

CHAPTER 5.

**UK Case Studies: Conflicts in the Portsmouth and
Thames Gateway Coastal Regions**

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1. Introduction

This chapter reports on the four local case studies selected in the UK for initial exploration of coastal environmental conflicts. The UK team sought local case studies which seemed representative of potential conflicts within the UK as a whole. Further selection was based on three main criteria, as follows:

First the need to address common themes identified by the SECOA project: economic development (industrial development, tourist industry, harbour restructuring, marina construction) vs. environmental protection (creation of protected areas); conservation of natural sites and biodiversity; contrasts in the use of resources between residents and new comers arising from human mobility. All three themes have wide application across the UK case study areas of Portsmouth and Thames Gateway.

Second the need to reflect the institutional and structural differences between the two UK case study areas. Portsmouth is a very tightly constrained coastal urban area, where land is in extremely short supply, and there are intense conflicts over the alternative uses of often relatively small sites. Spatial governance is dominated by one local authority, although it seeks to work in partnership with neighbouring authorities and agencies. In this instance we focussed on two conflicts relating to recreational and planned regeneration uses of two local sites, where the value and use is conditioned by their vulnerability to rising sea levels, flood risk and inundation. In Thames Gateway, we focussed on issues of access and vulnerability of protected estuarine ecosystems, relating to a proposed new river crossing across the lower Thames estuary, and social, economic and political conflicts arising from migration and commuting and competition for scarce housing resources. Here spatial governance was (until 2009) co-ordinated in 3 sub regions of the Thames Gateway Development Corporation, creating a complex hierarchy of organisations involved in planning and decision making.

Third the need to reflect the temporal scales, duration and urgency of local conflicts. While all four local conflict case studies are informed by predicted long term changes in sea levels, these feature to varying degrees in how local conflicts have played out. The Lower Thames Crossing is still in the early stages and is emerging as a point of conflict, with a number of ideas being discussed about possible routes for the new bridge and/or tunnel, all of which have socio-economic distributional and environmental consequences. These are sources of changing conflicts. While a number of stakeholders have already started to take up positions in respect of these proto conflicts, these are likely to shift and become more concrete as the proposal takes form. In contrast, the two Portsmouth case studies have far greater urgency, and centre on short- to medium-term plans relating to, respectively, urban development versus

conservation and decontamination of a coastal site, and between different recreational and conservation groups in relation to the future of coastal defences.

These local conflicts are being played out at present, focussing on the strategic and detailed features of proposed developments. The Barking Riverside local conflict is in a relatively advanced state, in the sense that the conflicts over land reclamation (relatively modest as this was a highly contaminated site) and the overall decisions to develop this large scale housing area have already been taken – outline planning permission was granted in 2006. However, the detailed implementation of the project still has scope interpretation, with significantly different socio-economic consequences in terms of the types of housing and community facilities being provided. It therefore illustrates the continuing nature of conflicts – between different sections of the community (and potential new members of the community, that is in-migrants) and between the public sector planning bodies and the private sector which is charged with delivering the non-infrastructure elements of the development.

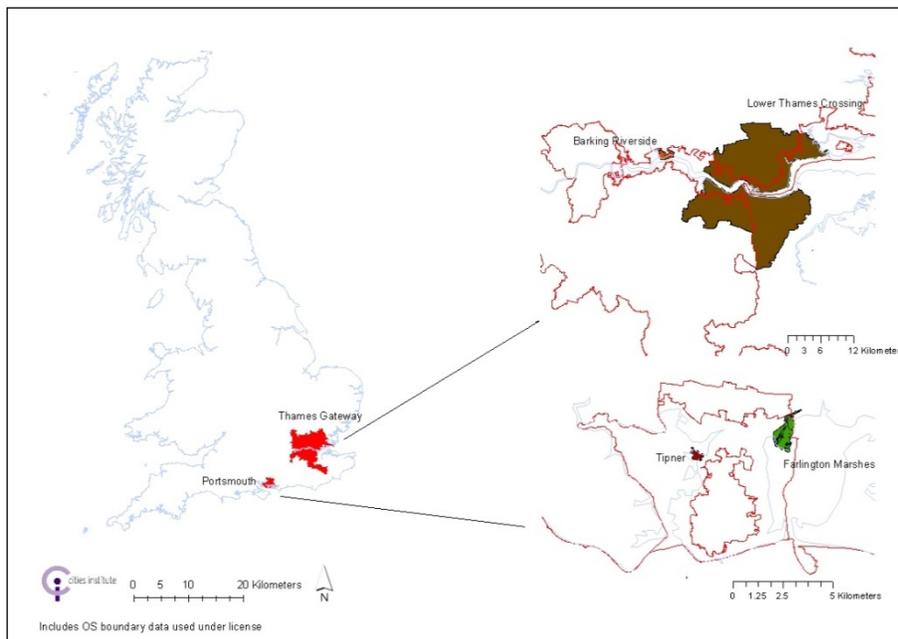
With these three criteria in mind, the UK local conflicts were identified in three main ways. First, through consultation with key informants in the two case studies, who identified what they considered to be some of the most important – both in terms of outcomes, and in terms of intensity – within Portsmouth and Thames Gateway. Secondly, through a review of public documents including recent policy and planning statements and evidence, and the summaries of the consultations already undertaken as a consequence of changing land use and resource management in local areas. This provided a broad overview and framing of key issues within local conflicts. Thirdly, through an iterative process amongst the research team, whereby initially a range of conflict types, and later a specific set of potential local conflict cases were reviewed, presented for discussion, and evaluated in terms of their relevance to the core concerns of SECOA. Table 5.1 summarise the local case study selection against SECOA themes and Figure 5.1 maps their locations within the Portsmouth and Thames Gateway study areas.

Table 5.1. Case studies and thematic classification.

Theme	Barking Riverside (TG)	Lower Thames Crossing (TG)	Farlington Marshes (P)	Tipner Regeneration (P)
Economic development versus environmental protection	√	√√		√√√
Preservation of natural sites and biodiversity		√√√	√√√	√
Human mobility and resources	√√√	√	√	

The four selected local case studies have a diverse range of features which provide insight into some of the conflicts currently being played out in coastal urban regions around the UK. In Barking, regeneration of brownfield land has been identified as a solution to local and regional housing need. However, the processes of planning, design and implementation are characterized by specific conflicts over urban resources between ‘incomers’ (migrants) and ‘locals’, different ethnic groups and social-economic classes. The Lower Thames Gateway proposal for a new bridge or tunnel crossing has seen a number of alternative routes being proposed, all of which involve loss of valued mudflats and saltmarsh habitats. Each scheme includes proposals for compensating loss through designation of newly created habitats within the immediate area. Conflicts are emerging between the proponents of each scheme, local communities and conservation groups. Within Farlington Marshes, conflict was identified during the process of Shoreline Management Planning between the long term protection of wildlife habitats and the immediate defence of urban infrastructure and recreational amenity space. A subsidiary land use conflict has emerged between different wildlife habitats. Finally, in Tipner conflict emerged during the process of planning application for major housing and mixed use development between the long term protection of wildlife habitats, decontamination or containment of polluted industrial land and urban development which is deemed central to the delivery of economic growth as contained in the local city plan. Subsidiary conflicts have emerged over the quality and type of housing, transport provision and impacts on the waste water management system.

Figure 5.1. *UK Conflict case studies.*



2. Methodology

The methodologies used in the UK reflect differences in the nature of local conflicts being studied, the stage or form of each conflict (*criticality, urgency, duration*) and the availability of relevant data.

The two local conflict case studies in Portsmouth (Farlington Marshes and Tipner) shared a common approach, reflecting their relationships to on going planning processes with short to medium term decision making frameworks. Three main research strategies were therefore implemented:

- Analysis of spatial planning documents – including applications for planning permission, shoreline management plans including the scientific evidence base, and related relevant policies;
- Discourse Network Analysis of consultation submissions;
- Stakeholder Survey.

This approach was grounded by the normative assumption that the institutional setting, as well as the discursive structure of concepts and ideas, influences strategic stakeholder behaviour in response to social, economic and environmental changes (Sabatier, 2007). This is useful in complex situations where stakeholders deal with competing policy aims and have yet to develop a shared understanding of what constitutes the problem and, therefore, solution. Following initial scoping through documentary analysis, discourse network analysis (DNA) was used to map stakeholder networks identifying key stakeholders, their principal concerns and positions in relation to planning proposals.

DNA combines qualitative discourse analysis with quantitative network analysis. To this end, Leifeld's (2011) discourse network analysis (DNA) approach was adapted to map the structure of the discourse that followed consultees' submissions to the planning process. DNA can be used to describe patterns and to measure structural properties (nodes, edges, centrality and connectedness) within networks through mapping key statements. Organisations or individuals with the greatest or least potential to facilitate cross-issue dialogue can therefore be identified.

Different approaches were adopted for the two local conflict case studies in Thames Gateway reflecting variations in the scale, type and temporality. The Lower Thames crossing is

at an early stage with a number of commissioned reports identifying competing proposals for its location. This has instigated considerable discussion, not least amongst the leading local, regional and national public agencies, economic associations and conservation bodies. To date all potential stakeholders are not fully represented in the emerging debate. This case study was therefore based on a review of the commissioned consultancy reports, the publicly stated positions of key regional/national agencies and nature conservation organisations, and informal discussions with key informants involved in the planning process.

In contrast, Barking Riverside is at an advanced stage. The broad strategic objectives for this urban development have already been agreed. Inevitably there is considerable scope for interpretation of how these objectives will be implemented. Local conflict is shaped by local conflicts over resources – especially access to housing and employment opportunities – between residents and migrant groups. Moreover this dichotomy breaks down when competing interests amongst resident and migrant groups, divided by class, ethnicity and other social cleavages are taken into account. Given the strong representation of these conflicts in the media, the methodology adopted was to interview key informants, review the policy literature and analyse media reports.

3. Analysis of UK conflict case studies

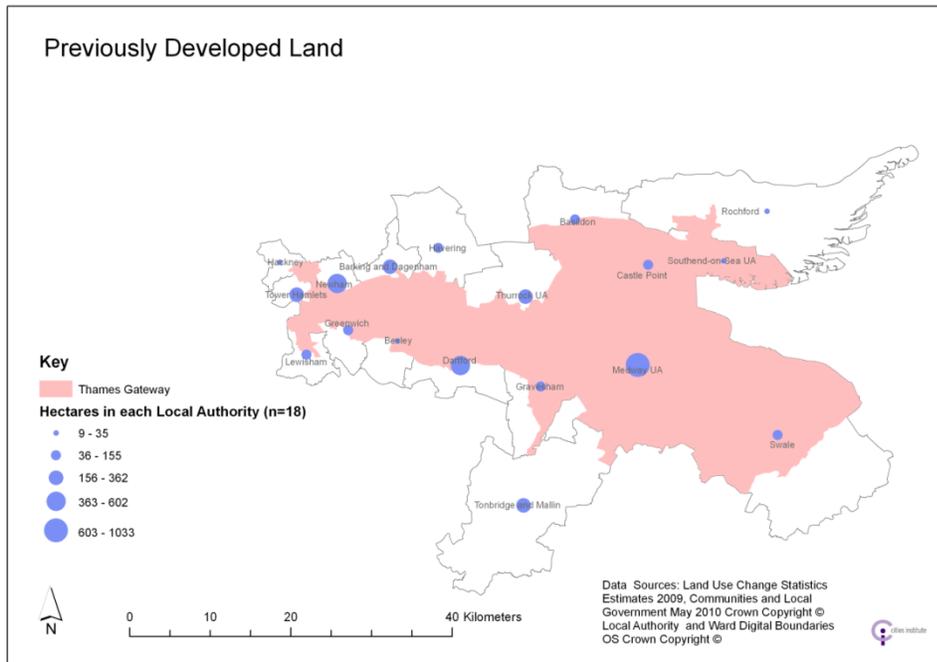
3.1 Barking riverside – housing and migration

3.1.1 Nature of Conflict: Thematic Classification

Regeneration of brownfield land has been identified as a solution to local and regional housing need. However, the process of planning, designing and implementing developments is characterized by politicised conflicts over urban resources encapsulating (and exaggerating) existing and emerging social divisions between ‘incomers’ (migrants) and ‘locals’, different ethnic groups and social-economic classes. In 1995, the *Thames Gateway Planning Framework* identified the Gateway as an area of both ‘need’ and ‘opportunity’. The decline of industry, strongly rooted in port activities, led to high levels of unemployment and deprivation and left extensive industrial sites available for redevelopment. The *Framework’s* vision was to bring these sites into productive use through an integrated programme of economic, social and environmental regeneration. More recently, the Mayor of London’s 2008 *London Plan* (Mayor of

London, 2008) states that its strategic priorities are delivery of "... development, regeneration and transport improvement..." (p.309).

Figure 5.2. *Previously Developed Land in Thames Gateway.*



UK planning policy requires at least 60 per cent of new housing to be built on previously developed land. The *Thames Gateway Delivery Plan* goes beyond this in committing to 80% (TGDC, 2007). Of the 3,150 hectares of brownfield land in the Thames Gateway (approximately 20% of all brownfield land the south east of England) 65% is considered suitable for housing development. This demonstrates the pressure on Thames Gateway as a focus for future urban growth (Figure 5.2). Furthermore there is pressing need to improve environmental quality and to protect remaining wildlife habitats within the area. Environmental degradation from prior unconstrained industrial activity and urban sprawl has degraded much of urban Thames Gateway. Land contamination is widespread.

Thames Gateway as a whole addresses SECOA's thematic priority of *human mobility and resource use* however it also touches upon *economic development and environmental protection*. These themes are addressed in more detail in the development and conflict at Barking Riverside.

3.1.2 Parties Involved: Legitimizing Conflict

Barking Riverside is a 179.3 hectare brownfield site – previously power stations and landfill - with a 2km river frontage located within the London Thames Gateway sub region. An estimated £200 million of publicly-funded remediation of the site has been undertaken including the raising of land to satisfy statutory flood risk requirements. Outline planning permission was granted in 2006 for a mixed- use development of up to 10,800 residential dwellings with provision for supporting infrastructure including retail facilities, healthcare, schools, community uses and open space (Figure 5.3). The development agency, Barking Riverside Ltd., has promised a high proportion of larger homes (3 or more bedrooms) in response to local need.

The London Borough of Barking and Dagenham (LBBD), states that a range of tenures and ‘affordable’ homes will be delivered. LBBD Core Strategy (LBBD, 2010) sets out the vision and spatial objectives for the local authority area to 2025, including sustainable new communities and homes for 60,000 new residents representing a one third increase in population. However the planned development at Barking Riverside is taking place against a backdrop of social problems with specific tensions expressed around migration, race and housing.

LBBD suffers high unemployment relative to the rest of London and the UK with available work tending to be both low skilled and poorly paid. Key indicators of deprivation, such as percentage of working age population claiming welfare benefits, are high (Table 5.2). A significantly higher proportion of residents claim benefits of all kinds compared with the rest of the UK. The Borough also has a slightly higher proportion of white people than the rest of London although it is more mixed than the rest of the UK (Table 5.2).

There is heavy reliance on local authority (state owned) housing stock compared to the rest of London and England as a whole, and significant pressure in terms of supply. LBBD Tenants’ and Leaseholders’ Annual Report for 2009-2010 confirms that 11,441 people are on the waiting list – around 6.5% of the population of the Borough (Table 5.2). The subject of social housing allocation in LBBD is a focal point for community anger. Prior to the 2006 local elections, the local Member of Parliament (also a Government Minister) was quoted in the press as saying that eight out of 10 white people in the constituency were threatening to vote for the extreme rightist British National Party (BNP). The BNP went on to claim 12 seats in the Local Council elections making it the second largest local party behind Labour. An enduring theme of

BNP discourse in LBBB has been that immigrants are ‘favoured’ over locals in the allocation of housing stock.

In stressing the importance of “Meeting the housing needs of existing and future residents in new balanced communities...with an appropriate amount of housing and mix of types and sizes of dwellings, including an increased provision of high quality family homes and affordable housing.” (LBBB, 2010, p.15) the LBBB Core Strategy implicitly seeks to mediate these competing pressures. These include not only the respective needs and wants of existing and new communities, but also strategic commercial imperatives of developers charged with building new homes and from whom contributions to social infrastructure – including schools, health centres, and cultural facilities – are sought.

Table 5.3 summarises the key participants in this conflict, their interests, goals, positions, capacities and relationships. This highlights the dominant roles played by both the local state and by public-private agencies in potential conflicts.

Figure 5.3. *The Barking Riverside framework plan.*

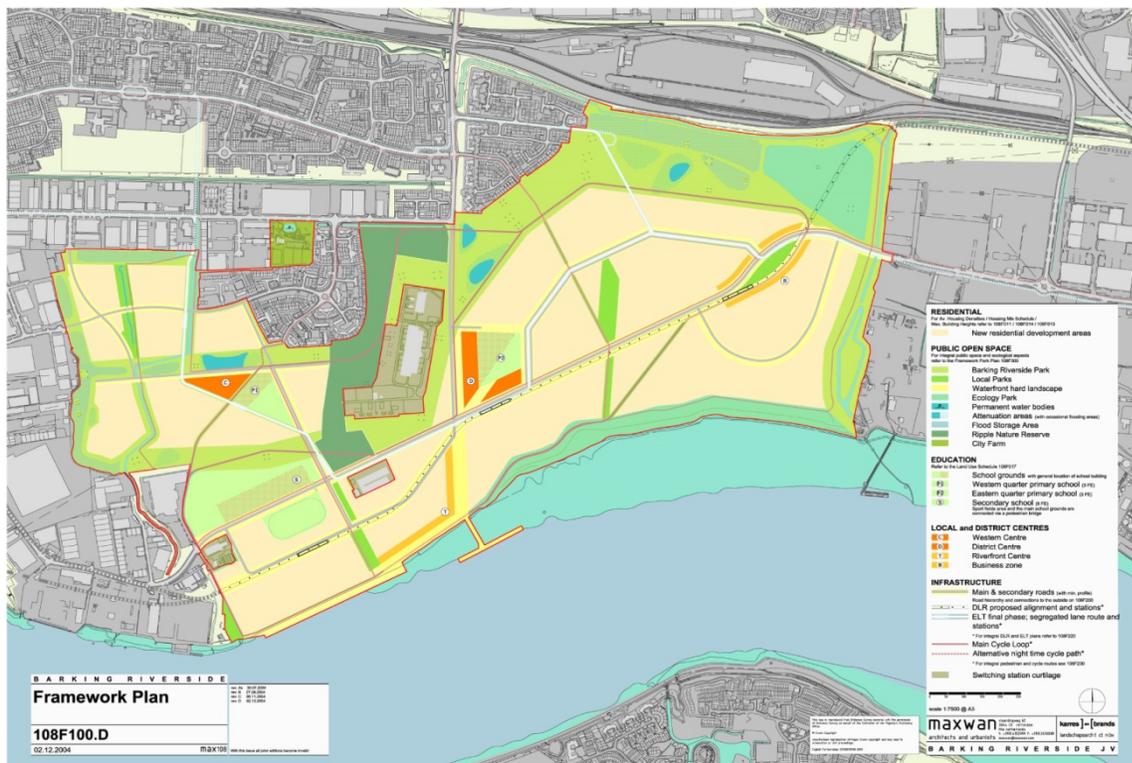


Table 5.2. *Economic and Housing Indicators.*

	Economic Activity		Economic Deprivation	Ethnicity					Rented Housing Stock			Housing Waiting List
	Economically active (% all people)	Unemployed (% all people)	All people of working age claiming a key benefit (August 09)	White	Mixed	Asian or Asian British	Black or Black British	Chinese or other Ethnic Group	L A housing stock as percentage of all dwellings	Registered social landlord housing stock as percentage of all dwellings (April 09)	Private housing stock as percentage of all dwellings (April 09)	Households on the LA register
Barking and Dagenham	71.50%	12.30%	22%	75.10%	2.70%	8.30%	11.90%	2.00%	27.00%	5.00%	68.00%	11,411
London	74.80%	8.90%	15%	69.00%	3.50%	13.30%	10.60%	3.50%	13.20%	10.90%	75.70%	
Great Britain	76.40%	7.70%	15%	88.20%	1.70%	5.70%	2.80%	1.50%	8.10%	9.70%	81.90%	
	Source: Office for National Statistics, Annual Population Survey. July 2009 – June 2010		Source: Office for National Statistics, August 2009	Source: Office for National Statistics, Neighbourhood Statistics, Resident population estimates by Ethnic Group, June 2007					Source: Department of Communities and Local Government, April 2009			

Table 5.3. *Participants in the Barking Riverside local conflict case study.*

Parties	Interests	Goals	Positions	Capacities	Relationships
LBBDC Council	Elected body	Core Strategy	Mediator and strategic development control authority since April 2011	Strategic planning guidelines; detailed planning approvals	Partnerships with other public bodies; planning consultation exercises, electoral accountability
Barking Riverside Limited	Joint Venture Company	Maximize returns on development site.	Public-private interests	Leverage with private sector developers	Strong relationships to public bodies and private sector. Official partners include LBBDC and LTGDC
London Thames Gateway Development Corporation (LTGDC)	Strategic development control authority (until April 2011)	Homes on brownfield sites and economic regeneration	Public sector agency	Strategic investments in infrastructure and reclamation.	Strong links to national, regional and local public authorities
Lord Mayor of London	Directly elected	Strategic development of London	Balancing local needs with the needs of London	2008 London Plan. Transport co-ordination.	Greater London Authority. Individual London authorities such as LBBDC. Electorate.
Local residents	Jobs and housing	Securing favourable mixes of jobs and houses	Variable	Electoral power. Consulted via planning process.	Strongest relationships to individual elected members of LBBDC.
Future potential residents	Improvements in jobs & housing	Largely passive	Unknown	Limited, but can contribute to wider media discourses	Non-existent
Private developers	Profit from housing development.	Return on land and housing	Delivery of required housing and employment targets	Main source of investment	Formally via Barking Riverside

3.1.3 Typological Classification

Drawing on Cadoret's (2009) scheme for classifying conflicts, Barking Riverside is a *chronic* conflict in terms of its *current* and *open* manifestation. However, it is also an *anticipated conflict* as social tension is predicted when the proposed housing development is completed.

Following Chandrasekharan's (1996) typology Barking Riverside would be classified in terms of two main types of conflicts. There is differential *access* to housing and jobs in an area of strong relative deprivation, and this is being reproduced by issues relating to changes in the *quality of resources* resulting from land reclamation. There are also *value* based conflicts which are rooted in class, ethnicity and localism. Ultimately the conflicts are centred on *policy* contained within the general outline planning permission and in the detailed planning applications for the Barking Riverside area.

According to Rupeshinge's (1995) model, this is a *medium* to *late* stage conflict where there has been long public debate and conflict, a period of mediation and decisions taken in terms of outline planning permission for the redevelopment of Barking Riverside. It is therefore an example of *mature* and *later stage* conflict.

Turning to Warner's (2000) typology Barking Riverside is a *micro-micro* conflict over wealth disparities and between newcomers and locals. It is about the distribution of housing and jobs between existing residents and potential incomers. It is being determined by the interaction between the outline permission, the detailed planning proposals put forward by private developers, and the influence exerted by different interest groups.

3.1.4 Current Trends in the Conflict

Andrew Atkins of London Thames Gateway Development Corporation (LTDG) describes how original attempts to balance competing interests are complicated by changes in market conditions, making the task of delivery extremely difficult. He explains:

"The original project deliverables – such as high specification homes, the proportion of affordable housing and community benefits – were levied against certain land values. However, the market has reversed and land values have fallen to the point that everything that has been planned to be delivered is either unviable or very close to being unviable" (Interview)

Within this context, a revised regeneration agenda for the area is set out by Peter Andrews (Director, TGDG) who is reported as saying *“The one thing that employers need here is a middle class living in East London; east London needs people who want to be here, not who have to be here”* (TGDC, 2009).

Of necessity, the perspectives, aspirations and concerns of the many future migrants are not a feature of consultation around the regeneration at Barking Riverside or LBBB more generally. The report Gateway People (Bennett & Morris, 2006) - though based on a small sample - suggests the importance of housing tenure and size mix in relation to potential new residents. It found that affordable housing was attractive to low-middle income households, with higher-income groups resistant to mixed-tenure housing. All groups were concerned about low-quality housing in dormitory developments with no sense of place, and expressed a wish for a strong sense of community. People from black and ethnic communities were particularly concerned about the availability of culturally specific goods and services.

LBBB Divisional Director of Regeneration and Economic Development, Jeremy Grint is confident that homes for sale will offer *“the best value in London”*; that they will be well served by community facilities such as schools, community centres and transport; and that the new community will be socially diverse and relatively self-sufficient. Nonetheless, concerns remain within Council about the social effects of new housing on such a scale. Ultimately, Jeremy Grint suggests,

“Balancing the needs of new and existing communities is about perception Barking Riverside is an extension of the Borough, but some in the indigenous population fears that it is a new community and that new homes will go to outsiders. In fact the social rented housing is likely to be occupied by local residents decanted from existing Council estates, but in the private sector it will be different. There are issues around which groups will come, and what their needs are”. (Interview).

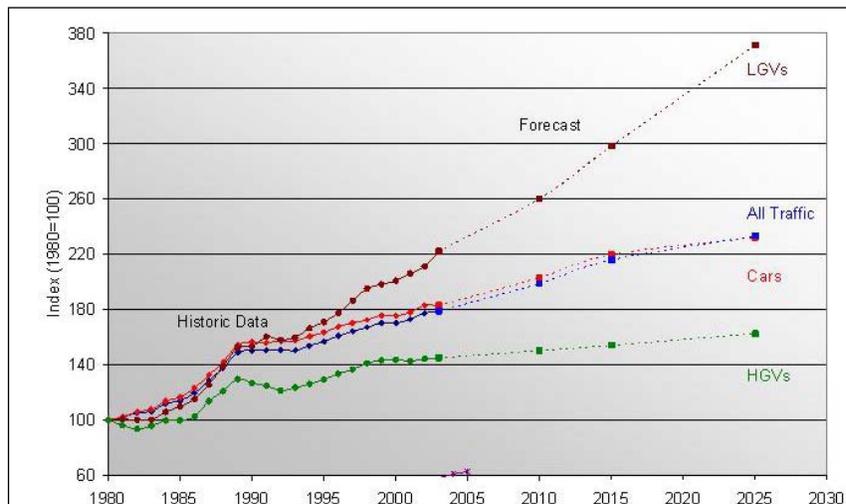
Barking Riverside addresses SECOA’s thematic priority of *human mobility and resource use* however it also touches upon *economic development and environmental protection*.

3.2 Lower Thames Crossing - proposals for a new tunnel or bridge across the Lower Thames Estuary

3.2.1 Nature of Conflict: Thematic Classification

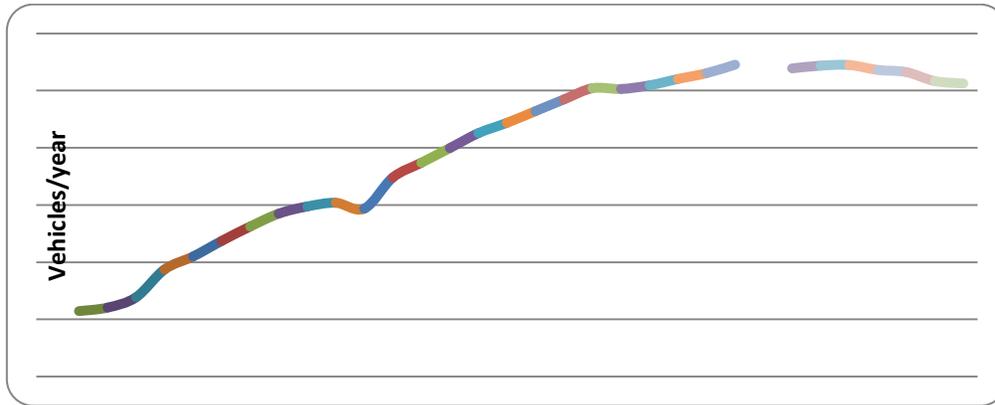
Across the UK road traffic has grown by 85% since 1980 (Department for Transport, 2010). Of this growth, car usage has increased by 87% while heavy goods vehicles increased in number by 46%. Vehicular traffic nationally has been projected to continue to grow although at a reduced rate (Figure 5.4). Nevertheless, any growth has the potential to increase congestion.

Figure 5.4. Forecast Traffic Growth (Source: Historic traffic data is from DfT (2006); forecasts NTM).



In the UK, north-south road connection is interrupted east of London by the Thames estuary. This is only one crossing, the combined road bridge (Queen Elizabeth II Bridge, southbound) and tunnel (northbound) linking Thurrock in Essex with Dartford in Kent. This carries the M25 orbital motorway that encircles London, and one rail tunnel that takes the high speed rail link connecting central London via Kent to Paris. The demand for a vehicle crossing is illustrated by the flow rates across the existing road bridge/tunnel over the period since the opening of the Dartford Crossing/Queen Elizabeth II Bridge (Figure 5.5). With a daily average number of vehicles crossing the Thames of 149,602 in 2006/07, the design daily maximum capacity for the crossing of 65,000 vehicles per day was being regularly breached soon after the M25 motorway was opened in 1986 (CPRE, undated).

Figure 5.5. Growth of road traffic across the river Thames at Dartford. Dartford Tunnel was the only means of crossing the river until 2001 when the QE2 Bridge opened. 1980-2003/04 annual data October-September. 2003/04-2009/10 annual data April-March (Source: UK Highways Agency).



Heavy goods vehicles (trucks) using the principal route from Dover through Kent to London averaged 9,000-14,999 per day in 2009 (Department for Transport, 2009a), with over 15,000 using the Queen Elizabeth II Bridge. Such heavy use frequently results in congestion and slow flows of northward and southward traffic across the Thames, with local settlements around Thurrock (Essex) (Thurrock Gazette, 29.01.2011) and Dartford (Kent) (Gravesham Borough Council, 2011) bearing the brunt of congestion on local non-trunk (non-major) routes.

In February 2008, the Department for Transport commissioned a study to examine potential short and longer-term options to address problems at the existing Dartford Crossing (Queen Elizabeth II Bridge). Subsequently, one proposal commissioned by Essex and Kent County Councils (Gifford/MVA Consultancy/Capita, 2008) considers three alternative routes for a new Lower Thames Crossing (LTC) (Figure 5.6).

Figure 5.6. Alternative routes for a new Lower Thames Crossing proposed by Gifford/MVA Consultancy/Capita. Source: TESTRAD (2010).



The lack of a Lower Thames crossing is a barrier to economic development and integration in Thames Gateway, as well as a contributory factor to the volumes of traffic and traffic congestion in the London metropolitan region. A number of proposals have suggested alternative routes for a new bridge or tunnel crossing. All involve loss of mudflats or saltmarsh. Compensation, by designation of newly created habitat in adjacent land, varies according to each scheme. Conflicts are possible between the proponents of each scheme, local communities and conservation groups. However (at the time of writing) the new crossing proposals have not been presented for consultation and were conceived in different financial and political climate. This is largely an anticipatory conflict.

This case study primarily addresses SECOA's thematic priority of *preservation of natural sites and biodiversity*. However it also addresses *economic development versus environmental protection*; and *Human mobility and resources*.

3.2.2. Parties Involved: Legitimation of Conflict

One route (Option C, Figure 5.6) is preferred by Kent County Council. This is the most easterly route. As a bridge transverse this route would impact on high value grazing marsh on the Kent (south) side of the estuary with loss and damage to prime wetlands protected under a range of UK and European legislation.

Figure 5.7. Thames estuary indicating proposed route for Metrotidal's tunnel linking Canvey Island (Essex, i.e. north shore) with Hoo Peninsular (Kent, i.e. south shore). Source: Metrotidal, 2008.



As a bridge or tunnel this option would additionally impinge on local settlements and reduce agricultural land. However, the proposal is objected to at a local level (Gravesham Borough Council, 2011), at regional level (Council for the Preservation of Rural England, CPRE, undated; Royal Society for the Protection of Birds, RSPB, 2011) and at national level (Council for the Preservation of Rural England, 2011). A further proposal has been developed by another consortium (Metrotidal), also commissioned by Essex and Kent County Councils, to provide a road tunnel link still further east (Figure 5.7), which would also incorporate a tidal hydroelectric scheme and flood protection on the Essex (north) shore (Metrotidal, 2008).

Objections to the proposed crossing are based on loss of agricultural land, green space/Green Belt and habitat and on potential disturbance to wildlife, disruption during construction and infringement of national and international law if any legally designated protected areas were to be altered or destroyed (Figure 5.8). Agricultural land influenced by bridge and /or tunnel construction and subsequent use is classified as Grade 1 (excellent) and Grade 2 (very good) although some land Graded 4 (poor) is also found in the area (Figure 5.9).

Coastal wildlife habitat types are constrained (Blunkell *et al*, 2010) including grazing marsh, saltmarsh and intertidal mudflats, with large areas designated as SSSIs, nature reserves, SACs, SPAs and a Ramsar site. These are recognised for their value to bird species and as invaluable as sources of biodiversity. If construction is contemplated on designated wildlife areas there are legal obligations to ensure that the national interest is based on 'overriding reasons of imperative public interest' (RSPB, 2011). These must surpass the conservation interest/value of the site and other areas have to be made available to mitigate for any losses and disturbance.

The Metrotidal (2008) proposal includes flood water storage areas and energy generation in addition to a Thames crossing. It involves loss of some mudflat/saltmarsh which would be compensated for in the designation of newly created habitat in adjacent land (Figure 5.10). Objectors to routes east of Gravesend include CPRE Protect Kent (CPRE Protect Kent, 2007), Member of Parliament for Gravesham (Higham Parish Council, 2010), the Royal Society for the Protection of Birds (RSPB, 2011) and Thurrock Council and Gravesham Borough Council (Gravesham Borough Council, 2011).

Much of the land over which the easterly Lower Thames Crossing routes are proposed is within the flood vulnerability zones identified for the Thames Gateway. The elevation of road surface at either end of a bridge would need to be sufficient to ensure no threat of flood until higher ground is reached, while tunnel entrances would need their own flood defences. Such additional construction would necessarily impinge further on the area of land required and add to the concerns likely to be expressed by objectors. However, such large projects usually take several years before they are realised.

Table 5.4, below, summarises the key participants in this local conflict case study, their interests, goals, positions, capacities and relationships.

Figure 5.8. CORINE Land Cover Map of Thames Gateway – Level 3 Symbology. Prepared by using CORINE landcover data, European Environment Agency, 2010.

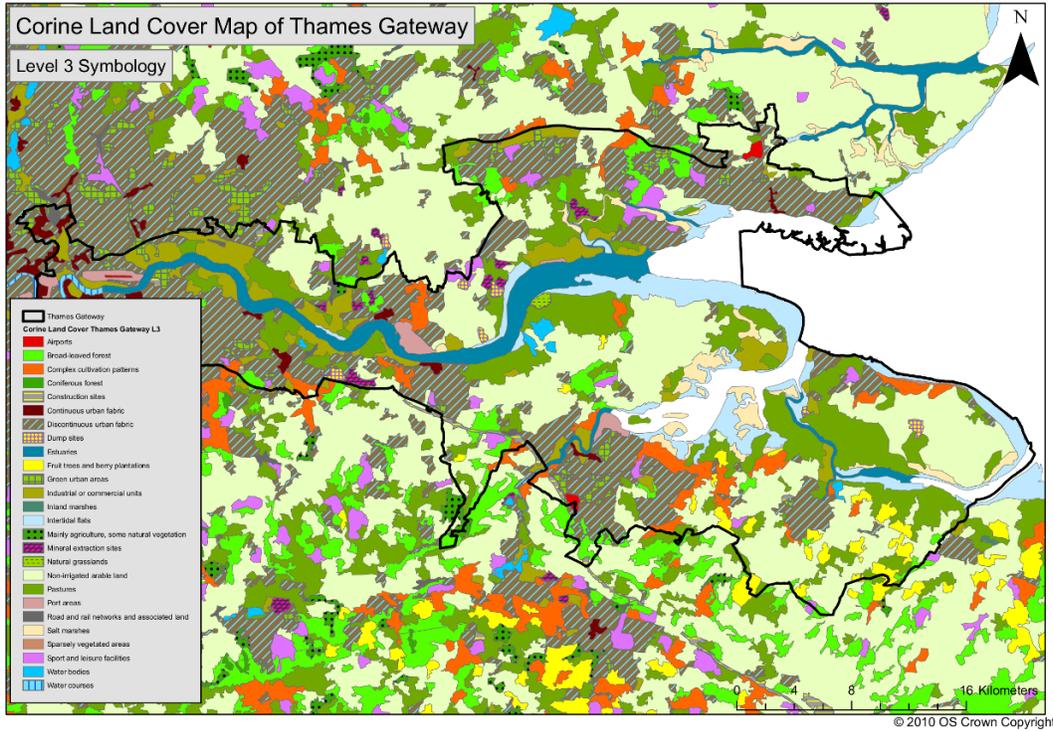


Figure 5.9. Agricultural land classification in the wider Thames Gateway region. Source: MAGIC crown Copyright.

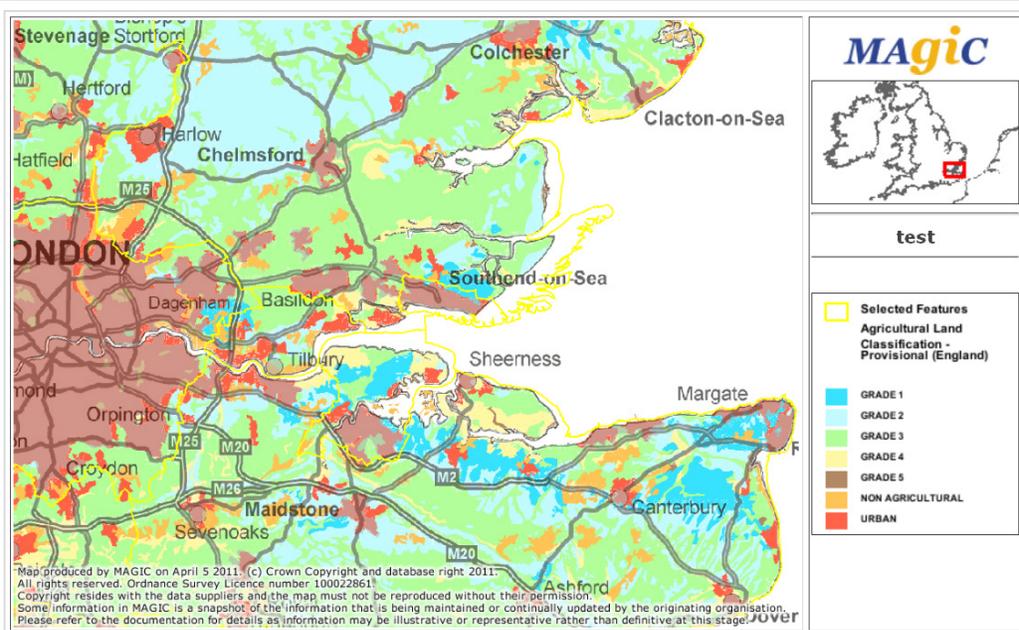


Figure 5.10. Intertidal habitat distribution along the lower Thames estuary. Source, Natural England Crown Copyright.

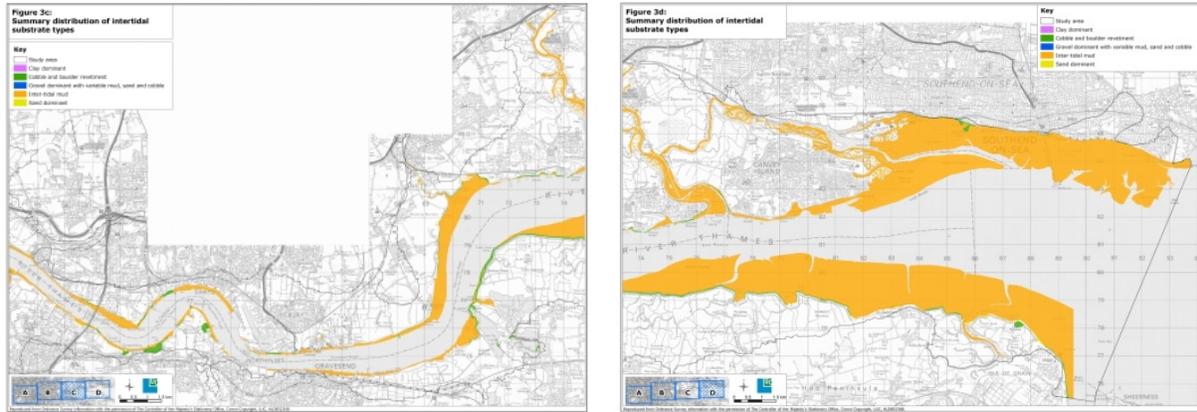


Table 5.4. Participants in the Local Thames River local conflict case study.

Parties	Interests	Goals	Positions	Capacities	Relationships
Department for Transport	Government responsibility for national transport policies	Reconcile economic growth with environmental/ social goals	Authority on transport-related issues	Holds final decision-making and budget powers	Informal /formal partnerships with other public bodies
Kent County Council (KCC) /Essex County Council (ECC)	Regional responsibility for policy development/ implementation	Reduce congestion via strategic transport policies	Committed to a new Lower Thames Crossing (LTC)	Budget holder and policy maker for Kent	Local government, private and public sectors
Lord Mayor of London	Directly elected and electorally accountable.	Strategic development of London	Needs of London as a whole	2008 London Plan.	Greater London Authority.
Gravesham Borough Council	Local responsibility for policy and implementation	Best benefits for electorate	Rejects proposals for a LTC east of Gravesham	Decisions can be over-ridden by national government	Local electorate, NGOs, neighbouring councils
Thurrock Council		Central role for encouraging enterprise and opportunity within Thames Gateway	No position declared	Decisions can be over-ridden by national government	
Higham Parish Council	Local (parish) responsibility for policy/implementation	Represent local electorate	Rejects the proposal for a LTC	Represents Higham Parish at Gravesham Borough Council	Local electorate and NGOs

Protect Kent (CPRE)	Conserve and maintain natural environments	Protect natural landscapes	Opposed to LTC	Widely respected NGO	Formal /informal links with public authorities/ NGOs
Royal Society for the Protection of Birds (RSPB)	Conserve birds in the UK	Resource bird conservation			
Kent Wildlife Trust	Conservation of wildlife in Kent	Resource conservation of habitats and species within Kent	No position		
MP for Gravesham constituency	Improving standards of living for Gravesham electorate	Represents electorate to parliament	Opposed to a LTC route east of Gravesham	Conservative MP within UK government	Constituency and government levels
Local residents	Quality of local environment	Maintain semi-rural aspect of parish/economic prosperity	Strong opposition to a LTC	Electoral power	Various.

3.2.3 Typological Classification

This is a classic *anticipated conflict* (Cadoret, 2009) centred on long running proposals for a major infrastructural project, but without detailed specification of site or scale, and as yet no definite funding.

The conflicts mainly focus on *access issues*, relating to intra-regional transport developments, and to the impact on legally protected conservation areas (Chandrasekharan, 1996).

The conflicts are still in a relatively early stage. Although they have largely been manifested, at least in the media and the publication of some general position papers, they are still crystallizing in the endurance stage (Rupeshinge, 1995).

These are *micro-macro* conflicts between the sponsors of the proposed new Lower Thames Crossing and different local communities (Warner, 2000).

3.2.4 Current Trends in the Conflict

The new crossing proposals are at the proposal stage and have not yet been presented for consultation. There was little activity or media exposure during 2010, until the publication by Kent County Council in December 2010 of 'Growth without Gridlock' (Kent County Council, 2010). In this document the Lower Thames Crossing was embedded within the transport

strategy for the county during the next 20-30 year. Following publication, a public meeting was held at the village of Higham (close to one of the proposed routes) in February 2011 where some 600 people heard the leader of Kent County Council and the chairman of CPRE Protect Kent present their opposing views (CPRE Protect Kent, 2011). Greater levels of commitment by national and/or local government would result in intensified opposition campaigns.

3.3 Farlington marshes: protecting wildlife *and* amenity value from flooding & erosion

3.3.1 Nature of the Conflict: Thematic Classification

Farlington Marshes is at high risk of flooding from storm events and erosion of protected saltmarsh habitat from sea level rise. A conflict has arisen, during the process of Shoreline Management Planning, between the long term protection of wildlife habitats and the immediate defence of urban land and recreational amenity space. A subsidiary conflict has emerged between different wildlife habitats.

Langstone Harbour (Figure 5.11) has the largest uninterrupted mudflats on the south coast of England which attract over 40,000 waders and 10,000 wildfowl each year. With adjoining saltmarshes, the Harbour area is a 'biological resource of unrivalled productivity' (LHMP, 1997). Over 20 species of bird visit during the winter representing 25% of the wintering bird population in Britain. The Harbour was designated a SSSI in 1958 (one of the first to be designated in the UK). In 1987 it was protected as wetland habitat under the Ramsar Convention and as a Special Protection Area (SPA) under the European Directive on the Conservation of Wild Birds. In 2000, approximately 48 hectares of saltmarsh remained. Although some accretion has been recorded within the Harbour, erosional trends are evident (Gardiner *et al*, 2007). Farlington Marshes local nature reserve is 125 hectares of reclaimed saltmarsh (dating back to 1773) located in the north-west corner of the Harbour and protected from tidal flooding by a low, 3.5km-long concrete seawall. These defences are composed mainly of revetment and require substantial repair and upgrading as they are nearing the end of their useful life.

Figure 5.11. *Langstone Harbour.*

Langstone Harbour and Farlington Marshes are under pressure from recreational use due to population increase. From 2000 to 2010 Portsmouth's population increased by 10,000. (Portsmouth City Council, 2011). Recreational use of accessible shoreline areas is likely to intensify over the next 20 years (Stillman *et al*, 2009). In addition there has been a 14% increase in the number of private motor vehicles on local roads. Two major road developments are located on the northern shore of Langstone Harbour, increasing access to the shoreline and intensifying the impact of road traffic.

Farlington Marshes is mostly below current mean high spring tides and would be flooded if defences were not present. It has high probability of tidal flooding and is in the UK Environment Agency Flood Zone Category 3 (highest). By 2115 (if defences are not present), the reserve and parts of the A27 arterial road will be at high risk of inundation. It is expected that, if no investment is made in upgrading existing defences, the level of protection offered by 2115 will be for events with water levels below the 1 in 20-year return period (<4.1 m OD). The level of 'danger to people' is such that in the event of a breach, people present in Farlington Marshes would be injured or drowned.

The focus of the conflict is proposals for realignment of coastal defences at Farlington Marshes. It involves stakeholders with competing interests in relation to natural area preservation, recreational amenity and flood protection of urban infrastructure. The realignment decision has to be taken within 10 years because of the current state of the coastal defences.

This case study addresses SECOA's thematic priority of *Preservation of natural sites and biodiversity* with some subsidiary relevance to *Human mobility and resources*.

3.3.2 Parties involved: Legitimation of the Conflict

The East Solent Shoreline Management Plan (2009) for Langstone Harbour identifies and proposes management interventions based on analysis of the current condition of shoreline, its coastal defences and current land use. The protected wildlife habitat on Farlington Marshes depends on the continued maintenance of coastal defences. Proposals to maintain and improve the sea wall are justified on the basis of *habitat value* and *recreational benefit* (there is a popular public footpath on top of the sea wall). However English Nature, a national agency, opposed this recommendation. This organisation advocates natural evolution of the coastline where possible and therefore support managed retreat. Likewise research by Gardiner *et al* (2007) questions continued coastal defence at this site, citing damage to the harbour ecosystem and likely long term erosion of island habitats if there is no increase in the intertidal zone. Portsmouth City Council and the East Solent Coastal Partnership point out the recreational and amenity benefits of maintaining the coastal defence. Recent maintenance work by the Environment Agency ensures that the present shoreline is not at immediate risk.

The Shoreline Management Planning process included stakeholders (organisations and individuals) pursuing their interests through a public consultation process. Most organisations with a stake in Langstone Harbour share the overall aim to protect the value of its international wildlife habitats and have an interest in cooperating with each other. Some do this through a Coastline Partnership. Each organisation conducts or contributes to plans and policy which aim to identify, clarify and manage problems and change (pressures on wildlife habitats, competing recreational uses, development) and future risks (flooding and erosion). However in the process of negotiating agreement, differences in stakeholders' interests are apparent.

Some organisations framed their consultation comments on the North Solent Shoreline Management Plan in terms of pre-existing thematic local policy objectives of their organisation – for example Historic Heritage, Utility Services, Transport or Recreation and used existing agreed plans as a mechanism for challenging the SMP's recommendations. Others focus on

citing pre-existing plans for adjacent local areas. Consultees also referred to the availability of financial resources to maintain long-term flood defence, citing differences in eligibility for central Government funding. Conflicts of interest represented in thematic policy objectives and in local area plan and resources have the potential to derail the SMP objectives to manage the shoreline as a whole. Langstone Harbour Board proposes maintenance of a coastal buffer zone in line with proposals outline in the Langstone Harbour Management plan to restrict development and ‘naturalise’ the shoreline as far as possible.

Table 5.5 summarises the key participants in this local conflict case study, their interests, goals, positions, capacities and relationships. This highlights the diversity of groups involved in this conflict.

Table 5.5. Participants in the Farlington Marshes local conflict case study.

Organisation	Interests	Goals	Positions	Capacities	Relationships
Langstone Harbour Board	Management of harbour use	Protection of harbour activities	Maximise benefit to harbour users	Budget holder and Management Authority	Formal relationships - local authorities, national agencies and voluntary groups
Natural England	Protection of landscape and natural heritage	Protect natural landscape and heritage of LH	Prevention of over development	National agency	Formal relationships - local authorities, agencies and partnerships
RSPB	Protection of Island Reserve Habitats	Retention of Island Reserve	Seeks protection of wild birds	Large NGO /influential members	
HWLT	Management of Farlington Marshes	Retention of Farlington Marshes Reserve	Protection of species and habitats	Regional NGO influential members	
Environment Agency	Statutory Advice/regulation	Effective planning for sea level rise	Statutory advice on sustainable development	Executive Non-departmental Public Body	
Chichester Harbour Conservancy	Protection of harbour wildlife and amenity	Minimise development /maximising access to harbour	Retention of amenity value	Harbour Authority	
Borough and District Councils, Portsmouth City Council	Enabling development /protecting amenity and wildlife	Balance development with environmental protection	Mediation between development /protection	Budget holder and policy maker	Local electorate, national and local agencies, local firms, neighbouring local authorities
Havant, Portsmouth & Gosport Coastal Partnership	Integration of shoreline management	Implementation of SMP	Implementation of coastal planning	Coast defence service	Formal links with national agencies, local authorities and Harbour Boards

3.3.3. Typological Classification

In terms of Cadoret (2009) this is a *chronic* conflict reflecting persistent conflicts between well defined interest groups with strongly divergent views.

It involves *access* conflicts (Chandrasekharan, 1996) relating to access by competing environmental groups to highly valued environmental areas. The conflicts also related to *changed resource quality*, resulting from the proposed realignment of coastal defences combined with predicted sea level rise. There are also elements of value base conflicts reflecting deep seated views about the balance between nature and society, as manifested in relation to the future defence and use of coastal areas

The conflict is passing from the stage of conflict *manifestation* to becoming an *endurance* conflict (Rupesinghe, 1995), as a consequence of decisions about the future of the coastal defences becoming increasingly pressing, at the same time as there is intensification of pressures on these coastal areas.

Farlington can be classified as an *inter micro-micro* conflict relating to proposed boundary shifts, that is to the alignment of coastal defences (Warner, 2000).

3.3.4 Current Trends of the Conflict

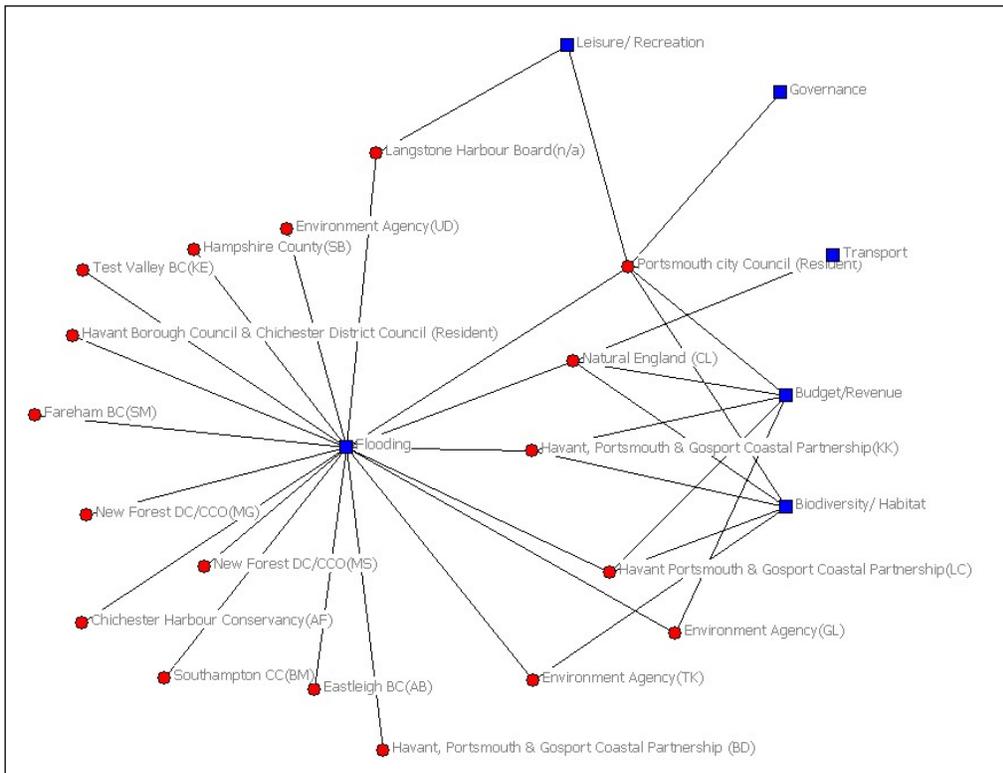
A discourse network analysis (DNA) was used to map the stakeholder network for Langstone Harbour. This approach allowed identification of key stakeholders, their principal concerns and positions in relation to the draft NSSMP. The network data suggests that Natural England (CL) is closest to all other organisations in the network. It has the highest centrality scores of all other organisations and should, therefore, have the best overview. Thus, Natural England should be in an excellent position to mediate between stakeholders (nodes) otherwise not connected. With this position comes the potential power of controlling/ mediating information flow or facilitating conflict resolutions. Those stakeholders with the lowest 'closeness' and 'betweenness' measures (i.e. Chichester Harbour Conservancy) can be expected to be in the least powerful position (Figure 5.12).

The recommendations for Farlington Marshes outlined in the East Solent SMP (2009) have been modified in the North Solent SMP from 'hold the line' to 'hold the line temporarily' (for 10 years). This is the result of objections made to the original recommendation on the grounds of *habitat loss*, *loss of recreational amenity* and *protection of urban land use*. There is a failure to agree the long term strategy of shoreline management in Farlington Marshes. The

NSSMP has deferred the decision, recommending further research and consultation to assess the wider strategic impact of habitat loss and assessment of economic and social impacts of change in defence alignment. However the NSSMP’s advice to the Regional Habitat Creation Plan is to consider the possible need for compensatory habitat.

Through a survey of stakeholders, the high value their organisations placed on the natural environment of Langstone Harbour was confirmed though for some it was no more valuable than the other localities within the Solent and no more important than the cultural heritage of the historic harbours in the vicinity. The greatest risk to the Harbour was uniformly identified as sea level rise resulting in damage to the environment generally and loss of habitat in particular.

Figure 5.12. *Bipartite Langstone Harbour network. Visualised using NetDraw © 2002-9 Analytic Technologies.*



One wildlife organisation identified the ‘*Increase in disturbance from human recreational activities*’ as a high risk factor. Habitat conflicts caused by coastal squeeze, exacerbated by coastal defences, were also identified suggesting that the mitigation and compensation

requirements of the Habitats Regulations will have a very significant impact in this area. One respondent wrote:

“Removal of sea defences would reduce coastal squeeze but sea defences will be necessary to protect some terrestrial/freshwater components of the European designated sites, and of course the surrounding urban areas (Portsmouth, Havant and Hayling Island)” (Wildlife Organisation).

Yet others advocate maintenance of coastal defences to protect habitats on Farlington Marshes, adding to the difficulty of developing a shared understanding of the habitat conflicts arising as a result of sea level change.

“Of particular concern is the future of the sea wall that surrounds Farlington Marshes Local Nature Reserve (the sea wall protects a very important area of coastal grazing habitat that is also a key roosting & feeding site for the harbour’s passage & wintering bird populations)”. (Wildlife Organisation)

Furthermore others noted the high level and density of population, some of the highest in Europe, in the surrounding area and that there is an expectation that protection from sea level rise will be forthcoming, even if it is paid for by communities themselves rather than through state funding.

“In order to protect people, property and communities from the climate change impact of sea level rise it may, where it is appropriate and affordable to do so, be necessary to maintain and improve coastal defences.” (Coastal Partnership Member).

“We will see communities pulling together to invest in defending themselves where public funds cannot be used.” (Statutory Environmental Organisation).

“Individual property owners will become increasingly aware of the risks and all development will build resistant and resilience into properties to address the residual flood risk.” (Environmental Organisation).

Respondents identified conflicts between wildlife protection and commercial fishing, specifically increased levels of clam dredging which has the potential to damage wildfowl food supplies and between the need to protect the valued environment and urban-economic infrastructure. Indeed one respondent noted that if there is a strategic reason for protecting human activity, this can override concern for wildlife. However there is apparent difficulty in assessing the relative value of different habitats within the Harbour.

3.4 Tipner Regeneration, Portsmouth: Economic Development versus Environmental Protection

3.4.1 Nature of the Conflicts: Thematic Classification

The Tipner site is a highly contaminated ex military site which is at high risk of flooding from tidal events and sea level rise. It is adjacent to protected wildlife habitats (Figure 5.13). A conflict has arisen, during the process of planning application for major housing and mixed use development, between the long term protection of wildlife habitats/decontamination of land and the urban development which is central to the delivery of the Portsmouth Plan. Subsidiary conflicts have emerged over the quality and type of housing, the transport provision and the impact on the waste water management system. There are therefore competing interests in conflict with the development proposals.

Tipner is the largest development site available in Portsmouth and has been the subject of successive (failed) planning applications in the past. The pressure for residential and related mixed uses (retail, leisure) continues to be high, with planning and housing policy looking to further house building and densification/re-use of available land to support economic growth and meet housing need. The Tipner land use is classified as 'brownfield' (previously developed land). It is within an SSSI and SPA designated area (Portsmouth harbour) and a Ramsar site.

From 2000 to 2010 Portsmouth's population increased by 10,000. It is continuing to rise. International migration has accounted for a significant proportion of this increase. Housing development pressure intensified over this same time period with the completion of over 3,300 dwellings. Recently revised housing targets recommend that between 6,800 and 8,900 new homes are constructed in Portsmouth before 2027 (Portsmouth City Council, 2011). Objectives within the Draft Portsmouth Plan are to develop approximately 50,000 square meters of comparison retail floorspace within the city core, 5,500 square meters of convenience retail floorspace in neighbourhoods and an additional 243,000 square meters of employment land mainly along the western corridor of the city to supplement the existing industrial areas on the eastern side of the city.

Figure 5.13. Tipner aerial view (main site marked in red). Source: Portsmouth City Council.



Tipner is a flood-prone area (if defences were not present), and there is considerable area of high probability (annual probability >0.5%) of flooding from the sea (flood zone 3). Sea level rise is likely to have a negative impact resulting in almost the entire area of Tipner categorised as zone 3 (high risk of flooding) by 2115. Currently most flood defences around Tipner have crest levels equivalent to tidal heights of 50-100 year return period with lower level of protection (20-50 year return period) offered along 700 m in the southwest. The investment currently needed to maintain protection against events of 1 in 200-year is low, while in 2115 a high level of investment will be required along 1.1 km of the defences at the westernmost section of Tipner and a moderate level of investment is likely to be needed elsewhere. In terms of risk to people, most of Tipner is considered to show 'danger to some' if breaching occurs. Current defences can be overtopped by 1 in 100-year water levels at some locations, especially along the northern coastline close to the M275. Most defences would be overtopped by the predicted 1 in 100 year event by 2100 if they are not upgraded and most of the area would be flooded as a result.

This case study primarily addresses SECOA's thematic priorities of *Economic development versus environmental protection* and *Human mobility and resources*.

3.4.2. Parties Involved: Legitimation of the Conflict

The planning applications at the time of writing include provision for:

- 518 homes -111 x 1 bed, 256 x 2 bed, 21 x 3 bed flats; 1 x 2 bed, 19 x 3 bed, 20 x 4 bed houses (418)+ 90 x 2 storey houses (on former Greyhound stadium site). 820 car park spaces, 553 cycle spaces
- Hotel (150 bed) & offices (25,000m²)
- Waterfront - Tipner Point: listed building/commercial leisure 2380m². New coastal path (440m)
- Local centre 1750m²⁺: Shops 147m², Children's play area, CHP, Restaurants/cafes 237m²
- Park & ride scheme - bus service linking Cosham to the north and city centre to the south
- New sea wall - raise land level by 4.3 to 4.5m

Two applications were finally submitted in September 2010 - One led by Tipner Regeneration Co Ltd. (10/00850/OUT) and one led by Tipner Regeneration Co Ltd and SEEDA (10/00849/OUT) the regional development agency for the South East of England. Both plans propose land remediation (including thermal desorption), land raising, the development of new dwellings, CHP plants, sea wall and coastal path. The decision from the planning committee about both applications is still pending. In general, planning permissions can only be given if the applications are in line with Portsmouth City Plan (2006-9) planning and development policies. This statutory framework entails more than 50 policies.

Interviews with officers from Portsmouth City Council (the statutory unitary planning authority) have highlighted the following key issues that have, in previous years, prevented any planning applications from reaching the submission stage: the number of stakeholders, an increased flood risk with rising sea level, need for sustainable drainage systems to cope with surface flooding, contamination of land and water, impact on nature conservation, access to the site, the potential effects upon neighbouring properties by reason of air quality, noise, landscape and townscape.

Tipner falls under the Local Development Plan for Portsmouth. Current planning applications are guided by The Draft Portsmouth Plan (-2027), a revised statement of which is currently out for public consultation. This is Portsmouth's Core Strategy. It is the overarching planning policy document, which forms part of a wider set of local planning policy documents known as the Local Development Framework (LDF). The LDF will gradually replace the City

Local Plan, adopted in July 2006. The Portsmouth Plan does not contain detailed area plans - these are contained in Site Allocation documents, Area Action Plans and Supplementary Planning Documents for specific areas or topics. The Portsmouth Plan is a strategic document and sets out key issues and main locations for development and change. It has to reflect national planning policies. Table 5.1 outlines the planning framework governing the development of Tipner.

The Portsmouth Plan strategy for Tipner has developed in line with EU Directive 2011/42/EC requiring Strategic Environmental Assessments (SEA) & Planning and Compulsory Purchase Act 2004 (Core Strategy/Local Development Framework) and South East Plan.

Stakeholders were found to share the overall aim to de-contaminate and develop this site. Most addressed aspects of these applications, which were thought of as not complying with the aforementioned Portsmouth City Plan (2006/2009) planning and development policies. The statements suggest that the overall strategic behaviour has generally only been directed towards single policy and planning issues – usually within the realm of institutionally manifested expertise.

It seems that by pursuing the best possible planning decision for single policy issues, these stakeholders have not left much room to negotiate the best system-wide response. This single issue focus seems to have already caused delays in the planning decision, and, thus, jeopardizes the commonly shared aim to decontaminate and develop the land. The aim of this study is to analyse the discourse in more detail and validate these claims.

However not all stakeholders necessarily value the development proposals for Tipner. A summary of objections to the current planning application reveals a number of explicit potential conflicts between development and conservation and between specific development goals:

- RSPB - Coastal path, disturbance from recreational (human) use and effect on wildfowl. Residential and commercial/leisure development. Need to wait for results of Solent Disturbance & Mitigation research project (due for completion mid-2011)
- Natural England – insufficient Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA), coastal squeeze (new sea wall setback), recreational use – impacts on intertidal area and habitat
- Housing need – dwelling sizes (3-4 bed houses/dwellings) 45% in City plan versus only 24% in latest planning proposal. Mixed tenure/communities, more affordable housing required, also poor design
- Pressure on amenities from increased population (n=1000) e.g. schools, GPs etc.

- Transport congestion (roads, junctions), lack of secure cycle parking
- Contaminated land cleansing on site is partial (not whole Tipner site) - health impacts/residual risks

Table 5.6. summarises the key participants in this conflict, their interests, goals, positions, capacities and relationships

Table 5.6. Participants in the Tipner local conflict case study.

Organisations	Interests	Goals	Positions	Capacities	Relationships
Highways Agency	An Executive Government Agency	Strategic traffic management	Traffic management	Strategic road network management.	Formal relationships - national and local statutory authorities, agencies and partnerships
Natural England (formerly English Nature)	Protection of landscape and natural heritage	Protect natural landscape and heritage of LH	Protect natural environment	Environmental Protection	Formal relationships with local statutory authorities, agencies and partnerships
RSPB	Protection of Island Reserve Habitats	Retention of Island Reserve	Protection of wild birds	Large NGO - influential members	Formal and informal links with public authorities, other NGOs
HWLT	Protection and Management of Farlington Marshes	Retention of Farlington Marshes Reserve	Protection of species and habitats	Regional NGO - influential members	
Environment Agency	Statutory advice/regulation /funding	Planning for sea level rise	Develop /implement statutory advice and guidance to protect the environment	Executive Non-departmental Public Body.	Formal relationships with local statutory authorities, agencies and partnerships
Local Councils/City Authorities	Enabling development while protecting amenity and wildlife	Balance development with enhanced environmental protection	Seeks to mediate between development goals and protection of the environment	Budget holder and policy maker for Hampshire	Local electorate, links with national and local agencies, local firms and neighbouring local authorities
Portsmouth Cycle Forum	Campaigning for better increased cycling and cycle facilities	Improve/increase cycle routes, facilities and provision	Seeks improved cycling	Voluntary organisation	Membership / informal ties with other environmental and social/community NGOs / formal consultee on local plans
Enabling (Community Housing)	Provision of social/accessible Housing	Increase number of affordable housing units	Seeks to maximise opportunities to develop accessible/affordable housing	Housing Association	Formal ties with local and regional authorities and agencies, local community groups and voluntary sector organisations

3.4.3 Typological Classification

This is a *chronic* conflict (Cadoret, 2009). It is a *persistent* conflict, reflecting the existence of other brownfield and contaminated sites which can or will be develop in the case study, either in the near future or longer term. This is exacerbated by a relatively slow moving planning system which affects the resolution or termination of the conflict.

The conflict centres mainly on issues resulting from changes in the quality of a resource (Chandrasekharan, 1996), as a result of a programme of decontamination of industrial land. There are also *policy conflicts* relating to policies and planning processes concerning the site.

It is a long established conflict which is currently in the conflict management stage (Rupesinghe, 1995): it is current, and high profile, and awaits resolution or transformation.

In terms of Warner's (2000) classification, this is difficult to classify as it involves a mixture of scales.

3.4.4 Current trends of the conflict

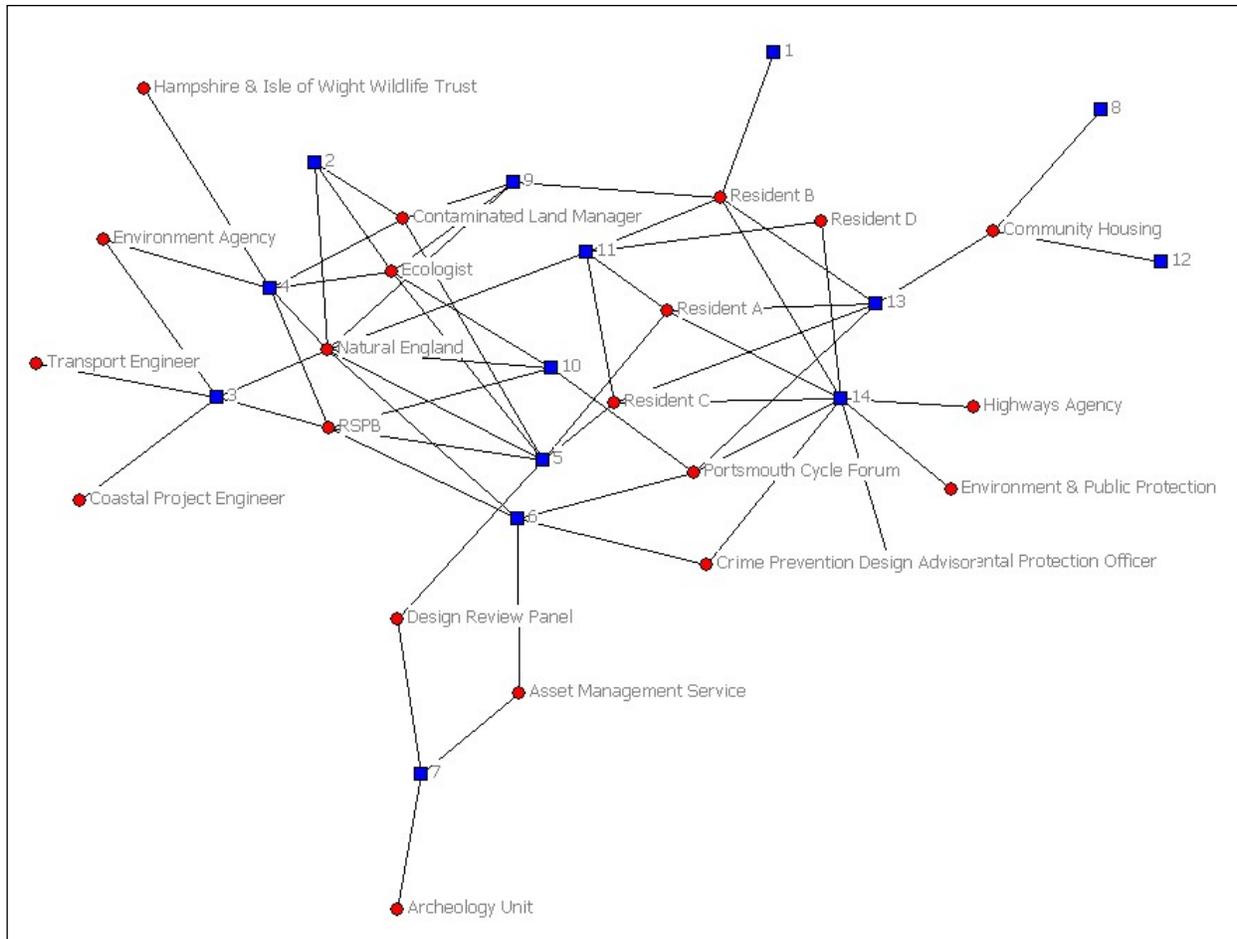
A discourse network analysis (DNA) was used to map the network for Tipner following the submission of planning applications in September 2010. This approach allowed identification of key stakeholders, their patterns of interaction and positions in relation to the proposed Tipner development.

The node with the highest score across all the measures is assumed to inhabit the most important structural position in the network. Natural England has the highest centrality scores and should, therefore, have the best overview of what happens in the remaining parts of the system. Thus, Natural England should be in an excellent position to mediate between nodes that would not otherwise be connected. Those stakeholders with the lowest closeness and betweenness centralities can be expected to be least likely to do so (ie the Design Review Panel). A 'second tier' of stakeholders emerges from the analysis in which the RSPB, The Hampshire County Council Ecologist and the Contaminated Land Officer have the second most central positions in relation to most (if not all of the dominant) themes (see Figure 5.14).

At the time of writing the planning decisions on Tipner were still pending. The resolution of the conflict over the proposed Tipner development may take the form of a conditional or compromised (depending on viewpoint) planning approval. The development process is however not predictable whatever the outcome. If planning is refused (again) for this strategic site, issues of land contamination/protection will still need to be resolved as the risks of pollution remains from surface water/drainage, storm flooding and, over time, sea level rise in

the absence of strengthened coastal defences and clean up. Planning blight of the site whilst pressure for housing continues will also remain a political and community conflict. Award of planning approval (with or without mitigating conditions) is also no guarantee that the development will go ahead or in its proposed form. Developers can sell on land (whose value will have risen) with planning approval to new developers or investors, or can retain the land for several years (up to 3) without having to seek renewed approval. Another scenario is that the development is undertaken piecemeal (as has happened in other major contaminated land developments e.g. Greenwich Millennium Village and Olympic Park, London).

Figure 5.14. *Bipartite Tipner network. Visualised using NetDraw © 2002-9 Analytic Technologies.*



The planning consultation process has been limited to vested interests (only four ‘near residents’) including those concerned with the natural habitat, birds and amenity with, as already noted, little obvious room for negotiation or trade offs proposed by either side.

4. Typologies and comparative rankings of UK local conflicts case studies

The typologies of the local conflict studies undertaken in the UK are set out in Table 5.7. In terms of Cadoret, Thames Gateway is largely an anticipated conflict over the exact location of proposed (but not yet funded) major crossing of the river; it has potential to shift relatively quickly to the chronic stage. The other three are chronic, but Barking also invokes elements of anticipatory conflicts relating to future population migration. In terms of Chandasekharan, there are conflicts relating to access, changes in the resource quality (associated with urban regeneration), values (between preservation group, and between them and pro economic development groups), and policies/legal issues. The latter reflect the highly developed system of land use, and conservation policies in the UK.

According to Rupershinghe's typology, none of the conflicts are in either the first (formative) or final (transformational stages). Instead, Farlington and the Lower Thames Crossing represent a mixture of manifestation and endurance conflicts, while Barking and Tipner represent later-stage management conflicts. Warner's typology suggest that Barking and Farlington are micro-micro conflicts relating to population changes and boundary shifts respectively, Lower Thames Crossing is a micro-macro conflict between project sponsors and local communities, while Tipner is a hybrid, difficult-to-classify conflict.

Table 5.7. *Typologies of conflicts.*

CASE STUDIES	Cadoret	Chandrasekharan	Rupesinghe	Warner
Barking Riverside	Chronic Anticipated	Access Change in Resource Quality Values Policy	Management	Micro-micro
Lower Thames Crossing	Chronic Anticipated	Access	Manifestation Endurance	Micro-macro
Farlington Marshes	Chronic	Access Change in Resource Quality Values	Manifestation Endurance	Micro – micro
Tipner Regeneration	Chronic	Change in Resource quality Policy	Management	Hybrid

Table 5.8 summaries the comparative rankings of the UK local conflict case studies. All four local conflict case studies are considered to be critical as they relate to long term developments that have potentially major consequences for socio-economic and environmental systems at a number of different scales, ranging from the local to the national and, to some

extent, international. They relate to major transport infrastructure investments (Lower Thames Crossing), the alignment of coastal defences (Langstone/Farlington), the strategic development decisions for a key urban site (Tipner) and the detailed implementation of a major housing project (Barking).

In terms of urgency the local conflict case studies range from low urgency to immediate concerns. The Lower Thames Crossing is at an early stage of discussion, and lacks funding commitment – an issue that is unlikely to be quickly resolved given both the long time frame for funding major project and severe fiscal tightening in the UK. Farlington has passed from urgent to medium urgency, following the deferral of a decision about the alignment of coastal defences. The time frame for this major decision is within 10 years. It therefore is in the medium urgency category, but at some point in the next 10 years, it will become urgent as that decision reaches the top of the policy agenda. Barking is a medium urgent conflict as the strategic planning decisions have been taken, with the granting of outline planning permission in 2006, but there will continue to be recurring conflicts over the detailed implementation of the scheme over the next 20 years. These could potentially move from moderate urgency to urgent at particular moment – such as attempts by developers to negotiate agreed targets for the housing mixture. In contrast, the conflict at Tipner is immediate as a planning application has been made for the site, and the decision has to be taken within the guidelines laid down for dealing with planning applications, and any resulting appeals. If the application is refused, then the conflicts could move to the moderate urgency category, although they would be overshadowed by the prospect of urban blight.

The constraints imposed by the planning process mean that Tipner is considered a short term conflict, at least in its present form – although if planning consent is refused, this could re-emerge later in other short term conflicts relating to new proposals. In contrast, the other three conflicts are all considered to be chronic. The Lower Thames Crossing is still at such an early stage of planning, that it is in many ways a classic anticipatory conflict – anticipation of much feared, but as yet not fully understood, consequences by local communities and conservation groups in particular. However, the long time frame for its resolution and implementation makes this a chronic conflict, which is likely to remain a recurring source of conflicts. Barking also has elements of an anticipatory conflict, as it is at the centre of broader concerns, fears and political contestation relating to the future socio-demographic composition of the area. Given that the strategic planning permission has been agreed, and the twenty year implementation horizon, it constitutes a chronic conflict. Farlington, where the conflict centres on the consequences of realigning coastal defences in response to sea level rises, and to the need for renewal of existing defences, is very much a chronic conflict. These decisions will need to be

reassessed and revisited over the long term, either in Farlington itself, or in adjoining areas, as the evidence about sea level and about environmental and social consequences continues to emerge.

Table 5.8: Ranking of local conflict case studies.

	CRITICALITY	URGENCY	DURATION
Barking Riverside	Critical	Moderate- Immediate	Chronic
Lower Thames Crossing	Critical	Low	Chronic /Anticipation
Farlington Marshes	Critical	Moderate	Chronic
Tipner	Critical	Immediate	Short term

5. Conclusion

This chapter reported on the four local case studies selected in the UK for initial exploration of coastal conflicts. The UK team sought local case studies with a range of environmental conflicts which could be identified as both representative of the UK as a whole and of the core SECOA research themes. Four local conflict areas were selected for detailed study taking into account three main criteria.

A conflict often occurs when there is a ‘perception’ that one group is gaining (or, in economic terms, maximising their utility) at the expense of another. In the UK case studies the emergence of conflicts have arisen and been expressed through the planning processes because of demographic change - a sharp influx of new-comers driven by uneven economic development (Barking and Tipner); natural resources competition between habitat preservation, recreational amenity and flood defence (Farlington); and developmental pressures as government policy changes, prioritising infrastructural investment over agriculture and habitat conservation.

However many of the typologies and rankings used in SECOA reflect circumstances where planning systems and consultation is less well developed. In conclusion it should be noted that in the UK where public consultation is embedded within the policy and planning process, conflicts are more likely to be expressed through institutional submissions to formal processes. Given this, there are elements of hybridity and complexity which the above typologies fail to grasp and which make it difficult to classify the UK local conflict case studies. All of them are the outcome of a governance processes in which consultation is an ongoing

process rather than a static or single entity. Particular events, structural or institutional changes, at different scales, have the power to shift conflicts between categories, either for very short or for much longer durations.

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ABSTRACT: This chapter reports on the identification of conflict case studies in the UK. The main objective is to describe their selection, analysis and classification. Four local case studies were selected taking into account three main criteria: 1) SECOA conflict themes; 2) institutional and structural differences; and 3) temporal scales, duration and urgency of local conflicts. Different research strategies were adopted depending on local circumstances. In Portsmouth these included planning and policy analysis; Discourse Network Analysis (DNA); and stakeholder surveys. In Thames Gateway, the Barking Riverside case study relied on analysis of media reports and policy followed by key informant interviews whereas in the Lower Thames Crossing analysis of published consultancy reports, government briefings and local press coverage was undertaken. Struggles over access, resource quality, values and governance were identified representing manifestation, endurance and management conflicts. All four studies were found to be critical with major consequences for both socio-economic and environmental systems at a number of spatial scales from local to international. Three were deemed chronic in terms of duration (Lower Thames Crossing, Barking Riverside and Farlington) representing protracted problems within complex environmental contexts. Only one (Tipner) was of immediate urgency and of short term duration. The remaining three case studies were moderate (Barking Riverside and Farlington) and low urgency (Lower Thames Crossing). This chapter concludes that the UK local conflict case studies are complex and in a state of flux in

which events, structural or institutional changes have the potential to shift conflicts between classificatory categories.

KEYWORDS: global changes, coastal areas, environmental conflicts, Barking Riverside, Lower Thames Crossing, Farlington Marshes, Portsmouth

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