't have a place we couldn't call home... You couldn't build on something because you need stability. If the venues changes, every venue is different and sounds different, so you have to tweak where everyone sounds best in the room. You kind of get to know Matchstick Piehouse now and what my bass will sound like, the limits I can push...Bigger doesn't necessarily mean better because of sound. You spend your time, figure out the good relationships, that's what you build on. Some people are lucky to create relationships wherever they go, they play in collectives wherever they go...Having a central space where you know, I can come and watch a dope band but people in the audience are going to be musicians as well. And you can*

network...Now, kids from Trinity are figuring out it's only one stop on the
train...Now, the new wave...I was new a couple years ago, now they newer kids
are coming in and they're like wow! That's how the community builds from one
small venue saying, you know what, we're gonna open our doors, we can't offer
you much, but in the long run we'll build up this space and community together."

Although some new venues have opened, Interviewee 3 pointed to establishments catering to different tastes of new Lewisham residents, and (despite the MVT's recommendations) noise and licensing policies being used by the Council to control and shut venues:

"This goes hand in hand with the wider kind of strategy to close down Venue so,
for instance, all of it when we were growing up in the night clubs that will you
know, there was nightclubs east, west south and north, you could have your pick
in the night to go to three different nightclubs. That is all gone, that's really bad,
and then they're using the noise abatement or whatever policies to really control
and shut down and not re-provide spaces, where we can be so it's a bit like coming
full circle. When our parents came in the 50s and they had to make their own
entertainment. That is really driving the culture in a particular way. There's not
opportunity to meet in those venues and the tradition of house parties is not as it
was, and so the culture is having less space to be seen and to be experienced and
what there usually being hijacked...appropriation is a major part of it. People
can see the profitability of it, but again it's all playing lip service and not proper
respecting people who should be in prominent positions aren't."

In addition to grassroots music venues, interviewees pointed to organisations like Midi Music Company and the Albany as providing professional and music industry training, . Although organisations like Midi Music Company have grown into nationally-recognised music education programmes over the decades, their founders grew up in the areas they were working in. Crucial to their success was securing permanent workspace. Wozzy Brewster OBE credited her experience working at the Albany with equipping her with a skillset and knowledge to found Midi Music Company in 1995. In addition to her business and music wherewithal, Midi Music Company succeeded because of her strong local network. The motivation for starting Midi Music Company was not to improve the external reputation of Deptford and New Cross, but to help people already there, as Interviewee 9 relayed:

"Wozzy wanted to develop something that was to get young offender off the street
and into music. She did a youth steering committee, and she picked some friends
I was in a group with and some other young people. We'd meet every three months
and just come up with ideas that we thought other people would want to see. Cut
to years later, you have the Midi Music Company, which has been going for 25
years now... I watched these people develop and change into different people
because they were allowed to grasp onto something that made them get out of
bed that they loved and experienced a completely different world than the world
they were used to."

201

Steamdown is another organisation based in the Borough, an "artist collective, weekly event and music community" (Steamdown, n.d.) based out of Matchstick Piehouse, a community-run venue in a railroad arch that can hold about 150 people. Steamdown formed in 2017 and first played in Buster Mantis, a Jamaican restaurant and venue on Deptford High Street. Interviewee 12, a Steamdown member, described its evolution from a free local jam to an internationally-acclaimed ticketed event and collective signed to a record label:

> "From a musician's point of view, it's very easy to get rusty if you're not constantly playing. To constantly play, you need a well of motivation to keep yourself going.... To have that other person to push and motivate you, and challenge you as well. Adopt style, borrowing from each other, giving back. That whole dialogue musicians have when they're playing, it's a lot to do. If you have a space you can go to where you don't necessarily have to pay, which at Steamdown you didn't have to pay at first....What it has become now, it has changed obviously. It became a platform for Cassie Kinoshi, that's the whole reason Kamasi Washington and Theo Croker came down, because it was something that popping and bubbling, a platform where they can let themselves be heard and touch base with what was happening at the grassroots of the music culture of the city. What it's becoming now is a platform for Isobella Burnham, for instance, or Theon Cross, they can go on tour with Steamdown and promote their own music. I started going in its first year, maybe a couple months in.
>
> Steamdown had never charged entry, which was really important, especially at the beginning, because it meant a lot of young people of colour who weren't middle class – yet- were able to go to this night…However, at the same time, and this is one of the things with Steamdown for how it is now, it needs to be sustainable. The musicians, especially the house band, need to be paid… They're playing for 2 hours straight, that's work."

Since its inception in 2017, Steamdown has taken a more commercial turn: the weekly show, which relied on donations, is now a ticketed event that costs £10-15 and attracts tourists alongside residents and long-time supporters of the group. Rather than running as an open jam, the weekly show has set players invited to play. The group is signed to Decca records and tours around the EU and UK, but the long-standing relationship with its home base, Matchstick Piehouse, is also indicative of the networks that give rise to music culture. Interviewee 12 credited the ethos and values of the people who operate the community theatre and venue as understanding Steamdown's founding principles, which helped Steamdown grow into what it is today:

> "At first Matchstick Piehouse wasn't charging at all, because it's a community space. They pay a living wage for their bar staff, which is amazing…It takes a business owner. It's funny, Matchstick Piehouse is the only space like this which is not a Black business, at the moment. Those guys, they're fucking phenomenal people and their ethos to set something up and keep it going and be fair. Apart from that, it's Black business owners who have seen the culture and experienced it."

Over the past five years, Steamdown has morphed into a source of income and career boosters for the rotating band members. Ticketing the weekly event, however, has changed the nature of the event. Interviewee 12 observed this tension:

> *"If you want to build something, you have to film it, or record it, save it, then build tunes off that, or put it on YouTube so other people can see you. There's a bit of clout that comes with that, or you'll want to monetize it at some point so you can build something sustainable. Steamdown has gone for the latter route of trying to make something that will live past the 2020s, and build a platform for younger musicians to come up and take the place of the musicians in there now. For that to happen, it needs some kind of backing, which is why they're now signed with Decca, which is a major label and has the financial backing to do things and not have to struggle. As soon as you start charging money, demographics will change. You have more white, more middle class, then some of the community will get turned off, because that will becoming triggering for people who are there to heal from the gentrification of their community and any racial trauma they've had in the workplace. It becomes incredibly difficult to mesh the two things together."*

I attended Steamdown in summer 2021 at Matchstick Piehouse. There were moments of rapturous and sublime improvisation, and the band also played some of their recorded tracks. The audience was involved in several call and responses and dancing throughout. Despite the change in evening's format and audience demographics skewing whiter and more middle class, Steamdown still provides a platform for emerging musicians to develop their craft and gain some visibility in the London music "scene."

The Albany

One venue in the Borough meriting deeper discussion is The Albany. It recurred in the planning texts, interviews, and music. Throughout the catalogue of planning texts, Lewisham Council refers to the Albany as one of the anchor institutions within the Borough's CEZ and OA, providing both performances as well as training and programming for local people. The Albany was also the Council's delivery partner for the LBOC in 2022.

Originally founded in 1894 as the Deptford Fund, it opened as the Albany Institute five years later in 1899. Just as the Moonshot Centre was destroyed in a fire set by racists, in 1978 the Albany was destroyed in a fire the public widely suspected was set by white supremacists, but not investigated as arson by the Metropolitan Police, despite a menacing note left at the scene (Anim-Addo 1995). It was rebuilt and in 1982 reopened at its current location in the much-discussed square just off Deptford High Street and Deptford Market, on the opposite side of the footbridge several interviewees referred to as the barrier between the gentrifying area just outside Deptford Station and the wider neighbourhood. In 2000,

a 4-year Single Regeneration Budget (SRB) named "Art of Regeneration" was awarded to the Albany Theatre to refurbish the space with the hopes of transforming it into a community hub, and initiating a number of schemes to involve local residents. Echoing the discourse discussed in previous chapters, the SRB "targeted children and young people in areas of high deprivation in South East London, particularly those who were 'underachieving, disaffected and at risk'" (Ludvigsen and Scott 2005, 5).

Interviewees conveyed a range of opinions about the Albany and its function to Black Atlantic music in Lewisham. Interviewees above the age of forty recalled it as a place that offered a platform for radical programming and genuinely served the local community. Younger interviewees, like Interviewee 1, who had multigenerational family ties to Lewisham, said their families used to attend gigs there frequently. Interviewee 9 offered insight on what its programming was like prior to the study period. He described shows that platformed local artists earlier in their careers but also brought in bigger-name acts (like Stevie Wonder, Marvin Gaye, and Whoopi Goldberg) who gave residents early inspiration and exposure to the performing arts. Interviewee 20 described attending performances, getting training, and later working as the Albany's house manager beginning in the 1980s:

> *"Doing art, design, and the Albany, in its old location on Creek Road before it moved here in the early 80s, the Albany played a key role in that nurturing of creativity. When I did my 0-level in design, I was doing it at the Albany…learning how to batik, how to screen print, how to do all of this stuff. Then I was in the basement youth theatre, acting at the Albany. When the Albany had its new location that the late, great Jenny Harris raised money for to happen, it felt once that I came out of secondary school, it felt that was still home…the Albany had this amazing plethora of artists, creators, that you were surrounded by and therefore influenced by, but also learning from what they were doing."*

Whereas the Council's 2002 Cultural Strategy (p 17) praised the Art of Regeneration as representing a "unique model of social and community regeneration in the context of a long established community building," Interviewee 9 contested this time as when the Albany leadership steered programming away from the tastes of Deptford residents:

> *"I remember thinking at the time, you are actually killing this place [the Albany]. These shows are not what people want to see. It was very National Theatre, city, white. It's not a colour thing. It's just doing things that appeal to people in this area. Finding something that's relative. Colour doesn't have anything to do with it, but if you have these shows that are very contemporary art, and they're just not relative to local people. Start off blatantly on your doorstep. Over the road, the little houses there, that's where your thinking should start. The thinking at the time was, 'I want to be popular, I want to be seen as a great director of this centre, so I want to appeal to people who are going to see me,' you know what I mean? By having all this posh stuff here, it was not working."*

The Albany has also been the home base for specific schemes and organisations for the local community. Amongst the interviewees' organisations, Alchemy (which had previously been based at Goldsmiths) and a youth record label founded by an Alchemy alum operated out of the Albany. Despite Interviewee 9's criticisms of its programming in the early 2000s, interviewees with close working relationships to the Albany credited specific employees for providing workspace and resources. Alchemy, for example, relocated to the Albany thanks to Mikey Kirkpatrick's building of a relationship with their staff over many years.

The Albany appears in the catalogue of analysed music. Germane Marvel recorded the spoken word performance 'Taller Deeper Wider' there, and Rezon8 had its record launch event there in 2021, which was recorded and uploaded to Youtube. Rezon8 is another example of culture as a process developing from grassroots levels: the label's founder and main producer (another interviewee) was one of the first participants in Alchemy. At Rezon8's launch, young artists in their late teens and early 20s performed for an audience mostly comprised of their family and friends. Nine months later, I saw many of the same musicians perform on the Blue Borough Stage at Lewisham People's Day for a Rezon8 showcase, with more refined stage presences and a bigger audience, a tangible example of local Black Atlantic music cultural development over time and in physical space in Lewisham.

8.9 Conclusion: Home-Grown Culture for Outside Consumption

The significance of one of the most intimate spaces, the home, as many interviewees' entry points into Black Atlantic music culture points to the creative flow between Africa, Britain, the Caribbean, and North America. It was the first site of exposure to music of their families' homelands, giving them the musical foundations which they adapted as they ventured beyond their homes and into their neighbourhoods and the other locations discussed next. The literature review discussed how Black Atlantic music shares aural features like polyrhythms, call-and-response, and distinct basslines. Equipped with the influences, idioms, and practices learned at home, interviewees melded these with their collaborators' in the other spaces detailed in this chapter, like schools, youth club, and venues hosting jams. For example, Interviewee 14 credited his uncles' background in sound systems and studios as giving him a foundation for operating recording equipment. Interviewees 6 and 11 discussed incorporating American R&B influences their older siblings exposed them to in their music. Interviewees 1 and 16 credited their Caribbean heritages for the incorporation of styles like spouge, souk, and Calypso heard in their jazz albums.

This research is scoped between 2001-2021. The culmination of state-sponsored 'regeneration' and an area's existing culture can be considered through another scheme initiated by the Mayor around the same time as Creative Enterprise Zones. In 2017, the Mayor created the London Borough of Culture, an

> *"award that brings Londoners together. It puts culture at the heart of local communities, where it belongs, illuminating the character and diversity of London's boroughs and showing culture is for everyone"* (GLA, n.d. b).

The GLA provides the winning Borough £1 million

> *"to deliver a programme of ambitious cultural activities celebrating the unique character of local people and places, and to develop a plan to make culture an integral part of the borough's future"* (ibid).

Previously-awarded Boroughs, Waltham Forest and Brent, share some characteristics with Lewisham. They also contain OAs with 'strategic' housing developments and transport construction, and their winning the LBOC title coincided with the opening phases of the development, when new homes are ready for rent and sale.

The Mayor awarded Lewisham Council's bid in 2019, and after a delay due to covid-19, in 2022 the Council and the Albany together ran a year of programming under the title "We Are Lewisham" with themes around migration and climate change and a celebration of activism and diversity. Thirty musical events featured 250 performers and drew in 23,000 attendees (Lewisham Council 2023). The programming referenced Lewisham's musical activism, sound system history (with a day-long 'sound system trail' attended by 9,000 people), and present-day music scene. The tagline on We Are Lewisham's website read "We Are Lewisham. We Are Ready for Change."

In 2023, the Council released its Impact Report for its LBOC programming. A refrain was that "investing in culture was investing in the local economy" (p 2, 49). Other topics in the Impact Report echoed main themes discussed in the previous chapter regarding culture's function: "boosting the Borough's reputation" (p 44,); place-making and putting Lewisham 'on the map' as a cultural destination; engendering local pride; and attracting new employers (p 52); and increasing investment. The Impact Report states the LBOC programming brought in "over £4m inward investment (grand funding received)" (p 11). This number, combined with the report's other passing remarks on supporting culture as a means of supporting the local economy, is given limited explanation, as the report concedes the LBOC's long-term legacy has not yet fully played out.

Lewisham Council's pursuit of financialised regeneration, and leveraging of 'culture' as a commodity in its discourses largely adhere to Landry and Florida's 'creative city' and 'creative class' strategies, and the Borough's house price increases and patterns of 'regeneration' are typical of the 'London style' discussed by Attuyer and Robinson (2021). The findings are not necessarily novel nor surprising, yet this research's originality is in its exploring the narratives underpinning interventions to the built environment and uncovering the racism that persists in them, not through overt statements but through a series of

assumptions about the population's inherent lack of culture and reliance on outside commodified cultural activities to 'regenerate' the place and the disinvestment from places important to Black Atlantic cultural development. This research's scholarly contribution to furthering the new method of MDA by including cultural outputs as a data source to parallel analysis of government texts, offering an alternative way of understanding the place beyond state representations devoid of historical context and active accounting for why the Borough's residents are 'deprived.' Learning how the Borough informs interviewees'' spatial practice, which in turn informs their creative practice (and vice versa) is a way to give meaning to the idea of 'culture' as a process that responds to, reflects, and interacts with one's immediate and changing surroundings.

9. Conclusion

9.1 Reflections on Anti-Racist Research and Methodologies in Planning Research

This research contributes to planning scholarship through the incorporation of anti-racist research approach, structure, and methods. Overall principles which informed the methods include taking a wide historical view to give context to the study period years, a collaborative and mutually beneficial relationship with interviewees, and venturing beyond the realm of official texts and discourses into the physical, material world to value other forms of expression and knowledge. It required a thorough interrogation of myself and position in relation to the topic, and conducting research from within an institution that itself enacts neoliberal values and policies through outsourcing, casualisation, and the commodification of education. Anti-racist principles helped innovate the theoretical framework and select methods. This research tailored Lefebvre's spatial triad to understand how cultural space is understood and produced by three separate actors within the London Borough of Lewisham. One point of originality is that all three data sources were considered through each third of the spatial triad.

9.2 Contributions

This thesis offers several methodological and empirical contributions. The first is the methodological development of musicological discourse analysis, both generally and specifically in urban planning studies. MDA is a new method, developed by Charles in 2016 for her own doctoral research, and as of this writing in summer 2023 has not been adopted in any urban planning studies. The inclusion of music and its creators/stewards sought to understand the London Borough of Lewisham through music as a source of knowledge and giving weight to oral communication and art. MDA provided a methodological toolkit to consider music as a discrete entity with meaning more than the sum of its individual creators and aesthetics and as being *of* a place, reflective of the people, built environment, and collective memories within it. The collective nature of music as a data source helped connect the historical, technological, economic, and social factors that influence where it is created, what it sounds like, and how it is consumed and distributed. This in turn provides a tangible way of giving meaning to 'culture' as a long-term process. Understanding cultural outputs are not borne in a vacuum, and in the case of certain Black Atlantic musics, may be made and shared through channels beyond the state's purview and control is a way of understanding how people perceive and reflect their environment. Utilising Black Atlantic music as the cultural entry point allowed me to engage with the subject of 'race' without homogenising a racialised group into a singular identity; interviewees were sought because of their participation in Black Atlantic music culture, not because of their race alone.

Another methodological contribution is the innovation of Lefebvre's spatial triad to explore how all three data sources contribute to the production of cultural space. A more traditional deployment of the spatial triad would have relegated the catalogue of planning texts produced by the GLA and Lewisham Council to only representations of space, music could have been cloistered away in spaces of representation, and in-depth interviews could have been analysed only through the lens of spatial practice. Doing so, however, would have kept the data sources isolated and out of conversation with each other. Analysing all three through each third of the spatial triad gave them equal weight and acknowledged their interrelationships. By only considering how the Council represents the Borough, for example, would discount how interviewees understand and depict the space. Omitting how the Council defines and envisions 'culture' would limit how commodifying culture and predicating its success on outsiders relates to the existing culture already cultivated in the Borough by long-term networks of residents. Analysing the spatial practice of all three data sources, through planning permissions, interviews (including walking interviews), attending live gigs, and musicological discourse analysis, fully brought into relief how long-term real estate investment and disinvestment patterns across the Borough influence long-established Black Atlantic music cultural practices. Although discourse analysis – both critical discourse analysis of interviews and planning texts and musicological discourse analysis – was the driving methodology, Lefebvre's production of space framework forced this research out of the abstract world of text, words, and sounds to consider how these are all shaped by, and in turn influence, the real, physical, material world. The spatial triad allows a focus on how space is created and experienced beyond institutional purviews, what urban planning interventions and evaluations often fail to account for.

The empirical contributions include updating scholarship on how racism manifests in the neoliberal state, and furthering the heretofore limited scholarship on how the planning system interacts with, and may ultimately exacerbate, racial inequalities. Following Freestone and Gibson (2006), this thesis details how 'culture' has been envisioned and implemented in planning over the past two decades, again illuminating how policy predicated on outsiders introducing culture to areas stereotyped as the 'inner city' rely on much older implicit racist and xenophobic assumptions, and are not necessarily intended to benefit existing residents. Whereas much of the literature I reviewed covered how overtly racist, xenophobic, and classist discourse was used to justify changes in the built environment, this research has contributed further discussion on how these discourses still inform and underpin seemingly-positive, liberally multicultural planning discourses that vaguely celebrate 'vibrancy' and 'diversity' yet ultimately have the same endstate of raising property values, with potentially displacing and dispossessive outcomes for existing residents. This aligns with the narrative arc identified by Zukin (2009) about the progressive demonisation then ultimate glamorising of a place, but does so by tying the repression of Black Atlantic

music with its later commodification for the purpose of 'regenerating' the area where its makers are from, without regard for their ability to continue living there.

Another empirical contribution derives from the methodological originality, in understanding a place through its cultural practitioners and their outputs. Whereas ways of "seeing like a state" are common in planning scholarship, this research provided a depiction and understanding of the London Borough of Lewisham as represented by interviewees active in its Black Atlantic music cultural production. This offered insight into the significance of places like homes and youth clubs to music cultural development, how residents who might live in areas labelled 'deprived' actually see themselves and understand their circumstances, which are shown to be more historically-informed than the top-down narratives and categories imposed on the area by the state. This contributed more nuance into understanding *why* certain kinds of locations are important to Black Atlantic music culture development, as well as the significance of long-term residential networks that the state may not recognise or value as important to cultural development. These distinctions provide evidence to challenge the vagueness of 'culture' leveraged in the planning texts as a commodity introduced by and consumed by outsiders, compared to the specificity of 'culture' as a long-term, reflexive process in which its outputs are products of the specific conditions they were made in.

Given historically dispossessive and discriminatory practices on the part of the Council, banks, and property owners which denied racialised groups home ownership, these groups utilise public services, such as council housing. The Council disinvests in council homes and sells council homes to private, multinational developers, which reduces its supply of council homes, yet simultaneously awards planning permissions that do not meet the housing requirements of existing residents, particularly those on the housing waiting lists and those known to be in unsuitable accommodation, who by the Council's own reporting are overwhelmingly 'BAME.'

I hope future planning researchers are encouraged to not only challenge the existing grammatical structures and jargon utilised in the planning field which uphold and replicate the inner city myth and the stactive voice. Additionally, I hope planning researchers intersect their research with other activities in the built environment such as policing, and take long-term views to understand how the abstract metaphor of 'regeneration' spans decades and involves a web of actors that include the police, mainstream media, private landowners, I hope they pursue the detangling of these webs with a conscious anti-racist ethos. I also hope future planning researchers continue to venture into the real world for their research, communing and collaborating with people in the areas they're studying, and to refer to their cultural outputs as illuminating data sources.

9.3 Limitations

This research sought to involve participants because of their activity – participation in Black Atlantic music culture – rather than recruit interviewees for characteristics like racialisation or gender. I did this as to avoid reinforcing the homogenising labels foisted upon people that erase differences amongst them. The theoretical umbrella under which their activity fell was Black Atlantic, as conceptualised by Gilroy, which was useful as it specifically accounts for the role of music in Afrodiasporic cultures. Most interviewees, however, had not heard of this concept before, and although they did not disagree with the concept, they did not describe themselves or music as Black Atlantic, instead simply used "Black" or "Black British" in our discussion. I questioned if my use of 'Black Atlantic' was similar to the use of 'BAME' throughout the planning catalogue: applying a term to a group of people who do not use it themselves, but did not want to use "Black" or "Black British," as this did not apply to all the interviewees and lacks the same theoretical grounding as "Black Atlantic."

A limitation of this research is the heavily reliance on interviewees' commentary to understand how regeneration impacts the existing residents and spaces for Black Atlantic cultural production with the ability to triangulate it with population turnover data. The census (administered by central government) and Lewisham Council do not monitor population turnover or transience in such a way that could be directly related to being priced out of the Borough. Although I draw from publicly available information to validate interviewees' observations on issues like youth club closures, budget cuts, and house price increases, this still does not get to the crux of the issue of displacement. It does, however, address the non-physical aspects of displacement discussed by Bloch and Meyer (2023), wherein displacement occurs by disrupting attachment to place through "place-making."

9.4 Answering the Research Questions

The research questions set to understand how space, particularly for Black Atlantic music culture, is produced in the rapidly 'regenerating' London Borough of Lewisham. This research's main findings chimed with the reviewed literature critical of neoliberal planning and the profession's inability to account for racial inequality. Rather than contest the topics covered in the literature review, this research further interrelates them. It links supranational financialisation with local, racialised outcomes, and further fleshes out how the Council surrendering housing policy to 'the market' further entrenches racial inequalities. It identifies specific discursive mechanisms justifying the 'London style' of regeneration as described by Robinson and Attuyer (2021), including their historic racist and xenophobic underpinnings. The research also explores 'culture' as it is conceived of in different ways across the literature: rather than discounting various conceptions in favour of a single definition, it considered how its many meanings align and conflict with each other as they are enacted by different groups in planning policy and everyday

lived experience. Each research question corresponding to a third of Lefebvre's spatial triad enabled an understanding of how different actors respectively produce space, and how these various actions relate to each other.

9.5 Conceiving, Replicating, and Disputing Representations of Lewisham

How do official state depictions, individual music practitioners, and their musical outputs conceive of and represent the London Borough of Lewisham?

Fincher and Iveson's (2008) discussion of the significance of attaching narratives to a place were evident throughout the planning catalogue. Landry (2001) pinned Lewisham's creative growth on attracting new large employers and developers 'regenerating' the Borough. This discourse was introduced a decade before the central government's austerity measures, but the reliance on outsiders to 'regenerate' as a source of revenue for the Council was intensified over the course of the study period, particularly beginning in 2010 as central government's cut revenue support grants to local authorities by over 41%. This 'regeneration' strategy creates a logic wherein remedies to the Borough's problems (its deprivation, unsuitable housing stock, poor transport connectivity and road network) are predicated on first improving its reputation to attract wealthier outsiders. Over the course of the catalogue, as various regeneration initiatives were underway, the tone of the planning texts shift to describing Lewisham as not deprived but an "up and coming area" with lots of potential.

The Council's representation of the Borough is largely ahistorical. Strategic plans reference the area's ancient maritime history or significant traumas such as the 1981 New Cross Fire, but representing the Borough's population as 'deprived' does not account for decades of ongoing central government disinvestment. Rather than inherently problematise the population for levels of 'deprivation,' low educational attainment or incomes, interviewees considered these to be symptoms of social and political neglect, a lack of resources rather than personal ambition. Official representations that are ahistorical and decontextualised from long-term discriminatory systems and representing people with terms they do not use themselves (such as 'BAME' or 'deprived') risk making residents feel unseen or alienated from initiatives supposedly introduced for their benefit.

Council planning texts frame the Borough through a rote set of statistics. Categories with which the Council organises the population are derived from central government's ways of "seeing," such as through the Census and seven indicators of "deprivation." Indicators used to calculate a deprivation index consider individual metrics (such as income) plus features of the built environment, although each metric is not evenly weighted. These metrics are tied to people – such as income and education levels, yet the catalogue describes "pockets" and wards of deprivation. This conflation of people's "deprivation" to the

area wherein they reside aligns with Burgess' (1985) "inner city myth." The use of a specific set of metrics creates a problem of Lewisham, not necessarily reflective of residents' views. Landry (2001, 42) in particular conflated people with place by frequently personifying "Lewisham," describing what it should be doing – "Lewisham has to communicate to itself and the outside world a sense of selfbelief [sic] about what it is and where it is going - that it is a creative place in parts and aspires to be more creative, imaginative, urban design focused and quality driven," and how it feels - "if Lewisham were to have low self-esteem and confidence this would be a cultural factor determining how it develops" (ibid, 5). This personification and condescension also abstracts who or what department, exactly, is responsible for implementing recommendations.

This conflation of people with the place risks obfuscating population turnover and displacement resulting from increased property values following 'regeneration.' Planning texts do not clarify if the population enjoyed improvements to health or safety, or if they were merely replaced by less "deprived" residents who can afford the increasing housing prices. Although several planning texts refer to a transitory population, accounting for "deprivation" across a particular area, rather than a specific cohort of people, creates vagueness to obscure the possible displacement of existing residents. The conflation of people with place also extends into how the catalogue of planning texts problematises the Borough's poor external reputation as an inhibitor to growth. This leans into the 'inner city myth' and fear-mongering; are the physical streets of Lewisham to be feared, or the 'BAME' residents walking them? Several interviewees felt that prior to the large-scale regeneration schemes beginning, this reputation was deliberately cultivated in the media as a way of driving down land values and intensifying policing in the early 2000s. Yet interviewees and their music disputed these narratives and instead asserted themselves.

The catalogue of music acknowledges these mainstream representations and counters them. This is done through lyrics which dispute outsiders' opinions of the Borough (or south London generally) and stereotypes of Black people, such as criminality or scariness. Although interviewees did not dispute the symptoms of government disinvestment and racism, or the "deprivation" in Lewisham, they did not call it "deprivation," and put these circumstances in bigger historical context. They referred as far back to the transatlantic slave trade, and some of their ancestors who had been enslaved, as impacting their own position in the world and influencing how they perceive themselves. Unlike the catalogue of planning texts, which conflated the people with the place they occupied, interviewees separated themselves from their physical surroundings. As discussed above, the stactive voice serves the function to obscure agents of inequality, tacitly blaming victims of "deprivation" for the own condition, diagnosing them with a lack of ambition or self-esteem. Interviewees referred to their own ambitions, for which their music was in and of itself a signifier, as it is indicative of a creative process, means of expressing oneself, and going

213

through the professional and creative process of recording, engineering, releasing, promoting, and performing.

As Interviewee 5 said, before its 'regeneration,' working-class people of different cultural backgrounds settled in Lewisham because of its below-average housing costs (which were partly because of the Borough's poor public transport connections). As the literature review and other interviewees discussed, Lewisham residents organised themselves with varying degrees of formality to provision social services in lieu of state support. Targeting "deprived" areas begs the question of what support networks or efficiencies cultivated by people with less income or generally fewer resources may be lost to real estate interventions. This speculation is not to romanticise poor areas or poverty: rather, it asks what networks or adaptions exist in these "deprived" areas undetected or unrecognised by the state, and may be lost through population turnover and displacement, or the loss of public space to private development. Without accounting for population or business turnover makes clear the metaphor of "regeneration" to utterly transform the built environment; the fates of the people already inhabiting it are not necessarily accounted for. The preoccupation with how people outside the Borough perceive it, and that its bad reputation may be a deterrent from new residents and businesses setting up in Lewisham, implicitly sets the Council's agenda as to "regenerating" it for the benefit of people who are not there yet.

The Council acknowledges "diversity" amongst residents as segmented by racialisation, languages spoken, and age, yet rarely discusses the implications diverse groups' different needs in planning. Although the Council repeats cliché descriptors such as "vibrant" (144 times in the planning texts), the texts make little distinction amongst the constituent groups making Lewisham so diverse. Interviewees and the music analysed provided a more detailed representation of the Borough's population, distinguishing between different ancestries and countries of origin, social classes, religions, and walks of life. This diversity was conveyed visually through music videos that depict the heterogenous residents, the businesses they run, and how they spend their time. That no interviewee ascribed to the identity 'BAME' calls into question the implications of a catch-all racializing term for anyone who is not white, an artificial category that homogenises anyone of the global majority. By the Council's own accounts, different ethnic groups use housing and public space differently, yet 'BAME' erases these nuances. The reliance on this acronym to understand the population serves to reinforce a white British national identity deliberately cultivated predominantly by conservative politicians and the mainstream British press discussed in the literature review.

The Borough's economy and role of new businesses was represented differently across the data sources. Although the Borough's business base may grow as part of the Council's regeneration agenda, interviewees discussed the loss of small shops that served practical, everyday needs at their price points.

214

The introduction of new businesses was not considered a carte blanche benefit amongst interviewees and in the music catalogue; although new businesses may represent 'economic growth' and a source of business rates to the Council, interviewees and the music analysed did not necessarily interpret them as of practical use, often interpreting them as a physical and symbolic intrusion in their neighbourhoods. Interviewees critiqued some new businesses opening as also being irrelevant to them, for both the services, products, and prices. The overall representations that new shops and housing developments not being for them was represented in music videos through aligning shots of typical gentrification signifiers, filmed from a remove: Lycra-clad joggers, police, coffee shops, glassy new buildings, and the City of London skyline.

Although some planning texts specific to the cultural and creative industries discussed the many creative microbusinesses in the Borough, and linked them to higher education institutions, generally the planning catalogue negatively framed the Borough's economy for its small size and lack of large employers. The analysed music videos, however, depicted small businesses and their proprietors as important to everyday interactions and networks. Interviewees and their music represented places like barbershops, Caribbean takeaways, and shops in Deptford Market as providing space for neighbourly interactions and specific products not found in mainstream chain shops or new shops seen as part of gentrification. This importance was depicted through close, intimate shots of both the places and the employees and customers within them. Simply filming in public areas and depicting them as they are contrast aspirational planning discourses and renderings, which are often devoid of people, or not representing the existing population. Some interviewees critiqued hoardings around construction sites for depicting the aspirational new inhabitants, which sometimes did not include any Black people.

Another divergence amongst the three data sources was the representation of housing in the Borough. Across the catalogue of planning texts, the Council contradicted itself. Despite its own affordable housing policies, overcrowding, and thousands of people on the housing waiting lists, the Council approves planning permissions for developments that expressly do not meet the housing requirements of the existing Lewisham population in terms of size or price, and has not once adhered to its own policy that 50% of new housing must be affordable. Housing is abstracted to net gains and losses, largely avoiding specific discussion of estate demolition and consequent displacement and evictions, which effectively erases the impact this has on residents, social networks, and everyday lives. The Council's housing narratives also frame the success of developments through their "viability," or guaranteeing private developers' profits at the expense of affordable housing or other community infrastructure provisioning, while passively observing the chasm between average Lewisham house prices and incomes. Other rhetorical devices, such as vagueness and passive voice, are deployed when addressing issues for which

215

no funding is committed. The documents also rely upon cliched phrases and planning buzzwords largely devoid of meaning without tangible policy actions attached to them as a way of acknowledging what "should" happen without assigning any government department or agency responsibility. An example of this is the Council's AMRs' distillation of the Council's policy decisions to "trends," such as the bedroom configurations of newly built houses. The abstracting of new houses not meeting the requirements of existing residents to a "trend" absolves the Council of granting planning permissions, creating the discursive latitude for the Council to bemoan the Borough's worsening "housing crisis," disconnecting its own actions from exacerbating the situation.

One of the starkest divergences between the planning catalogue and the interviews/music was the inclusion of policing. The presence of police officers, infrastructure, and policies were an outsized feature in the interviews and music analysed, whereas the catalogue of planning texts rarely mentioned policing. As conveyed by interviewees and in the music videos, police are a significant influence in how racialised residents move through the Borough's public space. Additionally, throughout the years Form 696 was in use, the police were the state's arm in censoring, surveiling, and repressing certain kinds of Black music. The near-omission of policing in the planning catalogue points to a significant "blind spot" within the Council and its hired consultants to representing the Borough. Although policing is a distinct department from planning, both are everyday state activities playing an outsized role in how people conceive of and thus move through the built environment. As discussed in the literature review, Romyn (2019) and Perera (2018) found that policing tactics change in areas slated for 'regeneration.' Several interviewees also described policing activities, such as raids on squats, that appeared to be at the behest of private landowners. Landry (2001, 10), however, referred the police as one state actor that plays a part in fostering "an environment within which cultural expression can flourish."

Amongst interviewees and their music are common references and a base of knowledge that the planning catalogues did not appear to be aware of or interact with. The presence of police and policing operations in the built environment recurred in interview and music representations, which went nearly unmentioned in the catalogue of planning texts. This common representation suggests police have an outsized influence on the spatial practice of Lewisham residents, particularly those who are racialised, young, male, and working-class. This gap between the catalogue of planning texts, the interviews, and the music also suggests the state may not appreciate how people's understanding and use of space is also informed by policing or other factors in the built environment not considered by planners.

In the absence of clear indicators for measuring regeneration's effects, interviewees interpreted many of the interventions in the built environment as not being for existing residents' benefit. Transport interventions were interpreted as catering to the central-London commutes of new and desired residents.

A few specific locations were referred to by multiple interviewees as being symbolic of an intrusive aesthetic and mode of development, such as the block of flats behind Deptford Station and new businesses around Brockley Station. Interviewees also referenced 2012 Olympic Games, where improvements to the transport network (specifically the Overground and cycling network) were made for the benefit of tourists for the Olympics, and the legacy benefit for outsiders and to take sought-after middle-class residents to their jobs in central London. New housing was singled out as one of the biggest indicators that the Council did not take the budgets or family sizes (and thus bedroom requirements) of existing residents into consideration when awarding planning permissions. This aligned with the Council's own Strategic Housing Market Assessment that the preponderance of planning permissions for market-rate rental flats that were two bedrooms or less did not meet the requirements of the thousands of families on the housing waiting list.

Burgess' (1985) 'inner city' discursive formation underlies Lewisham Council's representations of the Borough. The 'inner city' myth's components, including criticising the physical environment and conflating it with the people there, criminalising working-class and racialised (especially Black) cultures, and locating the 'the street' as visually degraded and crime-prone, create the logic and narrative to justify the Borough's regeneration. Within this, 'culture' is at once: a rebranding strategy; a motivator and inspiration for the downtrodden; 'deprived' local population; an agent of the night-time economy; and incentive for tourists, new residents, and outside businesses to move to Lewisham. Interviewees were from different parts of the Borough, had different music practices, and worked through a variety of channels. Despite these differences, the way they understood the Borough still shared many overlaps. This points to the power of collective memory diffused across people within Lewisham.

9.6 Giving Meaning to Culture: Lineage, Identity, Abstraction, Catalysts

How do official state depictions, individual music practitioners, and their musical outputs give meaning to 'culture' in regeneration discourse and everyday life?

In its discursive progression of 'culture' in regeneration, 'culture' first plays the role of bonding citizens to each other and making them prouder of their locale of (former) ill repute. Youths are deterred from crime and newly ambitious. Their improved self-esteem is conveyed (but not measured in any definitive way) beyond the Borough through events such as festivals in the hopes of rebranding an area, and through this image change attracting "investment" in the forms of real estate development, large institutions, retailers and employers moving in. These new arrivals bring "culture" with them in the form of revenue-generating activities. Tsing (2015) discusses the supply chain as the process through which an object becomes commodified: its removal from its source and handling by a sequence of people disconnected

from and indifferent to its origins into a means of revenue. 'Culture' morphs into a commodity wherein the economic activity it generates is predicated on outsiders, and consumed by tourists (more outsiders) in the night-time economy and produced in 'cultural and creative industries.' These activities are facilitated by transport infrastructure improvements and the construction of new, market-rate private housing which change the appearance and overall sense of Lewisham.

'Culture' framed as a part of everyday local life in the planning text catalogue barely resurfaces when 'culture' is discussed as an economic driver. Certain regeneration indicators like "property values" are not framed in terms of who benefits from them. Where there is some overlap, however, is the discussion of specially designated zones, such as the CEZ in Deptford. Council texts acknowledge the many "microbusinesses" in the Borough, and benefits of concentrating cultural and creative industries in one area. Where microbusiness owners live, however, is not factored in – are they the self-starting residents supposedly deterred from a life of crime? Some texts pointed to creative entrepreneurs who first arrived in Lewisham by way of university; while this assimilates them into the local population, their neighbours who perhaps did not attend Goldsmiths or Trinity Laban are not discussed. At the community and grassroots level, funding for cultural purposes and space remains a source of competition, with 'emergency' funds available for 'at risk' organisations and reactionary advocacy from the GLA. This funding precarity is different from developers', who are well-resourced enough to pay consultants to advise them on how to initiate 'culture' in their private developments, so long as it does not impinge on the profit margins all but guaranteed through 'viability' assessments.

Many of the texts in the planning catalogue make passing reference to the benefit of cultural activities and programming to existing residents (such as improved self-esteem), but these are framed as social improvements devoid of tangible indicators. Although there is some explicit mention of apprenticeships and other training opportunities, the texts largely do not connect how the existing residents' specific cultures and associated activities could feed into the commodified activities of the Borough. Interviewees conveyed their personal and broader social networks' experiences with state and music industry censorship repression of music forms and practices (such as grime and sound system) mostly at the grassroots level before it was commodified or widely commercialized. This repression also prevented individual artists from progressing professionally. This censorship aligned with what scholars discussed in the literature review (Gilroy 1987; Henry 2006; Fatsis 2019) described as mainstream British racism's association of Black culture with criminality. Younger interviewees conveyed similar repression of drill music today, including its production in the few remaining youth clubs, for its lyrical themes discussing hardships and violence in the everyday lives of its creators.

The catalogue of planning text identifies one function of "culture" as community cohesion, but does not point to the historical necessity of self-organised groups who provision for themselves as a collective response to social, economic, and environmental conditions. Anim-Addo (1995) extensively chronicled the community organising and resisting efforts Black residents initiated in response to housing and employment discrimination, police violence, and other manifestations of state and private racism. This specific way of taking care of each other is cultural; although collaborators and neighbours may have been from the same home country or ethnic group, forging ways of surviving and flourishing in a country hostile to their existence created new cultural practices. Although some planning texts, in broad overviews of the Borough, discussed community organization and grassroots activism, they did not acknowledge this self-organising and provisioning as cultural.

A craft must be cultivated before it can be commodified. Unlike the discursive segmentation in the catalogue of planning texts, there was a continuity in interviewees' framing of culture. Whether it earns them a name or income, music is an artistic translation and reflection of themselves and immediate surroundings. The networks through which music is first 'consumed' are often non-commodified and borne of long-term connections through residences, schooling, and small businesses. The music analysed was monetised to varying degrees; some were informal YouTube videos and others were full releases on physical formats and major streaming platforms, but still possessed a quality of being *of* Lewisham, not only for its overt references through lyrics and imagery, but because of the multi-generational social and musical lineages that contributed to its unique sound: the musicians' individual and collective experiences of growing up in Lewisham translated through their respective heritages and wider exposure to music around them.

The three data sources' meaning and locating of 'culture' illuminate discursive divergences between culture as a commodity and as a process. In the catalogue of planning texts, the Council's and GLA's discourses rarely connect culture to housing, instead situating it in higher education, commercial venues, and creative clusters. For the people interviewed and as reflected in their music, however, culture is a long-term, fluid process that accretes through everyday life practices. One such practice, incredibly mundane yet of paramount importance for continuous cultural development, is simply residing in an area for a long time. Residential networks feed into other activities like schooling and patronising small businesses. Cultural exchange takes place when children flip through the vinyl collections of their friends' parents, hear music from a part of the world their own family isn't from at the hairdressers, and make beats after school at a youth club, evoking the city they live in with synthy percussion, Jamaican-influenced slang, and high tempos. While some of these cultural practitioners may invent new styles or become full-time musicians, commodification is preceded by centuries-long histories of the African

diaspora, who migrate, resist British imperialism and racism, and adapt to provision themselves the resources denied by the state.

Interviewees discussed how their music reflected their lives, which served to provide more historical nuance to what the state and its planning catalogues merely call "deprivation." As Interviewee 2 discussed the state's targeted action against youth club as sites of Black empowerment, education, and safety during Margaret Thatcher's tenure as Prime Minister, interviewees who grew up in the 2000s similarly felt the state continued to target Black people and repress various cultural expressions. In addition to suppressing cultural practices such as live music gatherings, disruptions also included everyday police harassment, which Interviewee 14 said intimidated people to stay inside their homes, negative portrayals of Black people and culture in mainstream media, disinvestment from places like youth clubs, and cancellation of public events like Lewisham People's Day and the Jerk Cookout.

As Gioia (2019) wrote, state censorship of music rarely succeeds, and when state efforts to repress certain kinds of music and its creators fail, it becomes assimilated and mainstreamed. This can be seen in Lewisham's Black Atlantic music cultures. Sound system dances were held in community centres and church halls because venue proprietors would not rent them out. Yet today, the Council celebrates sound system culture as part of Lewisham's history. Sound systems played a significant part of the LBOC programming, and the Deputy Mayor for Culture referred to grime as part of London's culture in the 2018 Cultural Strategy, only one year after Form 696 was fully taken out of use by the Metropolitan Police. This calls into question the validity of the state's rationale for repressing certain kinds of music, given its acceptance and assimilation once it has reached commercial success.

This all suggests the 'cultural' turn in its discourse does not appear to change the course of what Lees and White (2020) call dispossession and a form of social cleansing in the kinds of financialised real estate development typical in Lewisham. Rather, culture is commodified to accelerate the dispossessive components of real estate regeneration. This is done with several discursive practices that evolve throughout the study period. These include using terms so broad and vaguely-defined as to be abstractions. It is difficult to envision 'culture' when the word is used as a standalone entity seemingly acting of its own accord, as a type of industry intended to drive up real estate value, and a crime deterrent. Its functions and enablers are far-reaching and may have different interests in the ownership and financialisaton of the immediate area where culture is to be introduced, in whatever form. The 2022 LBOC programming referred to Lewisham's 'diversity' and 'culture' more specifically than the catalogue of planning texts from 2001-2021, and the various impact and legacy reports published by the Council or its hired consultants discuss the LBOC's legacy in terms of engagement with local residents, businesses,

and schools. Around the same time, several real estate firms like Savill's and Property Wired ran blog posts about Lewisham, invoking its recent LBOC status as making it an attractive place to relocate.

9.7 Spatial Practice: Home Bases and Commodified Places

What kind of places do the local authority, individual music practitioners, and musical outputs identify for 'cultural' uses?

The catalogue of planning texts focused on culture predominantly as a commodity, and thus identified places of commercial activity as where cultural practices happen. The absence of housing and residential networks in the catalogue of planning texts reinforces the Council's expectations of 'culture' as a catalyst of 'regeneration,' predicated on outside institutions, businesses, and people bringing it into Lewisham. This strongly contrasted with interviewees' commentary and their music, wherein long-term ties to both place and neighbours are sources of understanding and exchange crucial for cultural development. This long-term connection translated into specific music that is *of* Lewisham, the routine coalescing of different generations and heritages in everyday places like schools, parks, youth centres, and houses that draws from musical practices passed on by older generations and innovated by younger ones to reflect their current circumstances.

The spatial practice of Black Atlantic musical creatives in Lewisham is informed by artistic desire to reflect oneself in one's locale. Whether the state seeks to foster conditions for long-term cultural development, or to merely capitalise off cultural outputs, is called into question by the closure of grassroots venues and youth clubs, ongoing harassment by the Metropolitan Police, the fracturing of long-term networks due to residential displacement, and dramatic change in the built environment with the intention of attracting outsiders. While Council discourses invoke a racialised population as a testament to Lewisham's 'vibrance' and 'diversity,' the planning decisions, policing, and privatising of the Borough do not appear to align with the spatial practices that give rise to cultural development. Instead, these may further entrench the private real estate development and public disinvestment which inspires anti-gentrification sentiments and resistant, self-affirming messages embedded in the analysed Black Atlantic music. So what will happen to the multigenerational networks of people who built sound systems, broadcasted grime on pirate radio, and jammed at their friend's house? People like Wozzy Brewster and Mikey Kirkpatrick, respective founders of Midi Music Company and Alchemy, find ways to work with institutions to get resources to serve local young people. Koder started his own label that provides many music services once provisioned in now-closed youth clubs, and Lez Henry keeps the interlinked histories of sound systems and youth clubs alive through walking tours and his scholarship. Yet the housing affordability which made the Borough easier for working-class people, immigrants, and artists to

settle is jeopardised – landlords raise rent there faster than the London average – and interviewees described their creative collaborators and friends displaced outside London. The Council's planning approvals (and the Mayor of London's 2014 intervention in the Convoy's Wharf development) for overwhelmingly market-rate homes with two bedroom or less do not meet the Council's own assessed requirements and conflict with various taglines used over throughout the study period about Lewisham being an aspirational place to raise families.

Comparing the Council's discourses with its planning permissions illuminates several contradictions. By not awarding planning permissions for homes that do not satisfy the budget or bedroom needs of people who already have connections in the Borough, long-term cultural spatial practices borne of residential networks risk disruption. As interviewees relayed, this compromises not only the individual creative practices of people who are displaced or priced out of the area but also the collective cultural endeavours possible because of people's proximity to each other and the consistent availability of spaces. The planning permissions the Council awards for large-scale new development do not align with its discourse about Lewisham being a place for families, nor the needs of thousands of existing residents in overcrowded, temporary, or otherwise unsuitable accommodation. Although the Council employs vague celebratory narratives about the Borough's 'diversity,' and leveraged that aesthetic in LBOC programming, the long-term cultural results of 'regeneration,' for which there is a dearth of measurement, was widely felt to be detrimental the local people's ability to stay in the area, and was thus detrimental to Lewisham's culture.

The starkest divergence in situating cultural activity between interviewees and the Council was youth clubs. According to the Council's discourses, the Borough is home to a large proportion of young people, many of whom live in 'deprived' areas, and cultural initiatives can deter young people from getting "sucked into" lives of crime. Interviewees described youth clubs as safe havens and places of cultural activity. They recounted their historical significance in the development of Black Atlantic music practices like sound systems and new styles like grime. As Interviewee 2 pointed out, youth clubs being sources of Black and working class education, community, and empowerment made them targets of Thatcher's budget cuts and white supremacist arson attacks in the 1970s and 1980s, and remained targets of subsequent government disinvestment throughout the study period. In the few remaining youth clubs, younger interviewees discussed the censoring of music or studio equipment falling into disrepair. So although Council discourses discuss the Borough's reputation as being unsafe limiting its 'regeneration,' the Council simultaneously withdrew support for a specific kind of place interviewees identified as important to their safety and where they could nurture their cultural and social development. The Council's mass closure of youth clubs embodies Goldberg's (2009) concept of racial neoliberalism, in

which victims of racist policies are blamed for their outcomes. In this logic of blaming, the actual agents of disinvestment and other racist practices must be obscured and the historical reasons for 'deprivation' go unmentioned.

Whereas the discourses of representation discussed in the first empirical chapter conflated people with place, discourses about culture and regeneration separate them, divorcing cultural outputs from their local creators in the rebranding of the area to appeal to outsiders' taste, or otherwise introduced from elsewhere, to be consumed in places like flagship buildings or higher education institutions. The stactive voice recurrent in the catalogue of planning texts blames abstract "pressures" rather than the people and institutions behind policy decisions causing disinvestment, and in turn 'deprivation.' When representing Lewisham, obscuring agents of state resource withdrawal from an area, and segmenting the cultural outputs from the people living in that area serves the discursive function of erasing the existing residents. The failure to include longitudinal data on population turnover or how 'regeneration' initiatives impact the existing population long-term further entrenches the prioritisation of "market economics" over the well-being of the people who are already there.

The catalogue of planning texts and interviews with GLA employees and a Lewisham Council employee suggest the state's spatial practice for provisioning cultural space prioritises the "market economy" of new developments and revenue-generating spaces, and takes a more reactive stance to existing cultural spaces that do not generate profit. In the planning catalogue, specific actors and policies that increase rents are obscured by instead blaming abstract entities such as "pressures." Interviewees from the GLA and Lewisham Council talked about the precedence of "market economics" in planning decisions, and limitations of central government's planning regulations to protect community spaces and control rents, which forces these offices into reactionary and defensive ways of working, leaving intact the planning system's structural features that threaten displacement and eviction. The GLA's Music Venue Taskforce, for example, was founded only after one-third of London's grassroots music venues had already closed between 2008-2015, despite the city's hosting the 2012 Olympics, which was supposed to provide a 'cultural legacy.'

Although interviewees from the GLA acknowledged different groups faced "barriers" to accessing cultural space, they did not specify what these barriers were, and how that informed the kind of spaces they used for cultural purposes in response and adaptation. The onus to initiate the process to implement administrative protections like easements and Assets of Community Value is on the users of the space. Additionally, the spatial practice of private developers is not necessarily hindered even if they do not adhere to the Council's own policies intended to benefit the existing population. For example, Hutchison Property Group, the developer of Convoys Wharf, was supposedly required to provide a cultural strategy,

223

informed by regular meetings with the local community, as a condition of receiving planning permissions. Convoys Wharf is in an OA, however, and was therefore eligible for then-Mayor Boris Johnson to "call in" planning approvals despite Hutchison failing to produce a cultural strategy, or hosting what was supposed to be a regular meeting with community groups to develop it. Another Council policy routinely flouted (it was not adhered to a single year of the study period) is the requirement for developers to provide at least 50% affordable housing in new developments.

The abstract "barriers" mentioned by GLA interviewees are sometimes far beyond mere administrative inconveniences, and were instead violent acts perpetrated by racists (such as the National Front) which the police often chose not to investigate. The ahistorical rendering of Lewisham failed to discuss how particular kinds of spaces critical for Black Atlantic music development have been targeted by racist arsonists and Conservative government. White supremacists firebombed private homes, the Albany, and Moonshot Youth Centre in the 1970s and 1980s. Police raided sound system dances and house parties, and in the study period Form 696 prohibited or strongly discouraged venues from having certain kinds of music performed.

The catalogue of planning texts emphasises higher education institutions as sites of culture. Several interviewees who were alumnae of universities in the Borough, however, said pedagogy there taught them theoretical foundations and technical workings of their instruments, but did not further music culture, as staff members taught certain kinds of music like jazz in a fixed way divorced from its history and were not supportive of students venturing outside university. Interviewees instead situated the development of music culture and evolution of new styles in private homes, but also small grassroots venues supportive of young musicians developing their names and craft, and providing space for free or cheaply-ticketed regular nights for people to come together, experiment, and connect through music.

The literature review discusses the "moral panic" surrounding jazz in the early twentieth century, and this thesis references reggae and grime as two music forms that have been repressed by the state in recent decades. Throughout the study period, however, a discursive formation of a "south London jazz scene" was formed and replicated first in more niche jazz publications and then into the wider mainstream music sphere. Today, the biggest names of the "south London jazz scene" are renowned, Grammy-award winning musicians who play concerts all over the world, some of whom participated in LBOC programming, and several of whom I interviewed. They used scare quotes around the phrase "south London jazz scene" when discussing it, as they felt it is a label imposed by outsiders that recognised only the past few years' culmination of decades of cultural practices only when they reached a certain commercial critical mass. They pointed to spatial practices borne of extracurricular programmes founded by local residents and their jazz elders, going to school together, learning various music lineages and

224

ways of playing from friends of different cultural backgrounds, and drawing from the wider everyday culture of growing up in Lewisham. These included spatial practices that may not have an easily-drawn connection to "jazz," such as the sharing of locally-made and popular music on the bus to and from school, but still contribute to the distinct "south London" sound. Sharing space created a well of collective experiences to draw from and reference, which people translate through musical practices and idioms of their respective heritages (predominantly Caribbean and West African), blended with those of their friends' and other London-specific innovations, that are in turn borne of their music predecessors' practices.

Culture as a process is always endemic in a place; for it to be translated into sources of income that genuinely benefits its progenitors takes years and networks borne of consistent contact and access to supportive spaces. Regardless of their families' heritages, and the variety in musical styles and practices across interviewees, interviewees conveyed culture was replicated and furthered in physical spaces of everyday life. Central to this exchange was the ability to firstly settle there, and then to remain there to build on relationships often started in primary and secondary school. In addition to social consistency, spatial consistency across grassroots music venues helped organisations develop and translate into sources of income for their founders and participants. People forge ways to leverage networks and be creative in the absence of state support or overt violence and prejudice from it, private businesses, and residents. Interviewees' various spatial practices based out of the home were a matter of necessity, affordability, convenience, safety, privacy, and tastes. Examples of these practices included parties where people could listen to the music they wanted to not offered in private venues, writing and recording music in home studios, filming music videos, broadcasting pirate radio, and hosting jams with friends and collaborators to develop new music styles and make music without the pressures of an audience. Social events like shoobs and jams in homes drew people together and reinforced networks which further develop different kinds of Black Atlantic music. Most of the interviewees participated in at least some of these home-based events, which directly translated into their creative development and later commercial success. These activities were not one-off events, but regular practices accumulated over the years, contributing to the creation of high-quality music borne of close collaboration between dedicated musicians who can further their craft by having a close rapport with fellow musicians.

These decades-long cultural processes and everyday spatial practices elude formal quantification and measurement, but the consensus amongst interviewees is that the Council's market-driven "regeneration" threatens them. If Lewisham Council is interested in fostering its Black Atlantic music cultures, its best interest may be to ensure current residents have the capacity to continue residing there. Utilising its existing policy levers, this can be done by adhering to its own affordable housing policies and

recommendations of its Strategic Housing Market Assessments. The Council can also re-open youth centres, and proactively protect the other kinds of places identified in this research as important to the early development of Black Atlantic music culture, prior to its commodification stay available to the people making use of them. An example includes easements for new developments near existing grassroots venues, and ensuring licensing practices and business rates are not prohibitive to grassroots music venues' budgets.

9.8 Lastly: Embedding racism in planning texts

Lewisham Council's pursuit of financialised regeneration is ordinary of local authorities who uncritically embraced Landry's 'creative city' toolkit at the start of the millennium. This research did not find anything particularly unusual about the Council's approach to 'creativity' and 'culture' in its regeneration strategies, nor in its 'London style' of development, as outlined by Attuyer and Robinson (2021), which entails an influx of private foreign investment in large-scale housing developments based off pan-London strategic housing targets rather than the housing needs of people in the immediate vicinity. Indeed, the findings would likely resonate with many other local authorities in London, if not around the world. This research, however, has contributed a more nuanced view into how a local authority (taking cues from the GLA and consultants) manufactured a discursive formation based on the 'inner city myth,' then later progressed to discursive formations about the Borough's nascent creativity and culture as the key to attracting outside investment, thus 'regenerating' the area. The reports recycle similar narratives and statistics underpinning the arguments for regeneration, indicating a superficial understanding of Lewisham's context and residents reproduced by outside consultants.

By using a fairly typical case study, however, I contribute evidence to how common discourses justifying these standard 'regeneration' approaches are underpinned by racist assumptions, and leverage what Hahn (2016) describes as the 'stactive' voice, or an ahistorical way of characterising people and places that obscures agents of oppressive and dispossessive policies. A main feature of the stactive voice is use of abstract verbs like "tackle" and omitting agents of policies, instead substituting their symptoms as standalone causes (such as blaming conditions on "budget pressures" or planning permissions to mere "trends"). This research has shown stactive voice also conflates people with place. This includes personifying locations (such as saying "Lewisham has low self-esteem") and referring to areas by their levels of 'deprivation,' which is determined by individual characteristics such as education and income level, yet applied to geographic areas central and local governments have historically disinvested from.

The term 'regeneration' in and of itself is perhaps the most omnipresent and omnipotent example of the abstract, stactive voice in this research. As Furbey (1999) wrote, shortly before Landry was

commissioned by Lewisham Council, 'regeneration' is applied to many different interventions in the built environment, many which often play out over decades. Across the planning catalogue, there was a dearth of definition for regeneration. Instead, it was often an agent which *does* things in the built environment, seemingly of its own accord. The original uses of 'regeneration' in biological and religious contexts, however, mean utter transformation of 'regeneration's' object. Thus the 'regeneration' of place that has conflated with its inhabitants blurs who actually benefits or is being transformed, what tangible and immaterial changes are, and how it can be measured meaningfully over the long term. If population and place are equated, which is being transformed? The catalogue of planning texts gave no indication population turnover, transience, or displacement, obscuring how consequences of regeneration, particularly the property value increases which translate to higher rental and home costs, impacts the existing population. Whereas developers base their "viability" reports to local authorities off specific timescales (which Brill et al (2022) note are shorter than the developers' investment forecasts for shareholders), none of the planning reports I analysed included concrete ways of measuring regeneration's long-term impact on the existing population, or if the existing population will even be around to enjoy regeneration's supposed benefits.

This conflation of people with place is complicated by introducing 'culture' into planning and regeneration discourse and policy. 'Culture' is a process enacted by real people, yet like 'regeneration,' in planning texts is often described as *doing* things. This serves several discursive purposes. First, it divorces 'culture' from its origins, denying 'culture' as a perpetual and reflexive process enacted by people through the lenses of their own heritages, environments, and experiences. This divorce enables 'culture' to become a commodity, in which its revenue-generating industries, consumptive activities, and aesthetic products (such as music) are leveraged by outsider actors for the purpose of rebranding, attracting new companies and residents to settle in the area, and raising land values, for which the Council can collect higher rates to supplement the dramatic reductions to central government's revenue support grants.

Although this is far from a revelatory finding, this research implicates the role of racism in manufacturing the discourse which create the logics to let the provision of housing being dictated by "market economics" and specific private property developer investment returns, otherwise called "viability." Many scholars describe these practices as neoliberal, but to use a more specific descriptor, they are racially neoliberal. By the Council's own reporting, the preponderance of residents in overcrowded or unsuitable housing are 'BAME.' Government practices like disinvestment through budget cuts and privatising housing, infrastructure, and land disproportionately impact racialised groups, who may utilise state services more given private landlords' and employers' discrimination (Goldberg 2009). This is not to suggest the government has not enacted its own dispossessive and colonial policies, but that the loss of state services

amplifies the same indicators of "deprivation," which are in turn used to further surrender state services to private investment (ibid).

The discourses of racial neoliberalism within the planning catalogue possess most elements of what Burgess (1985) termed the 'inner city myth.' Just as 'regeneration' and 'culture' are abstracted in planning texts, Burgess and scholars like Romyn (2019) identified certain patterns in characterising urban areas inhabited by working-class and non-white groups in texts geared towards middle-class white readers. These include discussing the quality of buildings, housing, and the overall built environment as reflective of the people within it; demonising working-class and immigrant culture; and situating the "street" as inherently unsafe sites of crime and vice (or 'anti-social behaviour'). The discourses analysed in this research did not always overtly demonise working-class or immigrant culture, but predicating the introduction of 'culture' through outside organisations suggests the planning text authors discount the cultural capital and capabilities of people already in the area slated for regeneration. Although tokenistic and non-specific praise of Lewisham's "vibrancy" was frequent, the texts also referred to "cultures of low aspiration" and a needed improvement in residents' mindsets (for the purpose of becoming better representatives of the Borough, for the purposes of rebranding it). Goldberg (2009) describes how racist policies are less overt today than in the 1970s and 1980s. By omitting who is responsible for manufacturing conditions that cause "deprivation" through stactive voice, victims of neoliberal policies, together with the places they inhabit (as the discourse is vague and abstract enough to conflate a location with the people within it), are identified as problems with cultural deficiencies (Gilroy 1987).

The urban planning profession, as designed and practiced in the UK, has colonial origins and is predicated on protecting and expanding private landownership interests, and segregating land uses and people (Simmie 1974). Thomas' extensive scholarship, however, shows people working in the profession rarely engage with how racism is perpetuated within it. Although this research was more concerned with intertextuality and grand narratives rather than grammar or linguistics, being able to identify passive voice, seemingly-active statements that are in fact devoid of agents, and the conflation of people with place is essential for professionals and researchers in built environment fields who are concerned about replicating and further entrenching spatial inequalities. Planners must make conscious choices to reject euphemisms like "viability," vague metaphors like "regeneration," and racialising, homogenising terms like "BAME." They must instead work with constituents to develop accurate terms (or to perhaps reject certain categories altogether) reflective of the people and which correspond to specific actions and timescales that can be conjured in the mind's eye when heard/read aloud. In order to disassemble the inner city myth, existing inhabitants' understanding of place must inform planners conceptualizations and representations of space.

228

The use of stactive voice in planning texts parallels Buhler's (2021) research on vagueness and ambiguity in planning texts. Buhler (2021, 327) posits vagueness is a deliberately employed resource for "dominant actors" in planning:

> *"...vague propositions are not false by nature. On the contrary, they maximise their chances of being 'true', since many different configurations of forthcoming events can validate them. By contrast, a fully specific proposition could only be considered 'trued' in one and only one configuration, that is, the one described in the initial proposition. In other words, by announcing vague things we maximise the chances of not being mistaken."*

Vagueness in planning texts also avoids "arming opposition or competing groups with arguments and information" (ibid, 344). Ambiguous terms with multiple, blurred meanings in many contexts, and vagueness "remove all signs of pre-existing, current or even possible future conflicts" (ibid, 329), giving a false sense of consensus. Much scholarship on "fuzzy" and vague planning centres around "sustainability:" I suggest future scholars include "cultural" and "creative" planning into this realm of study, as the planning texts analysed herein utilise several types of vagueness Buhler identifies. These include verb nominalisations (namely "regeneration"), which

> *"[remove] traces of mode, tense and subject in relation to a verbal form. Responsibilities, schedule and degree of certainty are thus eliminated"* (ibid, 336).

Other vagueness devices include "positivity effects," which reduce "the impression of possible negative effects through rhetorical wording," "fuzzy concepts," such as "regeneration," the elimination of space-time references and indicators wherein plans do not contain specific timelines or locations, and no "references to concrete devices" (ibid). The catalogue of planning texts rarely considers the impacts of increasing rents and home prices on existing residents, and fails to reconcile how the Council's awarded planning permissions do not alleviate the problems of the thousands of families on Lewisham's housing waiting list.

The planning catalogue extols various benefits of "culture" in regeneration without any meaningful way to measure and track them over time. These are particularly for the benefits conferred upon the "community," which are discursively distinct from growth in the CCIs in Lewisham. An improvement in "local pride," ambition, and self-esteem, is difficult to measure in a transient population. The few reports which do discuss tracking these kinds of benefits concede that "regeneration" takes a long time to play out, making them difficult to measure, but do not offer any methods to do so. This implies that after the first initial years of a particular facet of regeneration, monitoring of indicators may subside, tacitly absolving the Council of long-term responsibility to the residents in the Borough at the time.

229

9.9 Coda

On a hot sunny Saturday in July 2022, I walked from Hither Green station to Mountsfield Park for Lewisham People's Day, a free annual festival put on by the Council that had not happened since 2018. The first Lewisham People's Day was in 1984, inspired by the 1981 Black People's Day of Action, in which coalitions of Lewisham residents took massive political action to fight the inaction and indifference of the central government, local authority, and Metropolitan Police in investigating the New Cross Fire which killed thirteen Black teenagers. My friend and I milled between Unit 137 sound system, the main stage, and the Blue Borough Stage, which was curated and hosted by BBC 1Xtra DJ Shahlaa Tahira, and dedicated to several styles of music that venues, local authorities, and the Metropolitan Police had censored and repressed with Form 696, like bashment, grime, and drill (two record labels whose founders were interviewed for this research had showcases on this stage). Novelist, a world-famous politically outspoken grime MC and producer from Brockley, was the Blue Borough Stage headliner. Upon returning to his endz to perform for his peers and neighbours, singing about experiences that resonate with them, in the same place that inspired and fostered his music development, the Metropolitan Police, who had otherwise been roaming the park in pairs during the day, established a cordon about 100 metres from the edge of the audience, surrounding the crowd of mostly Black teenagers and young adults for the rest of the evening.

Appendix 1: Codebook

Lewisham Characteristics (representations of space)	
Code	**Example**
Cultural Offer	"The Borough is fortunate in having a range of venues for cultural activity - arts centres, libraries, leisure centres and theatres." (Lewisham Council, Cultural Strategy, 2002)
Diversity and Demographics	"It's a complete melting pot and I grew up with a mix of friends from different cultural backgrounds and I absolutely loved that." (Interviewee 9)
Economic	"Lewisham has a comparatively small economy comprising some 82,000 jobs. The public sector is the biggest employer in the borough: public administration, education & health accounts for 40% of all employment." (Lewisham Council, *People, Prosperity, Place Mid-Term Review,* 2015)
Housing	"There's also a lot of displacement of people in the estate through manufacturing a climate of crime and criminalizing the youth, making them into so-called troubled families and pushing them out. It's a whole sanitation process." (Interviewee 7)
Perception of crime	"The focus needs to be on the youth, not so much knife crime. I feel like knife crime is a product of so many other things. Start tackling those things, you'll tackle the knife crime. Knife crime went up because other things got removed." (Interviewee 11)
Reputation	"There is a tension between Lewisham's emergence as a recognised centre of cultural provision and a place where people choose to live. Lewisham has many things going for it but its image has not been generally perceived as being culturally exciting. While it suffers from all the problems associated with the inner city, road congestion, improving but still underdeveloped public transport links, air pollution, some ugly streetscapes and crime 'hotspots' there is still much to celebrate." (Lewisham Council, Cultural Strategy, 2002)
Public realm	"Lewisham's visual environment needs a significant uplift to mark the change in attitude and ambition. It is not enough to transform people's sense of themselves and their possibilities, say through the arts, if they are then dropped into a mundane and at times degrading urban setting. A litmus question to ask is simply: Does the urban environment in Lewisham uplift or deflate, and if so where?" (Landry, *Creative Lewisham,* 2001)
Regeneration	"The pressure to gentrify is enormous. Starting in the North its tentacles are already spreading elsewhere in the borough. These external pressures for change are threatening to overwhelm that which has taken so long to nurture – yet at the same time within that regeneration and gentrification nexus there is also some good in terms of innovation and development." (Landry, *Creative Lewisham,* 2001)
Transport	"What I see for Lewisham, I don't predict anything. I don't have anything good to say after 10 years because they're building the Queen Elizabeth line and the DLR. All of the transport is just to provide access, for example, to the banking sector (City of London) and Canary Wharf. It's just to provide access so people working in the city can get their transport, so they can commute quicker. That's why they're building those lines. They're not building those lines for the local people to like, uplift their lives and have easier access and not have to get the bus all the time." (Interviewee 12)
Underresourced/deprived	"Lewisham is amongst the most deprived local authority areas in England; placed in the worst 20%. Evelyn, New Cross, Downham and Bellingham wards have the highest concentrations of deprivation." (Lewisham Council, *People, Prosperity, Place,* 2008)

Youth population	"In 2001, 21% of the borough's population was under 16 years, the second largest child population of all inner London boroughs. It is projected that the proportion of people aged 16 to 24 will rise by 21% by 2016." (Lewisham Council, *People, Prosperity, Place,* 2008)
Changes over time	"That's the one block I was talking about, the tower that had Blues FM at the top. That's the remaining one. That would have been all blocks all the way down here. They took down loads of blocks. I swear you can look up archive photographs of the area." (Interviewee 7)
Local pride	"I have a track coming out soon called 'Where I'm From.' I can't wait to release it…this track is really focused on community. It's not a track about me, it's about the community and how I see the world through my eyes when I walk day-to-day on the streets. I really just wanted to put people and to paint a picture for people who aren't from where I am for them to see it. We're definitely making a video for it in Sydenham." (Interviewee 13)
Police brutality and racism	"Especially on Hither Green Lane, there's still a few old families that have made roots here. It was basically, you stick together because nobody's helping you, so you have to help yourself. Even if you didn't know the Jamaicans a couple doors down, you'd meet them because they were the only other Black faces there. People and the police weren't looking after you, they always thought because of the colour of your skin, it's violent. Even today, on my way back from a meeting in Bank, there were wo police officers harassing a Black guy with a backpack. I'm guessing because he matched a description. My brother recently bought a nice car because he can afford it. He got stopped by the police, 'we just wanna make sure, run your number plates.' there were 5 of them that crowded the car and made it super intimidating for no reason. He wasn't doing anything, no headlights off, nothing. Other than it was a Black guy driving a nice car, maybe he doesn't own it. Figure it out." (Interviewee 1)

Functions of culture (spaces of representation)	
Code	**Example**
Attract new residents	Direct and indirect employment; Inward investment and business location; Attraction for educated workforce; Property values; Visitor and resident spending. (GLA, *Culture and regeneration – What evidence is there of a link and how can it be measured?,* 2011)
Catalyse regeneration and placemaking	"Lewisham has long recognised culture as a major lever for transformational change, a position that was endorsed by the Creative Lewisham report by Charles Landry which reported on the findings of the Culture and Urban Development Commission held in 2001. (Lewisham Council Cultural Strategy, 2002)
Change outward perception and branding	"London's cultural and artistic scene is rich in its diversity. Culture is also a major source of economic activity and employment. It is as much part of London's global brand as financial services." (London Assembly, *Creative tensions Optimising the benefits of culture through regeneration*, 2017)
Community bonding and well-being	"I'm already doing this in my community, I have showed that I can have hundreds of people on the street if I put out a tweet and say I'm doing a show on Saturday, my whole community can come out and block a road. They multiple it, as I multiply it. If he can do this there, in that community, what happens, if we put the thing behind him?" (Interviewee 14)
Creative development and expression	"I definitely see it as being somewhat of a role model for the younger generation. I know some young kids look up to me for help and lessons and stuff. Let's give them an example of something to see. Even on my record, I didn't want to put something out

	for the sake of it, I wanted to put something on, ah well, it's all about the money. I just want to be known, let me focus on the media. If you have this body of work, you need to show these kids that you have to study music." (Interviewee 16)
Economic and attract investment	"The cultural economy is one of London's fastest growing employment sectors and Lewisham has the potential to provide a home for new talent and initiative with opportunities for all. The Borough has much to be proud of, but needs to celebrate its strengths more publicly, and encourage audiences and visitors alike by strengthening the evening economy and ensuring that local residents have the training and support they need fully to participate. The search for new investment is a key concern, the Borough will put partnership at the heart of its strategy for developing the local infrastructure." (Lewisham Council Cultural Strategy, 2002)
Increase residents' ambition and self-esteem	"Over-riding everything should be a concern with Lewisham's projection and image, which should operate at a number of levels - internally and externally, to niche markets and broader audiences. This should not be seen as a simple PR exercise, but as a long term policy objective based on a deep sense of what Lewisham is and could be. Done well it will increase the sense Lewisham residents have of themselves and their resulting self-esteem. If Lewisham people feel ashamed that they come from Lewisham how can they aspire? If Lewisham's image feels rich and multi-textured outsiders will consider Lewisham as a place to be, to invest and enjoy, thereby becoming unconscious ambassadors for the borough." (Landry, *Creative Lewisham*, 2001)
Refuge and safe space	"So these are the things that would accost us on a daily basis and partly why you have such structural racism today is because of the authorities and the conscious suppression of Black culture, Black history, Black contribution, and the othering of Black people to such an extent that you know crimes meted against us become okay… Basically you had to make your own entertainment back in those days, due in most parts to racism and not having access to spaces or clubs or even churches, so you know a lot of the social element of living life was having to be recreated and that included social gatherings." (Interviewee 3)
Small business development	"Anything that doesn't directly benefit the people is a misrepresentation, it's never gonna be something people identify with. That's why my drive is, to have that initiative where we're giving back and letting people control that narrative of what they want thing to look and feel like, how they want to feel in their area. Ultimately, it's gonna raise the value of the area, but that's not because that's our goal...If, for example, we get together and start buying properties like Brockley Society does, for example. Once [the label] gets successful, we can afford to do that. We can buy properties and be like cool, a percentage of the sale is going back into the community, or the people who occupy it are someone who doesn't have a place to live." (Interviewee 14)

Cultural Locations (spatial practice): what kinds of place are identified as 'culture' occurring?	
Code	**Example**
Bigger commercial venues	"I noticed…venues changing or being taken away, like Venue in New Cross. At one point it was shut for ages and they were talking about it closing. I don't know if it's been closed for good, but that used to be a massive venue where everyone would go listen to music." (Interviewee 11)
Designated areas	"There is a vibrancy in certain areas such as New Cross and Deptford which has translated into real business growth and a high profile beyond the borough. The creative sector demonstrates strong clustering, where numbers of micro businesses, organisations and networks exist in certain places with good transport links to the rest of the capital. It is important to target our work on initiatives based in these established

	and emerging centres of activity." (Lewisham Council, Creative and Cultural Industries Strategy, 2012)
Festivals	"A sustainable programme of cultural festivals, which fully acknowledges the diversity of the borough's communities, provides a platform for their skills and talents, creates new audiences and affords the opportunity to build local capacity." (Lewisham Council, *People, Prosperity Place,* 2008)
Flagship buildings/landmarks	"The Laban Centre is a performing arts centre built on a former waste transfer site on the Deptford Creek in Lewisham. It is a multi-purpose building which includes a 300-seat theatre, dance studios, seminar rooms, café, health and fitness centre, and library. The £24 million facility was built to house an established dance company based at nearby Goldsmith's College. Following the completion of the Centre a number of residential developments were taken forward on adjacent properties. The evaluation of Laban shows that at least one of these projects was constructed directly as a result of the investment in Laban. Media coverage of the project has been favourable and a cluster of 'creative' activities has been identified in the immediate surroundings. While much development has occurred since the Laban Centre opened, it is not clear there is a cause and effect relationship. The evaluation of the project was not able to show one, and the growth in the arts scene in may be due to Goldsmith's College rather than the Laban Centre. The remediation of land and public investment in Deptford may have been an equally strong catalyst." (GLA, *Culture and regeneration – What evidence is there of a link and how can it be measured?,* 2011)
Grassroots venues	"For me smaller venues are important because it's our step into the industry. For them to host nights for younger people having a safe space to grow as an artist or grow into something beautiful. And to give us the space, really, to commune in safety. At the end of the day, wherever you are in London, you're not really safe." (Interviewee 1)
High Streets, parks, and other public places	"Throughout the conversations were told that the Deptford High Street markets were a wonderful attribute to the area. People were very enthusiastic about the markets and the range of goods available; this is especially the case for many of the migrant communities as it provides affordable goods to meet the needs of their families." (Comedia, *Intercultural City,* 2007)
Higher ed	"The larger educational institutions - Goldsmiths, Lewisham College and Laban - are already firmly committed to making North Lewisham a creative hub. The fact of their existence has largely created the dynamic in the first place." (Landry, *Creative Lewisham*, 2001)
Houses of worship	"…we used church halls like St Andrews in Brockley, St Mary's in Ladywell, St John's across New Cross Road…you find a church who's got a hall, we were in there." (Interviewee 2)
New developments	"The development of Convoys Wharf as a flagship regeneration site for the Borough and indeed for London with the potential for a vibrant mixed economy that could include housing, leisure, and heritage interest and create a real tourist attraction for the Borough." (Lewisham Council Cultural Strategy, 2002)
Organisations	"I didn't mention Midi Music, I think especially for young musicians, we used that space. I think it's like £12/hour to rent the studios there, it's insanely cheap. For us as students, that was awesome, we recorded stuff there. The engineer there is a great person. They have posters from all these events they used to do, Moses Boyd is on a poster, loads of people who are now doing really well. It's a place, it's an institution that's so valuable. It's one of those things of like, the rehearsal studios have not been refurbished and I imagine that's probably due to Lewisham Music…" (Interviewee 8)

Private homes	"We'd go to friends of the family, and they'd be guess having what was the remnants of blues parties, a family event at somebody's house with a massive sound system." (Interviewee 12)
School	"Schools provide the first rung of opportunity for most of the Borough's residents and the strategy places particular emphasis on quality opportunities for cultural participation both in and out of formal schooling, and on progression routes from school to other learning and training opportunities for all age groups." (Lewisham Council Cultural Strategy, 2002)
Transport	"Back in that day, we'd go on the bus and play that song out loud. If some girls came on the bus, we'd start it over and play it loud." (Interviewee 13)
Youth Centres	"There were people that had youth centres and play centres like that all over that have been teaching ppl in the area, giving them those after-school opportunities, you know what I mean? Moonshot was a key place that had boxing classes, music classes, dance, Irie was doing dance, they had so many different things going on, and they did become safer." (Interviewee 9)
Squats	"… it was a squatted café before this became unboarded…Pranksters was originally a squatters shop. They got their business rates sorted out to stay in the long-term but they were originally squatting…it was amazing, we used to have the best jams all the time. It'd be set up all the time with the drum kit and amps. You get such a mash-up of people in here. You have the local homeless community hanging out, some really amazing talented people from different genres…we used to jam in here together with a graffiti writer called Known. A few other artists, reggae artists, a few people who used to play with Fela Kuti, my friend Lola who was in an electronic punk band, some local rappers with an MC named Manage. People you don't expect to be in the same space, and people who are at the top of their craft and artistry jamming with a crackhead scenario." (Interviewee 7)
Small businesses (barber, record shops, studios, etc)	"It's crazy, my studio become the youth club of Brockley. It's a place where you can go where you're off the streets, you can come be creative, there are people like myself and my team who have experience in the music industry. We can give advice on marketing, how to record yourself. I'm giving people jobs from the community. Oh you want free studio time? I can't give you free time, but I can teach you how to use the equipment, give you a job, then you can split your time into working with clients and using the studio for yourself because I still need to stay open. I'm not funded by anyone but myself. I've already made 2 or 3 people from the area studio engineers." (Interviewee 14)

Appendix 2: Information and Interview Guide Sent to Black Atlantic Music Cultural Practitioners

±UCL

Participant Information Sheet For Lewisham Music Scene Participants
UCL Research Ethics Committee Approval ID Number: 19075/001

Title of Study: Culture as Commodity and Process: Promotional Regeneration Narratives and Cultural Development in Lewisham
Department: Bartlett School of Planning
Name and Contact Details of the Researcher: Christine Hannigan
Christine.hannigan.18@ucl.ac.uk/07435627335
Name and Contact Details of the Principal Researcher: Rob Hickman/r.hickman@ucl.uk

1. **Invitation to participate in research**
   You are invited to be interviewed for my (Christine Hannigan) PhD research project. This sheet explains why the research is being done and what participation entails. Please read it carefully and discuss with others if you wish. If you have questions, please contact me at the above-listed email/phone.

2. **What is the project's purpose?**
   This research explores the relationship between the built environment, urban regeneration, and local cultural development. It will examine the definitions and discourses surrounding terms such as "culture" and "regeneration," and how these relate to the built environment's role in cultural formation. Three research questions are structured around Henri Lefebvre's spatial triad, described in his 1991 book The Production of Space, which posits that space is a social construct borne of representations of space (or its official narratives/prescriptions), spaces of representation (as depicted/used by artists), and spatial practice (how space is used/lived in everyday life). These three factors in turn produce different kinds of space; this thesis will specifically focus on the production of abstract (homogenized, heavily prescribed uses) and differential space (more freedom of use, alternative public realms).
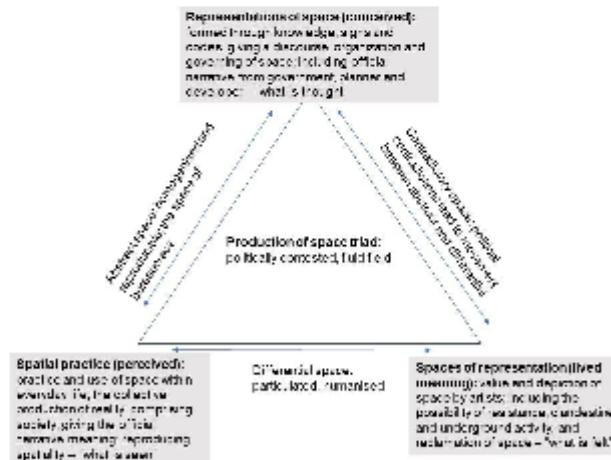
Your participation will help answer the second of these three research questions:
- How is culture constructed and produced in official urban regeneration discourses?
- How does Black Atlantic music reflect the governance and experience of culture and space?
- How do official discourses on culture and regeneration impact the built environment which gives rise to Black Atlantic music culture?

1

This work aims to contribute the slim body of research on how the planning system can exacerbate racial/spatial inequalities, and connect seemingly-disparate state actions that prepare for and contribute to gentrification. I also aim to challenge common euphemisms of neoliberal urban development and frame Black British/Atlantic culture not as a "marginalized community" but an integral, reflexive pillar of British history and society today.

3. **Why study Black Atlantic music in Lewisham?**
This research explores the relationships between cultural regeneration narratives produced by the Borough and Greater London Authority, how local music culture develops, and what actually gets funding/built in the name of culture/regeneration.

Culture can be conceived of as a commodity (in planning/government texts which designate spaces for its production and consumption) or a process spanning many generations, informed by historical and social conditions. The tension between commodity/process is my research's starting point to explore local authorities' changing use of "culture," and its consequences for "regeneration," particularly for long-established local residents who create and perpetuate a demonstrable and tangible culture.

Black Atlantic music is understood in terms of music played predominantly by Black diasporic communities, incorporating elements from African, Caribbean, American, and British cultures, such as jazz, reggae, soul, R&B, and various forms of rap. Lewisham's long-standing Black music culture create alternative, counter-public spheres beyond dominant society, challenge unjust existing power structures, and preserve Afro/Caribbean heritages suppressed by centuries of European imperialism and colonialism.

Lewisham was the site of the 1977 anti-racist uprising against the National Front (Battle of Lewisham) and the 1981 New Cross fire, which the Metropolitan Police refused to investigate a racist arson attack. The New Cross Massacre Action Committee formed in response and mobilised the Black People's Day of Action. Mainstream British media and government characterized these and other resistances to racist violence as a symptom of a Black "culture" hostile to mainstream British culture. Across UK cities, substandard conditions of the built environment (such as tower blocks neglected by the council/housing associations) were conflated with the people who lived there, and used as justification for eviction from and demolition of homes. In London, Metropolitan Police intensified surveillance and harassment of young Black people and their cultural outlets (such as music making) while bystanding or perpetrating racist violence.

My research project is situated in the confluence of different meanings and connotations of "culture." The participants in the Battle of Lewisham and Black People's Day of Action arguably transformed the public streets into "differential space" mentioned in my theoretical framework, which challenge "abstract," homogenous and heavily-ordered areas. This transformation did not occur in a vacuum, however, but was informed largely by Black Atlantic musical practices to educate, empower, and challenge racism.

In 2001, the Council commissioned consultant Charles Landry to produce "Creative Lewisham," a report about how "culture" and creative industries could "regenerate" the built and social environments. Over the next two decades, the Council produced more plans and participated in schemes of a similar nature, many of which vaguely celebrate "diverse communities" without naming their constituent parts. In 2004, the Metropolitan Police opened its largest station in Lewisham. Concurrently in the early 2000s, the Council awarded planning permission for several regeneration schemes worth hundreds of millions of pounds, largely financed by private investors such as international banks and consortiums. In 2022, Lewisham will celebrate its winning bid as the London Borough of Culture.

2

In addition to a broad catalogue of Black Atlantic music, the following is a selection of works informing and influencing the project's design.

Films
- David Koff: Blacks Britannica (1978)
- Menelik Shabazz: Blood Ah Go Run (1981)
- Nacheal Catnott: The Battle of Lewisham (2017)
- Paul Sng: Dispossession: The Great Social Housing Swindle (2017)
- Fredrik Gertten: Push (2019)

Scholarly articles/reports
- Jacqueline Burgess: News from Nowhere (published in the 1985 book Geography, the Media and Popular Culture)
- Catherine R. Squires: Rethinking the Black Public Sphere: An Alternative Vocabulary for Multiple Public Spheres (Communication Theory, 2002)
- George Sefa Dei: Critical Issues in Anti-racist Research Methodologies (Counterpoints, 2005)
- Monique Charles: Musicological Discourse Analysis as a Research Method of Generic Musical Analysis for the Social Sciences: Sifting Through Grime (Music) as an SFT Case Study (International Journal of Qualitative Methods, 2018)
- Lambros Fatsis: Policing the beats: The criminalisation of UK drill and grime music by the London Metropolitan Police (The Sociological Review, 2019)
- Jessica Perera: The London Clearances: Race, Housing and Policing (Institute of Race Relations, 2019)

Books
- Paul Gilroy: There Ain't No Black in the Union Jack (1987) and The Black Atlantic (1993)
- Huw Thomas: Race and Planning: The UK Experience (2000)
- William Lez Henry: What the Deejay Said: Critiques from the Street! (2006)
- Lloyd Bradley: Sounds Like London: 100 Years of Black Music in the Capital (2013)

4. **Why have I been invited?**
You have been invited to participate because of your involvement in Lewisham's Black Atlantic/Afrodiasporic music scene. Approximately 20 other participants have been invited and include musicians, venue/record store/studio owners, representatives from music organisations, writers, sound system operators, and event organisers. If you would prefer your interview to be jointly conducted with a friend or collaborator, please give me their contact information so I can invite them. I hope to learn about the spatial dimension to the culture's development (in this case, Black Atlantic culture) as a juxtaposition to the Greater London Authority's and Lewisham Council's framing of it

The research method for these interviews is guided by the work of Dr Monique Charles, who for her own PhD on Grime's origins developed a framework called Musicological Discourse Analysis, which rejects commercial genres and examines the many ways one's environment influences and is reflected in their music.

5. **Do I have to take part?**
No. Participation is entirely voluntary. If you decide to participate, you may discontinue at any time, for any reason, without any penalty, and decide if your data will be retained or deleted.

6. **What will happen if I take part?**
You will be asked to participate in one semi-structured interview that will last about two hours. The interview will not be conducted like a rigid questionnaire, instead as a normal conversation that can follow tangents and discuss broader themes relevant to your experience and this research. See the interview guide at the end of this document for what we'll discuss.

3

Another element of answering this research question will be analysing several songs from across London's Black music scene; please tell me if you would like one of your songs added to this collection. Additionally, you are welcome to submit another recording or a piece of writing as a stand-alone alongside a verbal interview.

7. **Will I be recorded and how will the recorded media be used?**
   With your permission, the interview will be audio recorded and transcribed. You can decline to be recorded but still participate in the research. As I write my thesis, I will send you anything referencing/quoting you to ensure accurate representation and allow for necessary corrections.

8. **What are the possible disadvantages and risks of taking part?**
   The purpose of the interview is to understand how Black Atlantic music culture in Lewisham unfolds spatially, and how it changes as the built environment changes. The interview questions may delve into subjects, such as impacts of gentrification, that may provoke negative emotions. You do not have to answer any questions you don't want to.

9. **What are the possible benefits of taking part?**
   If you agree to be interviewed, I can offer writing/journalism services as thanks, or other assistance depending on the needs of the interviewee (such as at events). I will also send periodic updates to interviewees to share what I'm learning and how your interview fits into the project as it develops. Your participation may confer wider social benefits as mentioned in Section 2. Currently, I am using my growing knowledge base to assist a colleague from Lewisham who is developing a proposal to the Council to re-open a community centre for local cultural uses.

10. **Who do I contact if I have a complaint?**
    First contact my supervisor, Rob Hickman: r.hickman@ucl.ac.uk and Yvonne Rydin, Chair of Planning Environment and Public Policy: y.rydin@ucl.ac.uk. If your complaint has not been handled to your satisfaction, contact the Chair of the UCL Research Ethics Committee – ethics@ucl.ac.uk

11. **Will my taking part in this project be kept confidential?**
    You can decide how much your data will be anonymised. You can elect to have quotes or other data fully attributable (for example "Christine Hannigan said…"), partially anonymised ("A DJ from Brockley said…"), or completely anonymised (example, "An interviewee said…"). You do not have to be identified by your full name; first names, stage names, or pseudonyms can be used, and how you are identified can vary throughout depending on what it attributed to you.

12. **What will happen to the results of the research project?**
    I expect to complete my PhD in 2024. I will provide you an electronic version of my thesis, or the specific chapters in which your data was used. I will obtain your consent to use your contributions elsewhere (academic papers, other writing, etc), and any outputs will be provided to you.

13. **Data Protection Privacy Notice**
    Your name and age are the only categories of personal data that will be collected. You do not have to provide your full name if you don't want to. The controller for this project will be University College London (UCL). The UCL Data Protection Officer provides oversight of UCL activities involving the processing of personal data, and can be contacted at data-protection@ucl.ac.uk. Further information on how UCL uses participant information can be found in its general privacy notice here. If you are concerned about how your personal data is being processed, or if you would like to contact UCL about your rights, please contact data-protection@ucl.ac.uk.

Interview Guide: How does Black Atlantic music reflect the governance and experience of culture and space?

The objective of the second research question is to understand how Black Atlantic music culture evolves, guided by the theoretical framework's "spatial practice" and "spaces of representation" – how space is perceived and used, which informs its meaning to the user. Dr Monique Charles' Musicological Discourse Analysis (MDA) framework guides the method for this section by putting music into broad historical and social context. This will use in-depth interviewing and analysis of selected music to understand the relationship between Lewisham's built environment and its residents' music culture.

The interview will be a conversation open to relevant tangents. I will introduce myself, my project and motivation, and what I've learned thus far. From you I hope to learn:

- your age and relationship to Lewisham (to parallel a timeline of culture and regeneration policies, budget cuts, and other significant events for London and Lewisham)
- an overview of your musical/cultural practice
- where you were first exposed to music, and where/how you got involved in making it
- what additional kinds of places you used over time and why (for example, in response to changes in the built environment, or as your musical practice progressed). You do not have to divulge specific locations.
- if/how/why your music scene participation informs or overlaps with other ways you are involved in your local area (ie enterprise, volunteering, other cultural pursuits)
- if you participated in council/school-funded music education activities, or at other organisations (such as Midi, Moonshot Centre, etc)
- if/how/why Lewisham as a place, or Lewisham residents, are reflected in your music (for example, does Lewisham appear in your music videos/lyrics/samples, and does your music reference your experience of living there)
- your general thoughts and characterisations of Lewisham over time, including the current regeneration projects (this is to parallel how planners/consultants characterise the borough; see info sheet for more detail on the first research question)

Thank you for reading this information sheet and your consideration.

5

Appendix 3: Information and Interview Guide Sent to GLA/Lewisham Council Employees

Participant Information Sheet For GLA Interviewees
UCL Research Ethics Committee Approval ID Number: 19075/001

Title of Study: Culture as Commodity and Process: Regeneration Narratives and Cultural Development in Lewisham
Department: Bartlett School of Planning
Name and Contact Details of the Researcher: Christine Hannigan
Christine.hannigan.18@ucl.ac.uk/07435627335
**Name and Contact Details of the Principal Researcher:** Rob Hickman/r.hickman@ucl.uk

1. **Invitation to participate in research**
   You are invited to be interviewed for my (Christine Hannigan) PhD research project. Please read this sheet carefully and discuss with others if you wish. If you have questions, please contact me at the above-listed email/phone.

2. **What is the project's purpose?**
   This research explores the relationship between the built environment, urban regeneration, and local cultural development. It will examine the definitions and discourses surrounding terms such as "culture" and "regeneration," and how these relate to the built environment's role in cultural formation. Three research questions are structured around Henri Lefebvre's spatial triad, described in his 1991 book The Production of Space, which posits that space is a social construct borne of representations of space (or its official narratives/prescriptions), spaces of representation (as depicted/used by artists), and spatial practice (how space is used/lived in everyday life).

   This project is specifically looking at how Lewisham Council's planning and regeneration policies have incorporated the idea of "culture" since 2001, and how the Borough's regeneration relates to the long-established Black Atlantic music culture there. In addition to analysing Greater London Authority's and Lewisham Council's discourses, in summer 2021 I interviewed musicians from or residing in Lewisham to learn about what kinds of places are important to Black Atlantic music cultural development, and how that has changed over time.

1
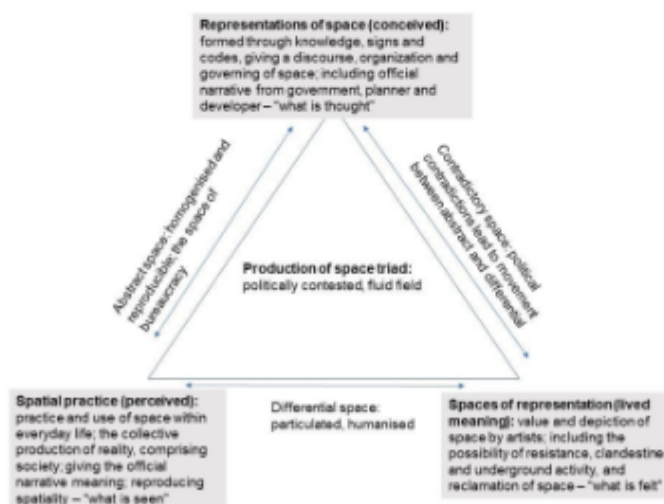
Your interview will help answer two research questions:

- How does the GLA's and Lewisham Council's planning and regeneration approach accommodate different cultural land uses?
- How is culture constructed and produced in official urban regeneration discourses?

3. **Why have I been invited?**
   You have been invited to participate in a professional capacity because of your role within the Greater London Authority or Lewisham Council. If you would prefer your interview to be jointly conducted with a colleague, please give me their contact information so I can invite them. I hope to learn how your employer plans for and implements culture via regeneration.

4. **Do I have to take part?**
   No. Participation is entirely voluntary. If you decide to participate, you may discontinue at any time, for any reason, without any penalty, and decide if your data will be retained or deleted.

5. **What will happen if I take part?**
   You will be asked to participate in one semi-structured interview that will last between 60-90 minutes. The interview will not be conducted like a rigid questionnaire, instead as a normal conversation open to tangents and broader themes relevant to your experience and this research. See the interview guide at the end of this document for what we'll discuss.

6. **Will I be recorded and how will the recorded media be used?**
   With your permission, the interview will be audio recorded and transcribed. You can decline to be recorded but still participate in the research.

7. **What are the possible disadvantages and risks of taking part?**
   Disadvantages and risks are minimal. The interview questions may delve into subjects, such as impacts of gentrification, that may provoke negative emotions. You do not have to answer any questions you don't want to.

8. **What are the possible benefits of taking part?**
   There are likely no direct benefits to you. Your participation, however, will aid in the understanding of the relationship between culture and regeneration.

9. **Who do I contact if I have a complaint?**
   First contact my supervisor, Rob Hickman: r.hickman@ucl.ac.uk and Yvonne Rydin, Chair of Planning Environment and Public Policy: y.rydin@ucl.ac.uk. If your complaint has not been handled to your satisfaction, contact the Chair of the UCL Research Ethics Committee – ethics@ucl.ac.uk

10. **Will my taking part in this project be kept confidential?**
    I will not use your name; you will only be identified by your job title. I will fully anonymise sensitive or critical commentary, or any other commentary you request.

11. **What will happen to the results of the research project?**
    I expect to complete my PhD in 2024. If desired, I will provide you an electronic version of my thesis, or the specific chapters in which your interview was used.

12. **Data Protection Privacy Notice**
    Your name and job title are the only categories of personal data that will be collected. You do not have to provide your full name if you don't want to. The controller for this project will be University College London (UCL). The UCL Data Protection Officer provides oversight of UCL activities involving the processing of personal data, and can be contacted at data-protection@ucl.ac.uk. Further information on

how UCL uses participant information can be found in its general privacy notice here. If you are concerned about how your personal data is being processed, or if you would like to contact UCL about your rights, please contact data-protection@ucl.ac.uk.

Interview Guide:

The interview will be a conversation open to relevant tangents. I will introduce myself, my project and motivation, and what I've learned thus far. From you I hope to learn:

- How the GLA/Lewisham Council understands and draws from existing local culture and history for regeneration
- How an area's local history informs its planning policy and decisions
- How culture "catalyses" regeneration, and if this has changed over time
- If/how developer contributions are negotiated/used for cultural purposes
- Anticipated impacts of regeneration on existing residents, and how negative impacts can be mitigated
- About the London Borough of Culture objectives and programming
- The role London & Partners (or other organisations) plays in shaping cultural policy

Thank you for reading this information sheet and your consideration.

References

5th Studio, We Made That, Alan Baxter (2019). *New Cross Area Framework.* London, London Borough of Lewisham.

Adonis, A. and Davies, B. (2015). *City Villages: More Homes, Better Communities*. London, Institute for Public Policy Research.

Anim-Addo, J. (1995). *Longest Journey: A History of Black Lewisham*. London, Deptford Forum Publishing Ltd.

Arber, R. (2000). 'Defining Positioning within Politics of Difference: Negotiating Space 'In-Between'.' *Race, Ethnicity, and Education*, 3(1): 25-44.

Bainbridge, J. (2006). *Inspection of Lewisham BCU Metropolitan Police Service (MPS).* HM Inspectorate of Constabulary London and the BTP Office. [https://www.justiceinspectorates.gov.uk/hmicfrs/media/metropolitan-police-service-lewisham-basic-command-unit-inspection-20060429.pdf] [accessed July 2023]

Banks, M., Ebrey, J, Toynbee, J. (2014). *Working Lives in Black British Jazz.* University of Leicester. [https://www.chrishodgkins.co.uk/wp-content/uploads/2015/01/Working-Lives-in-Black-British-Jazz.pdf] [accessed July 2023]

Barron, L. (2013). 'The sound of street corner society: UK grime music as ethnography.' *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, 16(5): 531-547.

BBC (2011). *Lewisham Council library closures approved*. BBC. [https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-london-12499885] [accessed July 2023]

Beebeejaun, Y. (2022). 'Race, Gender, and Positionality in Urban Planning Research.' *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 21: 1-10.

Behr, A., Brennan, M, Cloonan, M. (2014). 'Cultural value and cultural policy: some evidence from the world of live music.' *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 22(3).

Berry, S. (2017). *London's lost youth services*. London, London Assembly. [https://www.london.gov.uk/sites/default/files/london_lost_youth_services_sian_berry_jan2017.pdf] [accessed June 2023]

Berry, S. (2018). *London's Lost Youth Services 2018*. London, London Assembly. [https://www.london.gov.uk/sites/default/files/2018_03_20_sb_londons_lost_youth_services_2018_final.pdf] [accessed June 2023]

Bhabha, H. K. (1994). *Location of Culture*. London, Routledge.

Bhabha, H. K. (1996). 'Culture's In-Between.' In Hall, S. and du Gay, P. (eds.). *Questions of Cultural Identity*. London, Sage Publications Ltd: 53-60.

Bilby, K. (2014). 'Is Reggae to Black British Music as Blues is to Jazz?' In Toynbee, J., Tackley, C., Doffman, M. (eds.) *Caribbean Roots/Routes in Imaginings of Black British Jazz. Black British Jazz: Routes, Ownership and Performance.* Surrey, Ashgate Publishing Limited.

Bledsoe, A. (2021). 'Methodological reflections on geographies of blackness.' *Progress in Human Geography*, 45(5), 1003-1021.

Bloch, S. and Meyer, D. (2023). 'Displacement beyond dislocation: Aversive racism in gentrification studies.' *Dialogues in Urban Research*, 1(3), 206-225.

Bloomfield, J. (2014). *Case Study of Lewisham: Cultural Diversity & Intercultural Realities: Reflection in Policy.* [https://villeinterculturelle.files.wordpress.com/2014/02/lewishambloomfield] [accessed September 2021]

Bradley, L. (2013). *Sounds Like London: 100 Years of Black Music in the Capital*. London, Serpent's Tail.

Bramwell, R. (2015). *UK Hip-Hop, Grime and the City: The Aesthetics and Ethics of London's Rap Scenes.* Abingdon, Routledge.

Bramwell, R. and Butterworth, J. (2020). 'Beyond the street: the institutional life of rap.' *Popular Music,* 39(2), 169-186.

BNP Paribas (2019). *DRAFT London Borough of Lewisham: Local Plan Viability Assessment.* [https://lewisham.gov.uk/-/media/draft-lewisham-local-plan-viability-assessment.ashx] [accessed July 2023]

Comedia and Brecknock, Caust, M., Landry, C., Howell, A (2007). *City Intercultural: Making the Most of Diversity*. London, Comedia in association with Brecknock Consulting.

Brill, F., Raco, M., Ward, C. (2022). 'Anticipating demand shocks: Patient capital and the supply of housing.' *European Urban and Regional Studies*: 1-16.

Buhler, T. (2021). 'When vagueness is a strategic resource for planning actors.' *Planning Theory*, 20(4): 1-24.

Bullock, M. (2019). *London Borough of Lewisham Strategic Housing Market Assessment.* London, arc4 Limited, London Borough of Lewisham.

Burgess, J. A. (1985). 'News from Nowhere.' In Burgess, J.A., Hjohn, R. (eds.) *Geography, the media and popular culture*. London, Croom Helm: 192-228.

Burnham, I. (2021) *Dancin' Garuda*. Audio files available from [https://isobellaburnham.bandcamp.com/album/dancin-garuda]

Buser, M. (2012). 'The production of space in metropolitan regions: a Lefebvrian analysis of governance and spatial change.' *Planning Theory*, 11(3): 279-298.

Butler, T. and Hamnett, C. (2009). 'Regenerating a Global City.' In Imrie, R., Lees, L., and Raco, M. (eds.) *Regenerating London: Governance, Sustainability and Community in a Global City*. London, Routledge.

Canelas, P. (2018). 'Challenges and Emerging Practices in Development Value Capture.' In Ferm, J. and Tomaney, J. (eds.) *Planning Practice.* London, Routledge.

Catnott, N. (2017). *The Battle of Lewisham.* United Kingdom: 20:10. [https://vimeo.com/225413258]

Charles, M. (2016). *Hallowed Be Thy Grime?: A Musicological and Sociological Genealogy of Grime Music and Its Relation to Black Atlantic Religious Discourse (#HBTG?).* Department of Sociology, University of Warwick. PhD: 403.

Charles, M. (2018). 'MDA as a Research Method of Generic Musical Analysis for the Social Sciences: Sifting Through Grime (Music) as an SFT Case Study.' *International Journal of Qualitative Methods,* 17: 1-11.

Charles, M. (2019). 'Grime and Spirit: On a Hype!' *Open Cultural Studies*, 3: 107-125.

Christophers, B. (2011). 'Revisiting the Urbanization of Capital.' *Annals of the Association of American Geographers,* 1001(6): 1347-1364.

Christophers, B. (2014). 'Wild Dragons in the City: Urban Political Economy, Affordable Housing Development and the Performative World-making of Economic Models.' *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research,* 38(1): 79-97.

Christophers, B. (2019). *The New Enclosure: The Appropriation of Public Land in Neoliberal Britain.* London, Verso.

Clifford, B. (2018). 'Contemporary Challenges in Development Management.' In Ferm. J., Tomaney, J. (eds.) *Planning Practice.* London, Routledge.

Commission for Racial Equality. (2007). *Regeneration and the Racial Equality Duty: Report of a formal investigation in England, Scotland, and Wales.* Commission for Racial Equality.

Creative Lewisham Agency Select Committee (2003). *Creative Lewisham Agency Select Committee Minutes 10 December 2003.* C. L. Agency. London, London Borough of Lewisham. [https://councilmeetings.lewisham.gov.uk/documents/s44226/11_SDSC_CreativeLewishamCommission2001_SummaryRecommendations_20160629.pdf] [accessed May 2023]

Creative Lewisham Select Committee (2003). Supplementary Agenda - 30 January 2003, London Borough of Lewisham. [https://councilmeetings.lewisham.gov.uk/Data/Creative%20Lewisham%20Select%20Committee/20030130/Agenda/Creative%20Lewisham%20Select%20Committee%20supplementary%20agenda%20Notice%20of%20Meeting.pdf] [accessed June 2022]

Convoys Wharf (n.d.). *Convoys Wharf.* [https://convoys-wharf.com/] [accessed June 2023]

London Councils (2020). *A London Councils Member briefing: Creative Enterprise Zones*. London. [https://www.londoncouncils.gov.uk/sites/default/files/Creative-enterprise-zones.pdf] [accessed June 2023]

Crook, J. (2013). *Culture On the High Street.* London, Greater London Authority. [https://www.london.gov.uk/sites/default/files/culture_on_the_high_street_july13.pdf] [accessed May 2023]

Cross, N. (2021). *The Description is Not the Described.* First World Records. [https://nathanielcross.bandcamp.com/album/the-description-is-not-the-described]

Cuffe, G. (2020). *'*Lewisham residents have lowest trust in Met of any London borough.*'* *London News Online*. [https://londonnewsonline.co.uk/lewisham-residents-have-lowest-trust-in-met-of-any-london-borough/] [accessed July 2023]

Cuffe, G. (2021). 'Lewisham police launch plan to stop misuse of stop and search.' *London News Online.* [https://londonnewsonline.co.uk/lewisham-police-launch-plan-to-stop-misuse-of-stop-and-search/] [accessed July 2023]

D'Aguiar, F. (2015). 'Six Views of Britain.' *Callaloo*, 38(3): 490-499.

Department for Culture, Media, and Sport (2008). *Creative Britan: Creative Britain: New Talents for the New Economy.* London, Crown Copyright. [http://bufvc.ac.uk/copyright-guidance/mlr/index.php/site/498] [accessed May 2021]

Deptford Dame (2020). 'Convoys Wharf Development Plans - A Cultural Desert?' *Deptford Dame.* [https://deptforddame.blogspot.com/2020/06/convoys-wharf-development-plans.html] [accessed July 2023]

Deptford Dame (2021). 'Birds Nest Pub threatened in Creekside redevelopment proposals.' *Deptford Dame.* [https://deptforddame.blogspot.com/2021/12/birds-nest-pub-threatened-in-creekside.html] [accessed July 2023]

Dasgupta, B. (2013). '*Financialization, Labour Market Flexibility, Global Crisis and New Imperialism – A Marxist Perspective.*' Fondation Maison Des Sciences de l'Homme, 34.

Datta, R. (2018). 'Decolonizing both researcher and research and its effectiveness in Indigenous research.' *Research Ethics*, 14(2): 1-24.

Dei, G.J.S. (2005). 'Critical Issues in Anti-racist Research Methodologies.' *Counterpoints*, 252: 1-27.

Denning, M. (2015). *Noise Uprising: The Audiopolitics of a World Musical Revolution*. London, Verso.

Deptford Neighbourhood Action. (2019). *#PlanforDeptford: Draft Deptford Neighbourhood Plan 2020 to 2036 Pre-Submission Plan*. London, Deptford Neighbourhood Action. [https://deptfordaction.org.uk/neighbourhood-plan/] [accessed July 2023]

Dodd, V. (2012). 'Metropolitan police to scale back stop and search operation.' *The Guardian.* [https://www.theguardian.com/uk/2012/jan/12/met-police-stop-search-suspicion] [accessed July 2023]

Doffman, M. (2014). ''What you doin' here?' The Sounds, Sensibilities and Belonging(s) of Black British Jazz Musicians.' In Toynbee, J., Tackley, C. (eds.) *Black British Jazz: Routes, Ownership, Performance.* London, Routledge.

Doyle, L. (2018). 'Awate.' *M Magazine, PRS For Music*. [https://www.prsformusic.com/m-magazine/features/interview-awate] [accessed July 2023]

Dueck, B. (2014). 'Standard, Advantage, and Race in British Discourse about Jazz.' In Toynbee, J., Tackley, C., Doffman, M. (eds.) *Black British Jazz: Routes, Ownership and Performance*. Surrey, Ashgate Publishing Limited.

Elmer, S. and Denning, G. (2016). 'The London Clearances.' *City*, 20(2): 271-277.

Ennis, N. and Douglass, G. (2011). *Culture and regeneration - What evidence is there of a link and how can it be measured?* G. L. A. Economics. London, Mayor of London.

Estate Watch (n.d., a). *Estate regeneration: Pepys Estate.* [https://www.estatewatch.london/casestudies/pepys/.] [accessed April 2023]

Estate Watch (n.d., b). *Estates Under Threat: Lewisham.* [https://www.estatewatch.london/underthreat/lewisham/.] [accessed April 2023]

Evans, G. (2005). 'Measure for Measure: Evaluating the Evidence of Culture's Contribution to Regeneration.' *Urban Studies*, 42(5/6): 959-983.

Evans, G. (2006). 'Branding the City of Culture – The Death of City Planning?' In Monclús, J., Guardia, M. (eds.) *Culture, Urbanism, and Planning*. London, Routledge: 197-213.

Evans, J. and Jones P. (2011). 'The walking interview: Methodology, mobility and place.' *Applied Geography*, 31: 879-858.

Fairclough, N. (1992). *Discourse and Social Change.* Cambridge, Blackwell Publishers.

Fairclough, N. (2000). *New Labour, New Language?* London, Routledge.

Fairclough, N. (2010). *Critical Discourse Analysis: The Critical Study of Language.* Harlow, Pearson Education Limited.

Fairclough, N., Mulderrig, J., Wodak, R. (2011). 'Critical Discourse Analysis.' In Dijk, T.V. (ed) *Discourse Studies: A Multidisciplinary Introduction.* London, Sage: 357-378.

Fatsis, L. (2019). 'Policing the beats: The criminalisation of UK drill and grime music by the London Metropolitan Police.' *The Sociological Review*, 67(6): 1300-1316.

Ferm, J., Freire Trigo, S., Moore-Cherry, N. (2021). 'Documenting the 'soft spaces' of London planning: Opportunity Areas as institutional fix in a growth-oriented city.' *Regional Studies,* 56(3): 394-405.

Ferm, J. and Raco, M. (2020). 'Viability Planning, Value Capture and the Geographies of Market-Led Planning Reform in England.' *Planning Theory and Practice*, 21(2): 218-235.

Fero, K. and T. Mehmood (2001). *Injustice.* United Kingdom, Migrant Media: 98 min. [https://vimeo.com/34633260]

Fincher, R.and Iveson, K. (2008). *Planning and Diversity in the City: Redistribution, Recognition and Encounter.* Hampshire, Palgrave Macmillan.

Firth, R. (2022a). 'Lewisham Council plans to knock down New Cross estate.' *News Shopper,* Newsquest Media Group Ltd. [https://www.newsshopper.co.uk/news/lewisham/20907940.lewisham-council-plans-knock-new-cross-estate/] [accessed July 2023]

Firth, R. (2022b). 'Lewisham Council tenants waiting five times longer than pre-pandemic to report problems.' *News Shopper*, Newsquest Media Group Ltd. [https://www.newsshopper.co.uk/news/19995028.lewisham-council-tenants-waiting-five-times-longer-pre-pandemic-report-problems/] [accessed July 2023]

Firth, R. (2022c). 'Lewisham: Hundreds of properties lie empty – as 10,000 people wait for a home.' *News Shopper,* Newsquest Media Group Ltd. [https://www.newsshopper.co.uk/news/19994938.lewisham-hundreds-properties-lie-empty---10-000-people-wait-home/] [accessed April 2023]

Florida, R. (2002). *The Rise of the Creative Class*. New York, Basic Books.

Florida, R. (2015). *Cities and the Creative Class*. New York, Routledge.

Freestone, R. and Gibson, C. (2006). 'The Cultural Dimension of Urban Planning Strategies: An Historical Perspective.' In Monclús, J., Guardia, M. (eds.) *Culture, Urbanism, and Planning*. Hampshire, Ashgate Publishing Limited: 21-42.

Freire Trigo, S. (2019a). 'Vacant land in London: a planning tool to create land for growth.' *International Planning Studies,* 25(3): 261-276

Freire Trigo, S. (2019b). *Vacant Land in London: Narratives of People, Space, and Time. Bartlett School of Planning.* London, University College London. PhD: 324.

Furbey, R. (1999). 'Urban 'regeneration': reflections on a metaphor.' *Critical Social Policy*, 19(4): 419-445.

Gale, R. and Thomas, H. (2018). 'Race at the margins: A Critical Race Theory perspective on race equality in UK planning.' *Environment and Planning*, 36(3): 460-478.

Garofalo, R. (1995). 'Culture versus Commerce: The Marketing of Black Popular Music.' In The Black Public Sphere Collective (ed.) *The Black Public Sphere.* Chicago, University of Chicago.

Gavriely-Nuri, D. (2017). 'Cultural approach to CDA (CCDA).' In Flowerdew, J., Richardson, J.E. (eds.) *The Routledge Handbook of Critical Discourse Studies.* (online), Routledge.

Gee, J. P. (2011). *How to do Discourse Analysis: A toolkit.* Oxon, Routledge.

Gertten, F. (2019). *Push.* Sweden, WG Film AB: 92 minutes.

Germane Marvel (2021). *Taller Deeper Wider.* [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vPtmsy39HfE&pp=ygUfIHRhbGxlciBkZWVwZXIgd2lkZXIgdGhlIGFsYmFuFueQ%3D%3D] [accessed July 2023]

Get Living PLC (2023). *Our Story.* [https://www.getliving.com/about/our-story/] [accessed June 2023]

Gillett, E. (2021). 'Who owns the night?: the complicated reality of the Night-Time Economy.' *DJ Mag,* Thrust Publishing Ltd. [https://djmag.com/longreads/who-owns-night-complicated-reality-night-time-economy] [accessed April 2023]

Gilroy, P. (1987). *There Ain't No Black in the Union Jack*. London, Hutchinson.

Gilroy, P. (1993). *The Black Atlantic*. London, Verso Books.

Gioia, T. (2019). *Music: A Subversive History*. New York, Basic Books.

Glancey, J. (2003). 'Bright lights, big city.' *The Guardian.* London. [https://www.theguardian.com/books/2003/mar/29/communities.europeancapitalofculture2008] [accessed May 2023]

Goldberg, D. T. (2009). *The Threat of Race: Reflections on Racial Neoliberalism*. Chicester, Wiley-Blackwell.

Goldstein, S. E. (2017). 'Reflexivity in Narrative Research: Accessing Meaning Through the Participant-Researcher Relationship.' *Qualitative Psychology,* 4(2): 149-164.

Greater London Authority (n.d., a). *Central Activities Zone.* [https://www.london.gov.uk/programmes-strategies/planning/implementing-london-plan/london-plan-guidance-and-spgs/central-activities-zone#what-is-the-central-activities-zone-title] [accessed July 2023]

Greater London Authority (n.d., b) *London Borough of Culture.* [https://www.london.gov.uk/programmes-strategies/arts-and-culture/current-culture-projects/london-borough-culture] [accessed July 2023]

Guest, G., Bunce, A., Johnson, L. (2006). 'How Many Interviews Are Enough? An Experiment with Data Saturation and Variability.' *Field Methods*, 18(1): 59-82.

Hahn, E. (2016). 'The Stactive Style: Whiteness and the Rhetoric of History.' *Rhetoric Society Quarterly,* 46(4): 331-350.

Hall, S. (1980). 'Race, Articulation and Societies Structured in Domination.' In UNESCO (ed.), *Sociological Theories: Race and Colonialism.* Paris: UNESCO, 305-345.

Hall, S. (1997a). 'The Spectacle of the 'Other'.' In Hall, S. (ed.) *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices.* London, SAGE Publishing Ltd: 223-290.

Hall, S. (1997b). 'The Work of Representations.' In Hall, S. (ed.) *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices.* London, SAGE Publications Ltd: 13-74.

Hannigan, C. (2019) *Financialisation in Planning: Examining the Planning and Funding of the Vauxhall Nine Elms Battersea Opportunity Area and Northern Line Extension*. Masters thesis, University College London.

Harvey, D. (2003). *The New Imperialism.* New York, Oxford University Press.

Harvey, D. (2004). 'The 'New' Imperialism: Accumulation by Dispossession.' *Socialist Register*, 40: 63-87.

Harvey, D. (2005). *A Brief History of Neoliberalism.* Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Hatherly, O. and Owen, R. (2016). *Lewisham, the Notopian future of London*. [https://www.architectural-review.com/essays/lewisham-the-notopian-future-of-london.] [accessed May 2022]

Hayward, P. (2017). *Lewisham Music: A Report for Lewisham Council's CYP Select Committee Implementation of new trust arrangements*. London, Lewisham Music.

Healey, P. (2007) 'Re-thinking Key Dimensions of Strategic Spatial Planning: Sustainability and Complexity.' In Porter, G., de Roo, G. (eds.) *Fuzzy Planning: The Role of Actors in a Fuzzy Governance Environment*. Hampton, Ashgate: 21-41.

Henry, W. (2006). *What the deejay said: a critique from the street!* London, Nu-Beyond Ltd.

Higginson, J. (2001). 'Building to start on police station.' *News Shopper.* London. [https://www.newsshopper.co.uk/news/6386305.building-to-start-on-police-station/] [accessed July 2023]

Higgs, M. (2016). 'From the street to the state: making anti-fascism anti-racist in 1970s Britain.' *Race & Class,* 58(1): 66-84.

Hodkinson, S. and Essen, C. (2014). 'Grounding accumulation by dispossession in everyday life: the unjust geographies of urban regeneration under the Private Finance Initiative.' *International Journal of Law and the Environment*, 7(1): 72-91.

Holdsworth, R. (2011). 'What To Do With Five Closed Lewisham Libraries?' *Londonist.* [https://londonist.com/2011/02/what-to-do-with-five-closed-lewisham-libraries] [accessed July 2023]

Huckin, T. A., and Clary-Lemon, J. (2012). 'Critical Discourse Analysis and Rhetoric and Composition.' *College Composition and Communication*, 64(1): 107-129.

Hulchanski, J. D. (1995). 'The concept of housing affordability: Six contemporary uses of the housing expenditure-to-income ratio.' *Housing Studies*, 10(4): 471-491.

Ilan, J. (2012). ''The industry's the new road': Crime, commodification and street cultural tropes in UK urban music.' *Crime Media Culture*, 81(1): 39-55.

Imrie, R. (2009). ''An exemplar for a sustainable world city': progressive urban change and the redevelopment of Kings Cross.' In Imroe, R., Lees, L., Raco, M. (eds.) *Regenerating London: Governance, Sustainability and Community in a Global City*. London, Routledge.

Intercultural Cities (2011). *The London Borough of Lewisham Intercultural Profile.* Council of Europe. [rm.coe.int/0900001680482a3f] [accessed July 2023]

Jamal, S. (2005). 'Critical Ethnography: An Effective Way to Conduct Anti-racism Research.' *Counterpoints*, 252: 225-239.

Janice (2014). 'Model Market - The first signs of the gentrification of Lewisham?' *Mad News UK. [*https://madnewsuk.com/2014/07/07/model-market-the-first-signs-of-the-gentrification-of-lewisham/] [accessed June 2023]

Jeffrey, N. (1999). 'The sharp edge of Stephen's city.' *Soundings,* 12.

Just Space (2018). *Opportunity Areas*. [https://justspace.org.uk/next-london-plan/opportunity-areas/#:~:text=What%20are%20'Opportunity%20Areas'%3F,5%2C000%20jobs%20and%202%2C500%20homes] accessed July 2023.

Kapoor, N. (2013). 'The advancement of racial neoliberalism in Britain.' *Ethnic and Racial Studies,* 36(6): 1028-1046.

Oakley, K., Laurison, D., O'Brien, D., Friedman, S. (2017). 'Cultural Capital: Arts Graduates, Spatial Inequality, and London's Impact on Cultural Labor Markets.' *American Behavioral Scientist*, 61(12): 1510-1531.

Kayowa (2021). *Based.* [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jcIFcOIkssI&pp=ygUMa2F5b3dhIGJhc2Vk] [accessed July 2023]

Kinch, S. (2020). *Black Peril* 2020, Online Festival. [https://soweto-kinch.com/blackperil2020/]

King, A. (1990). *Urbanism, Colonialism, and the World-Economy.* London, Routledge.

Koder (2018). *Why you in the endz?* [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bCeul3c3FgE] [accessed July 2023]

Koder (2019). *Richer.* [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=a-GkiiDy5_I] [accessed July 2023]

Koff, D. (1978). *Blacks Britannica:* 54 min. [https://player.bfi.org.uk/rentals/film/watch-blacks-britannica-1978-online]

Kolioulis, A. (2018). 'More day in the Night? The gentrification of London's night-time through clubbing.' *Bollettino della Società Geografica Italiana*, 14(1)(2): 207-218.

Krug, F. and Gordon, P. (1983). *Different Worlds: Racism and Discrimination in Britain.* London, Runnymede Trust.

Kuper Thomas, E. (2016). *Piketty in Planning: how changing economic attitudes towards assets have influenced UK planning policy*. Bartlett School of Planning. London, University College London. MSc Spatial Planning.

Labelle, B. (2010). *Acoustic Territories: Sound Culture and Everyday Life.* London, Continuum.

LaBelle, B. (2018). *Sonic Agency: Sound and Emergent Forms of Resistance*. London, Goldsmiths.

Landry, C. (2001). *Creative Lewisham: the report of the Lewisham Culture & Urban Development Commission*. London, Lewisham Culture and Urban Development Commission.

Landry, C. (2008). *The Creative City: A Toolkit for Urban Innovators Second Edition*. London, Earthscan

Le Galès, P. (2016). 'Neoliberalism and Urban Change: Stretching a Good Idea too Far?' *Territory, Politics, Governance,* 4(2): 154-172.

Leary, M. E. (2013). 'A Lefebvrian analysis of the production of glorious, gruesome public space in Manchester.' *Progress in Planning,* 85: 1-52.

Leary-Owhin, M. E. (2016). *Exploring the production of urban space: Differential space in three post-industrial cities.* Bristol, Bristol University Press, Policy Press.

Leary-Owhin, M. E. (2020). 'Lefebvre's transduction in a neoliberal epoch.' In Leary-Owhin, M.E., McCarthy, J.P. (eds.) *The Routledge Handbook of Henri Lefebvre, The City and Urban Society*. Oxon, Routledge: 25-39.

Lee, R., Clark, G.L., Pollard, J., Leyshon, A. (2009). 'The remit of financial geography--before and after the crisis.' *Journal of Economic Geography*, 9(5): 723-747.

Lees, L. and White, H. (2020). 'The social cleansing of London council estates: everyday experiences of 'accumulative dispossession'.' *Housing Studies*, 35(10): 1701-1722.

Lefebvre, H. (1991). *The Production of Space.* Oxford, Blackwell Publishing.

Leisewitz, A., Musgrave, G., Franklin, M. (2022). *SHAPES Lewisham and the Shape of Lewisham: Connectivity, Communication, and Construction in a Creative Enterprise Zone.* London, Goldsmiths, University of London. [https://research.gold.ac.uk/id/eprint/30605/] [accessed August 2023]

Lewisham Arts Service (2012). *The Business of Creativity: A Creative Industries Strategy for Lewisham 2012-2015.* London, London Borough of Lewisham. [https://lewisham.gov.uk/-/media/files/imported/creativeindustriesstrategy.ashx] [accessed July 2023]

Lewisham Council (2002a). *Mayor and Cabinet Agenda 24 July 2002*. London, London Borough of Lewisham. [https://councilmeetings.lewisham.gov.uk/Data/Council/20020724/Agenda/Agenda.pdf] [accessed July 2023]

Lewisham Council. (2002b). *Mayor and Cabinet Agenda 31 July 2002*. London, London Borough of Lewisham. [https://councilmeetings.lewisham.gov.uk/Data/Mayor%20and%20Cabinet/20020731/Agenda/Agenda.pdf] [accessed July 2023]

Lewisham Council (2002c). *Lewisham Local Cultural Strategy*. London, London Borough of Lewisham. [https://councilmeetings.lewisham.gov.uk/Data/Mayor%20and%20Cabinet/20030129/Agenda/Cultural%20Strategy%20-%20Appendix.pdf] [accessed July 2023]

Lewisham Council (2003a). *Mayor and Cabinet Agenda 25 June 2003*. London, London Borough of Lewisham. [https://councilmeetings.lewisham.gov.uk/Data/Mayor%20and%20Cabinet/20030625/Agenda/Agenda.pdf] [accessed July 2023]

Lewisham Council (2003b). *Mayor and Cabinet Agenda 21 October 2003*. London, London Borough of Lewisham. [https://councilmeetings.lewisham.gov.uk/Data/Mayor%20and%20Cabinet/20031021/Agenda/2nd%20Supplementary%20Agenda.pdf] [accessed July 2023]

Lewisham Council (2004). *Lewisham Crime, Drugs and Anti-Social Behaviour Audit, 2004.* Mayor and Cabinet, London Borough of Lewisham.

[https://councilmeetings.lewisham.gov.uk/Data/Mayor%20and%20Cabinet/20041020/Agenda/.pdf] [accessed July 2023]

Lewisham Council (2005). *Authority Monitoring Report 2004-2005.* London, London Borough of Lewisham. [https://lewisham.gov.uk/myservices/planning/policy/adopted-local-plan/annual-monitoring-report] [accessed July 2023]

Lewisham Council (2006a). *Local Development Framework, Residential Development Standards Supplementary Planning Document.* London, London Borough of Lewisham.

Lewisham Council (2006b). *Authority Monitoring Report 2005-2006.* London, London Borough of Lewisham. [https://lewisham.gov.uk/myservices/planning/policy/adopted-local-plan/annual-monitoring-report] [accessed July 2023]

Lewisham Council (2007a). *Authority Monitoring Report 2006-2007.* London, London Borough of Lewisham. [https://lewisham.gov.uk/myservices/planning/policy/adopted-local-plan/annual-monitoring-report] [accessed July 2023]

Lewisham Council (2007b). *Statement of Accounts 2006-07.* London, London Borough of Lewisham. [https://lewisham.gov.uk/mayorandcouncil/aboutthecouncil/finances/statement-of-accounts]

Lewisham Council (2008a). *Authority Monitoring Report 2007-2008.* London, London Borough of Lewisham. [https://lewisham.gov.uk/myservices/planning/policy/adopted-local-plan/annual-monitoring-report] [accessed July 2023]

Lewisham Council (2008b). *People, Prosperity, Place: Lewisham Regeneration Strategy 2008-2020.* London, London Borough of Lewisham. [https://lewisham.gov.uk/inmyarea/regeneration/people--prosperity—place] [accessed May 2023]

Lewisham Council (2008c). *Statement of Accounts 2007-08.* London, London Borough of Lewisham. [https://lewisham.gov.uk/mayorandcouncil/aboutthecouncil/finances/statement-of-accounts]

Lewisham Council (2009a). *Authority Monitoring Report 2008-2009.* London, London Borough of Lewisham. [https://lewisham.gov.uk/myservices/planning/policy/adopted-local-plan/annual-monitoring-report] [accessed July 2023]

Lewisham Council (2009b). *Lewisham Cultural Strategy 2009- 2013 (DRAFT)*, London Borough of Lewisham. [https://councilmeetings.lewisham.gov.uk/Data/Healthier%20Communities%20Select%20Committee/20090617/Agenda/8f4de0e757fa4aac8e91822f08787b1907AppendixACulturalStrategy.PDF] [accessed July 2023]

Lewisham Council (2009d). *Statement of Accounts 2008-09.* London, London Borough of Lewisham. [https://lewisham.gov.uk/mayorandcouncil/aboutthecouncil/finances/statement-of-accounts]

Lewisham Council (2010a). *Authority Monitoring Report 2009-2010.* London, London Borough of Lewisham. [https://lewisham.gov.uk/myservices/planning/policy/adopted-local-plan/annual-monitoring-report] [accessed July 2023]

Lewisham Council (2010b). *Statement of Accounts 2009-2010.* London, London Borough of Lewisham. [https://lewisham.gov.uk/mayorandcouncil/aboutthecouncil/finances/statement-of-accounts]

Lewisham Council (2011a). *Authority Monitoring Report 2010-2011*. London, London Borough of Lewisham. [https://lewisham.gov.uk/myservices/planning/policy/adopted-local-plan/annual-monitoring-report] [accessed July 2023]

Lewisham Council (2011b). *Lewisham local development framework: Core Strategy Development plan document.* London, London Borough of Lewisham. [https://s3-eu-west-1.amazonaws.com/commonplace-customer-files/lewishamwardassemblydemo/Core%20Strategy.pdf] [accessed May 2023]

Lewisham Council (2011c). *Statement of Accounts 2010-11.* London, London Borough of Lewisham. [https://lewisham.gov.uk/mayorandcouncil/aboutthecouncil/finances/statement-of-accounts]

Lewisham Council (2012a). *Authority Monitoring Report 2011-2012*. London, London Borough of Lewisham. [https://lewisham.gov.uk/myservices/planning/policy/adopted-local-plan/annual-monitoring-report] [accessed July 2023]

Lewisham Council (2012b). *2011 Census Second Release.* [https://lewisham.gov.uk/-/media/files/imported/2011censussecondreleasedec2012.ashx] [accessed April 2023]

Lewisham Council (2012c). *Statement of Accounts 2011-12.* London, London Borough of Lewisham. [https://lewisham.gov.uk/mayorandcouncil/aboutthecouncil/finances/statement-of-accounts]

Lewisham Council (2013a). *Authority Monitoring Report 2012-2013*. London, London Borough of Lewisham. [https://lewisham.gov.uk/myservices/planning/policy/adopted-local-plan/annual-monitoring-report] [accessed July 2023]

Lewisham Council (2013b). *Statement of Accounts 2012-13.* London, London Borough of Lewisham. [https://lewisham.gov.uk/mayorandcouncil/aboutthecouncil/finances/statement-of-accounts] [accessed July 2023]

Lewisham Council (2014a). *Authority Monitoring Report 2013-2014*. London, London Borough of Lewisham. [https://lewisham.gov.uk/myservices/planning/policy/adopted-local-plan/annual-monitoring-report] [accessed July 2023]

Lewisham Council (2014b). *Lewisham local development framework: Development Management Local Plan*. London, LB Lewisham. [https://lewisham.gov.uk/-/media/files/imported/dmlpadoption.ashx] [accessed April 2023]

Lewisham Council (2014c). *Statement of Accounts 2013-14*. London, London Borough of Lewisham. [https://lewisham.gov.uk/mayorandcouncil/aboutthecouncil/finances/statement-of-accounts]

Lewisham Council (2015a). *Authority Monitoring Report 2014-2015.* London, London Borough of Lewisham. [https://lewisham.gov.uk/myservices/planning/policy/adopted-local-plan/annual-monitoring-report] [accessed July 2023]

Lewisham Council (2015b). *Homes for Lewisham: Lewisham Housing Strategy 2015-2020.* London, Lewisham Council.

Lewisham Council (2015c). *Lewisham Planning Obligations: Supplementary Planning Document.* London, London Borough of Lewisham.

Lewisham Council (2015d). *People, Prosperity, Place: Lewisham Regeneration Strategy Mid-term review: July 2015.* London, London Borough of Lewisham. [https://lewisham.gov.uk/-/media/files/imported/peopleprosperityplace2015review.ashx] [accessed May 2023]

Lewisham Council (2015e). *Lewisham Local Plan: Consultation on Main Issues. London, London Borough of Lewisham.* [https://lewisham.gov.uk/-/media/files/imported/llp-20lewisham-20local-20plan-20for-20public-20consultation-20october-202015.ashx] [accessed July 2023]

Lewisham Council (2015g). *Statement of Accounts 2014-15.* London, London Borough of Lewisham. [https://lewisham.gov.uk/mayorandcouncil/aboutthecouncil/finances/statement-of-accounts]

Lewisham Council (2016a). *Authority Monitoring Report 2015-2016.* London, London Borough of Lewisham. [https://lewisham.gov.uk/myservices/planning/policy/adopted-local-plan/annual-monitoring-report] [accessed July 2023]

Lewisham Council (2016b). *Appendix 3: Business case for the transfer of Lewisham Music Service from Lewisham Council to Lewisham Music (working title), a new independent charity.* Mayor and Cabinet. London, London Borough of Lewisham. [https://councilmeetings.lewisham.gov.uk/documents/s45115/Appendix%203%20Business%20Case%20for%20transfer.pdf] [accessed July 2023]

Lewisham Council (2016c). *Statement of Accounts 2015-16.* London, London Borough of Lewisham. [https://lewisham.gov.uk/mayorandcouncil/aboutthecouncil/finances/statement-of-accounts] [accessed July 2023]

Lewisham Council (2016d). *Air Quality Action Plan*. London, London Borough of Lewisham. [https://lewisham.gov.uk/myservices/environment/air-pollution/read-our-air-quality-action-plan-and-other-reports] [accessed July 2023]

Lewisham Council (2017a). *Authority Monitoring Report 2016-2017*. London, London Borough of Lewisham. [https://lewisham.gov.uk/myservices/planning/policy/adopted-local-plan/annual-monitoring-report] [accessed July 2023]

Lewisham Council (2017b). *Statement of Accounts 2016-17.* London, London Borough of Lewisham. [https://lewisham.gov.uk/mayorandcouncil/aboutthecouncil/finances/statement-of-accounts] [accessed July 2023]

Lewisham Council (2018a). *Authority Monitoring Report 2017-2018*. London, London Borough of Lewisham.[https://lewisham.gov.uk/myservices/planning/policy/adopted-local-plan/annual-monitoring-report] [accessed July 2023]

Lewisham Council (2018b). *Affordable Housing Delivery and Planning Obligations Background Report. Planning.* London, London Borough of Lewisham. [https://consultation.lewisham.gov.uk/planning/pdcs/user_uploads/affordable-housing-delivery-and-planning-obligations-report.pdf] [accessed July 2023]

Lewisham Council (2018c). *Statement of Accounts 2017-18.* London, London Borough of Lewisham. [https://lewisham.gov.uk/mayorandcouncil/aboutthecouncil/finances/statement-of-accounts] [accessed July 2023]

Lewisham Council (2019a). *Authority Monitoring Report 2018-19*. London, London Borough of Lewisham. [https://lewisham.gov.uk/myservices/planning/policy/adopted-local-plan/annual-monitoring-report] [accessed July 2023]

Lewisham Council (2019b). *Evening and night-time offer: A vision for Lewisham London.* Communications team, Lewisham Council. [https://lewisham.gov.uk/-/media/files/imported/eveningandnight-timeoffer.ashx#:~:text=Our%20vision%20is%20therefore%20of,quality%20of%20life%20for%20residents.] [accessed July 2023]

Lewisham Council (2019c) *Lewisham Characterisation Study.* London, London Borough of Lewisham. [ttps://consultation.lewisham.gov.uk/planning/lewisham-characterisation-study/supporting_documents/Lewisham%20Characterisation%20Study.pdf] [accessed July 2023]

Lewisham Council (2019d). *Statement of Accounts 2018-19.* London, London Borough of Lewisham. [https://lewisham.gov.uk/mayorandcouncil/aboutthecouncil/finances/statement-of-accounts] [accessed July 2023]

Lewisham Council (2020a). *Authority Monitoring Report 2019-2020. London*, London Borough of Lewisham. [https://lewisham.gov.uk/myservices/planning/policy/adopted-local-plan/annual-monitoring-report] [accessed July 2023]

Lewisham Council (2020b). *Statement of Accounts 2019-20.* London, London Borough of Lewisham. [https://lewisham.gov.uk/mayorandcouncil/aboutthecouncil/finances/statement-of-accounts] [accessed July 2023]

Lewisham Council (2021a). *Lewisham Local Plan summary document: main issues and preferred approaches.* London, London Borough of Lewisham. [https://lewisham.gov.uk/-/media/lewisham-local-plan-consultation-summary-2021.ashx] [accessed May 2023]

Lewisham Council. (2021b). *Lewisham Local Plan: An Open Lewisham as part of an Open London.* London, London Borough of Lewisham: 870. [https://s3-eu-west-2.amazonaws.com/commonplace-customer-assets/lewishamlocalplan/Jan%202021%20LEWISHAM%20LOCAL%20PLAN_accessible-compressed.pdf] [accessed July 2023]

Lewisham Council (2021c). *Authority Monitoring Report 2020-2021.* London, London Borough of Lewisham. [https://lewisham.gov.uk/myservices/planning/policy/adopted-local-plan/annual-monitoring-report] [accessed July 2023]

Lewisham Council (2021d). *Commissioning Framework Lewisham Borough of Culture 2022. London, Lewisham Council.* [https://councilmeetings.lewisham.gov.uk/documents/s84605/Commissioning%20Framework%20Final.pdf] [accessed June 2023]

Lewisham Council (2021e). *Statement of Accounts 2020-21.* London, London Borough of Lewisham. [https://lewisham.gov.uk/mayorandcouncil/aboutthecouncil/finances/statement-of-accounts] [accessed June 2023]

Lewisham Council (2021f). *Map of Lewisham showing the location and approximate extent of character areas* [map]. In Small Sites Design Guide. [https://lewishamsmallsites.co.uk/article/6-application-review/] [accessed September 2023]

Lewisham Council (2023). *Lewisham London Borough of Culture 2022 Impact Report.* London, London Borough of Lewisham. [https://lewisham.gov.uk/inmyarea/arts/london-borough-of-culture] [accessed July 2023]

Lewisham Council (n.d.). *Convoys Wharf.* [https://lewisham.gov.uk/inmyarea/regeneration/deptford/north-deptford/convoys-wharf] [accessed June 2023]

Lewisham Council Strategic Planning Team (2019). *Lewisham ward boundaries in relation to subareas.* [map] [https://consultation.lewisham.gov.uk/planning/lewisham-characterisation-study/supporting_documents/Ward%20Boundaries%20%20SubAreas.pdf] [accessed September 2023]

Lewisham Council, Studio Egret West, Turner Works, Civic Engineers, Greengage (2021). *Catford Town Centre Framework.* London. [https://lewisham.gov.uk/inmyarea/regeneration/catford-regeneration/catford-town-centre-framework] [accessed June 2023]

Lezlee Lyrix (2012). *Guilty at Last - Stephen Lawrence Lyric.* [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cYU0g3tUvbs&t=4s] [accessed July 2023]

London Assembly. (2014). *Stop and Search: An investigation of the Met's new approach to stop and search.* Police and Crimes Committee. London, Greater London Authority. [https://www.london.gov.uk/about-us/londonassembly/meetings/documents/s33822/Stop%20and%20search%20APPENDIX%201.pdf] [accessed April 2023]

London Assembly (2017) *Creative Tensions: Creative tensions Optimising the benefits of culture through regeneration.* London, London Assembly.

London Borough of Lewisham (2003). *Towards a Music Strategy for Lewisham.* [https://councilmeetings.lewisham.gov.uk/Data/Creative%20Lewisham%20Select%20Committee/20031210/Agenda/Agenda.pdf] [accessed April 2023]

London Cultural Improvement Group Living Places (2009). *Regeneration & Culture: shaping London's Future.* [https://www.londoncouncils.gov.uk/download/file/fid/2648] [accessed April 2023]

London First (2015). *Opportunity Knocks: Piecing together London's Opportunity Areas.* London, London First, Terence O'Rourke. [https://www.torltd.co.uk/uploads/editor/LFOpportunityKnocks.pdf] [accessed April 2023]

London Nighttime Commission (2019). *Think Night: London's Neighbourhoods From 6PM to 6AM.* London, Greater London Authority. [https://www.london.gov.uk/sites/default/files/think_night_-_londons_neighbourhoods_from_6pm_to_6am.pdf] [accessed August 2023]

Lowe, K. (2020). *Social Infrastructure for the 21st Century: The Cases of Every One Every Day and the Idea Stores.* Bartlett School of Planning, Faculty of the Built Environment. London, University College London. MSc Urban Design and City Planning.

LVTS (2018). *Bounse.* [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=k2w8pemSb30] [accessed July 2023]

LVTS (2020). *Freestyle.* [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=n6w4cMEVaRw] [accessed July 2023]

Ludvigsen, A. and Scott, S. (2005). *Art of Regeneration: Evaluating the impact of the arts in a disadvantaged community.* London, Barnardo's. [https://www.dmss.co.uk/pdfs/art-of-regeneration-report.pdf] [accessed May 2023]

Lysandrou, P. (2017). 'The colonization of the future: An alternative view of financialization and its portents.' *Journal of Post Keynesian Economics*, 39(4): 444-472.

Maher, C., Hadfield, M., Hutchings, M., de Eyto, A. (2017). 'Ensuring Rigor in Qualitative Data Analysis: A Design Research Approach to Coding Combining NVivo with Traditional Material Methods.' *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 17: 1-13.

Malanga, S. (2004). 'The Curse of the Creative Class.' *City Journal.* New York, Manhattan Institute for Policy Research.

Market Screener (2023). *Morgan Sindall Group PLC.* [https://www.marketscreener.com/quote/stock/MORGAN-SINDALL-GROUP-PLC-4002325/company/.] [accessed April 2023]

May, C. (2021). 'Album Review - Nathaniel Cross: The Description Is Not The Described.' *All About Jazz.* [https://www.allaboutjazz.com/the-description-is-not-the-described-nathaniel-cross-first-word-records] [accessed July 2023]

Mayor and Cabinet of Lewisham (2012). *Proposed Music Education Hub for Lewisham. London, London Borough of Lewisham.* [https://councilmeetings.lewisham.gov.uk/documents/s7303/Music%20Education%20Hub.pdf] [accessed April 2023]

Mayor of London (n.d.). Diagramme of the New Cross/Lewisham/Catford Opportunity Area [image]. [https://www.london.gov.uk/programmes-strategies/planning/implementing-london-plan/londons-opportunity-areas/oa-locations/new-crosslewishamcatford-opportunity-area] [accessed July 2023]

Mayor of London (2004). *London Cultural Capital: Realising the potential of a world-class city*. London, Greater London Authority. [https://creativeindustrieslondon.files.wordpress.com/2014/11/london-cultural-capital-mayors-cultural-strategy-2004.pdf] [accessed April 2023]

Mayor of London (2005). *Delivering Shared Heritage: The Mayor's Commission on African and Asian Heritage*. London, Greater London Authority. [https://www.academia.edu/421539/Delivering_Shared_Heritage_Report_Mayors_Commission_on_African_and_Asian_Heritage] [accessed April 2023]

Mayor of London (2008) *The London Plan: Spatial Development Strategy for Greater London Consolidated with Alterations since 2004.* London, Greater London Authority. [https://www.london.gov.uk/sites/default/files/the_london_plan_consolidated_with_alterations_since_2004_reduced.pdf] [accessed May 2023]

Mayor of London (2010a). *Cultural Metropolis: The Mayor's Culture Strategy 2012-Beyond*. London, Greater London Authority. [https://www.london.gov.uk/sites/default/files/culturalmetropolis.pdf] [accessed May 2023]

Mayor of London (2010b). *Making Music Matter: Music Education Strategy for London 2010-2012.* London, Greater London Authority. [https://dera.ioe.ac.uk/id/eprint/964/7/Making%20music%20matter_Redacted.pdf] [accessed May 2023]

Mayor of London (2011) *The London Plan.* London, Greater London Authority. [https://www.london.gov.uk/programmes-strategies/planning/london-plan/past-versions-and-alterations-london-plan/london-plan-2011] [accessed July 2023]

Mayor of London (2012). *Air Quality Information for Public Health Professionals – London Borough of Lewisham.* London, Greater London Authority. [https://www.london.gov.uk/sites/default/files/air_quality_for_public_health_professionsal_-_lb_lewisham.pdf] [accessed April 2023]

Mayor of London (2014). Mayor approves plan for major new development at Convoys Wharf. London. [https://www.london.gov.uk/press-releases/mayoral/development-at-convoys-wharf] [accessed April 2023]

Mayor of London (2015). *An A-Z of Planning and Culture. The Mayor of London's Culture and Planning Teams*. London, Greater London Authority. [https://www.london.gov.uk/sites/default/files/an_a_-_z_of_planning_and_culture.pdf] [accessed September 2023]

Mayor of London (2016). *The London Plan 2016*. London, Greater London Authority. [https://www.london.gov.uk/sites/default/files/the_london_plan_2016_jan_2017_fix.pdf] [accessed January 2023]

Mayor of London (2017a). *Creative Enterprise Zones Prospectus*. London, Greater London Authority. [https://www.london.gov.uk/sites/default/files/creative-enterprise-zones_prospectus-2017.pdf] [accessed January 2023]

Mayor of London (2017b). *Imagining the outcomes of London Borough of Culture: What the evidence tells us*. London, Greater London Authority. [https://www.london.gov.uk/sites/default/files/imagining_the_outcomes_of_london_borough_of_culture_-_exec_summary.pdf] [accessed April 2023]

Mayor of London. (2017c). *London Borough of Culture Award Prospectus 2017*. London, Greater London Authority. [https://www.london.gov.uk/sites/default/files/lboc_prospectus_fa_digital_2.0.pdf] [accessed July 2023]

Mayor of London. (2018). *Culture for All Londoners*. London, Greater London Authority. [https://www.london.gov.uk/sites/default/files/2018_culture_strategy_final_2021.pdf] [accessed July 2023]

Mayor of London. (2019a). *Cultural Infrastructure Plan: A Call to Action.* London, Greater London Authority. [https://www.london.gov.uk/sites/default/files/cultural_infrastructure_plan_online.pdf] [accessed July 2023]

Mayor of London (2019b). *The Mayor of London's response to the recommendations of the London Night Time Commission.* London, Greater London Authority. [https://www.london.gov.uk/sites/default/files/response_to_recommendations_of_london_night_time_commission.pdf] [accessed April 2023]

Mayor of London's Music Venues Taskforce (2015). *London's Grassroot Music Venues Rescue Plan.* London, Greater London Authority.
[https://www.london.gov.uk/sites/default/files/londons_grassroots_music_venues_-_rescue_plan_-_october_2015.pdf] [accessed July 2023]

Mayor of London's Music Venues Taskforce (2017). *Rescue Plan for London's Grassroot Music Venues: Making Progress*. London, Greater London Authority.
[https://www.london.gov.uk/sites/default/files/rescue_plan_for_londons_grassroots_music_venues_-_progress_update_-_jan_2017.pdf] [accessed July 2023]

McAllister, P. (2017). 'The calculative turn in land value capture: Lessons from the English planning system.' *Land Use Policy*, 63: 122-129.

McAuliffe, C., Rogers, D. (2018). 'Tracing resident antagonisms in urban development: agonistic pluralism and participatory planning.' *Geographical Research,* 56(2): 219-229.

McKenna, B. (2004). 'Critical discourse studies: where to from here?' *Critical Discourse Studies*, 1(1): 9-39.

McWhorter, J. (2017). 'When People Were Proud to Call Themselves 'Neoliberal'.' *The Atlantic.*
[https://www.theatlantic.com/business/archive/2017/05/history-of-neoliberal-meaning/528276/] [accessed May 2022]

Melamed, J. (2011). *Represent and Destroy: Rationalizing Violence in the New Racial Capitalism.* Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press.

Melville, C. (2019). *It's a London Thing: How rare groove, acid house and jungle remapped the city.* Manchester, Manchester University Press.

Metropolitan Police (1999-2017). *Recorded Crime: Borough Rates*. London.
[https://data.london.gov.uk/dataset/recorded_crime_rates] [accessed July 2023]

Metropolitan Police (2020). *Stop and Search by Borough 01/01/2004-31/01/2008*. Information Rights Unit. [https://www.met.police.uk/SysSiteAssets/foi-media/metropolitan-police/disclosure_2019/september_2019/information-rights-unit---stop-and-search-data-from-january-2000---february-2008] [accessed June 2023]

Metropolitan Police. (2020). *Stop and Search by Borough January 2010-December 2018.* Information Rights Unit. [https://www.met.police.uk/SysSiteAssets/foi-media/metropolitan-police/disclosure_2019/june_2019/information-rights-unit---stop-and-search-figures-from-2010-to-2018] [accessed June 2023]

Mills, P. (2018). *London Borough of Culture Programme Evaluation Toolkit Cultural Impact Awards.* The Audience Agency. [https://www.thealbany.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2018/12/LBOC-Evaluation-Outcomes-and-Framework-CIA-Oct-18.pdf] [accessed September 2023]

Ministry of Housing, Communities and Local Government (2019). *Affordable Housing Supply: April 2018 to March 2019 England*. Housing Statistical Release.
[https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/847661/Affordable_Housing_Supply_2018-19.pdf] [accessed May 2023]

Moore, H. (2007). *Inside British Jazz: Crossing Borders of Race, Nation, and Class.* London, Routledge.

Moore, S. (2015). 'Researching Local Development Cultures: Using the Qualitative Interview as an Interpretive Lens.' *International Planning Studies*, 20(4): 390-406.

Murphy. D, (2017). *Nincompoopolis: The Follies of Boris Johnson.* London, Repeater Books.

Murrani, S. (2020). 'Urban creativity through displacement and spatial disruption.' In Leary-Ohwin, M.E., McCarthy, J.P. (eds.) *The Routledge Handbook of Henri Lefebvre, The City and Urban Society.* Oxon, Routledge: 402-410.

Nadkarni, A. and Homfray, A. on behalf of London Living Places (2009). *Shaping Places in London through Culture.* London, London Living Places, Greater London Authority. [http://www.welllondon.org.uk/files/970/culture-tradition/9.%20Shaping%20Places%20in%20London%20through%20Culture.pdf] [accessed January 2023]

News Shopper (2001). 'Guru to make this THE place to be.' *News Shopper*, Newsquest. [https://www.newsshopper.co.uk/news/30014.guru-to-make-this-the-place-to-be/] [accessed July 2-23]

Niezen, R. (2004). *A World Beyond Difference: Cultural Identity in the Age of Globalization.* Oxford, Blackwell Publishing.

Nordicity for the Mayor of London (2017). *Analysis of Business Rates Rises on London Grassroots Music Venues*. London. [https://www.london.gov.uk/sites/default/files/analysis_of_business_rates_rises_on_london_grassroots_music_venues_-_april_2017_final.pdf] [accessed July 2023]

Okolie, A. C. (2005). 'Toward an Anti-racist Research Framework: The case for Interventive In-depth Interviewing.' *Counterpoints*, 252: 241-267.

Parkins, K. (2005). *Scandal of Pepys Estate*. [https://www.indymedia.org.uk/en/2005/02/305021.html.] [accessed June 2023]

Peck, J. (2005). 'Struggling with the Creative Class.' *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 29(4): 740-770.

Perera, J. (2019). *The London Clearances: Race, Housing and Policing London*. London, Institute of Race Relations. [https://irr.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2020/09/The-London-Clearances-Race-Housing-and-Policing-1.pdf] [accessed January 2023]

Pinnock, A. (2019). 'The menace of meritocracy: unmasking inequality in the creative and cultural industries.' *Cultural Trends*, 28(2-3): 249-260.

Ponsford, M. (2019). 'We had to fight the NF': but can London's first black housing co-op survive latest threat? *The Guardian.* [https://www.theguardian.com/cities/2019/sep/09/we-had-to-fight-the-nf-but-can-londons-first-black-housing-co-op-survive-latest-threat] [accessed January 2023]

Porter, G. and de Roo, G. (2007). 'The End Has No Merit.' In Porter, G., de Roo, G. (eds.) *Fuzzy Planning: The Role of Actors in a Fuzzy Governance Environment. Hampton*, Ashgate: 1-18.

Potts, G. (2008a). *Overview of Deptford, London*. London, BURA. [https://www.ucl.ac.uk/urbanbuzz/downloads/projects_09/Deptford_Case_Study.pdf] [accessed September 2023]

Potts, G. (2008b). *Regeneration in Deptford, London.* London, BURA. [https://www.ucl.ac.uk/urbanbuzz/downloads/projects_09/Regeneration_in_Deptford.pdf] [accessed September 2023]

Powell Davis, M. and Newby, C. (2011). ''No redundancies!' say Forest Hill school teachers.' *Socialist Party.* London. [https://www.socialistparty.org.uk/articles/12281/23-06-2011/no-redundancies-say-forest-hill-school-teachers/] [accessed July 2023]

Pritchard, W. (2023) ''They're doing this by stealth': how the Met police continues to target Black music.' *The Guardian.* [https://www.theguardian.com/music/2023/apr/21/theyre-doing-this-by-stealth-how-the-met-police-continues-to-target-black-music] [accessed April 2023]

Purcell, M. (2014). 'Possible Worlds: Henri Lefebvre and the Right to the City.' *Journal of Urban Affairs*, 36(1): 141-154.

Raco, M. (2014) 'Delivering Flagship Projects in an Era of Regulatory Capitalism: State-led Privatization and the London Olympics 2012.' *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research,* 38(1), 176-97.

Raco, M. (2018). 'Living with diversity: Local social imaginaries and the politics of intersectionality in a super-diverse city.' *Political Geography*, 62: 149-159.

Raco, M., Livingstone, N., Durrant, D. (2019). 'Seeing like an investor: urban development planning, financialisation, and investors' perceptions of London as an investment space.' *European Planning Studies,* 27(6): 1064-1082.

Raco, M. and Kesten, J. (2018). 'The politicisation of diversity planning in a global city: Lessons from London.' *Urban Studies*, 55(4): 891-916.

Raco, M, Street, E., and Freire Trigo, S. (2017). 'Regulatory capitalism, the changing nature of urban planning and the limits of neoliberalism: Lessons from London's South Bank.' In Pinson, G., Morel Journel, C. (eds.) *Debating the Neoliberal City*. London, Routledge.

Raco, M., and Tunney, E. 2010). 'Visibilities and Invisibilities in Urban Development: Small Business Communities and the London Olympics 2012.' *Urban Studies*, 47(10): 2069-2091.

Regeneris, We Made That, Tom Fleming Creative Consultancy (2017). *Lewisham Creative & Digital Industries Strategy.* London, London Borough of Lewisham. [https://lewisham.gov.uk/-/media/12-accessible-creative-and-digital-industries-strategy-2017.ashx] [accessed July 2023]

Regmi, K. D. (2017). 'Critical Discourse Analysis: Exploring its Philosophical Underpinning.' *Méthod(e)s: African Review of Social Sciences Methodology,* 2(1-2): 93-107.

Roberts, M., Eldridge, A., Osborn, G., Flacks, S. (2020). 'The Night and Cultural Benefit: A Case for a Holistic Approach to Licensing.' *Entertainment and Sports Law Journal*, 18(9): 1-10.

Robinson, J. and Attuyer, K. (2021). 'Extracting Value, London Style: Revisiting the role of the State in Urban Development.' *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 45(2): 303-331.

Robinson, O. C. (2014). 'Sampling in Interview-Based Qualitative Research: A Theoretical and Practical Guide.' *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 11: 25-41.

Romyn, M. (2019). 'London Badlands': The Inner City Represented, Regenerated.' *The London Journal,* 44(2): 133-150.

SAMBA. (2021). *Another One.* [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5vJJx4UdVcI] [accessed July 2023]

Sassen, S. (1993). 'Rebuilding the Global City: Economy, Ethnicity, and Space'" *Social Justice*, 20(3-4): 32-50.

Schmid, C. (2008). 'Henri Lefebvre's Theory of the Production of Space.' In Goonewardena, K., Kipfer, S., Milgrom, R. Schmid, C. (eds.) *Space, Difference, Everyday Life: Reading Henri Lefebvre*. Oxon, Routledge: 27-45.

Schmidt, T. (2010). 'Unsettling Representation: Monuments, Theatre, and Relational Space.' *Contemporary Theatre Review*, 20(3).

Scott, C. D. (2020). "Policing Black sound: performing UK Grime and Rap music under routinised surveillance." *Soundings: A journal of politics and culture*, (75): 55-65.

Scott, J.C. (1998) *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed.* New Haven, Yale University Press.

Secretary of State for Culture, Media and Sport (2016). *The Culture White Paper. Department for Culture, Media and Sport.* London, Crown copyright. [https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/culture-white-paper] [accessed June 2023]

Shabani, M., Tyson, J., Toporowski, J., McKinley, T. (2015). *The Financial System in the UK.* FESSUD Studies in Financial Systems. European Union. London. 14. [https://fessud.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/08/UK-Country-Report-revised-August-2014-final-study-14.pdf] [accessed January 2023]

Shabazz, M. (1981). *Blood Ah Go Run.* United Kingdom: 19:31. [https://player.bfi.org.uk/rentals/film/watch-blood-ah-go-run-1982-online]

SHAPES Lewisham (n.d.) *About*. [https://www.shapeslewisham.co.uk/page/about/] [accessed January 2023]

Sharma, R. (2005). 'Re-searching the Spiritual: Applying Soul to Research Practice.' *Counterpoints*, 252: 145-162.

Shaw, I. G. (2019). 'Worlding austerity: The spatial violence of poverty.' *Society and Space,* 37(6): 971-989.

Shaw, L. and Higginson, J. (2001). 'PFI police stations are to be piloted across the area.' *News Shopper*. [https://www.newsshopper.co.uk/news/6390460.pfi-police-stations-are-to-be-piloted-across-the-area/] [accessed July 2023]

Shields, R. (1999). *Lefebvre: Love and Struggle.* London, Routledge.

Simmie, J. M. (1974). *Citizens in Conflict: The Sociology of Town Planning*. London, Hutchinson and Co Ltd.

Small, S. (1983). *Police and People in London: A Group of Young Black People.* London, Policy Studies Institute.

Smith, M. (2006). 'Playing jazz is a form of resistance. It's about being independent and not conforming. But resistance can also mean standing up to authority'. *The Socialist Review*. [https://socialistworker.co.uk/304/playing-jazz-form-resistance-its-about-being-independent-and-not-conforming-resistance-can-also] [accessed January 2023]

Smith, N. (2002). 'New Globalism, New Urbanism: Gentrification as Global Urban Strategy.' *Antipode*, 34(3): 427-450.

Sng, P. (2017). *Dispossession: The Great Social Housing Swindle.* United Kingdom: 82 mins.

Social Research Association. (2003). *Ethical Guidelines*. [https://the-sra.org.uk/common/Uploaded%20files/ethical%20guidelines%202003.pdf] [accessed July 2023]

Squires, C. R. (2002). 'Rethinking the Black Public Sphere: An Alternative Vocabulary for Multiple Public Spheres.' *Communication Theory*, 12(4): 446-468.

Love Ssega (2021). *Our World (Fight for Air).* [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GZZKQ_kqwPE&pp=ygUYbG92ZSBzc2VnYSBmaWdodCBmb3IgYWly] [accessed July 2023]

Steel, C. (2002). 'Laban Leads London Culture to Lewisham.' *News Shopper.* [https://www.newsshopper.co.uk/news/352459.laban-leads-london-culture-to-lewisham/] [accessed July 2023]

Stone, C. (2020). *Dangerous Associations*. UK, Home Manchester: 24 minutes. [https://vimeo.com/436074312] [accessed July 2023]

Stuttle, J. (2009). 'Parents occupy school rooftop to protest against closure.' *The Guardian.* [https://www.theguardian.com/education/2009/apr/24/lewisham-school-protest] [accessed July 2023]

Talbot, D. (2004). 'Regulation and Racial Differentiation in the Construction of Night-time Economies: A London Case Study'" *Urban Studies*, 41(4).

Talbot, D. (2006). 'The Licensing Act 2003 and the Problematization of the Night-time Economy: Planning, Licensing and Subcultural Closure in the UK.' *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 30(1): 159-171.

Talbot, D. (2011). 'The juridification of nightlife and alternative culture: two UK case studies." International Journal of Cultural Policy, 17(1): 81-93.

Talbot, D. and Böse, M. (2007). "Racism, criminalization and the development of night-time economies: Two case studies in London and Manchester.' *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 30(1): 95-118.

Team Catford (n.d.). *FAQs*. [https://www.teamcatford.com/faqs] [accessed July 2023]

The News Line (2007). ''SAVE OUR SCHOOLS!' – demand Lewisham parents, teachers and children.' *The News Line - Workers Revolutionary Party.* [https://wrp.org.uk/features/save-our-schools-demand-lewisham-parents-teachers-and-children/] [accessed July 2023]

Thomas, H. (2000). *Race and Planning: The UK Experience*. London, UCL Press.

Thomas, H. Krishnarayan, V. (1994). 'Race', disadvantage, and policy processes in British planning.' *Environment and Planning*, 26: 1891-1910.

Tom Fleming Consultancy (2003). *Creative Industries Potential in Lewisham: From Strength to Strength*. London, Tom Fleming Consultancy. [http://tfconsultancy.co.uk/reports/lewisham.pdf] [accessed January 2023]

Toro, F. and Navarrete-Herenandez, P. (2022). 'A Financialised Production of Space: Analysing Real Estate Investment Funds through Lefebvre's Spatial Triad.' *Housing, Theory and Society*, 39(3): 359-379.

Townsend, M. (2017). 'How the battle of Lewisham helped to halt the rise of Britain's far right.' *The Guardian.* [https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2017/aug/13/battle-of-lewisham-national-front-1977-far-right-london-police] [accessed June 2023]

Tsing, A. (2015). *The Mushroom at the End of the World*. New Jersey, Princeton University Press.

Twomey, J. (2019). 'Bitterly contested land regeneration project starts at the Old Tidemill Garden in Deptford. London News Online, South London Press.' *London News Online.* [https://londonnewsonline.co.uk/land-regeneration-project-starts-at-the-old-tidemill-garden-in-deptford/] [accessed June 2023]

Twomey, J. (2022). 'Fire hazards, leaking ceilings and rats: The temporary accommodation from "hell"' *London News Online..* [https://londonnewsonline.co.uk/fire-hazards-leaking-ceilings-and-rats-the-temporary-accommodation-from-hell/] [accessed July 2023]

van Dijk, T. A. (1993).'"Principles of Critical Discourse Analysis.' *Discourse & Society,* 4(2).

Vertovec, S. (2010). 'Towards post-multiculturalism? Changing communities, conditions and contexts of diversity.' *International Social Science Journal*, 61: 83-95.

Voice 4 Deptford (n.d.) *Section 106 Commitments.* [https://voice4deptford.org/campaign/cultural-steering-group/] [accessed July 2023]

Wahab, A. (2005). 'Consuming Narratives: Questioning Authority and the Politics of Representation in Social Science Research.' *Counterpoints*, 252: 29-51.

Wakefield, H. (2011). 'Why there were riots in Lewisham.' *Public Finance.* [https://www.publicfinance.co.uk/opinion/2011/08/why-there-were-riots-lewisham] [accessed May 2023]

Ward, J. and Hubbard, P. (2019). 'Urban regeneration through culture.' In Schwanen, T., van Kempen, R. (eds.) *Handbook of Urban Geography.* Online, Edward Elgar Publishing Ltd: 195-209.

Warren, E. (2019). *Make Some Space: Tuning into Total Refreshment Centre*. London, Sweet Machine Publishing.

Watkins, C. (2005). 'Representations of Space, Spatial Practices and Spaces of Representation: An Application of Lefebvre's Spatial Triad.' *Culture and Organization*, 11(3): 209-220.

Watt, P. (2008). 'The Only Class in Town? Gentrification and the Middle-Class Colonization of the City and the Urban Imagination.' *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research,* 32(1): 206-211.

Watt, P. (2008). ''Underclass' and 'ordinary people' discourses: Representing/re-presenting council tenants in a housing campaign.' *Critical Discourse Studies*, 5(4): 345-357.

We Made That, Regeneris, Tom Fleming (2017). *Lewisham Creative and Digital Industries Spatial guidance.* London, Lon Borough of Lewisham. [https://lewisham.gov.uk/-/media/14-accessible-lewisham-creative-and-digital-industries-strategy-spatial-guidance-2017.ashx] [accessed January 2023]

Weale, S. (2017). 'One out, all out! The school where cuts are pushing teachers to the brink.' *The Guardian.* [https://www.theguardian.com/education/2017/jul/18/one-out-all-out-london-school-pushing-teachers-to-brink-forest-hill-lewisham] [accessed July 2023]

Whitaker, E. and Atkinson, P. (2021). *Reflexivity in Social Practice.* Online, Palgrave Macmillan.

White, J. (2017). *Urban Music and Entrepreneurship: Beats, rhymes and young people's enterprise.* Abingdon, Routledge.

White, J. (2020). *Terraformed: Young Black Lives in the Inner City.* London, Repeater.

White, J. (2023). 'Why live anywhere else? A hyperlocal reflection on displacement, dislocation and 'aversive racism'.' *Dialogues in Urban Research*, 1(13), 244-247.

White, J. and Ilan, J. (2021) 'Ethnographer Soundclash: A UK rap and grime story.' *Riffs,* 5(2), 35-46.

Williams, J. A. (2014). 'Soweto's War: Race, Class and Jazz/Hip-Hop Hybridities.' In Toynbee, J., Tackley, C., Doffman, M. (eds.) *Caribbean Roots/Routes in Imaginings of Black British Jazz. Black British Jazz: Routes, Ownership and Performance.* Surrey, Ashgate Publishing Limited.

Witton, B. (2018). 'Lewisham Council spent £105k on Tidemill Garden eviction.' *News Shopper.* [https://www.newsshopper.co.uk/news/17259530.lewisham-council-spent-105k-tidemill-garden-eviction/] [accessed June 2023]

Wonke, A. (2007). *The Tower: A Tale of Two Cities*. UK, BBC: 50 min.

Woods, O. (2020). 'The digital subversion of urban space: power, performance and grime.' *Social & Cultural Geography*, 21(3): 293-313.

Wyatt, P. (2018). 'Can land value uplift deliver affordable housing? Experiences from England.' *Journal of European Real Estate Research*, 11(1): 87-101.

Young, G. (2006). 'Speak, Culture! - Culture in Planning's Past, Present, and Future.' In Monclús, J., Guardia, M. (eds.) *Culture, Urbanism, and Planning*. London, Routledge: 197-213.

Zephyr, F. (2016). *Problems of Spatial Practice. Reading Rio de Janeiro: Literature and Society in the Nineteenth Century*. online, Stanford University Press.

Zukin, S. (1996). 'Space and Symbols in an Age of Decline.' In King, A.D. (ed.) *Re-Presenting the City Ethnicity, Capital and Culture in the Twenty-First Century Metropolis.* London, MacMillan Press Ltd: 43-59.

Zukin, S. (1998). 'Urban Lifestyles: Diversity and Standardisation in Spaces of Consumption.' *Urban Studies*, 35(5-6): 825-839.

Zukin, S. (2010). *Naked city: the death and life of authentic urban places.* New York, Oxford University Press.