





Brighton and Hove Community Land Trust

BHCLT

WHO OWNS BRIGHTON?

WHO OWNS BRIGHTON?

THE PROJECT

We set out to explore what is being built in the city, who it's for, and how, we as citizens, can more actively engage in the process.

What

- Do developments meet the city's needs?
- Who decides: where is the power?
- Who benefits: gains and loses?
- Is there an alternative?
- How can we as citizens make that change?

Why

- To learn from + with each other
- To identify points of intervention
- To grow skills + knowledge to challenge the system
- To demystify the development process
- To collectively mobilize for change

How

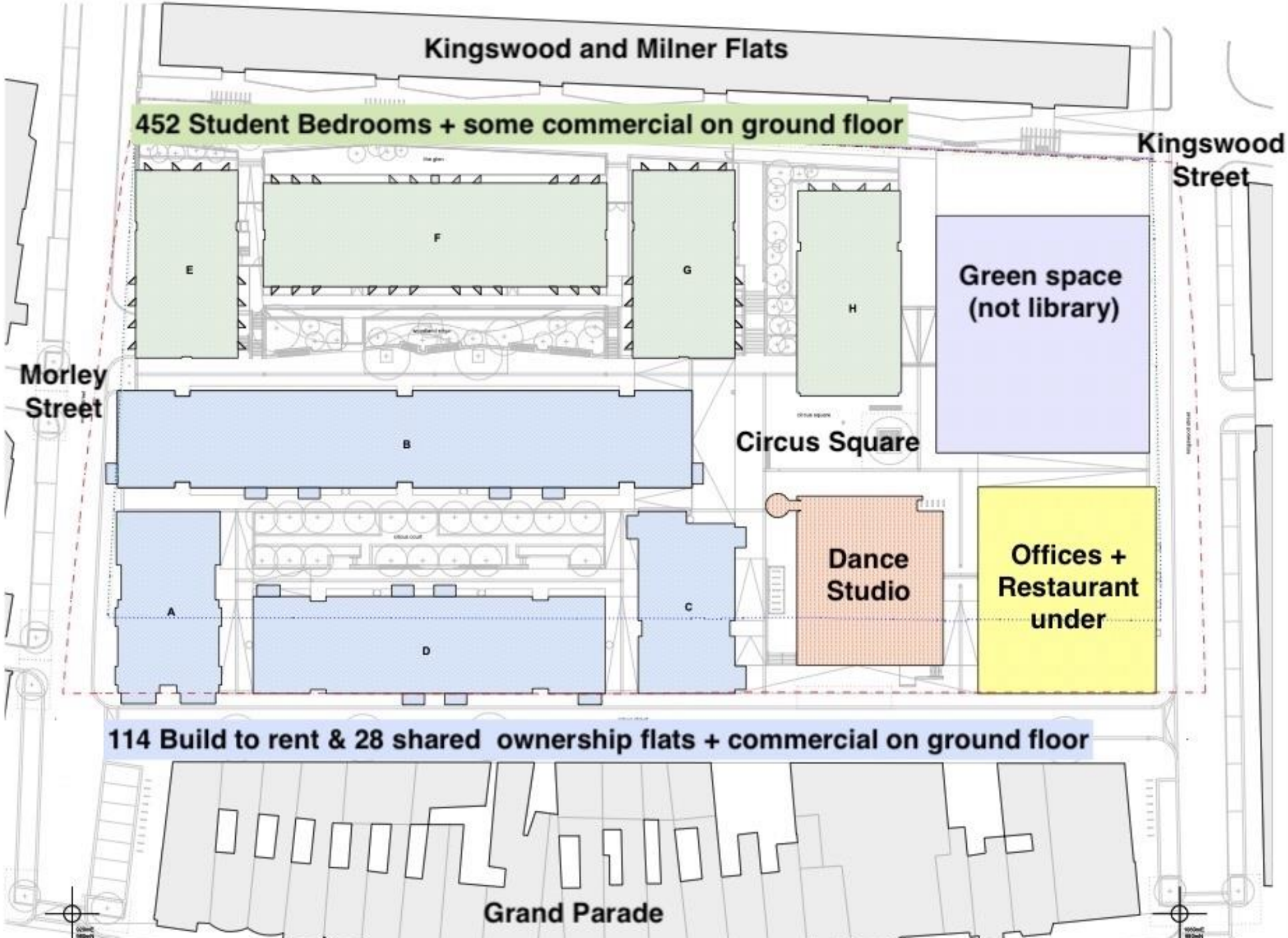
- We worked together to look at Circus Street *(Case Study)*
- Participated in knowledge sharing workshops
- Groups formed around people, process, money + history
- Carried out community research + connected online + in person
- Shared what we found + decided what to do next



University of Brighton

CIVIC POWER FUND

www.bhclt.org.uk/whoownsbrighton





key

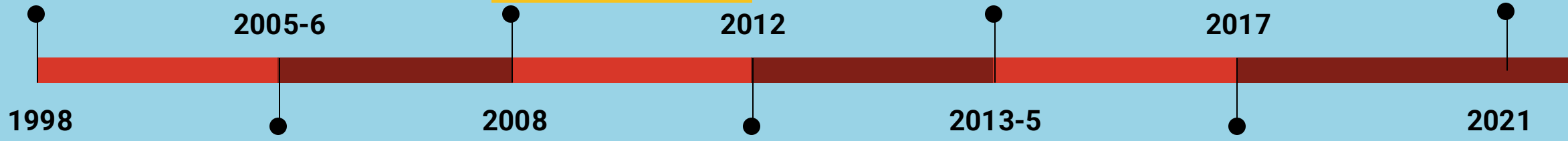
- application site boundary
- approx existing building-to-pavement line
- approx existing inside of retaining wall line
- residential (blocks a,b,c,d)
- student housing (blocks e,f,g,h)
- library & academic building
- office
- the dance space

N

revision • description	issue date • drawn • check
T • stage 4a issue • drawing no. change from 002	13.07.15 • th • hre

shedkm	stage 4a
project	1405 Brighton
building	Masterplan
client	Cathedral (Brighton) Ltd
drawing number	1405MP SKM (00) 003 T
scale	1:250@A1 / 1:500@A3

Circus Street - timeline



Planning granted for BHCC to deliver 55 homes at social rents

Financial crisis

Oct 2013 - Full planning application submitted
Mar 2014 - Planning granted
2013-14 Meanwhile ('worthwhile') use of space
Mar 2015 - Section 106 signed

Nov 2021 - Circus Street opens

Jul 2005 - Local Plan adopted. Information Memorandum agreed "to guide developers as to the type and form of uses expected on the site"
Dec 2005 - deadline for Circus Street bids
Mar 2006 - Supplementary Planning Document for Circus Street adopted
Apr 2006 - Cathedral and McLaren selected as developer
Jul 2006 - Development Agreement signed off at P & R

Feb 2012- revised Development Agreement signed

Aug 2017 - Construction starts

The People (There Now)

Research Findings



What did we do?

- Several listening sessions on different days and times
- 25 conversations
- Between us, spoke to a total of 42 people
- Delivered postcards with QR code to survey
- Gathered and analysed the data



Types of people we met

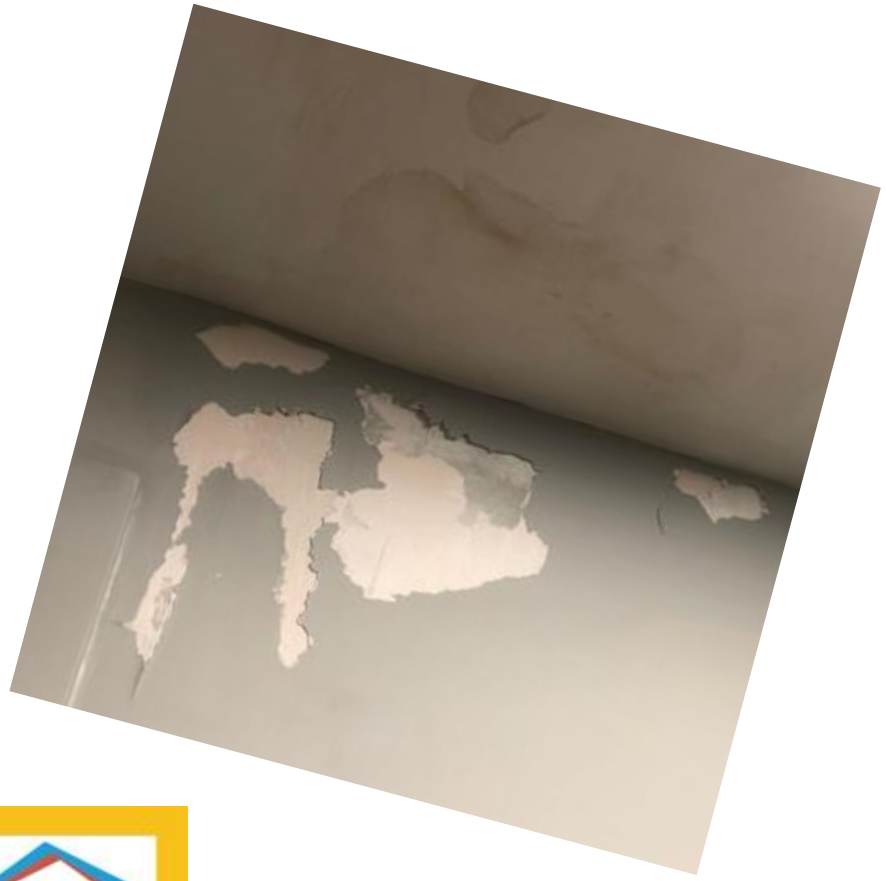
- Residents of rented flats
- Residents of shared ownership flats
- Student residents
- People who work there (e.g. Kaplan, SE Dance, Dome/Festival, office block: Electric Square; Hyve)
- People who use the space (e.g. Dance Space)
- People just walking through
- Milner Flats residents



A sneaky peek inside!







Do you live, work or use the space at Circus Street?

Who Owns Brighton? is a project that looks to explore what development is happening in the city, the impact that it's having, and if people feel like they have a say in that process.

WHO OWNS BRIGHTON?

Scan the QR code to tell us what you think (in 5 simple questions)

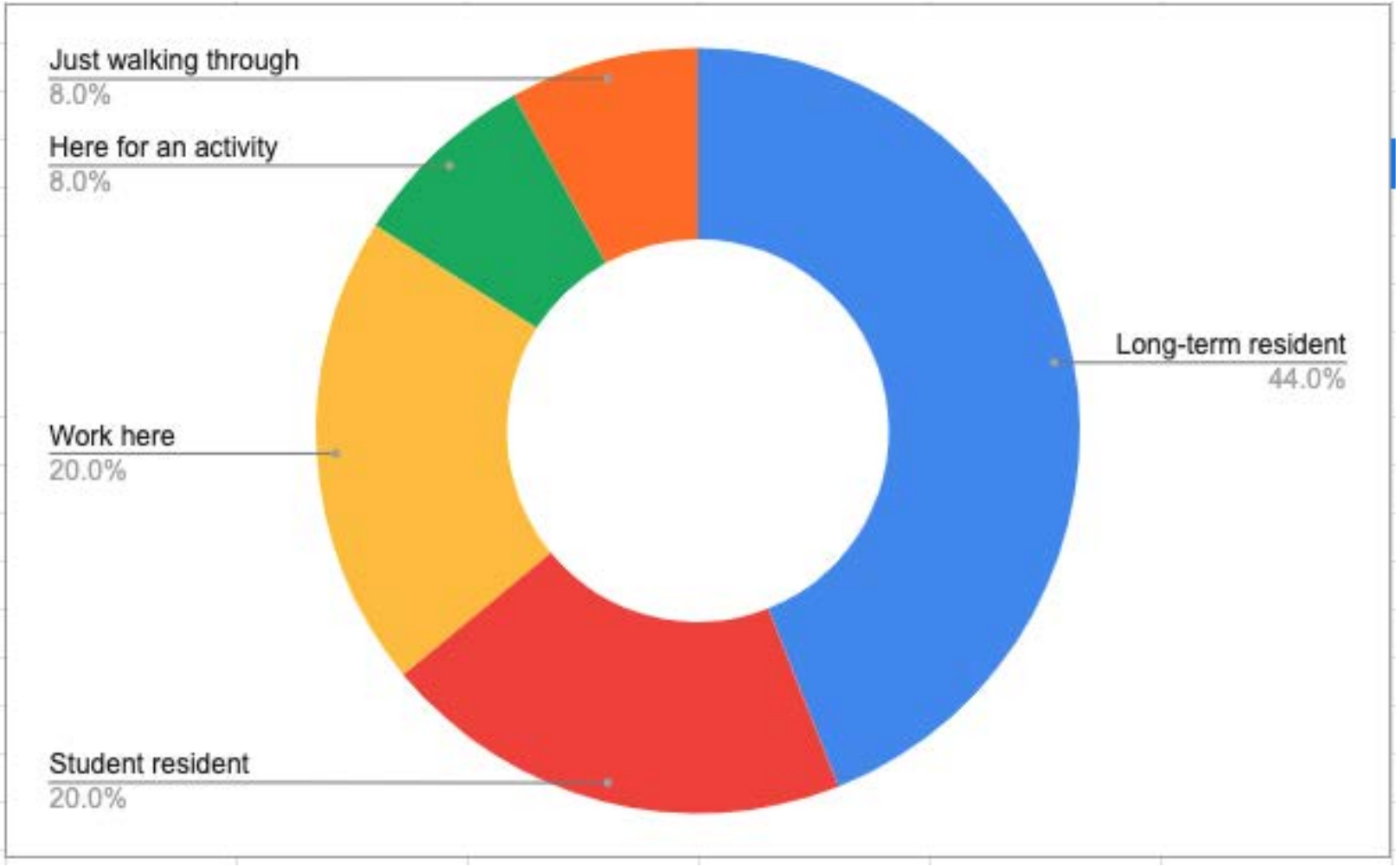
Or go to bit.ly/circusstreetsurvey

To find out more:
visit bhclt.org.uk
email whoownsbrighton@bhclt.org.uk

Who we spoke to

What's your connection to Circus Street?

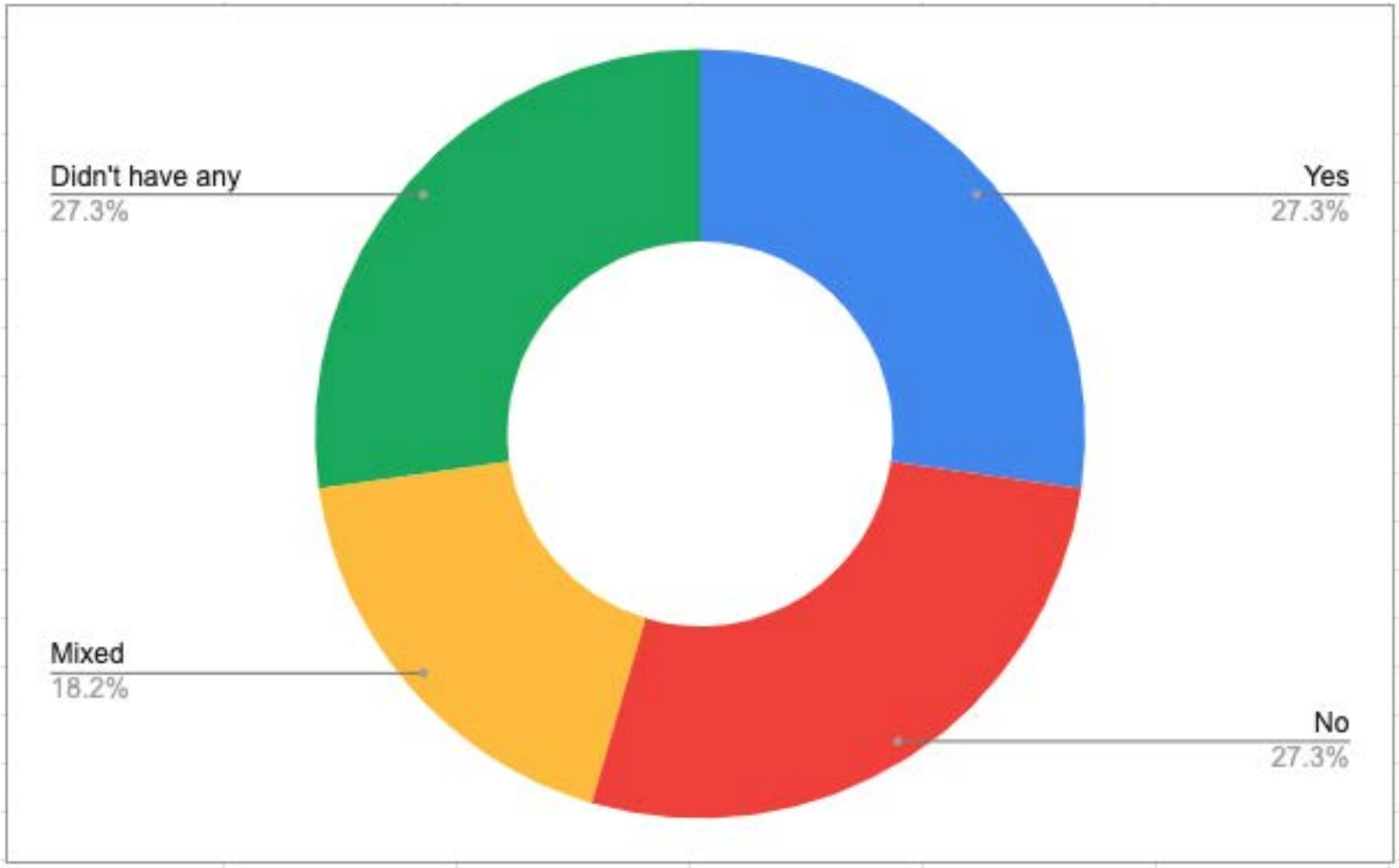
(Total: 25 responses)



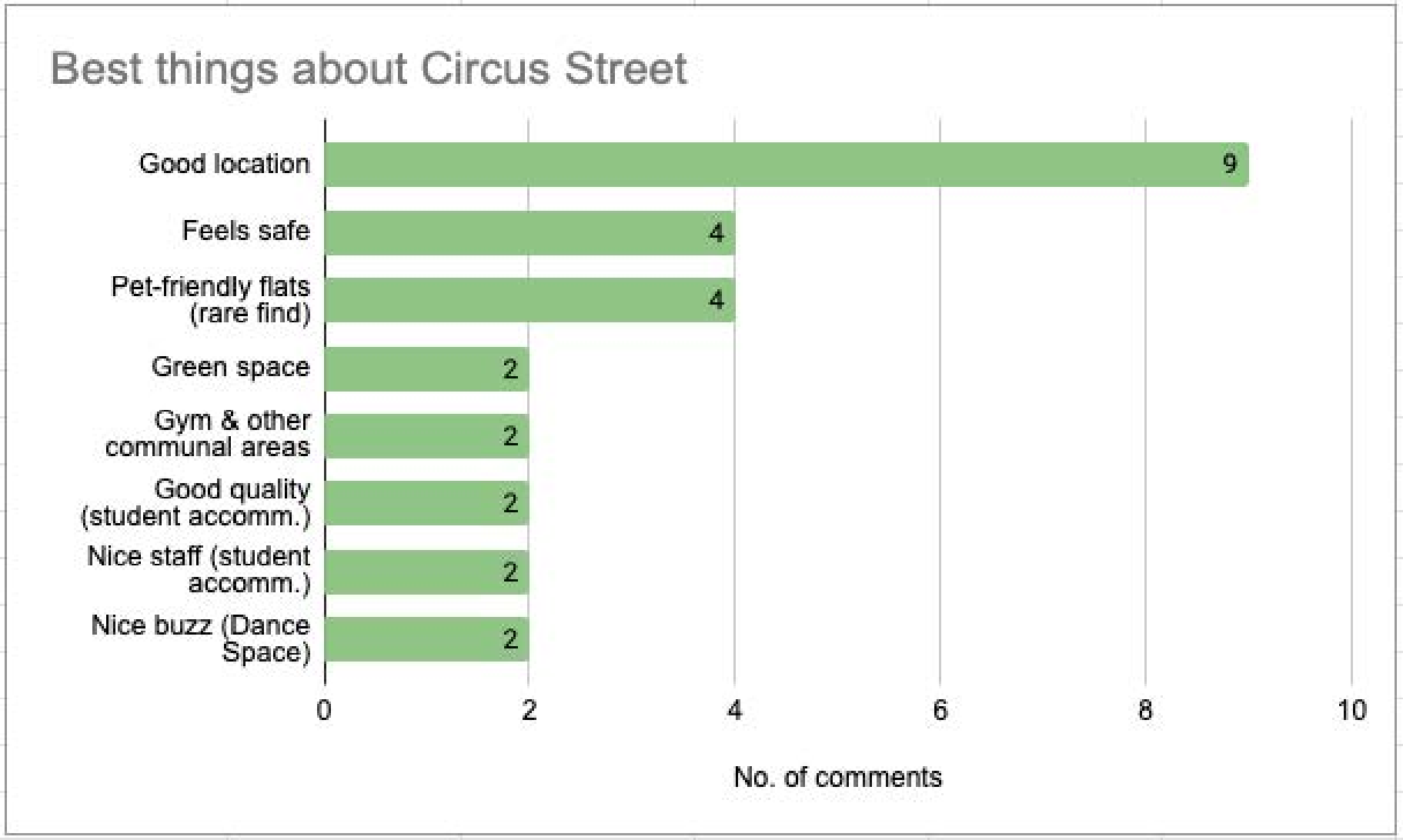
Expectations

Does it meet your expectations?

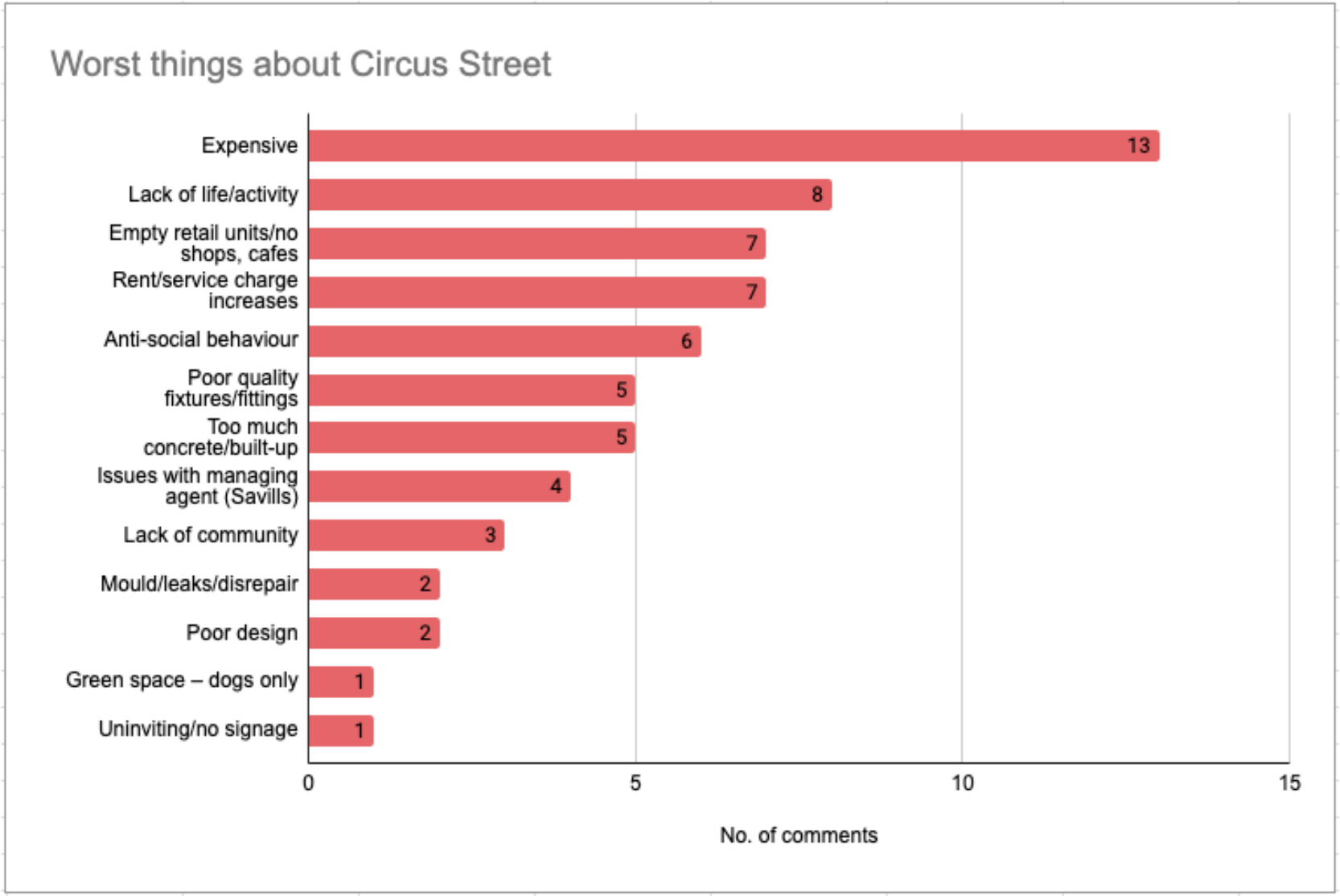
(Total: 11 responses)



Positive themes about Circus Street



Negative themes about Circus Street





Some Themes

I'd expected there to be more people, more life. -Passer-by

The space is starting to get a bit more buzzy. -Works here

The shared ownership residents are not allowed to use the gym or co-working spaces. -Resident

It's nice to see people actually here - though maybe that's because you're here! - it's quiet, not many people usually. - Resident

Didn't particularly have prior expectations of working here but would like to have more activity around, a bit more life. -Works here

Sense of community

"Feel the quality of the accommodation, get stuck into the community, and enjoy the culture and quality of life."

The whole area is a bit dead and feels quite built up/oppressive.

Community? She doesn't know many people, doesn't use local amenities in Circus Street much. -Student

Costs of living there

The service charge is another issue, it went up from 1,200 a year to 5,000!! Now they have people refusing to pay it. No-one can afford it and people feel stuck. Especially the shared ownership people, they feel stuck, there's no way to sell up, no-one wants to buy off them.

They pay 1,700 a month plus a service charge and they have only one bedroom and bathroom (we have 2 beds 2 bathrooms) and it's half the size of ours, we only pay 1,900! -Resident

There was mould in the apartment for 6 months after they moved in, and the managers wouldn't deal with it. In the end they had to call the council to get something done. Won't stay, suspect there's another rent rise coming, the rent went up £200 last summer (per month). Now it's £2,000 a month.

A bunch of the renters are also in legal battles with Savills in regards to the state of some properties with heating never having worked, or bills that are impossibly high because of faulty installations, etc.

These developments get approved based on the promise of affordable homes - it's how they're justified but the reality is nothing like the promise. Residents can't afford their homes and they can't sell them.

In shared ownership - nearly 3 years - can't leave - trapped by huge service charges -Resident

High sevice charge for a service that is not worth it.

it's poor quality. These flats will be in terrible condition in a few years. They look nice but it’s style over substance. We've been ok so far but our neighbours have had loads of leaks.

Building has issues - feels like was done on the cheap/was the cheapest tender.

I think it's nice. I'm a fan of modern architecture and it's better than what was here before, the old fruit market. - Passer-by

Building quality

“Feel the quality of the accommodation”

The new developments use cheap components, constant problems. Had to replace the entrance door several times. It’s always breaking. The handle is already wobbling. Problems with all the doors.

The apartments look great, but up close, it’s poor quality. The fittings won’t last. The finish is cheap -

We love it. It’s great (the Dance Space).

What’s missing in Brighton is social space, for connecting. Need more community and art space, to come together.

Offices are good, it’s good for SE Dance. Amazing to have such a big community space in the development and they do loads of community stuff.

How well the build suits its users

“Dynamic workspace, cafès, open spaces and Brighton’s only dedicated building for dance, this is a place to come and experience Brighton at its most weird, wonderful, vibrant and alive.”

We love it. It's very arty, lots of creatives.

It’s quite social/has communal areas. Works from home so likes co-working space.

The coffee shop struggled, no-one comes back. People don't tend to come through or past. -Office worker

Great working in the space, but need more businesses. -Same as above

Too many students in a confined space.

"At Circus Street, a complex mix of uses means cleverly combining student accommodation, homes, shops, businesses and services, often within the same building, making for close-knit communities that benefit from shared public realm."

Mixed use is a terrible idea in reality. There are many issues caused by the design of the building and the complexity of the management structures of the site.

It is a nightmare to live next to the student accommodation which is basically a hotel. The design of the place is terrible. Buildings too close together and built and shaped in such a way that sound travels and bounces around.

There's lots of noise at night. Kaplan students can't be out making noise after 11 but the flats can. There's loud music, shouting. It's not fair, there should be the same rules for everyone who lives here. -Student

The noise is really bad at night, anyone can walk through screaming and shouting. There have been so many problems with drug taking, they had to gate all the garages because there were piles of needles being left. It's not nice. -Resident

I like it now, it's more secure. When they were building it I didn't know what was behind the iron sheets. I didn't feel safe when I was working through the night. We were the only accommodation here. - Kaplan staff

My plan was to live here until I die or have to be looked after. But now I can't get out and I can't afford anything else anyway (you can only buy into shared ownership once so I can't choose another similar development).

Other important quotes

I barely get any sleep and I'm suffering from depression and struggling to do my job properly.

It's very difficult and exhausting living here and dealing with it all. I sunk my entire life savings into this flat and I'm stuck here. 23 other shared owners feel the same way.

The character of the market is gone, should bring that back. The flint buildings have gone. Once development started, knew it wouldn't be the same.

Milner Flats - the neighbours

Ringside seats at the Circus to:



Years of disruption during the constructio

- Noise 24/7, aggression, dangerous materials
- Fears of structural damage

Since students moved in

- Years of light pollution, noise and anti-social behaviour
- Loss of light, wifi signal, privacy

What Milner residents say

- “We were lied to - by everybody, the developers, the council, Kaplan.”
- “They should never have built it so close, it’s damaged our foundations.”
- “We have been abandoned.”
- “This estate is treated like a slum - we’re the new slums.”
- “It hurts to be told your child is falling asleep in school because of the students.”

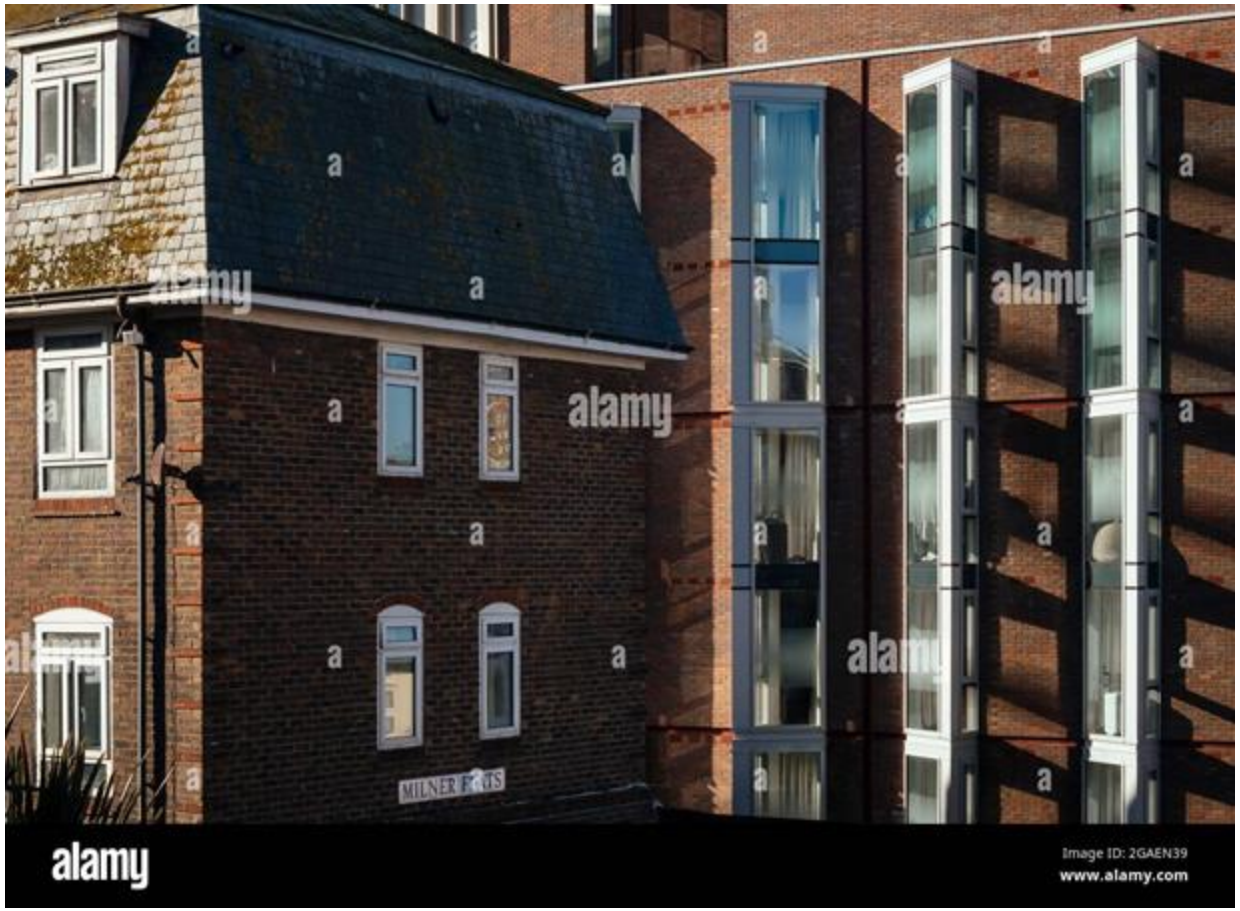


What Milner residents say *contd*

- “The surveyor told me not to sit on one half of my balcony - it’s unsafe.”
- “The surveyor said my floor is sinking and not to mop or let my children run across it.”
- “The council engagement officer says he can’t get anyone from the council to come to residents meetings.”
- “This is a lovely community - we want to be treated like a community.”
- “Everything was verbal. To anyone going through this, I would say get everything in writing, always tell them to email you back.”



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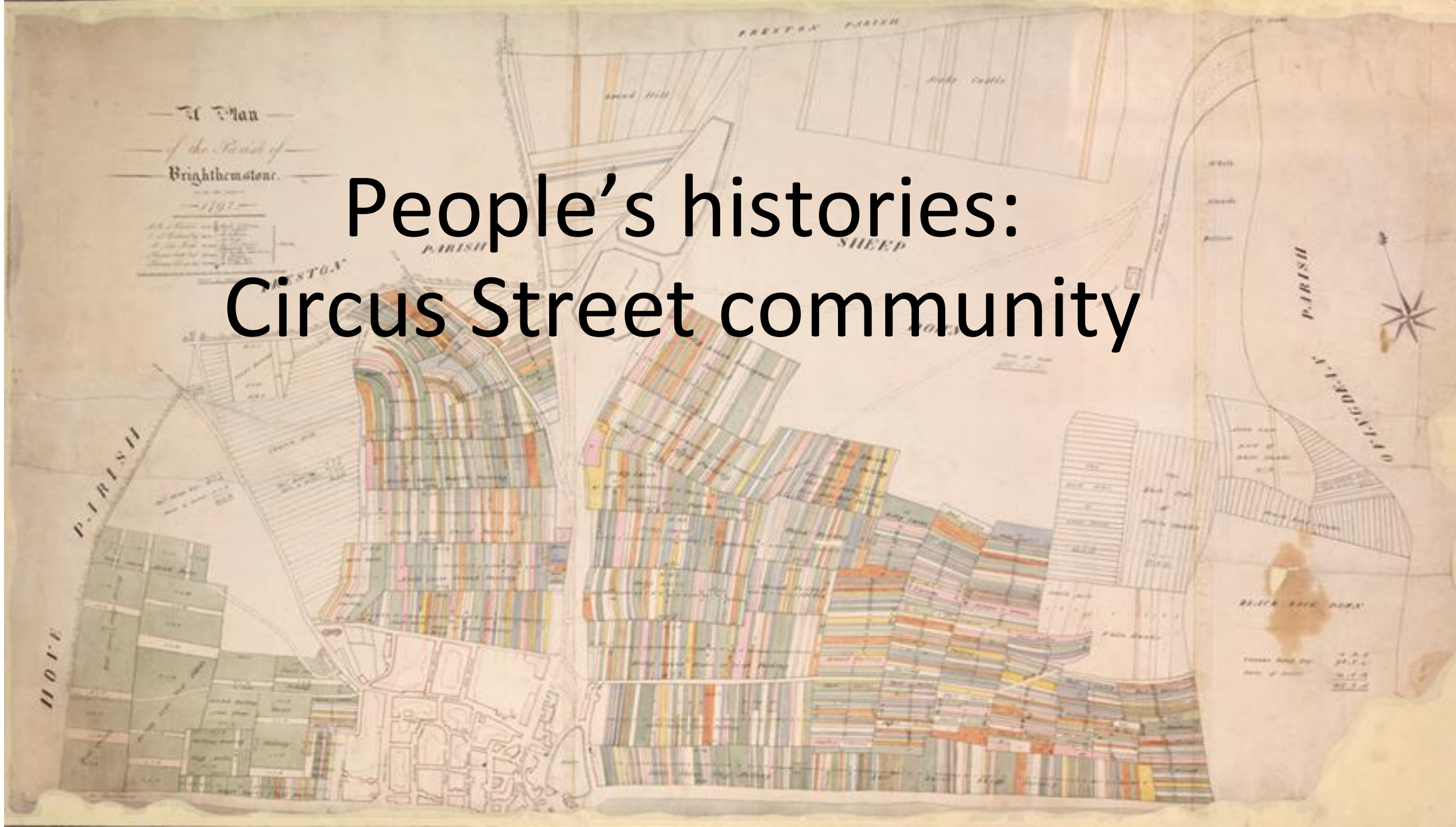
www.alamy.com

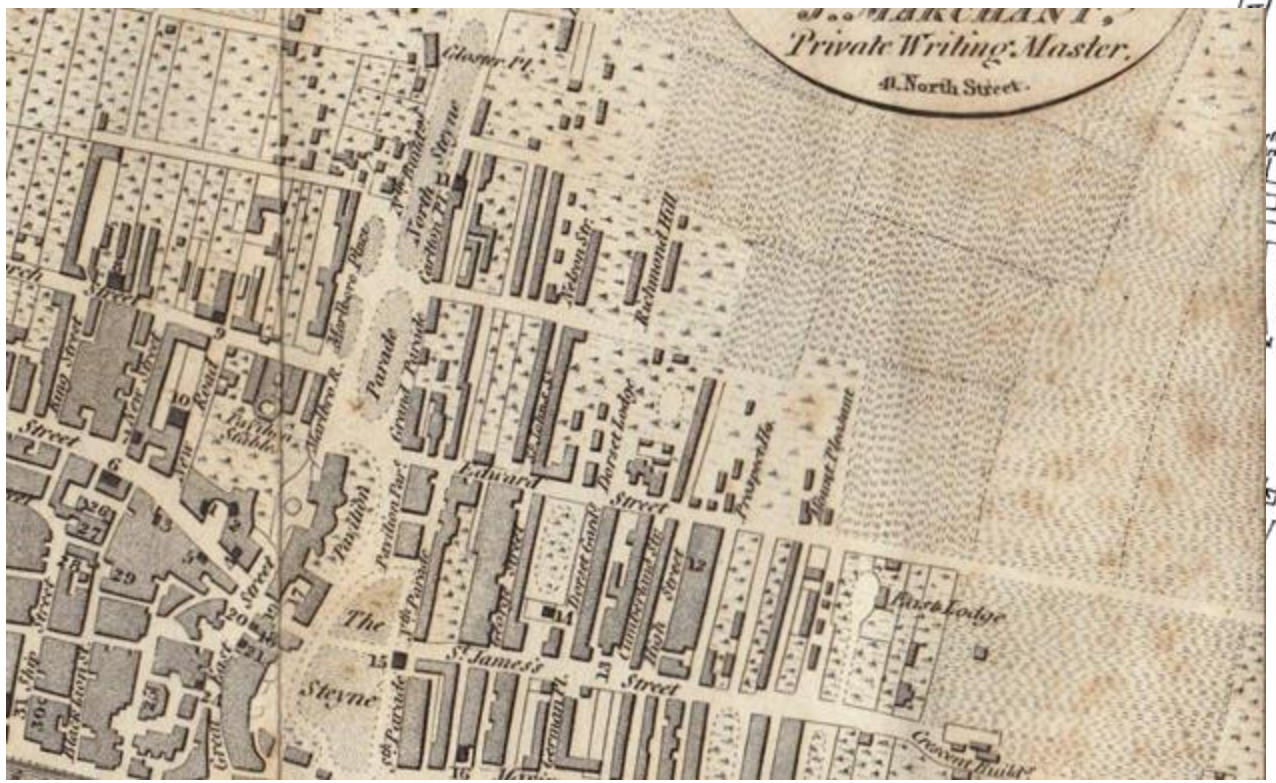
The People (History)

Research Findings



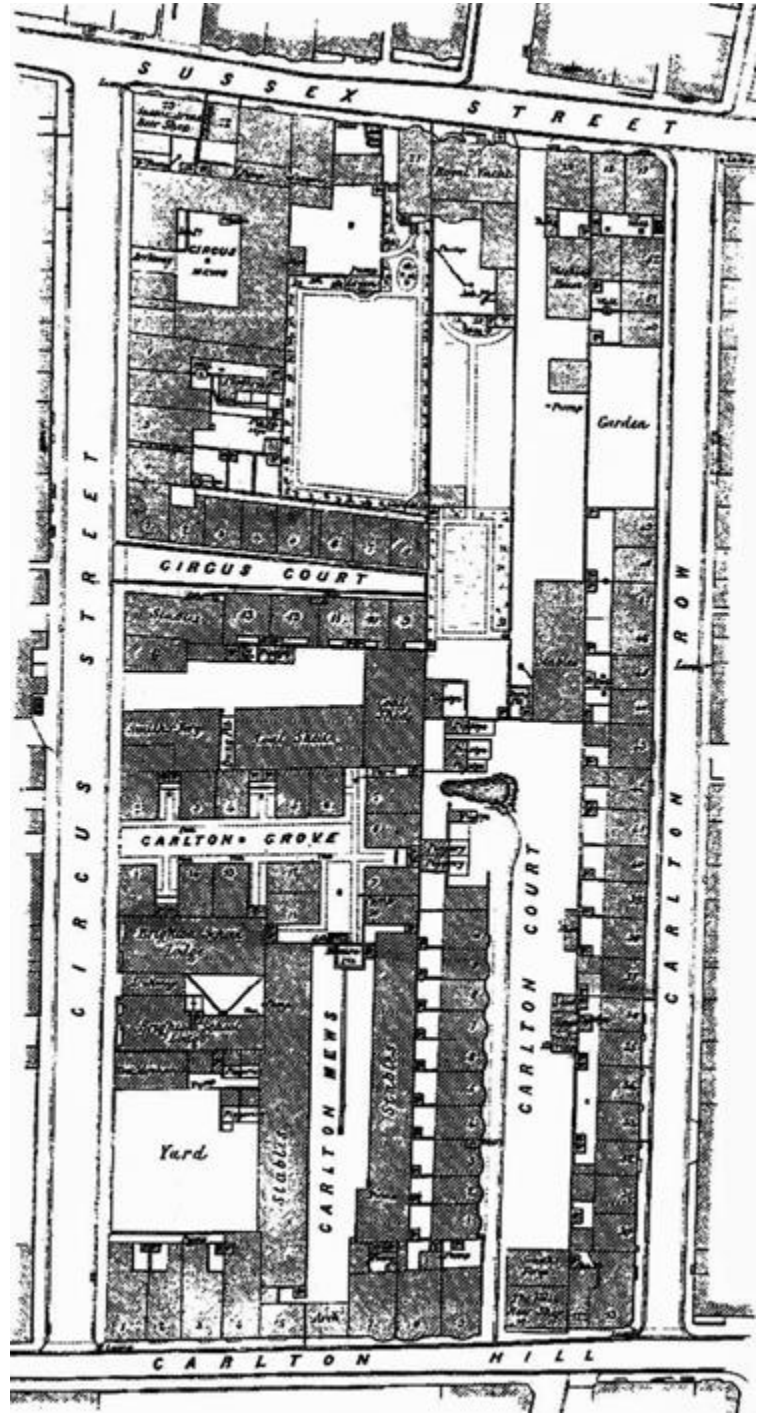


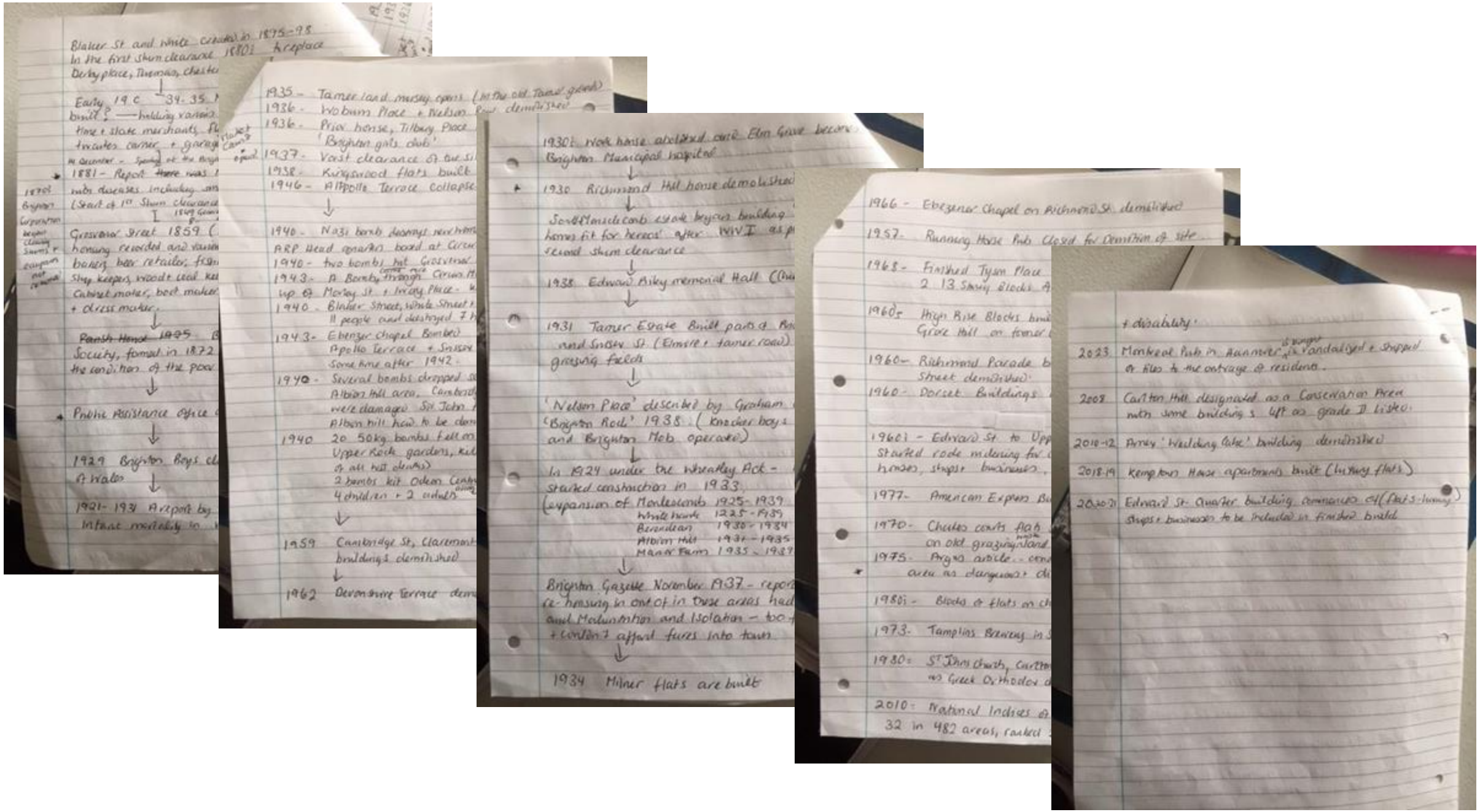
People's histories: Circus Street community


Private Writing Master.
41. North Street.
Gloucester Pl.
Richmond Hall
Parade
Pavilion
Pavilion Parr
Grand Parade
Prospect Pl.
Prospect Ho.
Pavilion Stables
Marlborough Place
Eastern Terrace
Forest Lodge
Forest Garden
Cricket Ground Site
Fair Lodge
High Street
St James's Street
The Steyne
Crescent Place
Crescent Villas
Ship Street
Market Street
New Road
Middle Street
Prince's Street
Duke Street
Kings Road
Marine Parade
Grand Junction Road
Church Street
Queen Street
Ann Street
Gloucester Road
Regency Square
Brighton Pier
Brighton Station
Brighton Aquarium
Brighton Palace Pier
Brighton Marina
Brighton Marina Village
Brighton Marina Berth Holders Association
Brighton Marina Yacht Club
Brighton Marina Boat Owners Association
Brighton Marina Boat Owners Association
Brighton Marina Boat Owners Association

Tamer Timeline

Royal Circus Riding + Equestrian Circus
Opens 1808 (but by Messrs Kendall & Co on land developed 1800 - 08
Situated behind Grand Parade and what now is known as Circus Street
1823 Becomes Brighton Picture Gallery
1827 Later closed and became a bazaar & later knocked down
St Johns Lodge built in 1810 for Edmin Tamer and his family Letitia Tilbury tamer was born 1841 and was the last of the remaining family to lived at the lodge.
↓ On hear death it became the (was bequeathed) Tamer home for the terminally ill 1935
↓
On Albion Hill flats were purpose built 1850 - 1890 for people who worked in the area.
↓
St Johns Carlton Hill school, day school for poor children established 1870
↓
Ebeneyer Strict baptist chapel Carlton Hill built in 1825 (dem 1960)
Mighell St Hall Baptist church Carlton Hill built in 1878 (dem 1965)
Sussex Street - Strict baptist Chapel built 1867 (dem 1937)
↓
Carlton Hill Apostible Church 1865 - (dem 1964).
(Became student lodging after 1971) now demolished
↓
St John the Evanglist Church 1838
↓
Old Rectory 70 Carlton hill 1899 (Still stands)





Blaker St and White Street in 1875-98
1880 Fireplace
Derby Place, Thomas, Chester
Early 19c – 34-35
built? — holding various
Hare + Slate merchants, Fl
tricycles corner + garage
1881 - Report there was
mbr diseases including sm
(Start of 1st Slum clearance
1870 Brighton Corporation began clearing slums + campaign not complete
Grosvenor Street 1859 (
housing recorded and various
bakers beer retailer, fish
shop keepers, wood + coal ke
Cabinet maker, boot maker
+ dress maker.
Parish Home 1875
Society, formed in 1872
the condition of the poor
Public Assistance office
1929 Brighton Boys Cl
& Wales
1921-1931 Airport by
Infant mortality in
1935 - Tamer land nursery opens (on the old Tamer' garden)
1936 - Wyburn Place + Nelson
1936 - Prior house, Tilbury Place
'Brighton girls club'
Market Cambs opened
1937 - Vast clearance of the Si
1938 - Kingswood flats built
1946 - Altpolle Terrace collapse
1940 - No31 bomb destroys workhouse
ARP Head quarters board at Circus
1940 - two bombs hit Grosvenor
1943 - A Bomb through Circus M
up of Morley St + Ivory Place -
1940 - Blaker Street, White Street +
11 people and destroyed 7 h
1943 - Ebenezer chapel Bombed
Apollo Terrace + Sussex
Some time after 1942 -
1940 - Several bombs dropped
Albion Hill area. Canterb
were damaged St John
Albion hill head to be dem
1940 20 50kg bombs fell on
Upper Rock gardens, kil
& all but demol
2 bombs hit Odeon Cinema
4 children + 2 adults
1959 Cambridge St, Claremont
buildings demolished
1962 Devonshire Terrace dem
1930 Workhouse abolished and Elm Grove becom
Brighton Municipal hospital
1930 Richmond Hill house demolished
South Manchester work begins building
homes fit for heroes after WWI as p
record slum clearance
1938 Edward Aisky memorial Hall (Chu
1931 Tamer Estate built part of Ro
and Sussex St (Elmore + tamer road)
grassing fields
'Nelson Place' described by Graham
'Brighton Rock' 1938. (Knucker boys
and Brighton Mob operated)
In 1924 under the Wheatley Act -
started construction in 1933.
(expansion of Mondescomb 1925-1939
White Hawk 1225-1935
Bevendean 1930-1934
Albion Hill 1931-1935
Manor Farm 1935-1937
Brighton Gazette November 1937 - repor
re-housing in one of in these areas had
and Malnutrition and Isolation - too
+ couldn't afford fares into town.
1934 Milner flats are built
1966 - Ebenezer Chapel on Richmond St. demolished
1957 - Running Horse Pub Closed for Demition of site
1968 - Finished Tyson Place
2 13 Storey Blocks A
1960s - High Rise Blocks buil
Grove Hill on former
1960 - Richmond Parade b
Street demolished.
1960 - Dorset Buildings
1961 - Edward St to Upp
Started rode widening for
houses, shops + business.
1977 - American Express Bu
1970 - Charles courts flats
on old grazing land
1975 - Argus article - cen
area as dangerous d
1980s - Blocks & flats on ch
1973 - Tamplins Brewery in S
1980 - St John's church, Carlton
as Greek Orthodox
2010 - National Indices of
32 in 482 areas, ranked
& disability.
2023 Montreal Pub in Hanover is vandalised + stripped of tiles to the entrance & residence.
2008 Carlton Hill designated as a Conservation Area with some buildings & lit as grade II listed.
2018-12 Priory 'Wedding Cake' building demolished
2018-19 Kempton House apartments built (Luxury flats)
2020-21 Edward St. Quarter building commenced (flats, living, shops + business to be included in finished build.

County Borough of Brighton.

HOUSING ACT, 1930.

SUN STREET, CARLTON HILL, &c., AREA.

Official Representation of the Medical Officer of Health to the Brighton Town Council.

672. The Medical Officer of Health presented an Official Representation, dated 3rd December, 1930, made by him under Section 1 of the Housing Act, 1930, as under :—

AREA IV.

I beg, as the Medical Officer of Health of the County Borough of Brighton, to represent to you under Section 1 of the Housing Act, 1930 :—

(i) that the dwelling-houses in the area defined below are by reason of disrepair or sanitary defects unfit for human habitation, or are by reason of their bad arrangement or the narrowness of the street dangerous or injurious to the health of the inhabitants of the area; and

(ii) that the most satisfactory method of dealing with the conditions in the area is the demolition of all the buildings in the area.

The area is coloured pink on the accompanying map and is shortly defined below :—

This area includes—

Nos. 1—5, Circus Street inclusive and all the dwelling-houses in Circus Court, 1—12 inclusive.

The above area includes 17 dwelling-houses occupied by 77 persons, of whom 18 are under 10 years of age.

RESOLVED—(*a*) That the Council, upon consideration of the foregoing Official Representation of the Medical Officer of Health, being satisfied as respects the Area therein referred to,

(i) that the dwelling houses in the Area are by reason of disrepair or sanitary defects unfit for human habitation, or are by reason of their bad arrangement or the narrowness of the street dangerous or injurious to the health of the inhabitants of the Area, and

(ii) that the most satisfactory method of dealing with the conditions in the Area is the demolition of all the buildings in the Area,

hereby order the preparation of a map defining the Area in manner prescribed by Section 1 of the Housing Act, 1930,

(*b*) That the Medical Officer of Health do prepare a statement of the number of persons of the working classes who, on a day to be specified in the statement, are occupying the buildings comprised in the area referred to in the preceding resolution,

(*c*) That a copy of this resolution be transmitted to the Minister of Health.

The above resolution was submitted to and approved by the Brighton Town Council on the 18th day of December, 1930.

JAS. H. ROTHWELL,
Town Clerk.

Scanned with CamScanner



Henry Pullen, Butcher
78 Wm. Wyatt, Ironmonger

CIRCUS STREET.
Number of Houses—19.

17 Crosweller and Blaber, Coal yar
18 R Glenn, Smith and farrier
19 G. Pitts, Hunting and livery stabl

CIRCUS COURT.
7 J. Barham, shoeing & jobbing sm

SUSSEX STREET.
Number of Houses—18.

Circus Street.

At 1 *Carlton-hill, leading to Sussex-street*

1 GODLEY, Thos. corn-chandler
6 BRUNN, G. coach painter
7 WADEY, S. chimney sweeper
CANE, T. town carman
12 PENFOLD, J. wheelwright
CIRCUS CHAPEL
HUDSON, M. baker
19 LANGRIDGE, W. chimney sweeper

Circus Street

at 1 *Carlton Hill, leading to Susse. Street*

1 CANE, Thos. cornchandler an carman
2 HARMEN, Mr. G.
5 WILSON, A. sign writer & painter and general dealer
7 WADEY, S. & SONS, chimney sweepers and cab proprietors
13 LONDON AND BRIGHTON EN GINEERING CO. LIMITED, Ignac W. Caulfield, managing director and at 7 and 8 Pavilion building
BOARD SCHOOLS FOR BOYS GIRLS, AND INFANTS
27 BISHOP, William, cane worker
28 BOXALL, Mr. Geo.
SOPER & WHEELER, paper bag manufacturers' stores, and a 2 North road
And small houses and workshop

Claremont Place



dining rms
.....here is Jubilee st .....
109 Waggon & Horses P.H. Chas. F. Jackson
110 Ansell Bros. tobconsts
111 Candlin Frank, boot repr
112 Black Horse P.H. Hy. E. Bowley
113, 114 & 115 Attree & Kent Limited, furnishing undertakers
113 Trott Geo
114 Waite Cyril J
115 & 116 Brighton, Hove & Worthing Gas Co
117 Beves & Co. Ltd. timber mers
County Court Offices (His Honor Judge Austin Ellis Lloyd Jones M.C. judge; J. R. Morton Ball, registrar & high bailiff; Edmnd. G. Pink, chief clerk)
Brighton District Registry of the High Court of Justice (J. R. Morton Ball, district registrar; Edmnd. G. Pink, chief clerk)
Squires Victor H. (Court ho)

CIRCUS STREET (7), from 135 Sussex st. to 7 Carlton hill. MAP I 9, J 9.

EAST SIDE.

BRIGHTON MUNICIPAL MARKET:
Avery Saml. supt
Hales, Dancy & Co. who. fruit mers
Worthing Fruit & Flower Co. Ltd. who. fruit mers
Burfoot E. F. potato mer
Goodhew A. & J. who. fruit mers
Currie W. Grant Ltd. who. fruit mers
Rolls Thos. who. fruit mer
Bowles Wm. E. who. fruit mer
Livett R. Ltd. who. fruit mers

Katz Mrs. H. who. fruit mer
Measor Percy Thos. who. fruit mer
Lillyw
Stonel
Hollan
mer
Pullen
gard
McBea
Upper
gard
Starley
gard
Gear
dene
Schole
dlr
Tree F
March
fruit
Smith
sales
Broom
gard
Peters
Benne
gard
... her
19 Mar
m
20 Hib
re
21 Ter
CISSE
(4),
road
road
1 Riv
3 Bay
5 Gre
7 Her
9 Llo
11 Mo
13 Pav
15 Pag
17 Str
19 Bin
21 Din
21 New
23 Scri
25 Hen
27 Woo
29 Cla

5 & 116 Smith Thomas & Son, lead merchants
7 Beves & Co. timber mers
County Court Offices (His Honor Judge W. Moore Cann, judge; Arth. Oldham Jennings LL.B., J.P., M.B.E. registrar & high bailiff; Harry Graham, chief clerk; Duncan C. Furner M.B.E. deputy high bailiff)
Brighton District Registry of the High Court of Justice (Arthur Oldham Jennings LL.B., J.P., M.B.E. district registrar; Harry Graham, chief clerk)
Graham Harry (Court house)

HUTERS' GARDENS, from 18 West st. MAP K 7.

Gunn Thomas
Brown Alfred
Johnston George
& 5 Gilham Edward
Haines Charles
Gunn Mrs
Yates Harry
Ovett James
Clear Mrs
Harman-William

IRCUS COURT, from 5 Circus street. MAP J 9.

NORTH SIDE.

Attree Harry
Dix Frederick Martin
Blackman Edward
May John
Wilshire Mrs
Underhill George
Randall Mrs

SOUTH SIDE.

8 Blake Frederick
9 Samuels Harry
0 Blackman James
1 Saunders George

2 Osborne Henry
3 Watts Richard
4 Stubberfield Mrs
5 Taylor Thomas
....here is Circus court.....
7 Wadey William, chimney sweep
Pate Alfred
8 Powell Stephen William
9 & 10 Gillham George Hy. wholesale news agent
11 Marchant Edward, sawdust merchant
11 Knight John
Brighton Council School
... here is Carlton hill ...

WEST SIDE.

20 Hopgood & Co. toilet requisite manufactrs
21 Terry Laurence William
27 Bradbury William
28 Onion Ernest

CISSBURY ROAD, Hove, from Highdown rd. MAP H 5.

WEST SIDE.

1 Cirkett William Fredk. pianoforte tuner
3 Cornock Misses
5 Miles Mrs
7 Witcomb Frederick
9 Wiles The Misses
11 Looker Mrs. M. E
13 Pavitt Henry
15 Butlin Miss
17 Delvalle Augustus
19 Anderson Alfred
21 Reeves William
23 Bowyer George T
25 Sharp Isaac
27 Harvey Miss
29 Vernon Miss I. Warren
31 Husselbee Mrs
Edmonds Charles (Cissbury villa)

EAST SIDE.

2 Savery Miss
4 Palmer Mrs
6 Campbell Fredk. Holman
6 Potter W. Leslie
8 Bennett Chas. H. B.Sc. Lond


UNIT B
OFFICE /
RETAIL USE
TO LET


OFFICE /
RETAIL USE
TO LET
graves
jenkins


UNIT G
OFFICE /
RETAIL USE
TO LET
graves
jenkins
01273 70 10 70


UNIT C
OFFICE /
RETAIL USE
TO LET
graves
jenkins

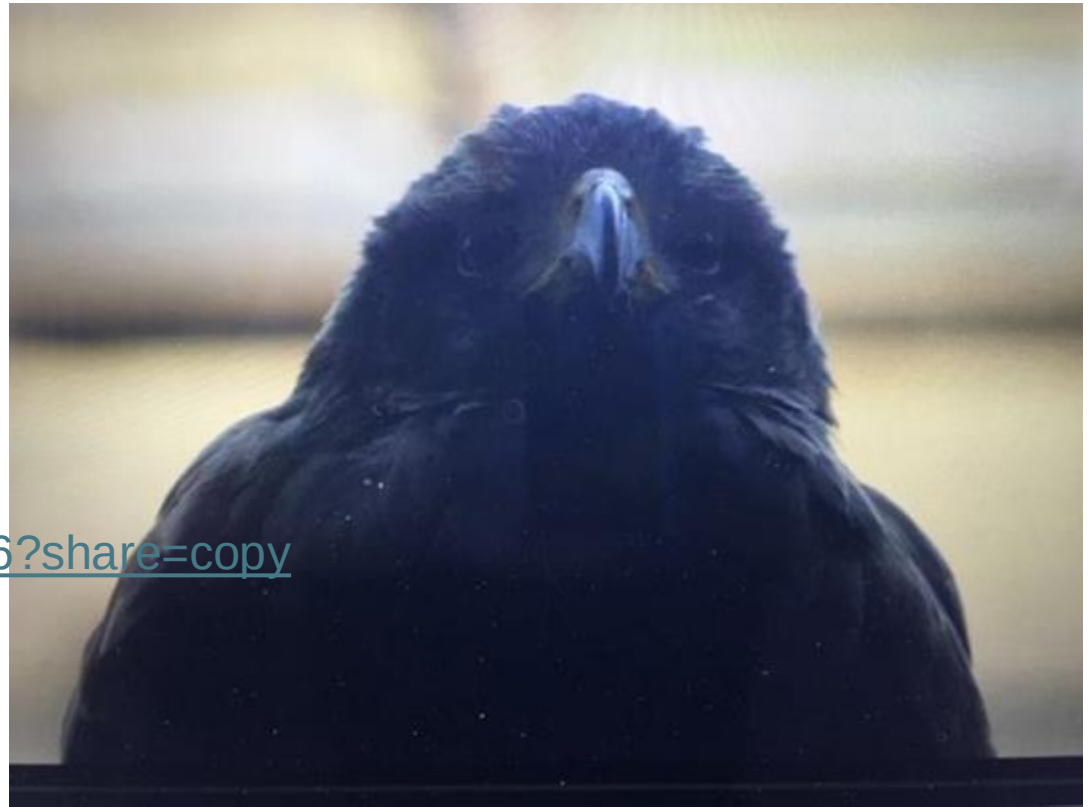

UNIT J
OFFICE /
RETAIL USE
TO LET
graves
jenkins
01273 70 10 70

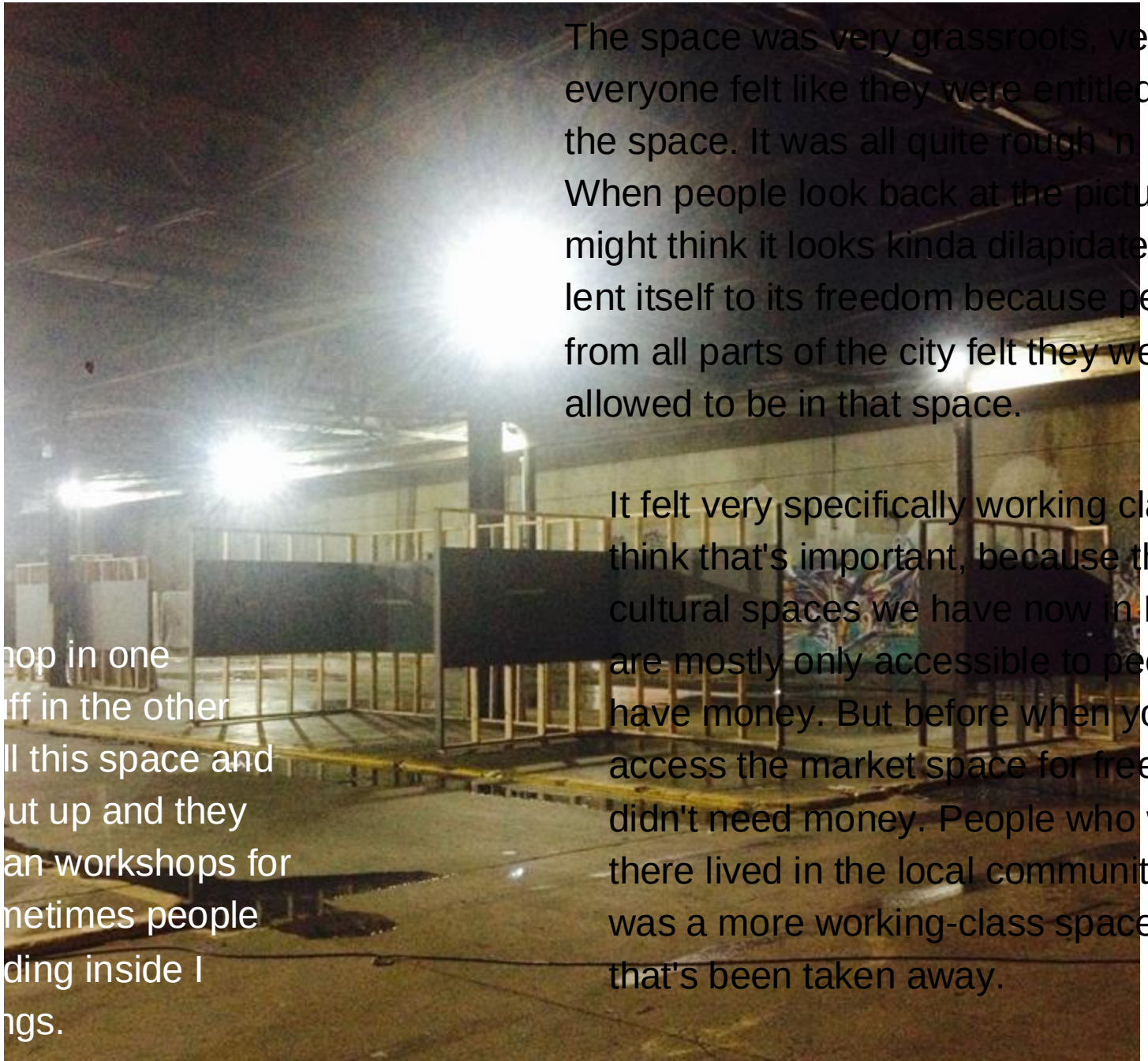
Hawkers Pick Over Fruit Here

Becky Edmunds

https://vimeo.com/145029636?share=copy

06.12 - 08.20





The space was very grassroots, very free, everyone felt like they were entitled to be in the space. It was all quite rough 'n ready. When people look back at the pictures, they might think it looks kinda dilapidated but that lent itself to its freedom because people from all parts of the city felt they were allowed to be in that space.

It felt very specifically working class and I think that's important, because the cultural spaces we have now in Brighton are mostly only accessible to people who have money. But before when you could access the market space for free you didn't need money. People who went there lived in the local community and it was a more working-class space and that's been taken away.

hop in one
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ll this space and
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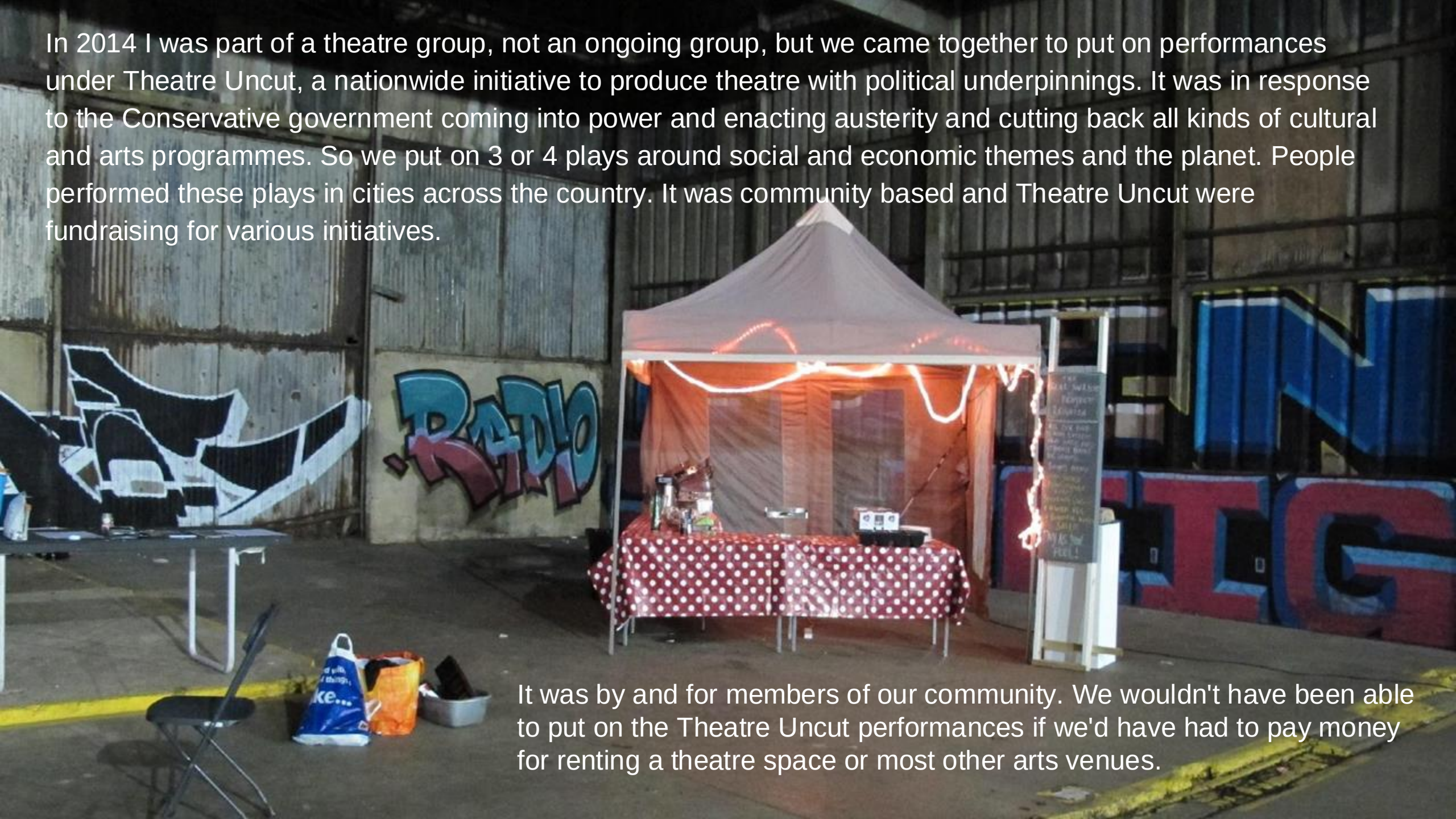
metimes people
ding inside I
ngs.

In 2014 I was part of a theatre group, not an ongoing group, but we came together to put on performances under Theatre Uncut, a nationwide initiative to produce theatre with political underpinnings. It was in response to the Conservative government coming into power and enacting austerity and cutting back all kinds of cultural and arts programmes. So we put on 3 or 4 plays around social and economic themes and the planet. People performed these plays in cities across the country. It was community based and Theatre Uncut were fundraising for various initiatives.



It was by and for members of our community. We wouldn't have been able to put on the Theatre Uncut performances if we'd have had to pay money for renting a theatre space or most other arts venues.



I organised an art exhibition in the market with a few local artists and I put together a photography section based around a squat that had happened on Hollingdean Road. They were running cultural events from the squatted building which was derelict. They were living there until they were evicted by the police. But one of the cultural events that I went to there was a knickers' sewing workshop. I think someone there was a fashion student (laughs). So we were all sewing knickers. So I put that work into the exhibition [in the Circus St Market] and the title was "The Rebel Knickers Sewing Workshop" with photographs of us getting together, totally free of charge, just come, pick up some fabric and thread, all genders, all people welcome.



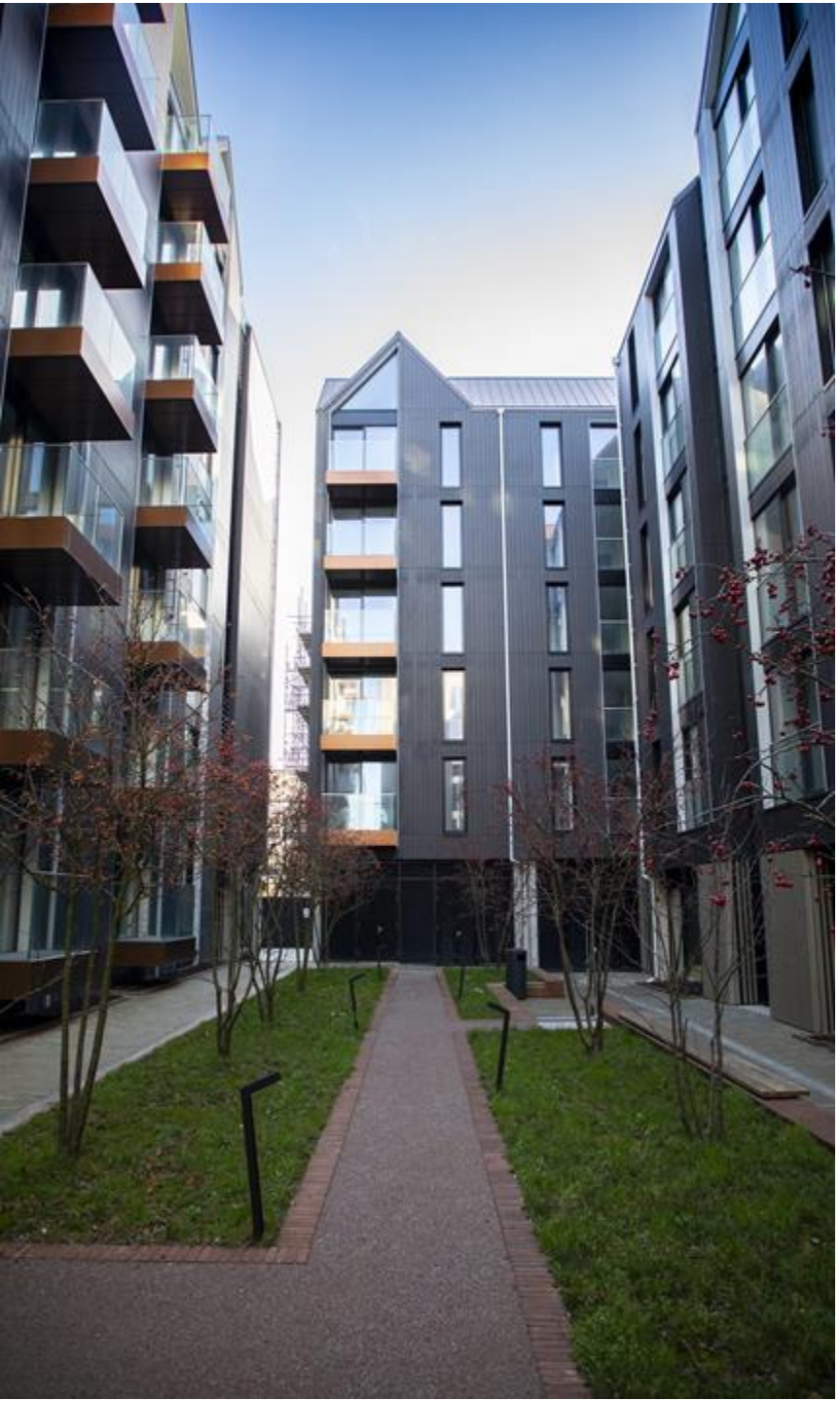
The exhibition was a beautiful event and lots of people came. It counterpoised art and photos of that beautiful harmonious creative event with this horrific eviction where squatters were sprayed by the police, I think it was tear gas and dogs were used at some ungodly time in the morning. The squat on Hollingdean Road is now luxury student flats. So quite fitting and ironic that we did an exhibition of that in Circus Street and now that's also luxury student flats too! It shows the connection between places and how people move through the city claiming spaces for themselves, and then those spaces are being taken violently away from them and given to developers to make money.



rked in Richmond Place in t was supposed to be a back kers' hostel but really, ause people couldn't afford rent, there were students, eless people, people king minimum wage gig nomy jobs, delivery riders, orts. And there were struction workers. I didn't e understand where they e working until the igration enforcement cers raided the Circus Street elopment - it was mostly t by that point. When we e resisting the immigration , I saw a couple of people I w who were living in the tel who got taken out and pt up in that raid.

So that development was using precariously housed immigrant construction workers without a secure status who were then punished for contributing to our economy. And these were people who had families abroad, they were sending money to their families.

I don't go to Circus Street because of the memory of that violence - the immigration officers hauling people out of there. That really sealed it for me as a violent space that's not safe to be in. For me that memory will always be in that place.



The buildings feel oppressive. They're so high and seems like it's all painted black or grey. It's dark even if it's glass. In another space with glass my memory might be of blue sky but not there. The market was always cold, set into the hillside and there wasn't any insulation or anything, but it kind of felt more like it was an outside space with cover, that's why it was cold. I was gonna go during the Brighton Fringe to a free children's performance in the grassy area next to the housing development but it rained so we didn't go. But if it'd been like before which was a covered area, It wouldn't have affected the event because it was covered and you could go there come rain or shine. Now I don't know what it is.

I've never been back to Circus Street. Because it doesn't belong to me. I have walked past it once recently coz I was curious. And it just felt like it wasn't for me. There was no life there. It's not ours anymore. I feel like if I wet and sat in that grassy bit in the middle I'd probably get told off. I don't know if I'm even allowed to be there.

IT'S NOT ABOUT THE PEOPLE

WHAT'S GOOD ABOUT IT?

- Good location
- Pet friendly
- Buzzing dance space
- Nice staff (Student accommodation)
- Feels safe
- The gym

WHAT'S MISSING IN THE BUILT SPACE

- Genuinely affordable housing
- Small businesses, services and facilities
- Natural light + sounds of life
- Welcoming outdoor space
- Integration with the surrounding community + city

WHAT'S MISSING SOCIALLY

- The people who were here before
- Cultural + community friendly space
- Vibrancy, footfall, movement
- Neighbourliness, security + safety
- A mixed community

CYCLES OF

- Building, clearances + displacement
- Poor build quality + maintenance
- Lack of local voice, control + ownership
- The power of investors, developers + bureaucracies
- Profit before people
- Densely populated narrow streets

EXCLUSIONS

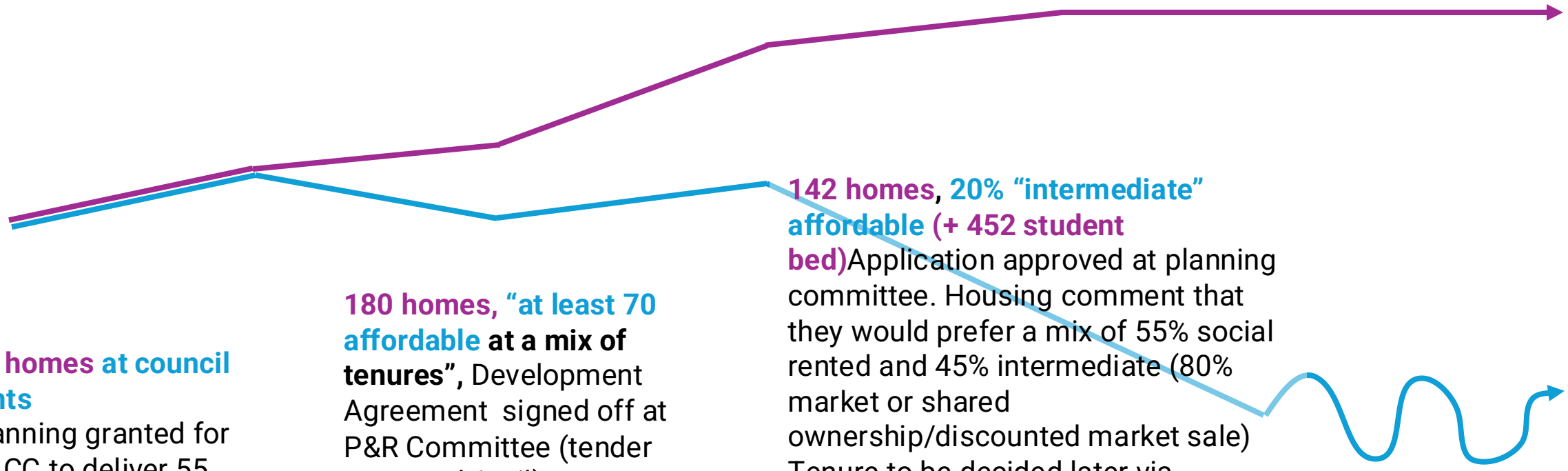
- Class based exclusion
- Privatisation of public space
- Hierarchy in access to facilities
- Exclusionary mixed use
- Built by exploited migrant labour - punished by immigration raid
- Cultural memory of violence



THE PEOPLE

The Process

Planning & Development



55 homes at council rents
Planning granted for BHCC to deliver 55 homes.

1998

July 2005

140 homes, 60% affordable & "unlikely anything under 40% would be accepted". 60% for rent and 40% low cost ownership. BHCC Information Memorandum "to guide developers to type and form of development".

180 homes, "at least 70 affordable at a mix of tenures", Development Agreement signed off at P&R Committee (tender accepted April)

July 2006

160-200 homes (+400 student beds) "Targeting" 20-40% affordable, "exact amount to be determined by the financial viability of the scheme" Cabinet agrees Heads of Terms for revised Development Agreement.

Feb 2012

142 homes, 20% "intermediate" affordable (+ 452 student bed) Application approved at planning committee. Housing comment that they would prefer a mix of 55% social rented and 45% intermediate (80% market or shared ownership/discounted market sale) Tenure to be decided later via planning condition.

March 2014

Agreement that affordable homes can be shared ownership, planning condition approved.

2021 - requirement for local connection dropped. **Is shared ownership really needed in the city?**

Feb 2016

Size of development set by the sale of site.

In December 2004 an 'Urban Design Analysis and Guidance' was prepared for this Site and the nearby Edward Street Site by BDP. The study was an urban capacity study which advised on suitable forms of redevelopment for the two Sites.

In their study, BDP calculated the maximum gross floor areas that could be achieved for such uses and these areas are shown in the table below. In summary, the Site could physically accommodate an additional 37,489m² of development. Of this total, allocations for

BHCC Draft Tender Document June 2005

Council asks architect to see what the site will fit.

Architect is clearly briefed to report the maximum.

This size is baked in from this point on.

Matching numbers in application and policy.

Brighton and Hove City Plan (Emerging)

5.13 Section 3 of Policy DA5 refers specifically to the Municipal Market Site which is allocated for

"mixed use redevelopment of the former market and car park comprising 400-bed student accommodation, a minimum of 160 residential units, a minimum of 3,200m² office space, a dance studio and 3,800m² of University floorspace and ancillary supporting uses."

Planning Application

Brief:

With regard to the prescribed mix of uses required on site, it is the schedule of development contained for the Circus Street site within the Council's Emerging City Plan, that informed the basis of the brief:

- 400 bed student accommodation;
- A minimum of 160 residential units;
- A minimum of 3,200m2 of office space;
- A dance studio;
- 3,800m2 of University floorspace; and
- Ancillary supporting uses of office space in the form of B1 affordable managed workspace.

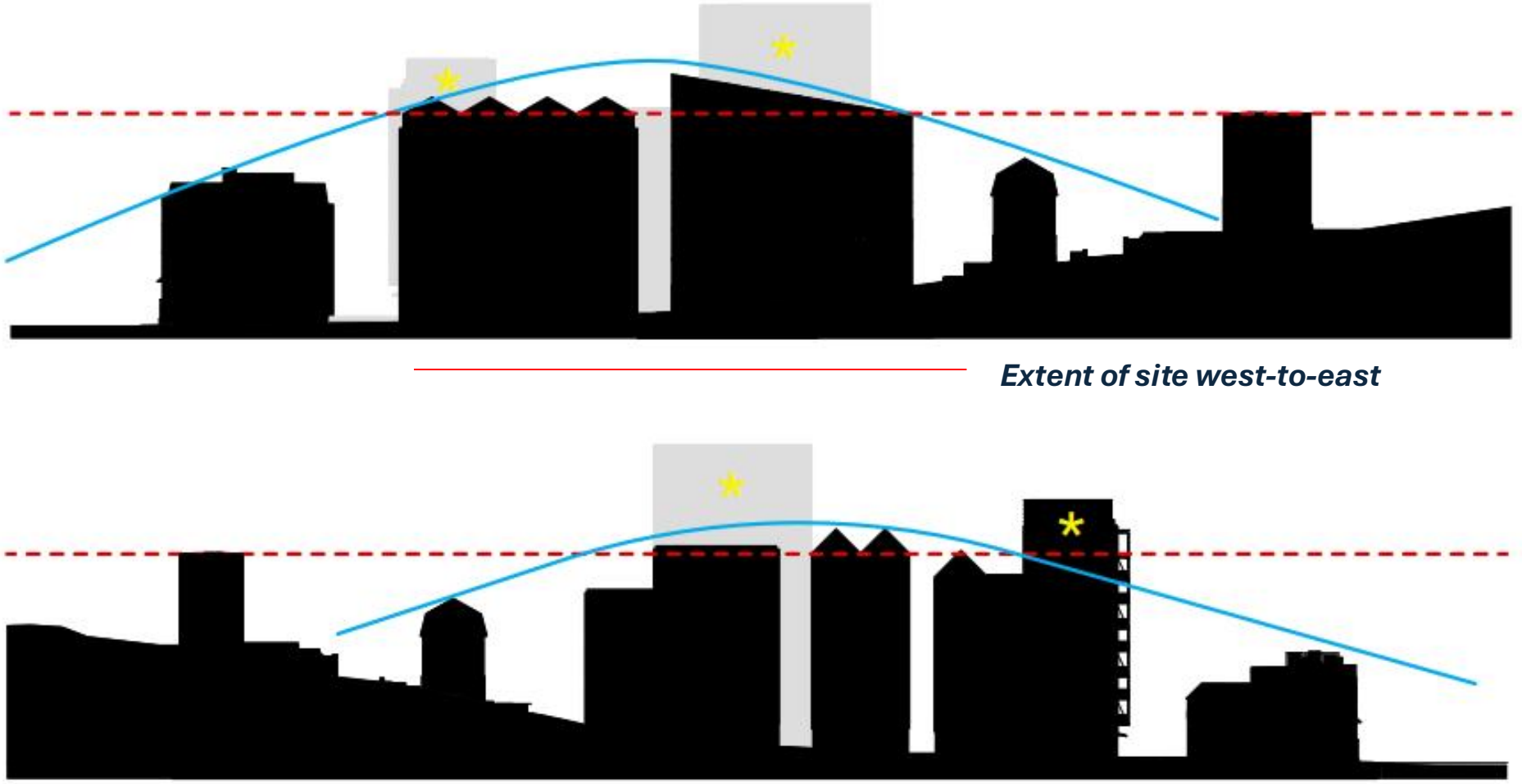


Figure 73 • Massing studies for (from top) Circus Street, Carlton Row, Kingswood Street and Morley Street

Planning Application

Planning policy context - then and now





- NPPF first published in March 2012
- Revisions in 2018, 2019, 2020 and 2023
- Started with a preference for ‘sustainable development’, less focus on design quality
- Now an emphasis on ‘beauty’ in design, placemaking, community-led developments and more nuance in housing delivery requirements
- BHCC published SPD17 Urban Design Framework in 2021
- Provides guidance to developers on the sort of development BHCC expects to see
- Supports officers in decision making on good

Councillors have limited choice.

(38) Councillor Hamilton noted he agreed with the points made by Councillor Littman in relation to light, and expressed his concern with the level of social housing. He stated the number of social housing units was reducing and the proposed 40% figure was rarely achieved in developments in the city – with all this in mind he could not support the scheme.

(41) Councillor Pissaridou noted that she recognised the benefits to the city and felt this was a good development – she was concerned in relation to the provision of social housing, but felt the benefits outweighed this. For these reasons she would support the scheme.

(42) Councillor Jones noted he was similarly not happy with the level of affordable housing, but noted both the residential and student elements would help to alleviate the pressure in the city. He noted concern in relation to the loss of light for the Milner Flats, but recognised the public realm improvements. He noted the current 'bleak' appearance of the site, and welcomed the high quality of design and collaborative work with Officers. He hoped this could be a thriving area in future and stated he would support the Officer recommendation.

There is anxiety about doing nothing.

"This was a welcome regeneration"

"noted the current bleak appearance of the site"

"80 years since the demolition of the old slums in this part of the city and the approval of this scheme would be a new vision for the area"

"If … the scheme does not proceed as it is no longer viable, then there will be further dilapidation of the existing building, leading to increased potential for crime and disorder and fear of crime"

"the council will lose the development partner and it is very unlikely that the site will be regenerated in the short to medium term. The site will remain derelict and the Council and the City will not gain the benefits that would be generated by redevelopment."

Anxiety of the Post-Industrial: fear of a slack planet



Anxiety of the Post-Industrial: fear of a slack planet











An exemplary welcoming transformative, stunning revitalizing new warm neighborhood and inviting vibrant beautiful lively enjoyable inspiring innovation quarter. A hub, a go to 21st century contemporary place inspired by Brighton's unique character with history running through it that will grow the city bringing energy and appeal to this neglected, vital, forgotten, derelict, overlooked part of the city day and night. A friendlier and greener sustainable place where culture, recreation, pleasure, business and study overlap! An exciting new start that will have a positive impact on the community around it! Regeneration at no cost to the public! Just what the city needs!



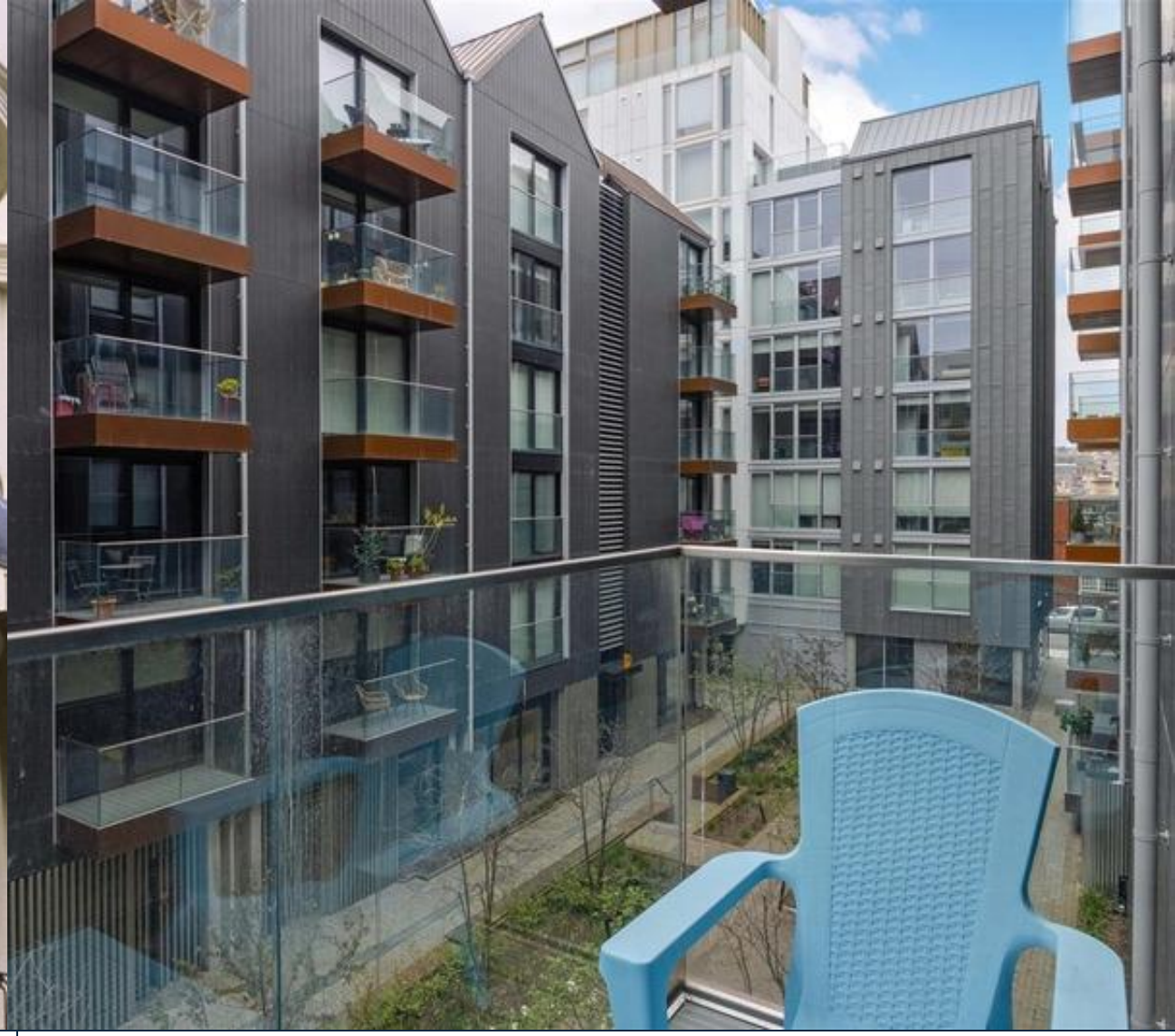


Promise



Reality





Promise

Reality





Promise

Reality

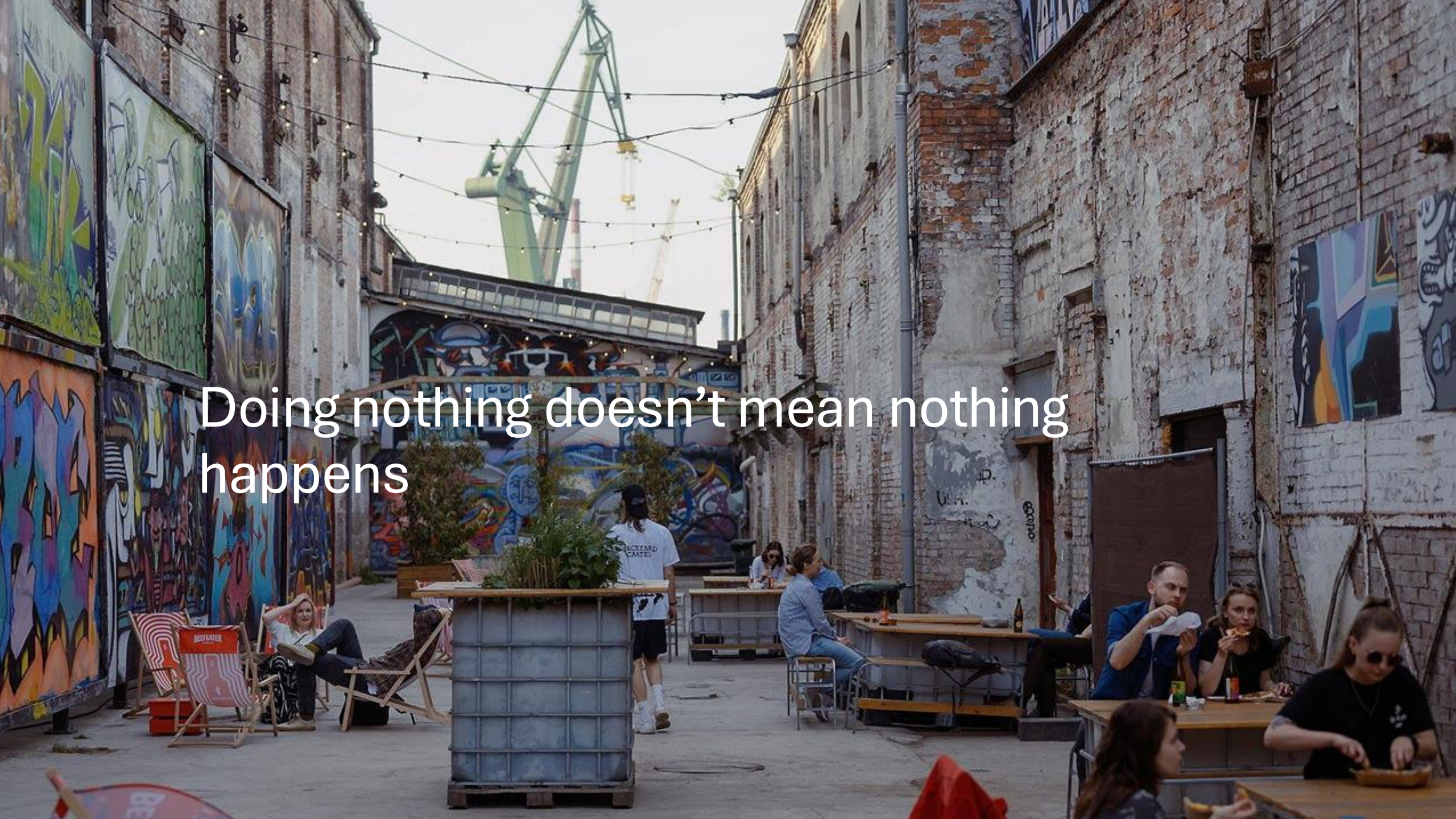


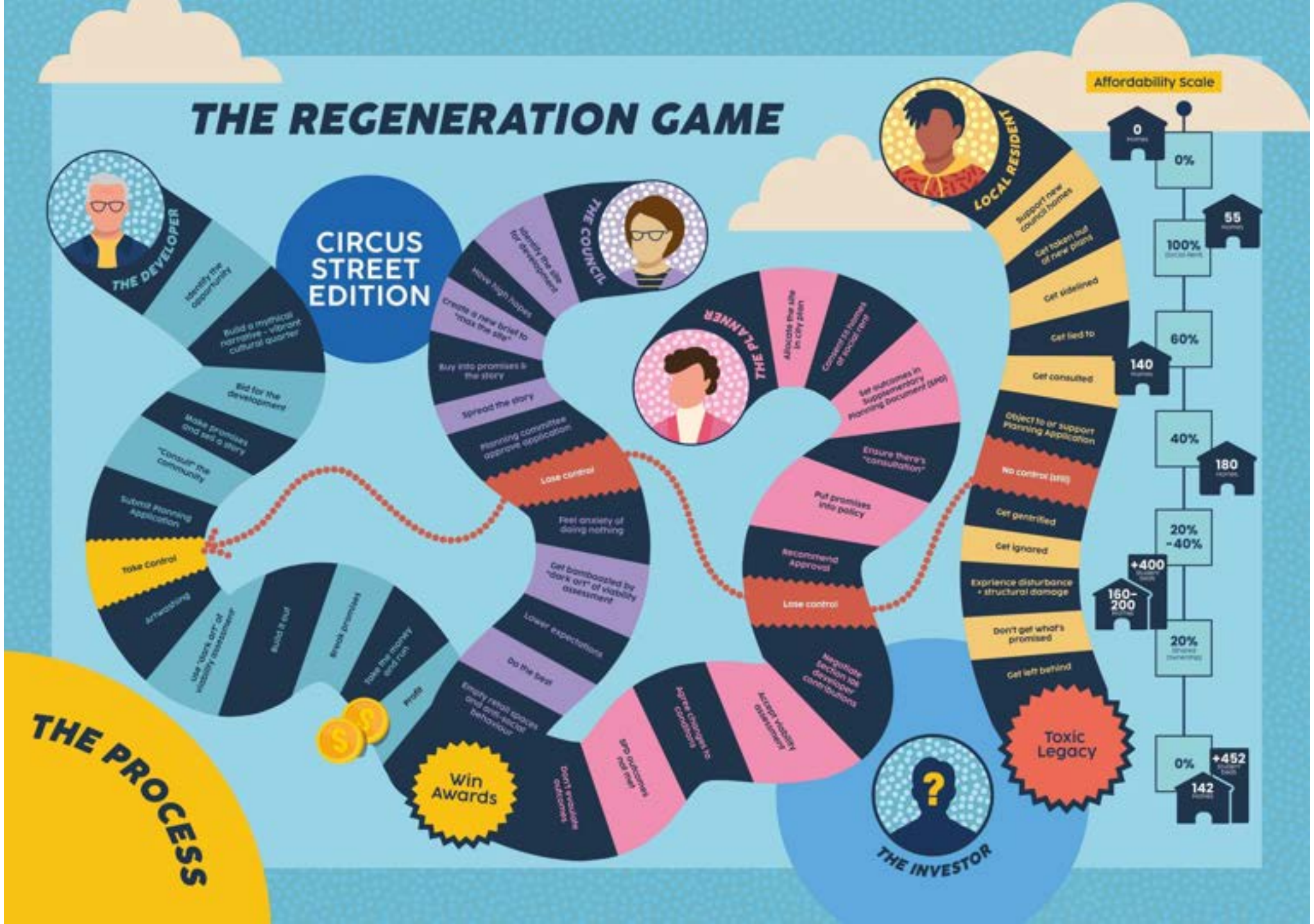
Promise



Reality


Doing nothing doesn’t mean nothing happens


Doing nothing doesn’t mean nothing happens


THE REGENERATION GAME
CIRCUS STREET EDITION
THE DEVELOPER
Identify the opportunity
Build a mythical narrative - vibrant cultural quarter
Bid for the development
Make promises and sell a story
"Consult" the community
Submit Planning Application
Take Control
Arrivasting
Use "dark art" of viability assessment
Build it out
Break promises
Take the money and run
Profit
THE COUNCIL
Identify the site for development
Have high hopes
Create a new brief to "max the site"
Buy into promises & the story
Spread the story
Planning committee approve application
Lose control
Feel anxiety of doing nothing
Get bamboosted by "dark art" of viability assessment
Lower expectations
Do the best
Empty retail spaces and anti-social behaviour
Don't evaluate outcomes
Win Awards
THE PLANNER
Allocate the site in city plan
Consent 55 homes at social rent
Set outcomes in Supplementary Planning Document (SPD)
Ensure there's "consultation"
Put promises into policy
Recommend Approval
Lose control
Negotiate Section 106 developer contributions
Accept viability assessment
Agree changes to conditions
SPD outcomes not met
THE INVESTOR
LOCAL RESIDENT
Support new council homes
Get taken out of new plans
Get sidelined
Get lied to
Get consulted
Object to or support Planning Application
No control (still)
Get gentrified
Get ignored
Exprience disturbance + structural damage
Don't get what's promised
Get left behind
Toxic Legacy
Affordability Scale
0
0%
55
100%
60%
140
40%
180
20% -40%
+400
160-200
20%
0%
+452
142
THE PROCESS

The Money.
From Circus Street to Wall Street

The Developer: Timeline

2006

Cathedral (Brighton) selected as the preferred developer

Owned 50/50 by the Cathedral Group and McLaren Property

March 2014

Planning Permission granted

May 2014

Development Securities buys the Cathedral group for £20.7 million

Richard Upton was on the board of directors since 2012 and they had collaborated in previous developments.

16th March 2015

Awarded £2.7million in Coast to Capital Funding

This was to cover the viability shortfall that arose after planning placed constraints on the size of the building

18th March 2015

McLaren sell their share to Development Securities for £4 million.

October 2015

Development Securities renamed U+I

March 2017

University of Brighton pulls out of the development.

August 2017

£70 million in forward funding secured from Gravis Capital Partnerships.

2019-2021

U+I makes serious losses.

2019/20 £58.6 million pre tax loss.
2020/21 £86.7 million pre tax losses
This causes a collapse in their share price and leaves U+I unable to raise capital..
January 2021 Richard Upton takes over as Chief Executive. [why did they make losses?]

November 2021

Land Securities buys U+I for £190 million.

Richard Upton leaves the company.

Cathedral Group

Founded in 1998 by Richard Upton and Barry Bennet. By 2014, it was one of the largest developers in the South East, focussing on mixed-use regeneration projects and Public Private partnerships. In 2014, it had 9 developments in progress across the South East - included Circus Street and Preston Barracks. Its assets were worth £47 million.

It was owned by Upton (95%) and MD Martin Wood (5%)

McLaren Property

Is part of the McLaren Group which is involved in construction as well as development. The development arms have pipeline of £4.8bn across 41 sites. It is very active in Brighton - constructing Edward Street, Student Castle, Sawmills. It is owned by a trust - Trustees of McLaren Construction Limited Employee Trust 2007 RE Mr Kevin Robert Taylor and Family Sub Fund.

Development Securities

Founded in 1980, it originally focussed on central London commercial property but pivoted towards mixed use regeneration projects.

In 2014 its shareholders included Blackrock (25.6%), Fidelity International (12%), Abrdn (22%),Quantum Partners (8%), Columbia Threadneedle, L&G

U+I

Shareholders (before takeover) include Jupiter Asset Management, UBS Group, Ennismore Fund Management, JP Morgan(6.6%), Morgan Stanley (6.4%), Bank of America (5.4), Maven Investment (3%), Aberforth Partners (14%).

Land Securities

Formed in 1944 and now the UK's largest commercial property development and investment company. Its property portfolio is valued at £9.8billion. In 2007 it became a real estate investment trust (REIT).

Large shareholders include: Blackrock (11.49%), State Street Corporation (5.49%), Schroders, The Vanguard Group, Government of Norway, Norges Bank... M&G PLC (1.9%) Stitching Pensioenfonds (1.67%)

GCP Student Living

Established in 2013, the UK's first student accommodation REIT. Shareholders received an average return of 13.5%. In 2021, it owned 4,100 beds across 11 sites in the south east, valued at £1.16 billion.

Shareholders include APG (11%) JP Morgan (3%), Bank of America (3%) Morgan Stanley (6%) Investec (7%) Blackrock (6%).
Gravis Capital Partners owned by ORIX, Japan's largest investment firm.

Build to Rent

M&G buys this lease for £47,200,000 In December 2020. [plus another £10mil potentially for the shared ownership]

There are also 28 shared ownership flats that are leased to Clarion Housing Association.

Offices and retail units.

The lease for these is part of lease currently owned by **Stichting Pensioenfonds.**

It is sub-leased for 10 years on the ground floor is leased to **Wolfox**, floors 1&2 to **Electric Square** and 5&6 to **Hvye**.



Student Halls

GCP Student Living buys this lease for £16,153,105 in December 2017. GCP had previously injected £70 million into the development for the construction of the halls.

In 2021 GCP student Living is bought for £969 million by a consortium funded by **Blackstone** and **Stichting Pensioenfonds**.

The current site owner Stichting Pensioenfonds is trying to sell the halls for £67 million.

The site is then sub-leased to **Kaplan** for 21 years who run the halls.

Rents start from £249 a week for an ensuite in a flat of 8.

M&G

Formed from a merger of Mutual and General and Prudential. Owns £32.8 billion of real estate assets globally - including Bluewater that they own with Landsec. They also own shares in many of the other companies - 10.5% of U&I.

Owened by 23 shareholders, including The Diverse Income Trust (7.5%) Blackrock (6.7%) Saudi Joint Stock Company (6.37) Silchester International investors (5.05%)

Stichting Pensioenfonds ABP

Stichting Pensioenfonds ABP is the pension fund for government and education employees in the Netherlands. It is among the five largest pension funds in the world.

Clarion Housing Association

UK's largest housing association - 125,000 homes, formed from 2016 merger of Circle Housing Group and Affinity Sutton.

In 2023 their turnover was £1,008 million. They have £1,031 million liquidity, an operating surplus of £261 million, and over the past 5 years they had an operating margin of 26-35%.

Savills

Is the property manager of the residential blocks. UK firm founded in 1855. Global real estate services provider.

Owned by 14 shareholders including Abrdn (10%) Liontrust investment partners (5%) Global Alpha Capital (5%) Heronbridge Investment Management (5%) OM Residual UK (5%)

Kaplan

Are a global provider of education services. They run 9 student halls across the country, as well as other facilities for universities - the UoB's International college.
Owned by Grahams Holdings. Shareholders include The Vanguard Group (10.09%), Dimensional Fund Advisors LP (8.2%), BlackRock Inc (12.9%), Southeastern Asset Management Inc (3%).

Electric Square

Owned by Keywords studios, owned in turn by 24 shareholders, including Capital Group, Amati AIM VCT, Liontrust investment partners, Investec wealth and investments.

It is currently being taken over by for more than £2billion by EQT Group. Swedish investment firm founded in 1994. Now the world's 3rd largest private equity firm managing assets worth more than $227 billion

From Circus Street to Wall Street: The Big 3

These 3 firms have an enormous influence on the corporate world. They offer index funds. Before the financial crisis, active fund management dominated, which promised investors they would beat the stock market. They rarely did and were expensive because of the need to manage the funds. Index funds just promise to track the stock market. Their strategy is to buy up shares in as many stock market companies, which is much cheaper than actively managing funds, and the fees for investors are lower.

This shift has transformed the global economy. The Big 3 manage c.10% of global equity. They collectively own, on average, 21% of the top 500 US firms. Their voting power is greater - estimated to control 27.5% of votes at these companies AGMs. Collectively, they are the largest shareholder in 90% of the top 500 US firm. They also own a fair share of Circus Street...

Blackrock

Had $10 trillion of assets at the beginning of 2024

25.6% of Development Securities

1.45% U&I

11.49% Land Securities (until 2024??)

6.7% of M&G (until 2024??) - also manages its investment funds.

5.37% GCP Student Living

12.9% of Kaplan's parent company.

Vanguard Group

10.9% of Kaplan's parent company.

3.4% Land Securities (until 2019)

State Street

3.7% Kaplan's parent company.

Developer profit

RICS research. 2019 on developer returns: *“evidence of achieved returns from development schemes was very difficult to find. Both scheme-specific and market performance in the real estate development sector remains opaque”*

17.5% profit was embedded into the viability. Any profit over this agreed to be split with council.

BHCC say the project cost £130m project.

- M and G forward fund £57m for the four residential buildings - the lease costs are £47.2 million
- GCP forward funded £70m + lease costs £16.153m
- South East Dance raise £3m for build of the dance studio
- Can’t find record of purchase of affordable units by Affinity Sutton/Clarion. Assumed cost of these based on affordability assessment = £9.76m (are these the gap between the M and G forward funding and the lease?)
- Coast to capital funding = £2.7m

Least developer project = 2.04%, max developer profit (from this) - 22%.

- FOI to ask the council if they made any return
- Being able to analyse returns on development would be very helpful!

Renters (market scheme)

1-bed = £384 pw (ass.45)
2-bed = £473 pw (ass.69)

Total rental income - £49,917 a week or £2.65m a year

University

Still owns the public square and have it ear-marked for future use.

Will they sell the land? Can the land be built on? What happens then?

Shared owners

1 bed flat = £345 per week (rent, mortgage, service charges)

Council

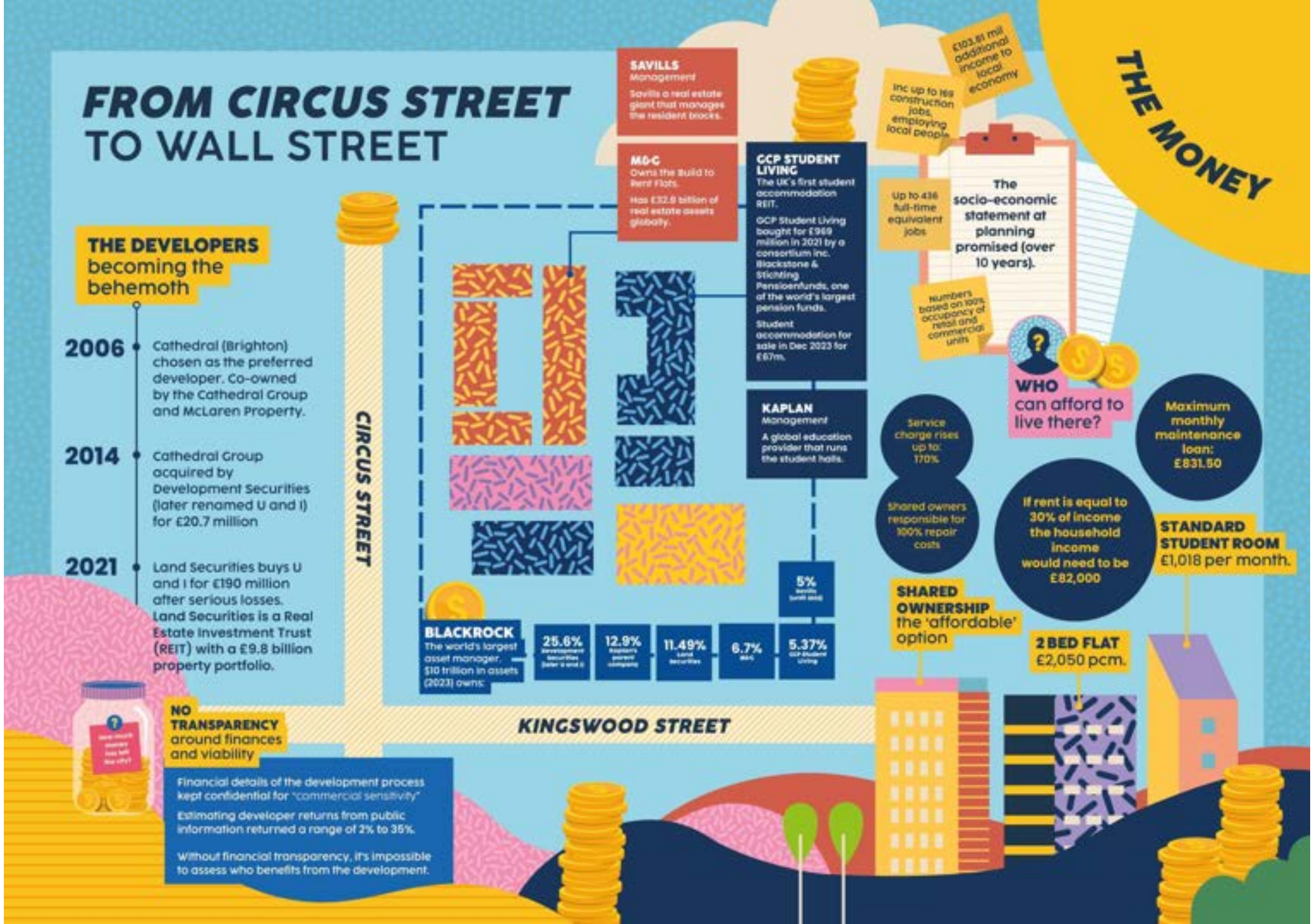
1.7 million for the car park
Freehold of the dance building
Council tax (up to £330,000) and business rates (up to £330,000)
Section 106 contributions - min £ 452,382, max £1.596mil

“All the benefits that regeneration brings”

Students

Students pay £249-£375 per week

(Income from students £100,000 a week or £5m per year)


FROM CIRCUS STREET
TO WALL STREET
THE MONEY
THE DEVELOPERS becoming the behemoth
2006
Cathedral (Brighton) chosen as the preferred developer. Co-owned by the Cathedral Group and McLaren Property.
2014
Cathedral Group acquired by Development Securities (later renamed U and I) for £20.7 million
2021
Land Securities buys U and I for £190 million after serious losses. Land Securities is a Real Estate Investment Trust (REIT) with a £9.8 billion property portfolio.
CIRCUS STREET
KINGSWOOD STREET
SAVILLS
Management
Savills a real estate giant that manages the resident blocks.
M&G
Owns the Build to Rent Flats.
Has £32.8 billion of real estate assets globally.
GCP STUDENT LIVING
The UK's first student accommodation REIT.
GCP Student Living bought for £969 million in 2021 by a consortium inc. Blackstone & Stichting Pensioenfunds, one of the world's largest pension funds.
Student accommodation for sale in Dec 2023 for £67m.
KAPLAN
Management
A global education provider that runs the student halls.
BLACKROCK
The world's largest asset manager. $10 trillion in assets (2023) owns:
25.6%
12.9%
11.49%
6.7%
5.37%
5%
Inc up to 169 construction jobs, employing local people
£103.81 mil additional income to local economy
Up to 436 full-time equivalent jobs
The socio-economic statement at planning promised (over 10 years).
Numbers based on 100% occupancy of retail and commercial units
WHO can afford to live there?
Service charge rises up to: 170%
Shared owners responsible for 100% repair costs
SHARED OWNERSHIP the 'affordable' option
If rent is equal to 30% of income the household income would need to be £82,000
2 BED FLAT £2,050 pcm.
Maximum monthly maintenance loan: £831.50
STANDARD STUDENT ROOM £1,018 per month.
NO TRANSPARENCY around finances and viability
Financial details of the development process kept confidential for "commercial sensitivity"
Estimating developer returns from public information returned a range of 2% to 35%.
Without financial transparency, it's impossible to assess who benefits from the development.


WHAT NEXT
WHO OWNS BRIGHTON?
WHAT NEXT?
Alternative approaches - community led development
The politics of housing (housing crisis and the right to the city)
Circular economy, doughnut economics and community wealth building
Workshops and Learning
How can we build on our learnings?
Share the findings
A book
Spread the word
A documentary
A tour
Media opportunities
Look at other sites + compare
Grow the project
Build an archive
Podcasts
A tool kit (videos)
A construction voice (CV) event to share findings with developers
Engage the council (BHCC) + developers
Present to policy makers
Develop the ask
Work with BHCC (+ CV?) to develop a post development assessment process
Work with the residents
Shared ownership & Milner Flats
Bring groups together
An event to share findings with local residents
Do something in the green space
University of Brighton
CIVIC POWER FUND
www.bhclt.org.uk/whoownsbrighton