Local Authority case study – Edinburgh

The case study draws on interviews with Keith Stark (City Car Club, Scotland Manager), Andrew McBride (Development Control, City of Edinburgh Council), Gavin Brown (CEC Parking Manager) as well as material drawn from planning documents.

In addition we have used archive material assembled by Chas Ball, who researched this case study.

1 Policy Evolution
The Edinburgh City Car Club was first considered in the mid 1990s, stimulated by experience of other cities in Europe particularly Bremen, Germany. Following research by LEAP, an environmental NGO, a plan was adopted in 1997. Early work included securing acceptance of permit based on-street parking, which involved a new regulatory framework. With Scottish Office approval in early 1998, Edinburgh became the first UK city to establish a pay as you drive self-service car club.

Through tenders, the selected operator was Budget Car & Van Rental. It launched in autumn 1999 with an initial fleet of over 20 cars using 15 on street locations. After over 2 years operation, with many technical glitches, the operator gave notice and the scheme was temporarily stopped in March 2001 as the operator withdrew. In autumn 2001 the service resumed, operated by Smart Moves Ltd with 14 cars, using a new Swedish provider of in-car telematics, Drive-IT and over half the members signed up as members with the new operator, Smart Moves. To secure the operator role Smart Moves made a successful tender to CEC beating a rival bid from Avis Rent-a-Car. Over the ensuing years this evolved into City Car Club, which had by then established larger operations in Bristol as well as in London and Brighton.

With strong political support from the beginning, policy support for car clubs has evolved into mainstream transport strategy over time, and by about 2004 all the political parties that made up City of Edinburgh Council had got behind the scheme once it demonstrated that despite

---

1 Chas Ball was a director of Smart Moves/City Car Club from 2000 – 2007 and led the implementation of the Smart Moves as the new operators of the Edinburgh car club from 2001. Subsequently he continued to work on developing support for car clubs in Scotland, first with Transform Scotland (sustainable transport NGO) and from 2010 until the end of 2014 for Carplus Trust in Scotland.
the setbacks in its early years, it was proving popular, delivering improved utilisation and re-establishing the service throughout the inner areas year by year.

Edinburgh planners had already begun to look at the potential to place conditions on developers to provide support for the car club. The earliest S.75 agreements date from 2002 and by the end of 2007 there were over 25 S.75 agreements in place.

Supplementary Planning Guidance on car clubs was adopted by CEC in 2004 and is part of an approach that allows developers more flexibility on parking ratios if car club on-street parking is increased locally. This was incorporated into Planning Guidelines and sits within Additional Policies “Parking Standards for Development Management” which includes a section on Car Clubs that sets out council policy and practice:

3 Car Club
An increasing number of residents find that pay-as-you-go motoring is cheaper and more convenient than owning a car and have joined a Car Club. The Council actively supports this concept through the development control process. Hence, for new residential developments, the Council will require parking spaces for Car Club vehicles, and a financial contribution towards costs. Prospective residents should be made aware of the facility, especially where a Residential Travel Plan is required.

For residential developments, especially large ones, Car Club spaces and vehicles can reduce the number of permanent parking spaces required and, therefore, early discussions with the Council should be held to agree any potential relaxations.

Car Club vehicles are also used by private businesses as fleet vehicles or instead of a staff member using a private car for business. As a result, the Council may require commercial developments to provide Car Club facilities. Other types of development may also be required to provide such facilities, especially when located close to residential areas that could also make use of the vehicles.

Application of Policy
In December 2015 there were 158 car club vehicles in Edinburgh of which 7 were vans and 30% were hybrids or plug-in electric vehicles and
in excess of 5000 members. Edinburgh has had one operator, City Car Club, working in partnership with CEC since it sought tenders in 2002 and this has been extended. A new process of re-tendering this service continuing the single operator, back-to-base model, commenced in November 2015.

In 1999 it was awarded to Budget after a tendering process for the first-ever commercial car club in Britain. Although there were over 20 locations provided this scheme failed to deliver the required utilisation and was consistently unreliable. It ceased in March 2002 and was taken over after an operating gap of 6 months by Smart Moves Ltd, which had launched in Bristol in 2000. It restarted by re-signing about 150 of the earlier members and providing 14 cars with improved in-car telematics. By 2005 it had changed its brand and then its name to City Car Club and the company had established a presence in London and Brighton & Hove as well as Edinburgh and Bristol. Its operations centre and administration has been in West Yorkshire since 2002.

Over the past decade the application of developer agreements through S. 75 of the Town and Country Planning (Scotland) Act 1997 has contributed significantly to the creation of the on-street parking infrastructure for the car club scheme in Edinburgh. Although the early started in residential areas close to the city centre like Marchmont and Stockbridge, it has grown in most areas of high and medium density housing throughout the city council’s area and provided a service at some mixed developments, too.

[see map – requested from City Car Club]

Throughout the city, the majority of the city’s permit-controlled car club parking infrastructure has been funded by developer contribution. Generally these are in the streets adjacent to a development and may be used by all local residents as well as local employers. Although little of Edinburgh’s car club parking is located on developer’s land, some large developments provide accessible off-street car club parking where on-street kerb space is in short supply.

However, for a few years from 2007, London-based Streetcar operated cars off-street at Edinburgh Waverley station and Edinburgh Airport. Prior to the merger with Zipcar in 2011 these were withdrawn with the
company pledged to concentrate on London and a small number of affluent southern cities (Cambridge, Oxford and Bristol).

To implement the council’s policy on car clubs, planning officers dealing with transport related development control issues have been increasingly adept at identifying developments that may be suitable for a car club. City of Edinburgh Council has benefitted from a relatively stable team of planning officers who clearly understand and can articulate the benefits of the car club to a developer.

Since 2014 the level of developer contributions that may be sought by CEC is codified in the updated development guidelines. At an early stage officers seek guidance from the operator on the potential viability of a proposed scheme. With a clear set of options in the form of a published cost tariff for developer contributions, some or all of the early set up and operating costs can be funded. The test applied is that if these costs were not supported, a loss to the operator would result over the first year or two of the scheme when final construction and full occupation are still to be achieved.

Through consultation between planning officers and the car club operator, most developments have included one or more of the following elements:
Support for costs of a TRO – public consultation (advertising), lining and signing
   1) Support for the first year operating cost of a car club car
   2) Support for residents to try out the car club without needing to pay membership etc. and in some cases receive driving credits

The current contribution levels are set out in the Council’s Transport Developer Contributions Guidelines. By the end of 2014 this had reached [XX] agreements some of which relate to larger developments like Quartermile (see below) and others relate to small changes of use that create a handful of apartments.

Each year since 2002 the Council has identified new developments and conversions (mainly to flats) where following consultation with all parties, the developer is conditioned to make a contribution to the car club. In many instances this will compensate for the lack of availability of
off-street parking and to allow in some cases for higher densities of residential housing or mixed development.

This has helped to create a pipeline of on-street locations that are anticipated over several years with new developments and with conversions over a somewhat shorter lead time. As a result the areas of the city where the operator has agreed to located cars has slowly expanded outwards from its early roots in Marchmont and Sciennes in the south and Stockbridge in the north to encompass all but the low density and rural perimeter areas within the city council boundary.

With well over half of the city’s on-street parking bays set up since 2002 supported by contributions from developers, the impact of new developments on parking pressure has been reduced. It has lessened the financial burden on the city council, who have only recently begin to consider the option of charging operators for permits for on-street parking spaces.

CEC’s internal procedures are relatively simple - following the signing of the S. 75 agreement, the required payments are collected and CEC will only release funds at the point where the operator or the council department is ready to fulfill the obligation – from lining and signing to providing the first car. Almost without exception these have been implemented and the funds released.

Successful S.75 agreements between City of Edinburgh Council and developers have applied to a range of developments. Smaller ones have included the conversion of large houses or offices to small numbers of flats in circumstances where there is little or no off-street parking possible.

At the other end of the scale large mixed use developments have included Quartermile, which was formerly the Edinburgh Royal Infirmary (subject of a case study). Although initial planning agreements were made in 2003 parts of it are still under construction and it will not be completed until 2018. The development involves over 900 apartments, 30,000 sq. m of new office accommodation and over 10,000 sq m of retail and leisure space. Surface parking is severely restricted and provision is largely underground. Even so, car club permit parking on the
site is limited to two spaces (Simpson’s Loan) despite planning conditions at the outset of the development seeking up to 20 spaces. This is largely because the developers and designers involved in the site have not embraced the shared use alternative that exists between public transport and private car use.

There are some better examples of office developments where car club utilisation is high and the shift from private car use is working. For example, Lamb House in Leith has 16 staff on discounted car club tariffs using cars for business travel.

**Positive Factors and Barriers to Car Club Provision**
Keith Stark, City Car Club Scotland Manager since 2006 explored the following issues in an interview. The operator will be concerned that the locations can be made commercially viable after the initial contribution from S.75 agreement to establish parking, incentivise residents and sometimes fund the first year costs of an additional vehicle. This is released by CEC at the point when the operator is ready to commission the parking bay with a car and in many developments this needs to be available to coincide with the first occupations.

There will in many developments be a gap between first occupations and completion or full occupation. In agreeing the level of developer contribution requested, the operator has to gauge whether the build up of activity from the development and the anticipated interest from the surrounding area, will result in levels of utilization that will cover the first year (and sometimes second year) operating costs of the vehicle.

Almost all car club parking locations have continued after the expiry of developer obligations. This has largely been achieved by not accepting developments in neighbourhoods that are outwith the areas of the city where the car club is already successfully in operation. This area has now grown to encompass most areas within the CEC boundary, apart from some low-density or high deprivation neighbourhoods.

Parking pressure has been a key factor in the successful growth of the car club programme and the neighbourhoods served. A major expansion of the residents parking permit in 2008 to new areas assisted in moving the extent of car club coverage further out from the centre. The creation of a ring of new Controlled Parking Zones (CPZ) further from the city...
centre has helped to reduce all-day commuter parking and encourage uptake of the car club. Car club membership has been offered at a preferential rate to permit holders who give up a permit at the date of renewal.

Over the years, developers have become aware of how the car club works to enable projects to progress with planning approval, particularly where parking is limited. Where developers are unaware of how the system works in Edinburgh, CEC officers take responsibility for explaining the process and the benefits and apart from odd occasions where they are new to the city, there is a positive acceptance.

It is important that marketing literature featuring the car club and information on incentives is available to prospective buyers/tenants so that they have an awareness of transport options. This was particularly significance in the case of the car-free development, Millar Crescent in Morningside (see case study) where prospective residents considered buying apartments knowing no parking permits would be issued.

This development has been a successful example of residents adopting other modes of transport including the car club, although there is some evidence of residents finding ways of circumventing the agreement they signed when purchasing the apartment not to own a car. An earlier case study of car-free housing, Slateford Green, established in 2003, has retained access to one car club car on site.

Discussion and conclusions
Edinburgh has over 10 years of experience of supporting the expansion of the car club through policy support backed by planning policy. Key factors contributing to its evolution as a successful car club city with over 150 vehicles and in excess of 5000 members are several.

This new support was exemplified by the adoption in the latest Local Transport Strategy in 2013 of the following commitment:

11. Car and motorcycle travel
The Strategy seeks to enable cars to be used efficiently for those tasks for which they are well suited and at uncongested times and locations. Demand management is crucial to maintaining the city’s economy, and to gaining the benefits of car travel when it is the most appropriate option. The Council will encourage efficient use of cars through measures such as parking management, promotion of car clubs, support for priority for ‘high
occupancy vehicles’ and lift sharing. The Council will support the work of SEStran in this.

11.3 City Car Clubs
Until quite recently, non-car owners had limited access to the benefits of car ownership and no opportunity to choose a car free environment. In recent years, however, City Car Club, car sharing and small-scale Car Free Housing initiatives have started to change this.

The UK’s first car club started in Edinburgh in 1999, offering car use without the need for ownership. A single car club vehicle can typically replace five to six privately owned cars, thus helping to reduce parking pressure. Though cheaper overall than ownership, payment at the point of use means people can clearly relate the cost of a car journey to the same trip by other means.

Political support for the car club
The car club is accepted as a tool to reducing car dependency that provides a mobility choice. Edinburgh is a leading practitioner of all forms of sustainable transport which has been evident for at least for 10 years and is the leading city in promoting the National Transport Strategy. They are proud of their pioneering role in this mode.²

Car club support measures are incorporated into mainstream planning policy. From 2004 when developer support for car club expansion was first formalized through supplementary guidance, there is now a clear statement of criteria and costs available to developers.

Planning agreements (S.75) with developer contributions are simple and get implemented. Council staff have clear roles in managing this process and ensuring transparent financial administration of funds through CEC. Conditions in S.75 agreements are accepted by developers and so far all planning conditions relating to car clubs have been implemented. Only with big developments has experience shown the need for more complex arrangements with a longer period of implementation – see Quartermile case study.

² With the Scottish Government carrying out a “Refresh” of the National Transport Strategy, Transform Scotland organised a meeting of our member groups to debate how the Strategy could be improved. The debate held at Edinburgh’s City Chambers on Thursday 1 October was opened by Cllr Andrew Burns (City of Edinburgh Council’s Leader) who ....stated that Edinburgh has been at the forefront in many respects on transport issues, leading the way with bus lanes and car clubs, which were regarded as radical at the time but are now commonplace throughout the city. Cllr Burns is currently Chair of the Scottish Cities Alliance with the seven Scottish cities as members (Transform Scotland report of event, October 2015; TS web site)
Year on year network growth has occurred since 2004 through a mixture of added density and the opening up of new areas. Edinburgh’s on-street parking infrastructure growth has been supported by small sums of developer contributions, which has kick-started new locations. This has been aided by gradual expansion of the area covered by Residents Parking Zones. These were introduced with incentives to residents to trade permits for car club membership. Although the network has expanded, the total membership has grown more slowly (including corporate members enrolling drivers).
Quartermile Development, Edinburgh

This case study was drafted following interviews with Keith Stark (Scotland Manager, City Car Club), Andrew McBride (CEC Development Control) and Gavin Brown (CEC Parking Manager). Quartermile Developments were approached but did not reply.

Development – an overview
One of the largest recent mixed use developments in Scotland, Quartermile is on the site of the former Edinburgh Royal Infirmary. The site was sold by the Lothian University Hospitals Trust in 2001 to a joint venture between Bank of Scotland, Taylor Woodrow and Kilmartin Property Group for around £35 million.

Gladedale Capital bought out Taylor Woodrow’s 50 per cent stake in 2005, and this led to a change in the plans – adding 350 homes to the site and removing a five star hotel. The developers secured approval for nearly 1000 dwellings, compared to the 650 originally envisaged for Quartermile. The first of these were expected to go on sale in 2006 and completion was projected at 2011. In the event this was too ambitious, and the financial crash intervened. Kilmartin Property Group, a casualty of the crash, went into administration in 2010. Lloyds Banking Group sold their interest in the development to Moorfield, a property investor, in September 2013.

Located near the centre of Edinburgh it now comprises a mixture of new build apartments, apartments converted from the existing hospital buildings, new build offices, affordable housing, and retail/leisure uses and is due for completion between 2016 and 2018.

The delays and restructuring caused by the financial crash and the take over of the project by new investors is now in the past and Quartermile is seen as a successful large mixed development. Developers recently raised investment for speculative office development, such is the buoyancy of the commercial market.

In the initial proposals (2003), the majority of parking was designed in an
underground car park. Surface parking was largely restricted to the car club, which needed visibility and the ability to receive mobile phone signal for the in-car telematics to function effectively.

Early provision was made for up to 20 dedicated permit parking spaces for the approved car club operator. Today after several revised plans and amended planning approvals there are only 2 car club dedicated parking spaces within the streets of the development. The operator indicates there is a demand for more vehicles from residents but there is currently a lack of on street permit parking available. Although the operator has requested an additional two spaces, the developer has not acceded to a request made in 2014.

Accessibility, planning consent, planning agreements (S.75)
The initial planning approval was granted in 2003. This was soon after the car club in Edinburgh had been successfully re-launched by Smart Moves (now City Car Club) in October 2002. Provision for support for the car club was included in the plans as City of Edinburgh Council wanted to avoid this large development acting as a traffic generator so close to the university and city centre. Already by this time a growing number of planning agreements in the central area had included provision for developer support for the car club – supporting the cost of a parking bay and first year car costs.

Early discussions with the developers proved frustrating to the car club operator, as the concept was not well understood at that time. Early meetings were often unproductive. In part this was due to a slow moving development, a lack of awareness of the policies of the council and early assumptions that the service could be provided by a rental company.

However by 2006 the developers agreed to provide information to tenants and residents. A modest level of implementation to meet the needs of earlier occupants was agreed. Details of the car club were included in the sales centre and some effort was made to include access to the car club in the offer to business tenants.
Over the changes in ownership there have been some difficulties in ensuring the continued commitment to the provisions of the original S.75, amended in 2005. Whilst City Car Club secured commitment of the initial developers to the concept, the practical business of ensuring the car club was included in the later planning of the project has proved problematic and had to be re-started at each change of ownership.

The provisions of the S.75 agreement on the Quartemile development was different. It stated that Quartermile must provide a car club for the development but allowed the developers to negotiate a separate contract with City Car Club. As a result, in January 2008, CCC entered into a 5-year contract directly with Quartermile with the following obligations for the developer:

- £5,000 per car to kick start the first 2 cars and a further £2,500 for telematics for these initial cars. If a 3rd and 4th car was required the set up cost would reduce to just £2,500 per car but this was never delivered. In addition, the developer contributed £2500 once the first 50 members were registered.

The obligations for City Car Club were:

- to supply a minimum of 2 cars from commencement of scheme;
- to pay £50 per annum per parking space after the first 2 years;
- to pay the developer 10% of revenues from membership for the 5 years of the contract.

On termination of the 5 year contract City Car Club paid Quartermile £2,350. Since the expiry of this contract the operator proposed a new contract and in September 2014 requested two additional spaces but after one year there is still no response from Quartermile to the proposal for a new agreement.

Finally, the council has moved to tighten future agreements to avoid a loophole. Residents who had an option of a car club membership or access to parking space underground (costing £30k) started to apply for parking permits for local roads within the zone to avoid the high cost of on-site parking.

As this was not intended and added to pressure in the zone, a resolution was approved by the council in 2011 to close this loophole in all future developments (see Millar Crescent case study.)
Operator’s perspective

The first cars were located on the site but the on-street parking was provided under permits from City of Edinburgh Council, rather than controlled by the developers.

The first cars were delivered to site in 2008 and were used by employees of early arrivals among the business tenants more than residents. As the site has been completed and occupied, utilisation has increased, but more cars have been needed.

At its maximum 3 cars were available on the site; currently two are available and two additional parking bays have been requested in response to increased residential demand – see utilisation data below.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vehicle Type</th>
<th>Trips</th>
<th>Hours</th>
<th>Miles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jan2012-june2012 Toyota Prius</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>786.25</td>
<td>5274</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 2012-Dec 2012 Toyota Prius</td>
<td>163</td>
<td>868.75</td>
<td>4355</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan2013-june2013 Toyota Prius</td>
<td>159</td>
<td>895.5</td>
<td>5947</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan2013-june2013 Toyota Yaris Manual</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>27.25</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan2013-june2013 Grand Total</td>
<td>171</td>
<td>922.75</td>
<td>6058</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 2013-Dec 2013 Toyota Auris Estate Hybrid Auto</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>715</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 2013-Dec 2013 Toyota Prius</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>621.75</td>
<td>3339</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 2013-Dec 2013 Toyota Yaris Manual</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>364.5</td>
<td>2216</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 2013-Dec 2013 Grand Total</td>
<td>216</td>
<td>1096.25</td>
<td>6270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan 2014-June2014 Toyota Auris Estate Hybrid Auto</td>
<td>174</td>
<td>1033</td>
<td>5637</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan 2014-June2014 Toyota Aygo</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>285.5</td>
<td>1909</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan 2014-June2014 Toyota Yaris Manual</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>98.75</td>
<td>842</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan 2014-June2014 Grand Total</td>
<td>293</td>
<td>1417.25</td>
<td>8388</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 2014-Dec 2014 Toyota Auris Estate Hybrid Auto</td>
<td>197</td>
<td>757.5</td>
<td>5130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 2014-Dec 2014 Toyota Aygo</td>
<td>254</td>
<td>826.75</td>
<td>3994</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 2014-Dec 2014 Grand Total</td>
<td>451</td>
<td>1584.25</td>
<td>9124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan2015-Jun2015 Toyota Auris Estate Hybrid Auto</td>
<td>168</td>
<td>949.25</td>
<td>6831</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan2015-Jun2015 Toyota Aygo</td>
<td>261</td>
<td>822.75</td>
<td>3841</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan2015-Jun2015 Grand Total</td>
<td>429</td>
<td>1772</td>
<td>10672</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Conclusions**

City of Edinburgh Council took a bold position on reducing the impact of the car in this sensitive location. It restricted resident and employee parking to an underground location and included the car club in the developer obligations as an alternative to car ownership – seen as a necessary part of promoting modal shift.

In the event the developers have proved reluctant to commit to anything more than a limited arrangement for parking facilities, based on the revised
planning agreements, which ensure that an initial two cars were available in the early years. Although the sales’ office included material from City Car Club, the willingness to establish a partnership has been frustrated by the delays.

Due to the slow completions and occupations especially between 2010 and 2013, the ambitions of City Car Club have been modified to meet the pace of occupations in both the offices and the apartments. The developer’s desire to sell the remainder of their (underground) parking spaces appears to be an obstacle to renewing the partnership with City Car Club.

However, the streets within this large development will revert to control of the city council by 2018 when construction is complete. There is limited scope at this point for the council to add on street permit parking for shared use vehicles (car club). The limitation is the design of streets (narrow) and the limited number of parking bays currently used for short term parking (e.g. by restaurants), disabled parking and deliveries.
MILLAR CRESCENT, MORNINGSIDE, EDINBURGH

This case study was drafted following interviews with Keith Stark (Scotland Manager, City Car Club), Andrew McBride (CEC Development Control), Gavin Brown (CEC Parking Manager). Developer MNM Developments were approached but did not reply.

**Millar Crescent – an overview**

Millar Crescent in Morningside is a new development of 14 apartments in an established residential area with pedestrian access to a range of local services. It is close to several bus routes and has benefitted from council investment in improved dedicated cycling routes.

Work began work on the Millar Crescent development in 2010 and it was completed in 2011 and all apartments were sold with 14 weeks of release to the market. In 2011 it was a finalist in the Scottish Home Awards and in 2012 it was Highly Commended in the International Property Awards.

The developer describes the apartments as offering a combination of space, style, quality and high specifications. The living space in each is predominantly open-plan with large windows and lots of natural light. Some apartments were designed with separate dining areas, and were sold as flexible – they could also be used as a home office or an extra bedroom. Practical features common to all homes included generous fitted storage, the latest security features, and cutting-edge heat recovery units.

**Accessibility, planning consent and planning agreement (S.75)**

Residents’ parking was expanded to residential areas like Morningside, covering a ring around the city centre like a doughnut. Implementation took place in 2007 – 2008 and for
the Greenhill/Morningside Area Controlled Parking Zone Order was 5 March 2007. This has contributed to deterring commuting by car and all-day parking by visitors to the area.

In recognition of the accessibility of this development and the lack of off-street parking, the planning agreement between the developers, MNM and City of Edinburgh Council, set a precedent. The planning agreement, which was approved in [2008] provides for support for expansion of the car club through two on-street bays to be implemented by the council and funding for the first year costs of two cars, which add to the local network for all local residents.

As no car parking spaces were provided with these apartments, permission was effectively granted as a "car-free" development and as part of this agreement, residents of this development were to be precluded by a covenant from applying for parking permits. Through the MNM sales office, City Car Club provided all those considering purchasing an apartment details of the car club and incentives in the form of driving credits and first year free membership which would be available to those who signed up after taking up residence.

The explanation given by the council at the time to the establishment of a car free development as reported in *The Scotsman* newspaper (Letters 4<sup>th</sup> April 2011) was that "this approach was supported due to the location of the development, and the fact that a contribution to the City Car Club was provided in order to discourage car ownership". The explanation indicated that potential purchasers of these apartments would be discouraged from buying and/or using cars.

**Developer’s perspective**

MNM did not respond to requests to contribute to this case
study. They are a small family-run developer who wanted permission to establish a car free development. In line with council’s planning policy – but against the wishes of MNM’s consultants - they were encouraged to support the establishment of a car club bay close to the development to offset the lack of land for parking. This required a contribution to the establishment of on-street parking and the initial year of vehicle leasing costs of the operator.

In this instance the planning obligations (S.75) were updated to ensure that residents were effectively prevented from obtaining an on-street parking permit in recognition of the council’s policy of discouraging more on street parking in this area, something that had not been included in the agreement with developers at Quartermile.

**Operator’s perspective**
City Car Club now provides two cars in Millar Crescent (see below) and has three other cars in close proximity. There have been available for tenants from the first occupations and take up by residents of the MNM development has been good with incentives provided encouraging new residents to try out the service.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Vehicle Type</th>
<th>Trips</th>
<th>Hours</th>
<th>Miles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jan 2012-June 2012</td>
<td>Ford Fiesta</td>
<td>184</td>
<td>806.25</td>
<td>4702</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 2012-Dec 2012</td>
<td>Ford Fiesta</td>
<td>214</td>
<td>916</td>
<td>6099</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan 2013-June 2013</td>
<td>Ford Fiesta</td>
<td>228</td>
<td>943</td>
<td>7347</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Toyota Aygo</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>521.5</td>
<td>3052</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Vauxhall Corsa</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>316.75</td>
<td>828</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan 2013-June 2013</td>
<td><strong>Grand Total</strong></td>
<td>433</td>
<td>1781.25</td>
<td>11227</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ford Fiesta</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>493.25</td>
<td>2955</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Toyota Aygo</td>
<td>286</td>
<td>1199</td>
<td>6638</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Toyota Yaris Manual</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>234.25</td>
<td>1566</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 2013-Dec 2013</td>
<td><strong>Grand Total</strong></td>
<td>493</td>
<td>1926.5</td>
<td>11159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Toyota Aygo</td>
<td>298</td>
<td>1098</td>
<td>5481</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Toyota Yaris Manual</td>
<td>208</td>
<td>826.25</td>
<td>5158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan 2014-June 2014</td>
<td><strong>Grand Total</strong></td>
<td>506</td>
<td>1924.25</td>
<td>10639</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Toyota Aygo</td>
<td>221</td>
<td>845.5</td>
<td>4287</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Toyota Yaris Manual</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>622.75</td>
<td>3153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 2014-Dec 2014</td>
<td><strong>Grand Total</strong></td>
<td>355</td>
<td>1468.25</td>
<td>7440</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Toyota Aygo</td>
<td>189</td>
<td>745.75</td>
<td>4742</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Toyota Yaris Manual</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>300.75</td>
<td>2023</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan 2015-Jun 2015</td>
<td><strong>Grand Total</strong></td>
<td>280</td>
<td>1046.5</td>
<td>6765</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[utilisation data and local area map: supplied by City Car Club]
Millar Crescent, Morningside, Edinburgh, EH10 5HH

Vehicles at this location

**Toyota Aygo**

Object ID: 3152  **Colour:** White  **Transmission:** Manual

**Toyota Yaris**

Object ID: 3503  **Colour:** White  **Transmission:** Manual

Nearest alternative locations
- Springvalley Gardens - 0.17 miles
- Nile Grove - 0.28 miles

Public transport
Local bus routes:
- 11, 15a, 16, 23

Directions
This on street parking bay is 5 minutes walk from the Hermitage junction in Morningside. From the Hermitage junction follow Morningside Road up the hill past the junction with Maxwell Street on the left side of the Road. The next junction on the left is Millar Crescent. The parking bay is at the opposite end of Millar Crescent, the last bay on the right side of the road before its junction with Morningside Terrace outside no. 43.
Conclusions
This development has worked well for all stakeholders and demonstrated that there is a market for car-free housing in well-connected locations with accessible local services. The awareness of the car club, which now has 150 cars, is higher in Edinburgh than any comparable UK city.

The attractiveness of the car club to new members in this location is in the choice of vehicles in the four adjacent locations and the availability of vans in strategic places in the city.

The developer has successfully secured planning permission despite a lack of off-street parking. MNM were required to make a modest contribution £12,500 to kick starting the additional on-street network locations providing access to cars in the immediate vicinity of the development.

Parking management however not worked as well as hoped because the development is outside the area zoned as a Controlled Parking Zone (CPZ). Although initial residents and any succeeding owners are precluded from holding a residents’ parking permit through a covenant in their lease, there have been examples of this restriction being breached.

Residents have found sponsors living elsewhere in the area to secure a parking permit in the zone that operates close by the development. Others have used parking in on-street space that is outwith the zone to overcome the restrictions.

The next stage of the parking management solution to this issue is to expand the parking controls.
Local Authority Case Study - Bristol

The following is based on interviews with Phil Wright, who has managed the car club network for the Council from 2007 to 2012, Jane Woodhouse and Jerry Humphrys who are both transport planners. Keith Kelly from City Car Club and Jonathan Hampson of Zipcar were both asked about Bristol during longer interviews. Some analysis was also done of relevant planning documents.

1. Policy evolution

Bristol was one of the first British cities where car clubs began in 1999. The initiatives were originally taken by residents’ organisations. The procedure for providing car clubs in new developments has changed over that time. Support was originally given to help establish a car club network in Bristol as part of the EU-supported VIVALDI project. A small contribution was made to Whizzgo (later acquired by City Car Club) as part of this. Then in 2011 a Framework Agreement was adopted with 6 operators successfully applying to join, which enabled the Council to spend monies accumulated from Section 106 contributions to expand the network. More recently, the Council stopped taking financial contributions, for reasons discussed below and developers have been approaching car club operators directly, although this was not a formal change of policy.

Bristol does not have a formal written policy on car clubs in new developments. A form of written guidance for developers was introduced during the early 2000s and was made available online but it is no longer available and the officers were unable to locate it.

The Core Strategy makes one reference to car clubs:

“The site allocations DPD will include requirements for developments to implement smarter choices measures (e.g. Travel Plans and Car Clubs), which will help deliver the aim in Policy BCS10 of minimising the need to travel especially by the private car.”

The site allocations DPD explains that:

“the approach to the provision of parking aims to promote sustainable transport methods, such as walking, cycling and public transport”

It mentions travel plans but makes no specific mention of car clubs.

The Core Strategy sets out maximum parking standards ranging from 1 space per one bedroom flat to 1.5 spaces for houses of 3 or more bedrooms. A Central Area Plan explains that lower levels should be sought within the city centre, including car-free housing in some cases.
The officers were asked how they decide on where, when and how much car club provision to require from developers. They replied that there used to be a “rule of thumb” of one vehicle per 50 housing units but that now felt to be rather “ambitious” so lower ratios were now more usual. Each decision is made on a case-by-case basis, according to Jerry Humphrys:

“If a developer says "I'm going to put a car club space on that site and there's 100 residents, then we say whether it's suitable or not. But we don't have any particular reason to ask them for 2 car club spaces. We don't have a policy.”

2. Application of Policy

There are currently 3 operators in Bristol: City Car Club, Zipcar and Co-Wheels. Whizzgo, (acquired by City Car Club in 2009) was the first commercial operator (following the earlier schemes run by residents) in the city; the Council awarded them a single-operator tender in 2002. Streetcar (acquired by Zipcar later in 2010) came to Bristol in 2010. At one point there were potentially 6 operators in the city (including Bristol Community Transport, which mainly operates minibuses) but only 3 are active in the market today. The Council felt that relations with those three were generally good.

Each of the three initially approached the market differently. City Car Club, who are the largest operator in Bristol, began working with the Council, who allocated on-street bays in the inner city neighbourhoods surrounding the city centre. Phil Wright says when Streetcar first arrived in Bristol they operated as follows:

“They have a model where – this works in London fairly well –where they pay for people to use their driveways or businesses to give up a space for them to... So they will have done that initially in the first few months before they got the on-street bays”

Co-Wheels’ involvement began through an arrangement with a local initiative known as Golow, initially promoted by a manager within an NHS Trust (which UWE has separately evaluated5). Golow was eventually set up as a separate organisation, which was then acquired by Cowheels. Their focus has mainly been on servicing large employers, particularly in the public sector. They are now expanding their on-street network but have not yet provided any vehicles or services through Section 106 agreements.

The operators’ impressions of the climate for car club operations in Bristol were rather mixed. This is how Jonathan Hampson of Zipcar summarised it:

“Bristol is a very well-suited city for car sharing in our view. I think it’s got a lot of the factors that we would look for. In terms of how we work with a city, how proactive we are, I think we could be a lot more proactive and so there's probably lots of opportunities there that we're just not taking advantage of”

This is how Keith Kelly from City Car Club described it:
“Bristol is not quite the success story of Brighton... it doesn’t quite have the culture of Brighton in terms of almost being a suburb of South London. And ...public transport is largely dominated by buses. Yes, Temple Meads is a busy station but it’s really an inter-city station. It’s not a commuting station.” [Unlike Leeds, for example]

They also referred to staff changes and changing policies within the Council; the reasons for these changes were not always well explained to the operators.

The Council used to use Section 106 contributions to collect financial contributions and in some cases to provide off-street bays. The size of the contributions related to the shortfall of parking spaces compared to the standard of 1 per dwelling (the formula used was no longer available). For some applications the contributions were made by the developer in the form of a Unilateral Undertaking. Some of these contributions were taken for relatively small developments (a conversion of a pub to 5 flats was one example) as well as the larger ones. Over several years the Council had been collecting contributions much faster than it was spending them. By 2010, the unspent amount had reached £450,000, part of a much larger pool collected for all purposes which was causing concern amongst members and some critical commentary in the media. A decision was taken to stop collecting contributions in around 2009.

The reasons why the Council was unable to spend the contributions related partly to internal staffing and management issues. A framework was required to spend the money, and this took a considerable amount of time to agree and negotiate. One of the reasons for the delay was that the Council was exploring the possibility of using their in-house fleet management team to spend the money without having to go out to tender. That was eventually found to be impossible for legal reasons.

Since then, the Council believed the process was working much better. “The [pooled] funding [held by the Council] is starting to go out of the door and we are starting to get an increase in bays.” The Council are reconsidering the process for the future. They are planning to start collecting Section 106 contributions again, although they believe that there are also benefits to developers working directly with operators. The introduction of the Community Infrastructure Levy was accompanied by a change in the criteria for Section 106 contributions which need to relate directly to the development, so ‘pooled’ contributions on the scale accumulated in the past are unlikely to recur.

Car clubs in Bristol initially grew in the more affluent inner-city neighbourhoods surrounding the city centre – but not the centre itself. City Car Club explained that this differed from

---

1 (Steve – don’t know if this is useful or too much detail) “As of April 2015 there are restrictions on the pooling of planning obligations. Now, local authorities can no longer pool more than five s106 obligations together (dating back to March 2010) to pay for a single infrastructure project or type of infrastructure.” – Accessed 14/06/2015 at: http://www.pas.gov.uk/web/pas1/3-community-infrastructure-levy-cil/-/journal_content/56/332612/6251592/ARTICLE
their usual model for provincial cities, where they would start in the city centre and move outwards. Wright explained the reason for this:

“In relation to other UK major cities, Bristol has been late in implementing restricted parking in the inner area. Only the immediate city centre has had restricted parking for any length of time. Therefore, installing bays in the inner suburbs was easier. Taking fee-paying bays out of the city centre has always been problematic. This only changed with a recent review of city centre parking controls which was seen as an opportunity to introduce car club bays to the central area.”

In recent years, residents parking zones have spread to cover most of the inner city neighbourhoods – a process which has been very controversial. Wright believes that the spread of residents’ parking zones is:

“a double-edged sword, I think. Because, historically, we’ve been able to work through putting bays in on streets on a piecemeal process. It’s an opportunity to expand into areas that are very good for Car Clubs and so it’s trying to reassure the residents that you can give up your car and if you can't afford this or if you don’t want to pay the Residents’ Parking Fee…so as a residents parking zone’s being launched, it’s an opportunity to go and do one big hit and get bays in. But, actually, then getting any further bays in becomes more difficult”

3. Positive Factors and Barriers to Car Club Provision

The Council does not collect information about vehicle usage after developments are occupied – they leave that to the operators – but they have gleaned some impressions about the factors that promote success or failure in particular locations. The Council did some analysis of car club use in 2010 when drawing up their framework. Wright says:

“We mapped the city and we mapped the Car Club bays on... the existing Car Club bays [I think the operators] saw their demographic very much as your Clifton, Redland type people; they are usually fairly well educated, open to more sustainable transport methods, they’re usually fairly reasonable earners, they’re certainly between lower and middle management... But what we actually found in Easton where the bays that people that people used, were ... people who don't have access to a car... It was people down at the lower end of the social spectrum who needed a car but they couldn't afford to buy one themselves maybe – obviously making a lot of assumptions with things like Mosaic. But it really surprised some of the operators when we showed them that data because they said that wasn't what they would traditionally have associated with Car Clubs.”

The predominant Mosaic category in Easton in 2009 was ‘lower income workers in urban terraces in often diverse areas’, whereas Redland and Clifton are both predominantly ‘young well-educated city dwellers’.
The City Car Club map below shows how the four vehicles located in Easton form something of an island. The area is roughly 3 miles from the city centre; the neighbourhoods in between, which are not currently served, are poorer with more social housing.

Although recent hard evidence is difficult to find, there has been much discussion in the media and online about the displacement caused by high house prices in places like Redland leading to gentrification in Easton. It was described in 2012 as:

“an eclectic multi-cultural area with a younger than average population. It has a bohemian aspect and is home to many creative people looking for affordable housing and a sense of community.”

Victorian terraced houses with small frontages are typical in much of Easton. This creates some parking pressure. The residents parking zones have not yet spread that far out: Easton Way marks the northeastern limit of the RPZs.
The Council have found that “outliers” generally don’t work. This has kept the vehicles clustered in particular areas. The only exceptions to that have been places where large employers also make use of the cars.

Physical location and a sense of community ownership were two other important factors:

“We’ve had issues in the past where bays have maybe been located in places that are perceived as being not safe. Lighting’s maybe not poor... It adjacent to a park, which obviously means it may be dark and slightly intimidating. So I would always say that I think where it works the best is when it’s in the middle as close as you can be to a dense housing area...I think visibility is also important for marketing the vehicle.”

One incident, where a community initially objected to the perceived loss of parking space brought a ‘community leader’ into discussions with the Council.

“The interesting thing for me was the Community Leader really took it on himself to always keep an eye on this vehicle... if another vehicle parked in the bay, he would go out and tell 'em "No, don’t park in the bay. This is the Car Club..." So it became a part of the community.”
Most of the issues of contention with local residents tend to relate to the location of bays rather than the principle of a car club bay. The Council follows a formal consultation process before installing new bays, which involves local members and the Council’s legal department and can take up to 9 months, partly due to workload issues with multiple projects progressing at the same time. The officers felt that the process seemed rather bureaucratic and “could probably” be streamlined, although they were not entirely sure of the reasons for all the different stages.

As the Council does not carry out post-implementation monitoring the officers were not able to make any specific assessment of the impact of car clubs on travel across the city. They did comment, however that “developers felt more comfortable with reducing their parking levels.”

Bristol currently has around 100 on-street bays and the Council believed that there is potential for considerable expansion. The Car Club Officer explained that when he first started the job he “naively” imagined that they would be able to place a bay on every street.

“And I certainly think that could happen in your Redlands, your Cothams, your Cliftons, your Eastons... So people say "Well, what point do we have too many Car Clubs vehicles?" and I think we’re a long, long way from having too many Car Club vehicles. We’re still probably very early on in the journey.”

4. Lessons and Conclusions

Bristol appears to be a city with considerable potential for car clubs. Expansion has been restrained by some of the procedural problems but now seems to be taking off again. Several aspects of Bristol’s experience provide useful lessons for other authorities. The changes of policy and procedure have caused some dislocation in the process: once the right policies have been put in place, continuity would help support expansion.

The problem of accumulating money faster than an authority is able to spend it may seem like a ‘nice problem to have’ but it clearly caused concerns within the authority and restrained the speed of expansion. The problem may be less likely to occur in future following the introduction of the Community Infrastructure Levy and the narrowing of Section 106 criteria.

The history of parking controls in Bristol provides some useful lessons. Car clubs initially spread in areas where there was parking pressure but no controls. The central Controlled Parking Zone has been a later arrival because of the revenue loss and administrative complications involved in reallocating bays in controlled areas. The officers’ comments about the spread of Residents Parking Zones may be relevant to other areas. Their message is that authorities should think about car clubs when they are planning new RPZs because the demand for car clubs may grow within them and it will be more difficult to install additional bays later.

The demographic profile of the areas best served by car clubs are fairly typical. Easton provides an example of an area at the early stages of gentrification, which has proved favourable despite the aggregate statistics suggesting otherwise. There is little evidence
from Bristol to suggest that low-income areas with mainly social housing can provide much demand.

1 Bristol City Council (2010) Cabinet minutes. New Approach to Car Clubs in Bristol. Report of Strategic Director - City Development to the City Cabinet. Agenda Item 6, September 30th.
3 Bristol City Council (2014) Bristol Local Plan Site Allocations and Development Management DPD. Adopted Version. Para. 2.23.7
6 Bristol Post (2009) £16m sits in Bristol City Council bank account. May 27th.
Robinsons Building, Bristol
Car Clubs in New Developments – Case Study

This case study was based on a site visit, documentary analysis and interviews with: Richard Clarke, Managing Director and owner of Urbis, who redeveloped the Robinsons Building, Jane Woodhouse and Jerry Humphrys who are both transport planners at Bristol City Council and email correspondence with Keith Kelly, Head of Locations and Development for City Car Club. A brief extract was also used from an interview (on a different case study) with Richard Drew, Southwest Regional Manager for City Car Club until 2014.

The development – an overview

The Robinsons Building was a conversion of a former factory into 100 apartments (73 one-bedroom, 27 two-bedroom) entirely for private sale. The site is just over a mile from the city centre in the district of Bedminster. It is well served by frequent buses and is close to a railway station. East Street (see overleaf) is a shopping street and there are also large supermarkets within walking distance.

Planning permission was granted in 2006 and amended in 2007. Just over half of the apartments had been sold by August 2009. The development had an overall parking ratio of 0.5 per dwelling,
most of which are provided inside the building. A few spaces, including one space reserved for the car club are located outside, as illustrated overleaf.

Southville Ward where the site is located contains 40% terraced housing and 30% flats. 46% of households are owner occupiers; 30% are renting privately. The predominant Mosaic segment around the site in 2008 was “young, well-educated city dwellers”, although there are also pockets of other groups such as “lower income workers in urban terraces”. The area has been in recent years. The Robinsons Building is one example of a number of new developments, containing relatively expensive apartments (though not as expensive as the city centre); the apartments were selling for between £142,000 and £240,000 in the 12 months to July 2015. 35% of households have no car, which is higher than the average for the city (28%).

The development: accessibility, the planning consent & S106 and the car club

The bus services serving the site are very frequent – there are buses heading towards the city centre every 3 or 4 minutes during the morning peak. The railway station is not so well served at the moment (though there are plans to change this in the medium-term); there half-hourly trains towards the main Temple Meads station during the morning peak. They are hourly after that.

Parking is controlled on the streets immediately surrounding the access to the building, with double yellow lines on some sections and one hour waiting limitations on others. Parking in the wider area is not currently controlled, although that is about to change, with the creation of a residents parking zone covering Bedminster (the railway line will form its southern boundary on the map above).
The planning permission required the developer to create a travel plan with a guide to be given to new occupants. It required the developer to provide one car club space and to make a payment of £15,000 “towards car club provision in the development and the surrounding area”. This would provide for 3 years free membership for the first residents of the apartments.

The size of the contribution and its effect on the viability of the site had been a matter of negotiation between the developer and the Council.

**The developer’s perspective**

Urbis, the developer of the Robinson’s Building is a Bristol-based company whose ‘vision’ as stated on their website, is “to create attractive, high quality, environmentally sustainable, urban properties”. Richard Clarke emphasises the environmental and social credentials of the company and sees car club provision as part of a wider commitment to sustainability, that also includes higher energy standards than required by building regulations; some of their developments have gone further, adopting ‘Passivhaus’ standards.

The Robinsons Building is one of several developments Urbis have built or are planning in Bedminster. Some of these, which are planned at high densities and aimed at higher-income groups, have been controversial locally. Clarke lives in Bedminster and sees the company as having a long-term commitment to the area and its residents. He saw the car club provision in that light. As parking provision on the site was limited:

“We didn’t really want local area streets to be choked with other cars' cause it's not fair on our neighbours... We wanted to make sure that parking [constraints]... didn’t disadvantage the site. What we genuinely saw that the provision of car clubs, if run correctly, was a massive benefit to everyone and, hopefully, it was a... We put the car in a location where the community... could take advantage of it as well.”

The final payment made to City Car Club was, as Clarke recalls, larger than the one required by the planning permission because they felt that an attractive offer on-site for the new residents was essential.

Bedminster lies just outside the Council’s designated Central Area, so the maximum parking ratio is 1 per dwelling – twice the level in the Robinsons Building. Jerry Humphrys explained that “we generally let the developer decide if they want lower parking levels”. Local residents often object but “it doesn’t colour our decision because we go for lower parking levels whenever we can.”

The capacity for parking in the development was constrained by the available land and space within the building. In general, Clarke noted that in the inner Bristol housing market parking buyers tend to expect parking for two-bedroom apartments but not necessarily for one-bedroom apartments. In deciding on levels of parking provision they would compare the costs of additional provision with an estimate of the impact on sale values. He described the process as follows:

“You’d go to the market and you’d look at what's been sold, you look at how... evaluate trends in the sale of ones and two-beds apartments with and without parking. Not invariably of a new build, but of maybe a resale nature. And that will give you an idea... And you have a couple of trusted, agents that you talk to, and you make an assessment... [In the end] it comes down to a gut feel.”
Urbis initially managed the new flats, renting them out until they were gradually sold. Their initial target was to sell around 60% to owner occupiers but Clarke believed the final outcome was more like 50%. Did the limited parking affect their sale?

“They all sold OK… I don’t think anyone complained… the Robinsons building was quite a charismatic building and people, I think, were prepared to probably put up with no car on the basis that they lived in a nice place. And it was a very attractive building to live in. [The sale prices] outperformed the area by probably 15, 20%.”

Urbis are planning major redevelopment in the area immediately to the East of the Robinsons Building in the coming years. The first phase for 188 new apartments over a new shopping area was approved in 2014, including a requirement for 4 car club vehicles. Later phases at an earlier stage of planning, could add between 600 and 700 apartments with a sustainable transport hub combining a rebuilding of Bedminster Station, a bus interchange and spaces for more car club vehicles.⁸

The operator’s perspective

The car club vehicle was available when the first dwellings were occupied. City Car Club regard the vehicle as part of a cluster in Bedminster. The locations and recent usage statistics (hours of use as a percentage of all hours day and night) of the four closest vehicles are shown below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Distance from Robinsons</th>
<th>Average usage Feb. 14 – Jun. 15</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Robinsons Building</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Cromwell Street</td>
<td>0.21 miles</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Greville Street</td>
<td>0.42 miles</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. South Street (from Nov. 2014)</td>
<td>0.54 miles</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Use of the vehicle fell slightly following the introduction of a new car in South Street, half a mile away. Overall, Kelly said:
“I would define the location as currently sustainable and we certainly aren’t considering closing it. Usage has dropped recently but with the nearby vehicles the cluster is performing well though we will be promoting generally in the area soon.”

During an interview about a different case study, Richard Drew mentioned the Robinsons Building as a good example of cooperation between the developer and the car club operator. He said that Urbis were proactive in selling the concept to home buyers. He believed that the fact that the developer was selling the flats directly, instead of through an agent, may have helped in that respect.

6 Conclusions

The Robinsons Building illustrates a typically good market for car club use. The area is close to the city centre, well-served by public transport and with a young well-educated population, many of whom do not own cars. The scale and density of planned new development is likely to intensify parking pressure in the area, which will be partially relieved by the planned residents’ parking zone. In this case, the developer has a personal and a longer-term business commitment to the area as well as a general ethos of sustainability. Without restraint on vehicle ownership, the plans for significant densification of the area would substantially increase traffic and conflict over parking; it could also jeopardise future planning applications. Urbis’s positive attitude towards car clubs is part of a combination of restraint and longer-term community building, which Clarke also believes will increase the sale value of their properties.

The fact that the apartments sold well at a time when the housing market was still in recession suggests that limited parking provision, supported by car club vehicles, is a viable proposition for these types of inner city (but not city centre) development. The clustering of vehicles in a particular area is clearly important. Once free membership expired, a pool of 100 households would clearly be insufficient to sustain a car club vehicle on their own; the vehicle works as part of a cluster serving an area which is favourable to car club use and where demand can be expected to grow in the future.

1 Bristol City Council (2013) Bedminster Ward Profile.
3 From www.rightmove.co.uk
4 From www.traveline.com. These buses depart from different stops.
5 Bristol City Council (2006) Development Control South and East Committee. May 24th.
6 http://urbisliving.co.uk/About.aspx
7 See Rath, Marc (2014) Bedminster’s controversial £23m regeneration plans win approval. Bristol Post. October 2nd.
8 See: St. Catherine’s Place and Bedminster Green on: www.urbisliving.co.uk
This case study was based on a site visit, documentary analysis and interviews with: David Burton, Senior Project Manager for Redrow Homes (who helped to fund this study), Alice Jennings who was Transitions Coordinator for South Gloucestershire District Council during 2013/14, Phil Wright, who has managed the car club network for Bristol City Council from 2007 to 2012 Richard Drew, who was Regional Manager for City Car Club until 2014 and email correspondence with Keith Kelly, Head of Locations and Development for City Car Club.

The development – an overview

Cheswick Village is a development of about 1200 dwellings within Bristol’s northern suburbs, about 5 miles from the city centre and close to the Avon Ring Road and M32. It was built on a greenfield site previously owned by Hewlett Packard, who have downsized but remain on the site shown below. Most of the site lies within South Gloucestershire but the southern part, with about 325 dwellings, lies within Bristol City. The original planning permissions were granted by both authorities in 2005. Construction began in 2008 and is now nearing completion.

It is mainly suburban in character, with more houses than flats and a high proportion of detached houses with off-street parking (a third of the dwellings in the Bristol section have 4 bedrooms or more), although there is also a small district centre built at higher densities (see below). The decision of both authorities to require car club provision through the respective Section 106 agreements makes it something of an outlier in Bristol.
Background to the District

The involvement with Bristol City Council in promoting car clubs is described in one of the other case-study documents forming part of this project report. South Gloucestershire, like Bristol, is a unitary authority covering a heterogeneous area of Bristol’s northern suburbs and surrounding countryside with small towns. It is part of the West of England area along with Bristol and two other authorities; the local transport plans and major transport schemes are decided at that level (by the Local Enterprise Partnership today). Planning remains a district function.

Bristol’s northern fringe is a major employment area, which has grown around the motorway and ring road network with relatively limited public transport options for most journeys. This has led to considerable congestion. One of the ways the local authority has aimed to tackle the problem is by building more housing within the northern fringe, in the hope that this will encourage shorter commuting (or “enable better integration between jobs and homes” as expressed in the Core Strategy). One of the major schemes, Metrobus, will pass close to Cheswick Village; the exact route is still to be determined but it will serve the University of the West of England (UWE).

The Residential Parking Standards SPD approved in 2013 made a significant change to parking policies. Following the replacement of PPS 3 and PPG 13 by the National Planning Policy Framework, minimum standards were adopted in place of the previous maxima. The two sets of standards are outlined below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>2013 SPD minimum standard³</th>
<th>2006 Local Plan maximum⁴</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Bed dwelling</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 bed dwelling</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 bed dwelling</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 bed dwelling</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5+ bed dwelling</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Current and Previous Residential Parking Standards in South Gloucestershire

The 2013 SPD also adds an additional 0.2 per dwellings for visitors. The 2006 standards were already considerably higher than recommended by PPG13, which introduced a national maximum guidance of 1.5 per dwelling. The 2013 changes were partly justified by car ownership higher than the national average; 45% of households had two cars or more in the 2011 Census. The previous policy had led to “inadequate and uncontrolled parking” causing obstructions and reducing “quality of life”. The SPD also claims that “research” indicates that “maximum parking standards have little apparent impact on [car] ownership” – that claim will be discussed in the conclusions below.
SPD and the core strategy both favour car club provision in “developments of a sufficient scale”. The SPD says that “developers are encouraged to engage early in the development process with car club providers to establish feasibility and space requirements.”

City Car Club, which is the largest operator in Bristol, currently has just two vehicles in South Gloucestershire: at Cheswick Village and at Charlton Hayes, another suburban development also begun in 2008. Co-wheels has four vehicles in South Gloucestershire serving employment sites including UWE.

The development: accessibility, the planning consent & S106 and the car club

The planning permissions and Section 106 agreements with both authorities contain a number of sustainable transport objectives. The northern perimeter road shown on the map above was designated for buses, bicycles and emergency vehicles only. There is no access for general traffic from Lockleaze – access is intended to be provided for buses (red bus symbol on the map above), although the planned route along the residential streets has provoked some opposition from the new residents and has not yet been completed. Both Section 106 agreements include contributions for public transport improvements (including Metrobus), subsidised bus passes for new residents, walking and cycling facilities and car club provision. The South Gloucestershire Section 106 agreement required a contribution of £36,000 for the car club. The original Bristol Section 106 agreement required a payment of £50,000. This was later waived by a variation order in 2012, which instead required the developer to negotiate provision with a car club provider. In the end, no vehicle was provided in the Bristol section for reasons described below but one vehicle was funded by the South Gloucestershire contribution from March 2015.

The South Gloucestershire permission stated that parking standards would follow the authority’s then (maximum) standards shown above. The original outline permissions provided for housing at 50 dwellings per hectare. This was later reduced to 40 per hectare because the applicant stated that demand for flats and smaller houses had fallen during the recession. Overall figures were not available but the table below shows the housing mix for one of the phases, which appears similar to the rest of the site:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Private sale</th>
<th>Social rented</th>
<th>Overall</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 bed flats</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 bed flats</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 bed houses</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 bed houses</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 + bed houses</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>37%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total dwellings:</td>
<td>225</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>253</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Dwelling mix in Phase 6 of Cheswick Village (within Bristol)

The perimeter road currently carries a high frequency of buses, mainly serving UWE. The opening of the bus link to Lockleaze will enable buses heading towards the city centre and West of the city to avoid the congested detour, which private car drivers would face driving via the Avon Ring Road to the North of the site.
The permeability of some of the residential streets is limited in places; pedestrian access to the bus-only road would involve a detour in some places. During the early phases of the development land ownership complications meant that the residents on the eastern side, closest to the Ministry of Defence were hemmed in by high fences with no pedestrian access from Filton Abbey Wood station. Eventually a cycle and footbridge was built, linking to a path around the perimeter of the Ministry of Defence, which leads to the station and a cycle route towards the city centre (the Concorde Way). The distance from the district centre to the station on foot is approximately a mile, or 20 minutes walk (according to Google maps).

Parking is generally uncontrolled across the site; there is a combination of rear courtyard parking and on-street parking with plenty of spaces available (although the residential side roads are fairly narrow). A few spaces around the new district centre are controlled: limited waiting, car club bay and disabled bay but it would not be difficult to park within walking distance of the centre at the moment (some of the units are not yet occupied). The only parking pressure which has occurred has affected a few streets bordering UWE, where some students have been parking to avoid UWE’s on-site parking charges.

Alice Jennings explained that she was employed by South Gloucestershire Council but funded by the four West of England authorities until 2015; during the relevant period she was working as the Transitions Coordinator, engaging with new residents in Cheswick Village. Implementing Section 106 agreements was not originally part of her job but in looking at the original agreement she discovered that the £36,000 had been paid to South Gloucestershire in 2008 but by 2013 “nothing had been done with it” and the money was at risk of reverting to the developer. She described the responsibilities within the authority at that time as “rather disjointed”. When she could not find anyone else responsible for implementing the agreement, she took it on.

South Gloucestershire had no previous experience of implementing car clubs in new developments and Jennings explained that she was “learning as I was going along”. She contacted Phil Wright in Bristol, who explained that the framework agreement for the car club operators was open to all four West of England authorities. They invited tenders; Cowheels had expressed interest but only City Car Club responded by the deadline. From that point on, she worked with Richard Drew, as described below, to identify a temporary location, near to the District Centre (see above), which was still under construction. The location is outside the primary school, so she “consulted with the head teacher to ensure she was onboard and we had her support for the location and promotion of the car club.” The road has not yet been adopted by the local authority so it required agreement from the developer. In the longer-term it was planned to move the vehicle to a new space directly
adjacent to the District Centre. The vehicle was finally delivered on site shortly before Jennings left South Gloucestershire in 2015.

**The developer’s perspective**

David Burton explained that Redrow’s market in the Southwest is mainly focussed on suburban developments of detached housing of two to five bedrooms, for which demand was currently very buoyant. Some of the smaller properties have been built because of the local authority’s requirements for social or affordable housing (see table above, although it does also include 28% of private flats). Redrow had bought the land from Hewlett Packard with the outline planning permission. They had developed most of the site themselves but had sold two of the smaller phases, and the district centre to a specialist mixed use developer.

Redrow apply a mix drawn from a standard product range to each site, which determines the density and the parking ratios:

“Our product is a family housing scheme, so by nature of the size of our houses they have a good plot frontage, with enough space to park several cars in addition to a garage... it generally provides a minimum of 2 off street parking spaces with some of the larger properties able to park more cars.”

![Typical streets and housing types in Cheswick Village](image)

On transport planning requirements, such as the bus road or the car club provision, they will largely follow the requirements of the local authority.

Redrow had inherited the outline planning permission with the requirement for a car club when they bought the site. This was the first and only time that Burton had been involved with a car club on one of Redrow’s developments. He described the process as follows:

“We approached the council as there was a requirement in the Section 106 for us to provide a Car Club and asked us if they could give us some details of providers, because it’s not something that Redrow Southwest have done before. They gave us the names of a couple of providers and we approached them. After a good amount of chasing, we eventually got a bid in from one of them. We started to take matters forward and then we were pretty much getting to the point where we were going to proceed with one of them and they withdrew the offer, saying that there wasn’t a market for a car club on that development.”
He was not aware of the subsequent negotiations between South Gloucestershire Council and City Car Club, which produced the vehicle described above.

When asked about the potential for car club vehicles on other Redrow developments, Burton said they would only consider it if a local authority asked for it, which had not occurred on any of their other sites. He added:

“It’s not something that seems to fit easily from our point of view. We can understand if it was a high density city centre scheme with apartments with limited parking and you had a lot of people that didn’t want to own a car. Then a car club would be a very good fit. But on a suburban scheme of family housing, where the households have several cars. I can understand why a car club would not be viable in that situation.”

(Nigel Smith, Research and Sustainability Director for Redrow explained that in other parts of the country, particularly in London, they are building higher density urban developments where car clubs would be more appropriate).

The operator’s perspective

Richard Drew described the two separate negotiations: one with the transport consultants for Redrow in respect of the Bristol City Council contribution in 2008/9, the other with Alice Jennings in South Gloucestershire after 2013. City Car Club were the only tenderer in both cases. Drew explained:

“[In 2006] we put together a proposal for the development at Cheswick Village to provide Car Clubs services for both Bristol City Council part of it and the South Gloucestershire Council part of it. They were still doing it both together, but we hadn’t really had any involvement from either council...I didn’t really hear very much from anybody to do with this development until late 2008, early 2009, and at that point, I revisited it and, to be honest, I think they’d only just built the Bristol City Council side of it. I said ‘We'll look at it’ and I wouldn’t touch it with a barge pole. It just wasn’t in my view suitable for a Car Club at that time. The houses were big, there was plenty of parking. There would be no need for anybody to join a Car Club. There would have been no buy-in from the developer. So we’d have ended up putting a car out in the middle of nowhere that would never have got used. So from a commercial point of view, it was just not viable. So that’s what we said.

He added that in 2008-9 the financial downturn was affecting both the housing market and City Car Club. Even if the payment from the developer would cover the subsidised period, they would generally avoid situations where vehicles have to be withdrawn when the subsidy comes to an end.

By 2013, when South Gloucestershire invited tenders, the situation had changed:

“Obviously the school was already built; they were part way through building the district centre. There was also an active community group that were keen to promote sustainable travel. They had the bus lane open and bus stops in place; they had the cycling link open so it was basically more viable... And things were a lot different then. City Car Club had expanded. City Car Club had merged with WhizzGo so we had a lot more capital. We were looking to expand much more and perhaps slightly less risk averse than we were back in 2009. So it was perhaps still a bit risky. I spoke to some former colleagues and they say... it’s not the busiest car on their books by any means, but it getting quite well-used, which I would never have thought, if we’d have put a car in there in 2009.”
When asked whether City Car Club had experience of similarly suburban locations, Drew said that the two South Gloucestershire locations were the only such places he had been involved in, although he believed that suburban locations would provide opportunities for expansion in the future. He mentioned Birmingham and Chester as two cities where the coverage was spreading into more suburban locations. A check on the City Car Club website showed that those locations were inner suburbs rather than edge of conurbation green field developments. The same is also true of the more suburban locations in Brighton and Hove (one of the case studies in this project).

It should be noted that the size of subsidy for this vehicle (total of £36,000) was higher than the typical levels in more urban areas.

Usage data was available for the first six months of the vehicle in the site outside the school. This showed a slow start, averaging 6% of available hours.

6 Conclusions

Cheswick Village marked a departure from the typical areas covered by car clubs; it may be regarded as something of an experiment. The estate is fairly typical of greenfield edge of conurbation developments with a high mix of detached housing, relatively few flats and ample free parking available on and off-street. Based on the experience in Bristol and other cities, these conditions would not seem propitious for successful car club operation – unless as Drew had hoped, the nature of the market is changing. It is too early to say whether the experiment is likely to succeed or fail. The flats in the district centre, which might be expected to generate potential demand, are not yet occupied, so it is still too early to draw any strong conclusions from the initial usage figures.

In these more marginal locations, marketing and awareness-raising are likely to be more important than they are in urban areas where car clubs are already well implanted. The complicated circumstances which led to the decision to site a vehicle in Cheswick Village have probably not helped that process. South Gloucestershire, like most suburban local authorities, had no prior experience of car club operations so it is perhaps unsurprising that responsibilities for implementation were initially unclear. In these circumstances, the operators need to take more of a lead; there may be a role for Carplus in advising such authorities on how to go about introducing a car club operation for the first time. Neighbouring urban authorities may also be able to share their experience as Bristol City Council did in this example.

1 The planning references were: South Gloucestershire PT04/0684, Bristol 04/000721/P
6 Schedule of Accommodation, Bristol reserved matters application 10/02438/M
Local Authority Case Study - Brighton

The following is based on interviews with Peter Tolson, Principal Transport Planner with responsibility for car clubs, Deborah May, Principal Planning Officer for monitoring and compliance and Cllr. Ian Davey, who was the lead councillor with responsibility for transport from 2011 until May 2015. Keith Kelly Head of Locations and Development for City Car Club and Jonathan Hampson Head of Locations for Zipcar were both asked about Brighton during longer interviews. Some analysis was also done of relevant planning documents.

1 Policy evolution

Brighton does not have a specific policy on car clubs in new developments. There are numerous references to car clubs in the Local Transport Plan approved in March 2015 and the previous LTP approved in 2011. These references are either descriptive or aspirational e.g.:

- There are 16 controlled parking zones covering over 750 streets and 11 off-street car parks, including bays for disabled users, car club vehicles
- Key ways of improving the city’s transport network include:
  - Increase availability of car club vehicles.

The Sustainability Checklist adopted in 2004 (recently superseded by an online system) included car clubs as one example of the sustainable transport measures the Council was looking for in Sustainable Travel Plans for new developments.

The Planning Department has a standard wording for insertion into Section 106 agreements where the developer covenants to enter into an agreement with a car club operator, as described below. There is no written policy that explains where, when or how many car club vehicles should be provided in new developments, however.

The Local Plan adopted in 2005 has a policy encouraging car free housing “in locations with good access to public transport and local services where there are complementary on-street parking controls”. The Local Plan is currently being revised. A draft Supplementary Planning Document (SPD) on parking standards would supersede that policy. The draft makes no mention of car clubs. The responses from consultees have recommended that promotion of car clubs should be an objective and that bays for car clubs should be included within the parking standards, with a preference for on-street provision where possible.

Ian Davey describes Brighton as a “fiercely divided political city”. Parking policy has been politically contentious with different parties supporting or opposing extension of controlled parking zones and higher or lower levels of parking provision in new developments. The aim in revising the SPD was:

“to make it a little bit more sensitive and possibly more flexible.”
The maximum parking ratios in the outer areas would remain unchanged but would be lowered in the central area and along public transport corridors under the proposed draft.

Davey added that car clubs are not, in themselves, controversial – there has been a general consensus supporting their provision in appropriate new developments.

2 Application of Policy

The first car club to set up in Brighton was Smart Moves in 2003, which later became City Car Club. The Council took the initiative to encourage car clubs at that time, starting in one area of the city, Hanover. Streetcar set up in competition with City Car Club in 2005 but Zipcar, who were in the process of merging with Streetcar during 2011 decided to withdraw from Brighton in 2012. Jonathan Hampson explained:

“Streetcar pulled out of Brighton because the city was not performing as well as our other UK markets. At a time when there was a pressing need to get the concept to profitability, we made the difficult decision to rationalise our operation and focus on cities where we were seeing stronger performance. We do believe that Brighton is a good car club market and are sorry that short term circumstance required us to make this decision.”

Today City Car Club is the only operator in Brighton; Keith Kelly sees it as a growth area:

“We've just gone to 101 vehicles in the city... Developments have played a significant role in that but I think if I were to look at those hundred locations, probably less than 10 of them have had any developer impact or contribution. The growth of Brighton has been more to do with the fundamentals of the culture of the city, the housing stock, public transport, its culture as a sort of pseudo suburb of London.”

The Council have noticed, by contrast, that there has been growth in the number of new developments since 2011; Deborah May estimated that they have implemented over 25 schemes since 2011. Some of those would be relatively small, so might not be recognised by City Car Club as a significant contributor in areas where individual membership was already high or growing.

Both the authority and City Car Club describe their relations as close, although there have been some issues of tension between them. Kelly said:

“So overall, a gold star pretty much to Brighton... but in this narrow area [provision in new developments] they’re not that good on their developments. They're good at putting the Section 106's in. They're quite good at chasing up the developers so that they adhere to them. But they aren't always that good at implementing things that might be required. So there is, for example, a development in Brighton at the moment where... we've been waiting for almost a year for the two Car Club bays associated with that development to be created.”
Deborah May said:

“In the initial stages relationships with Smartmoves were very, very close indeed. They were very good politically. They had the ear of our local politicians and local businesses. Suddenly we found the Car Club becoming corporate. It was getting a lot of press...and we continue with very good relationships now with City Car Club. Albeit occasionally we have to be quite firm with them... They often come in and try to renegotiate the terms under the Section 106... So we have to be quite clear: these are the planning obligations on the developer and these are the terms that we want.”

In the early years, the Council used to collect Section 106 contributions, which were then paid to the car club operators. That procedure changed about 7 or 8 years ago. Today the Council only collects direct contributions for the Traffic Regulation Orders for creating bays. Today developers are expected to liaise directly with City Car Club. May described the reasons for the change:

“[The old procedure] meant a lot of internal administration... We'd got to have a dedicated Transport Officer to liaise externally. We'd got to have an internal mechanism for raising invoices...to pay the car club provider. With our diminishing resources, they just seemed unnecessary processes, which could be eliminated with a direct relationship between a developer and the provider, albeit that the council does that checking process along the way...”

There is no formal policy or guidance setting out criteria for deciding on locations and levels of car club provision. Pete Tolson describes the Council’s approach as follows:

“Where we feel, and the developers feel, is an appropriate location... considerations like whether or not it's a Controlled Parking Zone, how central it is, how good sustainable motor provision is in the area. Whether we feel... and the developer feels and City Car Club feel that it is a good potential site.”

So what happens if the three parties do not agree? The officers could not recall a situation where developers and the Council disagreed over whether a car club vehicle should or should not be provided. However:

“The nature of these things is not that people will often publicly fall out. They'll come to an acceptable arrangement... But there is one unmet planning condition, which is just hanging around because the Car Club didn’t feel that they could provide a bay as the planning permission required. And, nobody else will ... Only the council can provide the bay itself but we can't provide vehicle to put in it. So there's no point in providing a bay without a vehicle earmarked for it.”

Tolson adds that they would not want to install a vehicle where it was unlikely to be viable; as with supported bus services: “it’s never popular to withdraw them”. 
The levels and types of support are agreed in discussion with the developers and operators. Typically the Council requires two years’ free membership for new residents. Additional bays or vehicles are agreed, taking into account the proximity and use of existing vehicles within a radius of about 400 metres of the site. The Council and City Car Club generally prefer on-street bays because they are more visible and easily accessible by the general public. Where vehicles are located off-street they need to be made available to the public, although not necessarily 24 hours a day.

3 Positive Factors and Barriers to Car Club Provision

Brighton is a city with relatively low car ownership, which has been declining in recent years:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Households With</th>
<th>Cars/1000 population(^\d)</th>
<th>Change v 2001</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Brighton and Hove</td>
<td>273,369</td>
<td>38% 43% 19%</td>
<td>382</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>England</td>
<td>53,012,456</td>
<td>26% 42% 32%</td>
<td>485</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The map below shows the distribution of City Car Club vehicles superimposed on the Controlled Parking Zones in Brighton and Hove. Most of the vehicles are within the CPZ with a few exceptions, notably in the Hanover/Elm Grove area where the car clubs first began. Whether the CPZ should or should not be extended to that area has been a controversial issue in the past. Hanover is an area of dense terraced housing with some parking pressure. It has been nicknamed ‘Muesli Mountain’, because of its alternative lifestyle population.
In describing the factors that make Brighton a good market for car clubs Keith Kelly said:

“The growth of Brighton has been more to do with the fundamentals of the culture of the city, the housing stock, public transport, its culture as a sort of pseudo suburb of London. So it inherits the types of people who have attitudes towards sharing things…”

“The housing density and the housing pressure means there’s already a controlled parking zone there. Therefore the car club will prosper because there’s that additional cost and hassle to owning a car.”

“The transport’s quite good at getting you around within Brighton and it’s quite good at getting you up to London, but if you actually want to go around that area of Sussex, it’s not brilliant and so lots of small businesses use us.”

As house prices have risen Brighton has been subject to gentrification, with higher income professionals displacing some of the ‘alternative’ population. Kelly’s comments reflect a common perception locally, also found in some academic literature:

“It’s just become a little bit more mainstream and a little bit less, you know, quirky and you only did that if you were seriously into saving the planet and listening to Whale music. You know, it’s much more people are just saying ‘I don’t care about that but I just don’t want the hassle of owning car.’”
The Mosaic analysis conducted for the City Council and NHS above shows a predominance of Group E, *educated young single people living in areas of transient populations*, in the central areas with the highest concentration of car club vehicles. This group is characterised by:

- Young singles;
- Few children;
- Well educated;
- Full time students;
- Professionals;
- Open-minded;
- Cosmopolitan tastes;
- Good diet and health;
- Cultural variety

The spread of that demographic group is similar to that of the CPZ (housing type and density may be the common factors influencing both). The officers cited the CPZ and parking pressure as the key factors likely to promote the success of car clubs as well as access to public transport. In some of the inner areas there is a waiting list for parking permits, so even if there was no CPZ, people would find it very difficult to park. The radial pattern of bus and train services tends to favour the more central areas. Tolson explained:

> “If you’re living in a central area, you’ll have buses to all parts of the city and you will find it difficult to park the car – or expensive; you need a parking permit. So a big development in the central area is far more likely to be good for Car Clubs than, say, a development in Wooding Dean.” [See map above]

He expects car club provision to continue to expand in Brighton. When asked about barriers to car club provision, the only issue he or May could think of was occasional opposition to the replacement of on-street parking with car club bays, although this had not been a major
issue. The expansion of residents’ parking schemes and the designation of dwellings as ‘car-
free’ had both been controversial. One such scheme in Hove, which affected the car club
provision, has been chosen as a case study.

4 Discussion and Conclusions

Brighton has been a good example of a small city with high potential for car club provision.
The factors which have favoured the expansion of car clubs include a high density of
population and development within the inner areas, leading to parking pressure, combined
with a favourable demographic and attitudinal profile. The Controlled Parking Zones were
cited as a factor but what is cause and what is effect are not clear. The CPZs have spread to
control parking in those areas where pressures are greatest. The exception of Hanover/Elm
Park suggests that pressure for parking space (coupled with favourable demographics) may
be more important than the methods chosen to control it.

The use of car-free and low-car parking ratios in new developments is a reflection of the
same pressure for space within the central areas, which has favoured car club provision.
That pressure is likely to spread outwards as Brighton’s population is rising strongly. The
Council has recently increased its housing allocation in the draft City Plan but it is not clear
whether their proposed increase will satisfy the Inspector examining the Plan. Labour
councillor Gill Mitchell, cited in Melia (2015), explained it as follows:

Up to now we’ve had a careful planned growth policy, clustering new homes along
sustainable transport corridors, but the planning inspector has asked the officers to
look at all our urban fringe outside the National Park. So all of our green open
spaces have got to be reviewed and brought forward for development. Her view
was that even cemeteries could be looked at: you could pack some houses round the
edge, sports facilities – it’s quite extreme! People hate tall buildings, but they are
going to become increasingly a fact of life if we’re to provide the new homes.11

So the conditions which have encouraged the growth of car clubs are likely to intensify in
the years to come.

The change of policy, encouraging developers to deal directly with car clubs, appears to be
working reasonably well. It has helped Brighton to avoid the problems encountered in
Bristol where money is collected faster than it can be spent.

1 Brighton and Hove City Council (2015) Local Transport Plan as approved by full Council March 26th. Page 61
2 Ibid, Page 45.
Council Sustainability Commission.
8 ONS (2015) Census Key Statistics KS404EW Table Car or Van Availability. Downloaded from www.nomisweb.co.uk


New Church Road, Brighton and Hove  
Car Clubs in New Developments – Case Study

This case study was based on a site visit and interviews with: three people from Brighton and Hove City Council: Peter Tolson, Principal Transport Planner with responsibility for car clubs, Deborah May, Principal Planning Officer for monitoring and compliance and Cllr. Ian Davey who was the lead councillor for transport until 2015. The building was developed by Affinity Sutton Housing Association; one of their managers, who preferred not to be named, is referred to as ‘the developer’ below. Jonathan Hampson Head of Locations for Zipcar and Keith Kelly, Head of Locations and Development for City Car Club were also contacted by email.

1 The development – an overview

50-52 New Church Road is a block of 25 shared ownership flats built by a housing association on a former hospital site, 1 mile from the centre of Hove and 2.3 miles from the centre of Brighton. Three separate blocks of 24 flats on the same site provide supported accommodation for people with learning disabilities. It is 0.7 miles from Aldrington railway station and lies within the controlled parking zones covering Brighton and Hove As shown on the map below.

Planning permission was originally granted in 2008, with amendments in 2009. The development was originally intended to be car-free; the residents would not be eligible for residents’ parking permits. That condition was relaxed in 2015 following lobbying by the residents.

The predominant Mosaic group in the immediate area is ‘independent older people with relatively active lifestyles’; ‘career professionals living in sought after locations’ are also well represented.¹

The shared ownership properties are aimed at first-time buyers or people who are buying for the first time after a relationship break up. They must have a sufficient deposit and a household income of no more than £60,000² (which was just above the top quintile in 2013/14 i.e. almost 20% of households earned more³). The minimum purchase proportion of the shared ownership flats is 25%. On that basis, one of the two-bedroom flats sold in 2014 for £62,500 – 25% of the full market value of £250,000.

¹
²
³
3 The development: accessibility, the planning consent & S106 and the car club

As shown on the map above, the site is well served by public transport. Bus and rail services are both frequent and well-used in Brighton. There are 11 buses an hour towards central Brighton along New Church Road in the morning rush hour. There are three trains an hour from Aldrington Station in each direction. Parking in the designated bays shown above is controlled from 9am to 8pm. Residents with permits may park at any time; visitors can park on a pay-and-display basis for a maximum of four hours. In some parts of the borough there are waiting lists for residents’ parking permits but not in that part of Hove. On the day of the visit there were parking spaces available on all the surrounding streets.

The Section 106 agreement required the housing association to enter into an agreement with a car club to provide two vehicles and free membership for residents for two years (they were also given £50 free credit on their accounts). As part of the Green Travel Plan, residents would be informed that they would be ineligible for residents’ parking permits. The association would also pay £48,000 towards the Council’s sustainable transport initiatives (and smaller sums towards education, public art and a Traffic Regulation Order), some of which was used to upgrade bus stops in the area. The site was designed with four parking spaces, two of which would be reserved for the car club vehicles and the other two for visitors (there were also a few spaces for staff, visitors and a minibus next to the adjacent supported living blocks).

Cllr. Ian Davey recalled that the ward councillors were originally opposed to the development, believing that it would create too much parking pressure; the car-free condition was proposed as a
means of assuaging those concerns. Several of the interviewees regarded the no-permit condition and the car club provision as linked.

Deborah May explained:

“If you looked geographically, it is on the edge of what would be described as the area for car clubs, but nonetheless there always has to be an outer edge somewhere. And I think... it was always really anticipated that the car club and the car-free housing would be extended throughout the city and perhaps this one at the time was on the periphery of that area...There’s a political element in all of this as well. Certain areas are more supportive of schemes [than others]...”

The no-permit condition proved to be controversial. The developer explained:

“Before I even finished the construction phase, I was approached by our marketing team who’d had enquiries from two people to say they wanted to buy one of the flats but they didn’t want that restriction. So I just said: ‘Sorry, it’s a planning requirement. We have paid for two years’ car membership for everybody.’ They know that is the restriction, so if they don’t want it, they have to find somewhere else. It’s quite clear. I did speak to Deborah May at Brighton and Hove Council, told her we’d been approached and she said: ‘Oh, I’m glad you’ve said that. That’s our view.’ Anyway, we handed over the units ... almost immediately emails arrived saying they wanted the Section 106 Planning overturned. So I said: ‘No. I’m not going to do that. We've paid for two years. We're happy with this. I don't see any reason to change our mind. You've bought the flat with that full knowledge...’”

The residents (and one particular resident) persisted over several years. Davey explained:

“In 2011, one of the ward councillors came to me and said he’d been trying to get this changed, would I get it changed for him in my capacity as Lead Member for Transport? And I said, ‘Well, it’s not up to me to do that. They need to make an application. It’s up to the applicants to make an application. It’s not for me to change planning. It would require a planning application.’ And eventually [in 2015] that’s what they did. And it was agreed unanimously. But I think this is an example of where it went in and was probably a little bit too severe really... I probably didn't feel that 6 years ago. But I know a bit more about it now. I feel it's only really fair to argue for a permit-free development where there is no on-street capacity...”

4 The developer’s perspective

Affinity Sutton is one of the largest housing associations in the country. It manages 56,000 social and affordable homes across southern England. Its new developments are a mixture of social, intermediate affordable and some open-market housing. Its corporate statement about ‘Minimising our Impact on the Environment’ mentions carbon targets, energy efficiency and sustainable transport for its staff but not tenants and buyers of its properties. The developer said:

“I don’t think we do have a sustainable policy as such where residents are concerned. We encourage people to use public transport...”

In most cases, she explained, the transport plan for each development has followed the policies of the relevant local authority, but:
“I have to say that parking is the single biggest problem that we experience once we've handed over [properties] ... it causes no end of trouble. Because if there's only one parking space per property, most people have more than one car and they have visitors and friends coming and then there are arguments... In a two-bed house, you've probably got two vehicles. Both parents will have one. And in a 3-bed property, sometimes you will have adult children living there and they've got vehicles as well. I'm always surprised at how many vehicles there are”

This is an interesting observation, which appears at odds with the national statistics that show most housing association tenants do not own a car. The developer believed car ownership to be higher in the parts of the country in which they operate. As illustrated below, that is true for Surrey and Sussex but not for Brighton and Hove, where only a third of such households have a car. Separate statistics are not available for shared owners, who are counted as home owners in the Census; their car ownership would almost certainly be higher.

New Church Road was the only new development the developer had managed within a controlled parking zone and the only one directly involving a car club:

“I thought was a brilliant idea, because it's in a controlled area. It was in a fantastic location, very well situated for both buses, mainline trains and walking distance for shops, so I thought it was a brilliant idea. And it was marketed on that basis... we were happy with that condition with the Car Club. We had no experience of providing a car club, so I had to do quite a bit of investigation. I basically asked for recommendations from Brighton... who to approach. And then spoke to these people, met with them, asked how they would be set up, how it would work for our people and then chose which provider we wanted to go with.”

The agreement was eventually made with Streetcar (who later merged with Zipcar). After that, the residents would have dealt directly with the car club, so the developer did not know how much use they made of it. Parking on the site continued to be a problem, however.
“We had an ongoing battle with the people who were instrumental in pushing this change [to the Section 106 condition]... trying to park in these 4 spaces right from handover. And I was persistently saying ‘You shouldn’t be parking there’ if I was popping back for some inspection or something. So I think that was the main reason why they wanted it overturned, so that they could use these 4 spaces and if they were full, have access to permits.”

After it became clear that the local authority was minded to overturn the no-permit condition (which “disappointed” the developer) the on-site car club provision was not renewed. Notwithstanding these problems the developer said that if they were asked [by a local authority] to provide for car club vehicles in future developments, they would.

5 The operator’s perspective

The car club provision on this site was complicated by the withdrawal of Streetcar (who were in the process of merging with Zipcar) from Brighton. All of their vehicles were withdrawn in February 2012 ‘because the city was not performing as well as [their] other UK markets’. The on-street bays were offered to City Car Club but off-street bays were not. Zipcar did not inherit any records of how well the vehicles on the site were used.

Today, Brighton and Hove is well served by City Car Club vehicles, including one just across the road from this site, as shown on the map above. That car was used for 16% of available hours (day and night) during 2014/15, which is comparable with other viable sites run by City Car Club.

6 Conclusions

This case study provides several useful lessons for car club provision in new developments. The developer viewed the car club provision as linked to the no-permit condition. As part of the residents’ campaign against that provision, they clearly coveted the on-site spaces reserved for the car club vehicles. In the long-run, however, 25 apartments would not provide sufficient use to support two car club vehicles. As with other such arrangements, the viability of the vehicles would depend on use from the surrounding area. In areas where there is extreme pressure on street parking, the case for placing car club vehicles off-street on development sites will be strong. In that area of Hove, the pressure is not so great, so more visible on-street provision may be the better option.

No-permit conditions (sometimes referred to as ‘car-free’, although this should not be confused with carfree developments, which provide an entirely different environment⁸) will be difficult to justify to residents where available capacity exists on surrounding streets. In a borough such as Brighton and Hove, which is facing fairly extreme pressures of population and housing growth (see Brighton Case Study), that situation is likely to change over time, so the areas where such measures might apply are likely to grow. In the meantime, however, that part of Hove has not yet reached that point. That has not prevented car club use from growing in the area. The positive attitude of the developer notwithstanding the problems encountered suggests continuing potential for expansion in the area in future.

² http://www.homefocus.co.uk/Am-I-Eligible

From 8am to 9am, on www.traveline.com


ONS (2015) Census 2011 Table: DC4202EW - Tenure by car or van availability by ethnic group of Household Reference Person (HRP). On www.nomisweb.co.uk

Local Authority Case Study - Wandsworth

The following is based on interviews with Andy Flood, the Senior Transport Planner with responsibility for Car Clubs at the London Borough of Wandsworth. Keith Kelly Head of Locations and Development for City Car Club and Jonathan Hampson Head of Locations for Zipcar were both asked about Wandsworth during longer interviews. Some analysis was also done of relevant planning documents.

1 Policy evolution

The Council’s policy on car clubs has been set out in various committee reports over the years. A committee report last year approved a new system to start from August 2015. This report described the current and past situation and proposed a new ‘light touch’ approach to procurement of car club services for on-street bays only. Any operator accredited by Carplus is eligible to approach the Council to operate in the Borough. The cost for an on-street bay is £1,080 per annum (£1,230 for point-to-point or free-floating schemes), which Andy Flood acknowledged was “one of the highest permit prices in the country”.

The committee report mentions that “car club provision continues to be required through the planning process” but does not set out any policy or guidance on car clubs in new developments. The Development Management Policies Document adopted in 2012 sets out the parking standards for new developments. 1 and 2 bedroom properties are subject to a maximum of 1 per unit. One of the “relevant considerations” for determining parking levels is “the provision of car club parking to serve the development and surrounding area.” This is a qualitative statement requiring a judgement. Flood says that the Borough does not have a specific policy on ratios of dwellings per car club vehicle and that some sort of indicative guide might be useful in the future.

Policy DMT2 sets out the conditions for car-free and low-car development; a high PTAL rating is the first criterion. The PTAL ratings in the Borough vary across the full range from 1a to 6b, as shown below. The highest ratings are in the areas around Clapham Junction, Putney High Street and the various tube/rail stations along the A24 (Clapham South to Tooting Broadway), as shown below. The area around Nine Elms, where substantial redevelopment is underway including the Battersea Power Station site, currently has fairly low ratings. The Northern Line extension, scheduled to open in 2020, will create two new tube stations in that area.
PTAL contours in and around the Borough of Wandsworth

The policy also states that developments of 10 or more residential units will be excluded from any existing or future CPZs: the future occupants will not be entitled to apply for on-street residents parking permits. This could imply either car-free development or that sufficient off-street parking must be provided.

2 Application of Policy

Streetcar was the first operator to set up in Wandsworth. Flood remembers that “they first came to us before they launched”, which was in 2004. From 2007 until 2011, the Council had an exclusive contract with Streetcar. From 2011 until 2015 this was extended to City Car Club and Zipcar (who had merged with Streetcar).

In June 2015 there were 91 on-street vehicles in the Borough (64 Zipcar, 27 City Car Club) plus around 60 off-street vehicles.

Flood provided a spreadsheet showing the vehicles approved as at April 2015. This showed the following (excluding two non-residential permissions):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Off-street</th>
<th>On-street</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Dwellings/vehicle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Implemented:</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Approved not yet implemented:</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>166</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1 – developments with car club vehicles implemented and approved

He added that the numbers “had not been checked for 100% accuracy” but would provide a useful guide. The schemes approved but not yet implemented included two schemes of
over 3,000 dwellings at Battersea Power Station (25 vehicles) and New Covent Garden (10 vehicles).

Wandsworth generally “take a hands-off approach” to Section 106 negotiations related to car clubs, requiring developers to “demonstrate that they have a car club operator on board”. Any financial transactions are between the developer and the operator, unless it is agreed to provide an on-street bay, in which case, the developer will be required to pay the costs of installing it as well as the annual permit fee.

As the Council does not have any formal guidance on ratios of vehicles to dwellings Flood describes the process of negotiation as follows:

“sometimes we’ve said we want so many spaces and the operators come back and say that’s not really viable for this development. Or we’ve already got provision, which can accommodate nearby... There's been a couple of cases where we've asked for, say, two or three spaces in a larger residential development. And the developer has been happy and they've put it out on the plan and spoken to the operator. Then the operator might say ‘well three is too many. We'll put one in now and then phase the second one later but probably not the third’ and we're happy to listen to the operator because they’re the experts on how viable these things are.”

So have there been any issues of contention between the Council the developers and the operators?

“We've had problems with developers saying they didn't want to provide it on-site. And that's a growing issue. And in some cases, there is no option but to provide it on-street. There may be operational issues; they may not have any car parking [on site]. They may have security issues. That's quite a common one; they don't want people from outside wandering into their basement...”

In general, Flood emphasises, any issues of contention are resolved through dialogue. The operators, Flood says, have often asked the Council “to reconsider the permit price. But I think they've kind of given up on that because they know we're not shifting.”

Wandsworth’s relations with Zipcar and City Car Club have both been good. Zipcar has over 10,000 individual members (each paying a fee) in Wandsworth making it their largest borough. Keith Kelly of City Car Club described Wandsworth as “the best borough” for facilitating expansion of car clubs, partly due to Andy Flood, who has been the officer responsible for car clubs there for many years:

“The section 106s are well-drafted, planning colleagues follow up and enforce, Andy sends operators a list when planning is given – not when people start putting hoardings and people start wanting first occupation – so we, if we're doing our job right as operators, we are contacting developers weeks after they get their planning condition saying ‘You've got this Section 106. We would like to help you discharge it.’ So we're getting involved really early...”
The Council has not done any formal evaluation of the impact of car clubs but Flood made some general comments on their likely impact:

“they help make the case for developments where there's local concern perhaps about car parking and you're putting a whole load of new units. And at this borough, there's an awful lot of development going on, as I'm sure you're aware. And people think, "Well where are all these cars going to park?" Well, if we can say and demonstrate that we're putting Car Club provision in... Which will mean there'll be a smaller number of cars resulting at the development...”

3 Positive Factors and Barriers to Car Club Provision

Wandsworth is a relatively affluent borough. Its median household incomes for 2011/12 were 23% higher than in London as a whole. Car ownership is lower than the London average but higher than the average for Inner London (232 cars per 1000 population in 2011). Car ownership has been falling but not as rapidly as elsewhere in London as shown below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Households With</th>
<th>Cars/1000 population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No car</td>
<td>1 car</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wandsworth</td>
<td>306,995</td>
<td>45%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>London</td>
<td>8,173,941</td>
<td>42%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2 – change in car ownership in Wandsworth from the 2001 and 2011 censuses

The map overleaf shows the distribution of vehicles belonging to Zipcar, the largest operator in Wandsworth. Most of the borough is covered by CPZs and there is a good spread of coverage across the Borough.
The two main areas outside the CPZ with larger gaps in coverage are West Hill and Roehampton/Putney Heath (there are no City Car Club vehicles in those gap areas either). These areas are a mixture of council estates including high-rise flats, and larger houses, many of them detached with off-street parking. Neither of those housing types tends to offer a target market for car club operators. The latest proposals from operators for new bays include five proposals within those areas, four of which have been proposed by Europcar.4

An area of Battersea North of Clapham Junction station also lies outside the CPZ, although it has several vehicles stationed within it. That area includes Griffon Studios, which is one of the case study developments for this report.

Flood noted that there had been a slowdown in the growth of car clubs during the recession, as operators “tried to make better use of their existing cars”. He believed that a new period of expansion was now beginning. Several operators clearly regard Wandsworth as a growth area. Jonathan Hampson of Zipcar said:

“The growth trajectory continues to be significant and we have 15 new bays planned in the borough as part of our on-street growth. The borough is also seeing significant
regeneration so we are working with a number of developers on development sites throughout the borough including at Nine Elms.”

Kelly said City Car Club had been “trying to catch up with Zipcar” there. They see big potential growth linked to several of the large new developments planned for the area, including Battersea Power Station and Nine Elms. The new ‘light touch’ policy has also attracted Co-wheels and Europcar (entering the UK market for the first time) to approach the Council during 2015. Those two plus Zipcar and City Car Club have registered interest in expanding on-street provision. Following that process, the councillors agreed to support the creation of 40 new car club bays (ten per operator) from August 2015, and for operators to fund 40 additional bays themselves, providing a total of 82 bays accommodating 85 additional vehicles.⁴ Bays allocated to the existing operators will be unaffected – a policy which Kelly described as “sensible in terms of not disrupting existing members”.

Flood described the factors promoting car clubs in Wandsworth as follows:

“It’s always been a relatively young borough, quite fast... quite a transient population, [many people] working in the city, male 30s to 40s... that kind of market that Car Clubs tend to thrive on.”

Comparing Wandsworth’s age distribution to London as a whole, the median age is slightly lower but significantly, Wandsworth has the highest proportion of people aged 30 to 44 of any borough (31% compared to 25% for London as a whole).⁷

There do not appear to have been any major barriers to car club expansion in Wandsworth. Some of the operators have commented on the difficulties of negotiating separately with each borough operating its own permit system – likely to be a particular challenge for free-floating or point-to-point schemes. Why could the system not be standardised across London? Flood replied:

“Because we control our parking, and parking conditions and parking policies are different in different parts of London ... The amount that we’ll want to be paid for the parking rights may differ quite a lot from what other boroughs want. Also the type of bays that we’re prepared to allow such vehicles to park in may differ. We have never removed a Pay and Display only bay. We’ve always changed resident parking. I know in other boroughs they’ve gone completely the opposite way; they want to protect their residents’ parking...”

4 Discussion and Conclusions

Wandsworth appears to have many of the characteristics that most encourage car club membership: parking pressure, controlled parking and an affluent population, concentrated in the 30 – 44 working age group. Public transport access is very good compared to most parts of the country, although the PTAL ratings are not as high as many other areas of Inner London.
Some parts of the borough are undergoing very rapid and intense redevelopment, where car clubs are now an essential element in a situation where pressure on parking will inevitably intensify. The ‘no parking permit’ rule for larger developments is likely to create a growing market for car clubs in the future. Flood also pointed out that these developments will continue to change the demographics of the area. The website for the Battersea Power Station redevelopment shows starting prices for a studio flat from £495,000; 4 bedroom apartments start from £3.2m, so many of these people will presumably come from the wealthiest segments of society, characterised as ‘Global Power Brokers’ in the Mosaic analysis performed by Steer Davies Gleave for Carplus.\(^8\) These people are a very small proportion of the population (1.9%) but have a relatively high propensity (twice the average rate) to join car clubs.

The decision to open up the market to all accredited car clubs will be an interesting experiment. It currently seems to be helping to stimulate growth without discouraging either of the existing operators. The high cost of on-street permits does not appear to be discouraging operators at the moment. The proposals by Europcar to consider bays in Roehampton and West Hill suggests that new operators may now be attempting to fill in some of the gaps in provision by incumbents already occupying many of the ‘prime locations’. Whether all four operators plus the point-to-point schemes will be able to viably coexist in Wandsworth in the longer-term remains to be seen.

The system for managing car clubs in new developments appears to be working reasonably well in Wandsworth, although Flood’s comments about indicative guidance are noteworthy. Table 1 shows that the ratios of vehicles to new dwellings has been falling in recent years; this reflects a move towards consolidation amongst car club operators, looking to make more efficient use of existing vehicles. The Car Club Strategy for London recommends an increase in the ratio of members to vehicles from around 1:58 in 2015 to around 1:100.\(^9\) There is a difference between the ratio of vehicles to members and the ratio of vehicles to new dwellings; the latter could rise again if the proportion of new residents taking advantage of car club vehicles were to grow in the future.

\(^1\) Wandsworth Borough Council (2014) Community Services Overview and Scrutiny Committee 25th September. Report by the Director of Housing and Community Services on the arrangements for the provision of car club services from August 2015 and developments with other models of car sharing.
\(^3\) Reproduced from MapTube, www.maptube.org, run by the Bartlett Centre for Advanced Spatial Analysis, University College London.
\(^4\) Wandsworth Borough Council (2015) Community Services Overview and Scrutiny Committee 16th June. Report by the Director of Housing and Community Services on revised car club contracts from August 2015.
\(^6\) ONS (2015) Census Key Statistics KS404EW Table Car or Van Availability. Downloaded from www.nomisweb.co.uk
\(^7\) ONS (2015) 2011 Census Key Statistics. Table KS102EW - Age structure. Downloaded from www.nomisweb.co.uk
\(^8\) Steer Davies Gleave (2014) Carplus Annual Survey of Car Clubs 2013/14, London. Carplus, Leeds. Note that the categories used in this report are not the same as the ‘Public Sector Mosaic’ categories quoted in some of the other case studies in this series (e.g. Brighton, Bristol).
Griffon Studios, Wandsworth
Car Clubs in New Developments – Case Study

This case study was based on a site visit, documentary analysis and interviews with: Corey Russell, Director of Transport Planning Practice (agents for the developers), Julie Piesse, the Site Manager for Gradpad (who manage the building), Andy Flood, Senior Transport Planner at the Wandsworth Borough Council, and email correspondence with Jonathan Hampson, Head of Locations for Zipcar.

The development – an overview

Griffon studios is a block of 566 studio flats managed for the sole use of full-time postgraduate students studying at any of the London universities. It is located about 200 metres from the northern entrance to Clapham Junction railway station, as shown below. The site has the highest PTAL rating of 6b.¹

The flats were built as a joint venture between Berkley First and Imperial College London.² On completion the buildings were leased to Imperial College and managed by Gradpad, a partnership between Imperial College and CRM Students, an accommodation management company.³ The planning permission was granted and development was completed in two phases; the first phase of 452 flats was occupied from October 2011. The remaining 114 flats were occupied from October 2012.⁴

The site is effectively car-free; there are 5 disabled bays and two operational bays (used by staff and visitors). One car club vehicle owned by Streetcar was already located on Grant Road with a further 9 at Clapham Junction Station (on the southern side) when the Phase 1 application was submitted. The planning permission for the two phases included 3 additional car club bays, located on the
outside of the development, on Winstanley Road. One of those bays is currently used by Zipcar (The other two are vacant most of the time).

Griffon Studios viewed from Winstanley Road. Arrow indicates car club bays (see below)

The development: accessibility, the planning consent & S106 and the car club

Clapham Junction is one of the busiest stations in London. At the time of the Phase 2 application there were also 117 buses leaving from within walking distance of the site to multiple destinations in the morning peak hour; this includes direct buses to the main university locations.\(^5\) There are also 5 docking stations for the Santander bike hire scheme within a short walk of the site.

Surrounding ‘Estate Roads’

Car Club Bays outside Griffon Studios

Despite the obvious pressure for access to Clapham Junction station, the area is not part of the Controlled Parking Zones that cover most of the borough (see Wandsworth Case Study). Both the
Council and the developers recognised this as a potentially problematic issue at the time of the application. Andy Flood explained:

“There's always been more available parking, even on the bits that are CPZ. There hasn't been as much demand there. I remember when we were originally putting 10 Car Club bays on-street. And there was some reservations from parking colleagues, because this was new for us. ...[we didn’t want to] put them in places where we know have got a lot of parking pressure. So they suggested Grant Road as one of the locations that we could use, because they knew that that was relatively under-parked.”

The quantity of uncontrolled parking around the site is limited, however. There are double yellow lines on many sections of the streets, and other streets where the housing is owned by the local authority have separate residents-only parking bays and controls. In practice, Julie Piesse says it would be impossible for anyone to keep a car on the surrounding streets without a residents’ permit.

The travel plan mainly emphasised the good public transport connections around the site. The Section 106 agreements for the two developments included a number of transport conditions and contributions, mainly relating to the public realm around the site. Amongst these was a small contribution to Streetcar, to operate the car club vehicle for the initial three years; Jonathan Hampson said that he did not believe that any payment was ultimately made. The arrangement with Streetcar allowed for a 50% discount on the annual membership fee for the students occupying Griffon Studios; in other cases, where a payment is made, membership is usually free for at least a year.

The developer’s perspective

It was not possible to speak directly to the developers, as the managers involved in the process had reportedly moved on since 2010. The following is based on the interview with Corey Russell, who acted as transport planning agent for the developer on this site.

Russell explained that the procedures are fairly well established at Wandsworth. He said that the developers would not have offered a car club provision at the start but would have responded to a request from the Council.

“Imperial College weren't pushing for a Car Club ... I mean it's right next to Clapham Junction Station. there's good bus services there. But it was promoted essentially ... to address this issue that these postgraduates would own cars and park them on-street. And so we had a travel plan, which would encourage sustainable travel and as part of that would say... Well we would have 'This Car Club's on the site', which would address any need to use a car during evening and stuff like that. Such that residents wouldn’t need to bring their own cars down.”

He described that the process usually involves negotiation between the developer and the operator, but Hampson explained that in this case Streetcar were happy to provide an additional car without payment because of the strength of demand in the area. The only issue of contention in the process related to the siting of the bays on-street or off-street. Russell said:

“the developer's starting point would’ve basically been ‘Okay, you've got lots of uncontrolled parking then. We'll just put a Car Club bay on the public highway.’ And then, you use the site for some landscaping or whatever. But Wandsworth are pretty insistent – not in every case...
but in general – that you provide a Car Club or bay on your site, rather than taking up on-
street parking bays... And then there is this complication that we say we don't want it on our site because our site's a controlled site – it's fenced, gated. We don't want... random [individuals] from off the street coming in to access the car club and accessing the rest of the site.”

The issue was resolved with the compromise illustrated above, where a recess was created in the perimeter fence allowing up to three vehicles to drive over a dropped kerb to park in spaces accessible to the public.

Russell commented that in general developers primarily see car club provision as a means of overcoming concerns about parking pressure, which might otherwise prevent planning permission; the car club provision is seen as one form of “mitigation”. The attitude of the developers they work with towards parking provision in general varies according to the nature of the site. In Outer London and on some high-value sites in Inner London the developers would generally push for the maximum parking provision they can obtain, whereas on other sites in Inner London, or closer to public transport, they are “not too concerned” about parking provision.

The site manager’s perspective

Julie Piesse has managed the site for Gradpad since the first occupation. She explained that most of the residents are overseas students who come to London without a car. As the site is located so close to Clapham Junction, most of their travel is done by public transport. In the first year, she recalled 6 out of the 566 students signed up for the car club and believed that the uptake had been “pretty minimal” since then. She said that the operator could do more to market the scheme to the students. She also criticised the operator for not clearing away the rubbish that collects under the cars on the bay. Jonathan Hampson of Zipcar explained that the car club bay is not owned by Zipcar – it is a regular part of the development’s land and therefore it would not normally be seen as part of the operator’s responsibility to clear leaves, rubbish etc.

The operator’s perspective

Streetcar, who negotiated the original agreement, merged with Zipcar in 2010, whilst the planning agreements were under negotiation. Hampson was the Head of Marketing at Streetcar and became Head of Locations in the merged company. He remembered the negotiations over Griffon Studios as being “relatively smooth”:

“Whilst the Section 106 was fairly weak, the location of the development was very attractive to us and this was why we took it on without any cash contribution from the developer. A total of 11 students have claimed the offer. The offer is 50% off annual membership, so not the most compelling incentive to sign up. The uptake would have been better had there been a stronger Section 106 in place.”

The single vehicle stationed outside the Studios has been well used: 31% of the time on average during 2015, which is similar to the average for Zipcar’s overall fleet. Most of the users come from the surrounding community within 10 minutes’ walk.

Responding to Piesse’s comments about marketing, Hampson said:

“Zipcar has reached the scale we have by marketing extensively around London - there is always a balance between what we can do bespoke for each development we operate on
and our ability to drive memberships on property developments through our regular marketing activity. It is also worth bearing in mind that it was always our expectation that a good proportion of the usage of the car at Griffon Studios would come from new and existing members in the local community. This has proved to be the case with the car getting very strong take-up indeed.”

Conclusions

Student accommodation has been a growing segment of the property market in recent years. Some universities (including UWE) have car club vehicles on their sites or have agreed membership special offers for students and staff with car club operators. Off-campus student accommodation has not provided a big proportion of the developments offering car clubs through Section 106 agreements, however. The example of Griffon Studios does not suggest this type of accommodation would offer a big potential market, at least where the majority of students have come from overseas. The location itself cannot explain their relatively low participation, as the vehicle is well used by other residents living nearby.

The arrangement of providing a cut-away bay outside the site may well have helped to increase the use of the vehicle by surrounding residents but has also made it less visible to the students – whose main walking routes to public transport and surrounding facilities would be in the other direction. Whether greater visibility would promote significantly higher use is debatable. A more attractive offer, with free membership, for example, might make more difference, but any marketing effort would need to be continually renewed given the transitory nature of student populations.

The comments of the site manager about rubbish in the bay illustrate the need for clarity on ownership and responsibilities where developers implement arrangements of this nature and also because staff change over time, and so practices and agreements need codifying. It is not possible to tell by looking whether the bay is privately-owned (and if so, by whom) or part of the public highway.

More broadly, the case study suggests that car clubs may still help to address the transport problems of particular developments even if the vehicles are not well used by the residents of the new development themselves. In this case, the main concern was about parking pressure on the surrounding streets. The high level of use for the new vehicle suggests that it has helped to address the original objectives of the developers and the local authority.

1 As measured by [www.webptals.org.uk](http://www.webptals.org.uk) and stated in the original Transport Assessment of 2010.
4 The references for the two main planning applications were 2009/2279 and 2010/2853. The permissions, transport assessments and Section 106 Agreements can all be found on Wandsworth’s [Planning Explorer website](http://www.wandsworth.gov.uk/planningexplorer).
6 A quick Internet search revealed 12, involving City Car Club, Zipcar and Hertz
The following is based on interviews with Eric Manners, a team leader in Islington’s Spatial Planning and Transport service who has been responsible for Islington’s car club since 2003 and Jonathan Hampson Head of Locations for Zipcar who discussed Islington during a longer interview. Some data was provided by an email exchange with Sabine Mosner of DriveNow and analysis was also carried out of relevant planning documents and web-based materials relating to Islington’s car club.

1 Policy evolution

Islington’s success in securing car clubs in new developments has been determined more by the borough’s S106 practices than its written policies, with perhaps the exception of its parking policies, especially policies on car-free development. Relevant Supplementary Planning Documents relating to sustainable transport and developer contributions were published in 2003, 2009 and 2013. However, the 2003 SPD, which covered the main period of car club expansion in Islington, did not specifically mention car clubs. Much of what was achieved in terms of developer-funded car club expansion was attributable to the standard wording within S106 agreements. With regards to the wording of S106 agreements, Eric Manners of Islington Borough Council suggests there were three distinct phases. In the early phase, 2003 - 2005, S106 contributions for car clubs were collected to provide subsidised car club membership and use of the vehicles for new residents.

In the second phase, between 2005 and 2009 the S106 terminology was made more general with the adoption of the phrase ‘car club membership and enabling facilities’. From the borough’s perspective, this period provided specific funding for car clubs but had the optimum level of flexibility in terms of how and where that money was spent, depending on what was most needed in the area around the development. This was followed by even more general wording in the form of ‘sustainable transport measures’. This allowed even more flexibility but as a result meant that not all of this money had to be spent on car clubs. In practice, money collected using this clause in S106 agreements has only been spent on car clubs and on the implementation of a borough-wide 20mph speed limit.

“Most of the [car club] bays we've put in with S106 money have been funded through that 2005 to 2009 period. We could spend the money on bays or on membership depending on what the needs were in that area – and if we found we had put in adequate bays, if the operator says ‘we don’t want any more bays in that area, but memberships would be great’, then…” (Eric Manners, LB of Islington)

Having reached 1,500 by 2007, the growth of Islington’s car club membership was particularly rapid between 2007 and 2010, rising to well over 9,000 in the latter year (see Figure 1). From 2010 to the arrival of DriveNow\(^1\) late in 2014, that growth was not subsequently sustained and in 2014 (prior to DriveNow starting their Islington operation),

\(^1\) DriveNow is a joint car sharing venture between car rental firm Sixt and BMWi Ventures.
Islington had 9,000 car club members and 203 car club vehicles. Despite some contraction, Islington still had one of the densest networks of car club vehicles of all the London Boroughs (see Figure 2, Page 5). Questions were raised by respondents from both the borough and the operator about how to continue car club expansion. These were questions about how the borough was using the S106 money it had collected for car clubs, why Zipcar had withdrawn some vehicles during this period and the relative merits of single versus multiple operator tenders.

Figure 1 – growth in car club membership in Islington 2007 - 2010

![Figure 1 - Growth in Car Club Membership in Islington 2007-2010](http://www.ericmanners.net/tpm10_carclubs.pdf)

As the network of bays and vehicles expanded, the emphasis started to shift from using S106 contributions to provide bays to providing free memberships and incentives, such as free drive time, as Jonathan Hampson of Zipcar explains:

“I think they used it [S106 funding] better in the early days because they had a programme of bays to roll out and they used the funding that they had to do that.... Because there's such a good network, [now] there is a much lesser requirement on bays in Islington. That's absolutely the case, so it's how else can we use it.”

In 2009, a new Supplementary Planning Document (SPD) was adopted that integrated the ‘sustainable transport measures’ S106 contribution into the larger ‘transport and public realm’ contribution. This meant potentially having to argue for car club money out of a larger and much more strongly contested pot of transport money from developments. In practice, the Borough had collected enough money during the previous phase to enable continued expansion of the car club network for some time. It was not long after this policy change that Zipcar bought Streetcar. Zipcar withdrew some vehicles thus obviating the

---

need for additional bays. Still, in terms of car clubs alone, the new wording could be argued
to have been more flexible than ideal. The 2013 update of the borough’s Planning
Obligations SPD did not change the 2009 approach, Islington still collects S106 funding for
‘transport and public realm improvements’ rather than specifically for car clubs.

Complementing Islington’s car club policy is a very strong ‘car-free’ policy adopted in the
borough’s Local Development Framework (LDF) Core Strategy document in 2011:

“Islington’s LDF Core Strategy ensures that new developments within the
borough are designed and built in such a way as to encourage healthier,
more affordable and more sustainable forms of travel. The Core Strategy
now requires all new developments to be car-free, meaning that there will
be no parking provision allowed on site and occupiers will not be eligible
for residential on-street parking permits, with the exception of parking
privileges to meet the needs of disabled people.”

And further guidance on the implementation of this policy with regards to car clubs is
provided in Islington’s Local Plan Development Management Policies:

“Developer contributions are required to include a financial contribution
towards car club infrastructure, such as car club parking bays and other car
club enabling measures, such as membership subsidy. Such a contribution
may be made through CIL or Section 106, as appropriate. (See also Policy
DM9.1 (Infrastructure).) … The provision of off-street car club bays within
developments as an alternative to on-street provision will only be accepted
where it has been demonstrated by the developer, to the satisfaction of
the council, that on-street parking is not appropriate or possible. Should
the council accept the need for off-street car club parking bays instead of
on-street bays these must be publicly accessible at all times (with no need
for a key or other security measures to access the spaces) and located in
order to allow for accessible and convenient access. … Where parking is
provided, such as in relation to car clubs and where essential operational
needs must be met, electric vehicle charging points will be encouraged.”

Some key features of Islington’s approach

1. During the expansion phase of car club development (2003 – circa 2010), a fixed sum
was charged per unit of residential accommodation (£180), which gave developers

---

3 Islington’s Transport Strategy Local Implementation Plan 2011 to 2031, March 2012
http://www.islington.gov.uk/publicrecords/library/Environmental-protection/Business-planning/Plans/2012-
http://www.islington.gov.uk/publicrecords/library/Planning-and-building-control/Publicity/Public-
certainty about the scale of their contribution and ensured consistency across the Borough.

2. The approach ensured that there was a contribution to providing, enhancing and promoting car clubs in new development, but allowed the Borough Council some flexibility as to where and how best to make use of the available funding, which it did in consultation with the car club operator.

3. A strong and supportive policy context, significantly the car-free’ policy, helps to ensure car clubs are required and work within new development.

4. S106 funding has been used to incentivise occupants of new development to become members of the car club and to use the service, as well as for the provision of new car club bays and cars.

5. The location of bays and access to car club vehicles by the wider public has been addressed via guidance, with the latest being Islington’s Local Plan: June 2013 Development Management Policies (see quote above). This ensures that people from outside the new development have access to the vehicle.

2 Application of Policy

In 2002, Islington joined six other boroughs to form the London City Car Club Consortium. Islington’s first two dedicated on-street car club bays were created in September 2003 and in the following 18 months, this expanded quickly to 23, which at that time was more than any other local authority in the UK. Initial funding was secured as part of the Congestion Charging Zone Complementary Measures Scheme, but this Transport for London funding was withdrawn in April 2004, halfway through the four-year pilot period. Islington’s car club was initially operated by Smart Moves and then City Car Club. Islington has continued to tender its borough car club operation on a sole operator basis. Streetcar succeeded City Car Club. Streetcar was then taken over by Zipcar in 2010. Zipcar has been the borough’s sole operator since. The tender period has been for three years, but with the possibility of three year extensions without re-tender. Streetcar won the 2009 tender and in 2012 this was extended, without re-tender, to 2015.

As well as securing car club bays via the planning process, Islington also established bays in conjunction with other changes to parking arrangements. In response to extreme parking pressure, Islington was expanding its network of Controlled Parking Zones (CPZs) in the early 2000s and car club parking bays were introduced as part of the introduction of new CPZs and the revision of existing ones. This approach significantly diminished the costs of bay conversions. Car clubs were also a positive new service that the council could offer to residents affected by CPZ proposals.

5 “Building the UK’s Largest Car Club in the London Borough of Islington”, paper presented at the 3rd UK Transport Practitioners Meeting, Birmingham, 5-6 July 2005, by Martijn Cooijmans and Eric Manners (120KB pdf)
From 2003 onwards, S106 contributions became a significant source of funding for car club expansion. In car-free housing developments, where no on-site car parking is provided for residents and residents are not eligible to purchase on-street parking permits, a car club contribution became a standard planning requirement in order to secure planning permission.

The London Borough of Islington has always collected the S106 contribution and taken control over how that money is allocated (e.g. between providing bays and member incentives):

“In terms of Section 106, they are an anomaly in terms of how they treat it. The vast majority of boroughs write a Section 106 saying "This is what you need to do. You go out to the open market and get a Car Club provider and you need to buy memberships from them, you need to get a car on-site where applicable." Islington don’t do that to date. Islington have said "You pay us, the borough, the money and we'll then either get the memberships or put in bays etc." (Jonathan Hampson, Zipcar)

There has been a strong element of partnership working between the operator and the borough:

“The vast majority of Islington residents have a car club car very near where they live and they [London Borough of Islington] have worked really well in partnership with us over quite a few years.” (Jonathan Hampson, Zipcar)

An example of that co-operative working is provision of joining incentives to local residents and businesses to help increase membership. For example the ‘Parking permit surrender scheme’ – all residents receiving permit renewal notices are offered an incentive to give up their permit. In return they were offered car club membership and/or a bike voucher. The offer was coupled with an education piece highlighting the real costs of car ownership versus a car club to encourage residents to make a rational choice. There was also an initiative with residents associations, whereby the operator, Zipcar, provided the London Borough of Islington with discounted joining codes for all residents associations, for them to promote in their newsletters etc.⁶

Analysis by Steer Davies Gleave on behalf of Carplus of ten London Boroughs, including Islington, highlights the cooperation between borough and operator:

“Islington works closely with the operator to ensure a permit that works for all parties – operator, car club member and the borough itself. This has included making changes such as removing the registration plate

---

requirement from permits and allowing the permit to be valid in all residents’ bays in the same Central Parking Zone as the car club bay. It has also set a permit charge that reflects their desire to see the concept grow and the effect that car sharing has on demand for road space. It is worth noting that Islington is currently reviewing these permit arrangements.”

In 2014, Islington had one of the densest networks of traditional, ‘back-to-base car club vehicles of all London boroughs, as can be seen from Figure 2.

**Figure 2 Location of car club bays in ten London boroughs (SDG, 2014)**

This was augmented in December 2014 by the launch of the BMW / Sixt car sharing scheme called DriveNow. DriveNow is a so-called “free-floating” car club arrangement, which the operator claims to be the “most flexible and spontaneous car sharing service in London”.

After registration, residents are able to locate and reserve cars nearby using a smartphone app, allowing users to pick up and drop off a vehicle in any pay & display or resident on-street parking space within any of the boroughs in the business area (see map below). This differs from the more established method where vehicles can only be parked in dedicated car club bays. DriveNow has around 12,000 members (October 2015), across four London

---

9 DriveNow is a joint car sharing venture between car rental firm Sixt and BMWi Ventures
boroughs, which is approaching 10% of total London-wide car club membership. Data is not available at the borough level, but Islington’s car club membership is considerably higher now than it was at the end of 2014. The area covered by the DriveNow business area is coloured green on the map below:

https://uk.drive-now.com/#/carsharing/london

3 Positive Factors and Barriers to Car Club Provision

Amongst the reasons for the success of the car club in Islington are the considerable population, transport and parking pressures. It has the highest population density in the UK and its population is growing. Islington has the third highest concentration of cars per hectare in England and Wales. It has 28 cars per hectare compared to about 2 cars per hectare across England and Wales, and about 17 cars per hectare across London. Economic activity in the borough generates additional demand for parking, approximately 112,000 people commute into the borough every day to work. This means that the daytime population of the borough is significantly higher than the residential population. The pressure on parking space in Islington is therefore more intense than in virtually any other part of London. However, only 35% of households in Islington own a car. This is the second lowest level of car ownership in England and Wales, and is well below the average for Inner London. Controlled Parking Zones cover the whole of the borough. Islington also has very high levels of public transport accessibility, so all the factors that are conducive to successful car club operations can be found in Islington.

In addition to these intrinsic characteristics, one of the key success factors has been having a supportive policy context and guidance that specifies that developers will contribute towards car clubs, and then providing some flexibility for where that funding will be best used. Having borough-wide controlled parking zones and employing the “car-free” policy in new development are both policies that have been particularly helpful in developing successful car club operations.

Other positive factors include ensuring that car club bays that are provided by new developments are shared with residents from the surrounding neighbourhood, rather than for the sole use of the occupants of the development. This has helped to ensure the long-term viability of car club bays provided by new developments (where restricting access to occupants-only might not have worked). Critical here is ensuring that bays are located where they are visible to residents from the surrounding neighbourhood and that those residents have unrestricted access to the car club vehicles. Car club telematics require a good mobile phone signal and underground / multi-storey car parks within developments can’t always guarantee that. The justification for this ‘shared use’ policy is that it helps to mitigate any potential transport impacts of the development, by reducing car dependency and parking pressures in neighbouring residential areas.

Good practice has also been evident in the signing and promotion of car club bays, with the use of information board-style signing. The information boards incorporate the statutory Department for Transport (DfT) sign required for enforcement of the bays, but also provide contact details for prospective members and make car club bays look more like a bus stop instead of just another parking bay. The new car club information boards have achieved three main benefits:

1. increased awareness of car clubs among the general public
2. a reduction of illegal parking in car club bays
3. making it easier for car club members to find cars they have booked

Experience in Islington demonstrates that it is important to ensure that the wording of the S106 is unambiguous so that it secures the improvement and mitigating measure the authority is seeking. An example from a S106 agreement in Islington from the period between 2005 and 2009 can be found at Appendix A.

4 Discussion and Conclusions

Islington has faced up to the intense traffic and parking pressure of its Inner London location with robust planning policies to minimise the adverse traffic and environmental impact of new development. London Borough of Islington has taken the approach of collecting and administering S106 contributions itself, rather than leaving it to developers to find an

---

11 ISLINGTON’S NEW CAR CLUB ‘INFORMATION BOARDS’: USING SIGNAGE TO ENFORCE AND PROMOTE
Eric Manners and Kathryn King London Borough of Islington
operator to discharge the S106 requirement. Specific policy and guidance relating to car clubs has provided developers with clarity as to what their contribution will be and has provided the borough with the flexibility to make best use of S106 contributions, in consultation with the car club operator. This, combined with the policy of ensuring that car club vehicles funded by developers of new development are shared with existing residents coupled with good local authority / operator partnership-working on promotion and publicity, resulted in rapid expansion of the car club and its membership up to 2010. Despite these positive attributes, car club membership stagnated between 2010 and 2014 and the operator reduced the number of vehicles it provided in the borough. The arrival of new operator DriveNow to Islington has brought a renewed expansion of car club provision and membership.
The following is based on interviews with Alex Forrest, Principal Transport Planner at the London Borough of Sutton. Keith Kelly Head of Locations and Development for City Car Club and Jonathan Hampson Head of Locations for Zipcar were both asked about Sutton during longer interviews. Some analysis was also done of relevant planning documents and web-based materials relating to Sutton’s polices relating to car clubs.

Policy evolution

The London Borough of Sutton was a very early adopter of car clubs, having first published Supplementary Planning Guidance (SPG) on car clubs in 2002 ‘when car clubs were evolving’ and then publishing an updated version in 2007 ‘to reflect changes that had taken place since that time’1. Sutton is host to one of the first major housing developments to incorporate car clubs as part of a wider ‘zero [fossil] energy’ lifestyle – the Beddington Zero Energy Development or BedZED (see separate case study). Sutton was one of the first London boroughs to publish planning guidance for developers setting out the circumstances in which a car club, or a contribution towards a car club, would be required.

The guidance was applied to a number of developments in subsequent years in an attempt to expand the provision of car clubs. Meanwhile, the borough’s on-street car club expanded fairly quickly as a result of the Borough’s involvement in a European project called MOSES².

“As part of that MOSES project. That was when Car Clubs really started in Sutton. ..... The borough Car Club... we set up about 18 bays, I think.... they were all occupied for quite some time, we had cars in virtually all those bays. “(Alex Forrest)

In 2006, a study was commissioned by a group of London Boroughs known as the London City Car Clubs Consortium (LCCCC) and TfL to assess future car club operations across London. As part of that study, a method was developed to identify areas where a car club would be suitable and successful in terms of long-term viability and traffic reduction³. The three main criteria for assessing suitability were Public Transport Accessibility Levels (PTAL), the location of controlled parking zones (CPZ), as an indicator of parking pressures and population density. A fourth but less significant consideration was level of affluence, as the demography of car club membership tended to be young, affluent, professional people.

---

2 The main objective of the Mobility Services for Urban Sustainability (MOSES) project is to offer city dwellers access to a car without car ownership. See: http://ec.europa.eu/research/environment/print.cfm?file=/comm/research/environment/newsanddoc/article_1707_en.htm
This study informed the publication of Sutton’s 2007 revised Supplementary Planning Document (SPD). Applying those criteria to the borough, produced a list of high priority wards: Sutton South, Sutton North, Sutton West, Wallington North, Wallington South, Carshalton central, The Wrythe and Belmont (see table below and map of wards in section 3). Ironically, the Wandle Valley Ward, where the BedZED development heralded Sutton’s first car club and where a successful car club is still in operation, is near the bottom of the priority table using these criteria, whilst the borough’s car club in the priority areas has enjoyed mixed fortunes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Ward</th>
<th>PTAL</th>
<th>Public Transport Modal Share</th>
<th>CPzs</th>
<th>Population Density</th>
<th>Affluence</th>
<th>Total Score</th>
<th>Comments</th>
<th>Priority Area</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Sutton South</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>22</td>
<td>Very High PTAL in North</td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Sutton Central</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>21</td>
<td>Very high PTAL in South West</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Sutton West</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Very high PTAL in West</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Wallington North</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>18</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Carshalton Central</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>17</td>
<td>High PTAL in North West</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>The Wrythe</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>16</td>
<td>High PTAL in North</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Belmont</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>St Helier</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Nonsuch</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
<td>Medium</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Worcester Park</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Stonecot</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Sutton North</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Cheam</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Wandle Valley</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Beddington North</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td>Low</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Beddington South</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Carshalton South and Clockhouse</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

London Borough of Sutton 2007 p39

In 2006, London Borough of Sutton carried out a publicity and promotion campaign, under the auspices of a behaviour change initiative called Smarter Travel Sutton:

“This was a TFL funded behaviour change project, which we got £5 million for 3 years [2006 – 2009] ... a lot of money, all to be spent on...promotion of sustainable transport, so a part of that, we did a big push on car clubs. We did a lot of publicity and promotion with Streetcar who were the operator at the time. I think we tendered the borough car club in about 2006/7. I think City Car Club might have been the incumbent there and then we decided to put it out to tender and Streetcar won the tender. And so it was a sole operator then.” (Alex Forrest)

As part of Smarter Travel Sutton 15 additional car club locations were provided across the borough, with plans at that time for further expansion after 2009.

4 [http://intranet.londoncouncils.gov.uk/London%2520Councils/SUTTONwithboroughname%2520(2).pdf](http://intranet.londoncouncils.gov.uk/London%2520Councils/SUTTONwithboroughname%2520(2).pdf)
These aspirations were not, however, matched by car club membership and usage. When Zipcar bought out Streetcar\(^5\) in 2010 to become the ‘sole\(^6\) operator in the borough, it started to withdraw some cars for commercial reasons and the number of car club cars reduced:

“So, we did that promotion for 3 years up to 2009. I think then, it's been a steady decline really in terms of cars and Zipcar have gradually withdrawn cars, both from our borough non-development bays and from developments.” (Alex Forrest)

The reduction in Sutton’s car club fleet reflects the difficulties of operating commercially in a suburban location with relatively low PTALs and population density. And the operators were themselves learning from the early experiences of S106 support for car clubs:

“I know there's the odd one [car club in new development], which if I had my time again, I probably wouldn't do. So I think, you know, there is a learning curve there...” (Jonathan Hampson, Zipcar)

After several years of experience, where some cars had to be withdrawn once the developer support had ended, a better understanding of what works has emerged along with an approach that only accepts S106 support, if the vehicle is likely to become commercially viable, as Jonathan Hampson from Zipcar explains:

“So I think taking that view that we treat property development cars [the same] as any other type of car, would you put it there or not? And seeing any money paid as almost a benefit to help the car grow quickly, not to kind of pump prime it or make it commercially viable. That's the wrong way to look at it. And so I think we've probably just solidified our view on that. ..... So in Outer London in particular, we get authorities asking us to put in cars and on occasions we've done that in certain areas, they quite like to see a car sharing car on a new development with 30 units. But if we don't think it'll support it, we won't do it. So that's how we do it.”

(Jonathan Hampson, Zipcar)

Despite the difficulties of operating a traditional ‘back-to-base’ car club in Sutton, Daimler-owned car club, car2go introduced a “free-floating” car share scheme in London Borough of Sutton (and two other London boroughs) in December 2012. The ‘smart fortwo’ cars were available to rent by the minute, and could be returned to any legal parking spot within the operational area. In Sutton the car2go vehicles could also use any metered or pay station

\(^{5}\) [http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/76d83788-4d40-11df-baf3-00144feab49a.html\#axzz3g4Eh1w9V]

\(^{6}\) Whilst there was a ‘sole operator’ tender in place, City Car Club continued to operate at BedZED.
spaces as well as any shared residential permit parking space. There was some hostility to the scheme reported in the local newspaper ‘Your Local Guardian’:

“Our household along with the other residents/car-owners of Reading Road have to pay for the privilege to park in our street which is a designated controlled parking zone. So imagine my frustration when I find five Smart Cars from car2go parked in the street - two have been stuck outside my house whilst we have had to park in a neighbouring road.”

The initiative was short-lived, as Car2Go withdrew the service in Sutton, along with its other UK operations, in May 2014, citing:

“We’ve listened closely to customer feedback and taking the UK’s strong culture and tradition of private vehicle ownership into account, we have decided to withdraw from the UK market place. The unique challenges we encountered were more significant than expected.”

Since then, City Car Club has started to consolidate and expand its operation in Sutton, using S106 contributions from new developments in the Hackbridge area to increase membership and use of the cars at and near to the BedZED development and is proposing to place cars in some of the locations that Zipcar had left, as Alex Forrest explains:

“No, interestingly, City Car Club are quite keen to expand in the borough now. They're now in fact going to introduce 3 or 4 new cars on-street, soon, so they've offered to take on 3 or 4 of the bays that Zipcar have vacated. And they're going to give it a try on-street.”

The future of car club policy is tied to the development of Sutton’s local plan. The timetable for that is for consultation on a draft to be carried out in Summer 2016 and submission to the Secretary of State in Autumn 2016.

2 Application of Policy

Sutton’s first car club operator for the borough car club (as opposed to the BedZED car club operator) was AVIS who started operations in the borough in 2002:

“The [car club] scheme is being adopted by two south London boroughs, Southwark and Sutton, in partnership with car hire company Avis, using

---

7 http://www.yourlocalguardian.co.uk/news/topstories/10094295.New_car_share_scheme_gets_hostile/
8 https://www.car2go.com/en/london/
money from Transport for London and the European Union-backed Moses project.”

The borough car club was then operated by City Car Club until the tender process in 2007 which Streetcar won. The tender was for a five year period to 2012, during which time, Zipcar took over Streetcar (in 2010).

From the early 2000s, London Borough of Sutton took a fairly pro-active approach to car clubs:

“...during the early 2000s, we were quite keen on Car Clubs and Sutton was seen as pioneering then and we tried to enforce this quite strongly and require new developments over a certain size to have Car Clubs and make provision in terms of parking bays”

Sutton’s 2007 car clubs supplementary planning document suggests that development in excess of 30 units is likely to be required before a car club with one car can be set up, however for smaller developments the Council may be prepared to accept a contribution towards an existing car club (para 5.9, page 18). The SPD also states that it will prioritise locations with good PTAL scores and “this is likely to mean that the Council will normally limit consideration of proposals for development-related car clubs to locations within or in close proximity to town centres.” (para 5.17, page 20)

During the Streetcar/Zipcar ‘sole operator’ tender, the Council was prescriptive about which operator the developer should work with. However after the end of the tender, it took a more ‘hands-off’ approach, requiring developers to liaise with any Carplus-accredited car club operator:

“...it's usually written into a Section 106 agreement or a planning condition. But the onus is on the developer to then find a provider who's willing to go in and work with them. And sometimes we recommend one and we can point them in the right direction towards one that's currently in the borough. Nowadays it’s a bit more... It's an open market, so to speak. We're no longer under a contract with Zipcar so we can recommend anyone. But it's really up to them but I think we tend to try and point them towards one we think might work.”

London Borough of Sutton continued to be very ambitious, as illustrated by its tender for a borough car club operator, an ambition that proved commercially unrealistic:

“But Zipcar, as they became... kept their cars in, I think... largely during that time. They may have started to withdraw them, I think, towards the end of that contract. The contract actually said they should increase the number of cars. I think we had a target or about 25. Maybe even 40, I think, was the

10 http://www.theguardian.com/money/2002/apr/21/motoring.observercashsection
ambitious target. I think they never really reached that. We couldn't really hold them to it. because it was a commercial issue for them.” (Alex Forrest)

The period of retrenchment for Zipcar seems to be over and it now has a stable presence in the borough:

“It's working quite well, I think, for Zipcar in Sutton town centre, which is where they've got 3 cars there, I think. And then one car in Wallington – maybe two – which is the second biggest town in the borough. So it seems to work for them in densely built-up town centres.”

Having operated the BedZED car club for a number of years, City Car Club is proposing to expand its operation in Sutton in 2016 by taking over some locations vacated by Zipcar. Early in 2015, Sutton had 5 off-street car club bays, 8 on-street and 691 car club members. This is likely to rise as City Car Club expands its operation, but that will only take Sutton back to where it was with its initial 18 bays in the early 2000s.

3 Positive Factors and Barriers to Car Club Provision

The main barriers to car club provision in Sutton are its population density, levels of public transport accessibility and limited parking pressures. The London Borough of Sutton is an outer London borough, formerly within the county of Surrey, with a relatively low population density, high car ownership levels and generally low public transport accessibility levels (PTAL – see map below). Given these characteristics, it is perhaps surprising to that Sutton became a pioneer of car clubs in London. The most recent PTAL map of the borough (below) shows that the majority of the borough falls within areas of relatively low public transport accessibility (levels 1 and 2). This is largely due to the relatively low frequency and density of public transport in much of the borough.

---

Published by the Car Club Coalition, which was established in September 2014 and represents car club operators, London Councils, the Greater London Authority (GLA), Transport for London (TfL) and key stakeholders.

12 41 people per hectare; the 13th least populated of all boroughs (joint with Harrow) - [http://intranet.londoncouncils.gov.uk/London%2520COUNCILS/SUTTONwithboroughname%2520(2).pdf](http://intranet.londoncouncils.gov.uk/London%2520COUNCILS/SUTTONwithboroughname%2520(2).pdf)

13 Car ownership in Sutton is one of the highest in London at 77% (at least one car or van per household), compared to 71% for the other outer London boroughs. 46% of households own more than two cars, which is double the national average. ibid
However, the PTAL map also shows that there are parts of the Borough around town centres that have higher public transport accessibility (levels 4-6), such as Sutton, Wallington and Carshalton. These areas of relatively high accessibility are generally within wards that have lower levels of car ownership than the borough average:
Jonathan Hampson of Zipcar gives an operator perspective on Sutton:

“Sutton is a tough car club market, it’s not particularly dense, it doesn’t have great public transport links, whole areas of the borough aren’t CPZ, it’s very easy to own a car, parking stress just isn’t there and so it’s a tough market. There’s a few of the kind of ‘centres’ that are okay. So Sutton centre itself is okay and Wallington is okay but you start to get into Cheam, it’s just not particularly…”

Operators do see some potential for future car club provision within new development:

“…. if they’ve got developments that sit within centres, where we think it will work generally, absolutely we go for them. If they want us to do a 50 unit development in Cheam, we’d probably say "Thanks but no thanks".” (Jonathan Hampson)

After a number of early developments where car club vehicles were supported by the development, only to be withdrawn after the period of support, the real market test for whether car clubs can operate commercially in Sutton has been the period after the single operator tender. The application of car club-specific SPD and the borough’s hands-off approach whereby the developer is required to seek the help of a car club operator to discharge the car club planning condition, has provided the real test as to which locations are commercially viable. Sutton has been a learning experience for both operators and local authorities.

The main factor that has led to success within the borough is providing clusters of car club vehicles in good locations close to town centres and railway stations, for which the borough and the operators take credit. The locations take advantage of population centres around nodes of high accessibility and ensure that car club members have an alternative vehicle if one is in already use. So even in a ward like Wandle Valley with low overall population density and poor or moderate PTALs, car club operations have proved to be viable.
4 Discussion and Conclusions

Sutton highlights the challenges of operating car clubs in relatively low-density, suburban areas with relatively low levels of public transport accessibility. By accessing external funding to pump-prime and support car clubs and by pioneering planning guidance to secure car clubs in new development, Sutton has tested the limits of where car clubs can operate commercially in suburban situations. Despite participating in MOSES and Smarter Travel Sutton, Sutton’s car club fleet has contracted and is only now potentially returning to where it was when it was first established in 2002. This itself indicates that the car club market is changing and growing over time, as the resurgence in car club provision in Sutton is largely commercially driven, as opposed to the early operations which benefitted from public subsidy.

That said, the borough now supports around 10 car club vehicles and has nearly 700 car club members and there is optimism that this will grow. One lesson is illustrated by the continued successful operation of car club cars in the Wandle Valley Ward and especially around Hackbridge station. Ward level analysis showed Wandle Valley to score very lowly in terms of the main criteria for car club location, chiefly population density, PTAL rating and CPZs (see table p2). However within that ward the car club vehicles around BedZED and Hackbridge have continued to operate because there is a cluster of vehicles around a high accessibility node and the existing car club has been actively promoted to occupants of new developments via the planning process (see separate BedZED case study). This highlights the fact that PTAL levels and other factors which influence potential car club viability vary greatly within electoral wards. Therefore analysis at sub-ward level is more appropriate in mapping areas most suitable for long-term viable car clubs. It also illustrates that where the viability of car club operations is borderline, using Section 106 agreements for new developments to offer incentives to new occupants, such as free membership and free drive time, and sharing existing car club cars with neighbouring residents, can help to maintain long-term car club viability.
### Table 3 Public Transport Accessibility Levels

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PTAL</th>
<th>Range of Index</th>
<th>Map Colour</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1a (Low)</td>
<td>0.01 – 2.50</td>
<td>Dark Blue</td>
<td>Very poor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1b</td>
<td>2.51 – 5.00</td>
<td>Light Blue</td>
<td>Very poor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>5.01 – 10.00</td>
<td>Medium Blue</td>
<td>Poor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>10.01 – 15.00</td>
<td>Green</td>
<td>Moderate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>15.01 – 20.00</td>
<td>Yellow</td>
<td>Good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>20.01 – 25.00</td>
<td>Orange</td>
<td>Very Good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6a</td>
<td>25.01 – 40.00</td>
<td>Red</td>
<td>Excellent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6b (High)</td>
<td>40.01 +</td>
<td>Dark Red</td>
<td>Excellent</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

BedZED - A Case Study of successful inclusion of car clubs in residential developments

Beddington Zero Energy Development – an overview

This case study was drafted following interviews with Keith Kelly, Head of Locations at City Car Club and Jo Taylor, author of the BedZED green transport Plan who, at the time of the development, worked for Bio-Regional managing the communication and implementation of sustainability services at BedZED. Various on-line reports and resources were also used.

Beddington Zero Energy Development, or BedZED, was the UK’s first large-scale mixed use sustainable community and the first to introduce a travel plan and a car club as an integral element of the development. The aim was to create a thriving community in which ordinary people could enjoy a high quality of life with low environmental impact.

Of the 100 homes 50% were for sale or market rent, 25% for shared ownership and 25% social housing for rent. The homes range from studio flats to 4 bedroom maisonettes. They house approximately 220 people and there is office space for around 100 people. Community facilities are also on-site.

The development came about as a result of a partnership of four organisations (see box) each bringing their own assets and expertise. The Peabody Trust bought the site from Sutton Council. The environmental benefits – mainly from reducing CO2 – were quantified by independent accountants at around £200,000 and this led to a reduced price for the land. The development was designed by Bill Dunster Architects who had already built piloted zero energy building design. One of the many unique features of the development relevant to this study is the work Bio-Regional did to ensure prospective occupants were aware of the travel options included in the travel plan via extensive community consultation prior to construction. Detailed planning applications were approved in 1999, construction began in 2000 and the first residents had moved in by 2002.

The site is 1.7 hectares and accommodates 82 houses, 17 ‘live-work’ apartments, and 1,405 m² of workspace. BedZED achieves an overall density of over 48 dwellings per hectare (excluding the live-work apartments) or 58 dwellings per hectare (including the live-work apartments), 120 workspaces per hectare, and over 4000 m² of green open space per hectare in a carbon-neutral community with recycling facilities, water saving features, and a legally
As well as providing and promoting the car club, the travel plan includes measures to encourage teleconferencing and on-line shopping with shared deliveries to reduce the need to travel, along with measures to promote walking, cycling, and the use of public transport. A key feature of the development is the level of parking provision: 50 spaces to serve residents businesses and visitors a parking ratio of 0.5 spaces per dwelling. The location for BedZED was chosen for its very good access to local services and public transport. The car club has been operated by City Car Club and its predecessor SmartMoves since inception in 2002. As a result of its location, the travel plan and the car club, the development has a lower than average rate of car ownership and 64% lower annual car mileage compared to the national average.¹

Background to the London Borough of Sutton (see Sutton Case Study for more detail)

Sutton is an outer London borough, formerly within the county of Surrey. Taking the borough as a whole, it has a relatively low population density³, high car ownership levels⁴ and generally low public transport accessibility levels (PTAL – see map below).

Source: Source: London Borough of Sutton Sustainable Transport Strategy (for key to colour coding see Appendix A)

1 http://inhabitat.com/bedzed-beddington-zero-energy-development-london/

2 “BedZED Seven Years On” - published by Bio-Regional

³ Population density across the borough as a whole averages 43.9 persons per ha (pph). This is lower than the overall London average of 53.4 pph, See: https://www.sutton.gov.uk/download/downloads/id/1490/section_3_borough_profile_v2.pdf

⁴ LB Sutton has the third highest car ownership levels in London (76.6%). This is above the average for South London Sub-region (69.5%), the average for London (58.4%) ibid.
Car Clubs in Sutton

From the early 2000s, London Borough of Sutton took a pro-active approach to car clubs. As well as being host to BedZED in 2002, it was one of the first London boroughs to publish Supplementary Planning Guidance on car clubs in new development (2002), setting out the circumstances in which a car club, or a contribution towards a car club, would be required, when an application was made for planning consent. The Borough Council required new developments over a certain size to have a car club and to make provision in terms of parking bays.

Sutton’s first car club operators were SmartMoves (at BedZED) and AVIS across the rest of the borough. Both operations began in 2002. Avis started operations in both Southwark and Sutton, using money from Transport for London and the European Union-backed MOSES project.

“As part of that MOSES project, that was when Car Clubs really started in Sutton. ..... we set up about 18 bays, and they were all occupied for quite some time, we had cars in virtually all those bays.” (Alex Forrest)

Sutton’s on-street car club expanded quite rapidly during those early years, partly through section 106-funded schemes and via the borough Council’s involvement not only in MOSES, but also in Smarter Travel Sutton (see Sutton case study). For example, as part of Smarter Travel Sutton 15 additional car club locations were provided across the borough, with plans at that time for further expansion after 2009. After Avis, the borough car club was operated by City Car Club until a tender process in 2007 which Streetcar won. The tender was for a five-year period to 2012, during which time, Zipcar took over Streetcar (in 2010).

The aspirations for further car club expansion after 2009 were not, however, matched by car club membership and usage. When Zipcar bought out Streetcar in 2010 to become the sole operator in the borough, it started to withdraw some cars, both from the borough non-development bays and from developments that had benefited from S106 contributions. The reduction in Sutton’s car club fleet reflects the difficulties of operating commercially in a suburban location with relatively high car ownership, low PTALs and low population density, as Jonathan Hampson of Zipcar states:

“Sutton is a tough car club market, it's not particularly dense, it doesn't have great public transport links, whole areas of the borough aren't CPZ, it’s very easy to own a car, parking stress just isn't there and so it's a tough market. There's a few of the kind of 'centres' that are okay. So Sutton centre itself is okay and Wallington is okay.”

Then in 2012, Daimler-owned car club, car2go introduced a “free-floating” car share scheme in London Borough of Sutton (and two other London boroughs). The ‘smart fortwo’ cars were available to rent by the minute, and could be returned to any legal, on-street parking spot.

---

5 [http://intranet.londoncouncils.gov.uk/London%2520Councils/SUTTONwithboroughname%2520(2).pdf](http://intranet.londoncouncils.gov.uk/London%2520Councils/SUTTONwithboroughname%2520(2).pdf)
within the operational area. In Sutton the car2go vehicles could also use any metered or pay station spaces as well as any shared residential permit parking space. There was some hostility to the scheme in parts of Sutton and it was withdrawn, along with Car2Go’s other UK operations, in May 2014, citing:

“... the UK’s strong culture and tradition of private vehicle ownership ... and ... the unique challenges we encountered were more significant than expected.”

The period of contraction in the size of Sutton’s car club seems to be over. Having operated the BedZED car club for a number of years, City Car Club is planning to expand its operation in Sutton and is looking to operate in some locations vacated by Zipcar. Early in 2015, Sutton had 5 off-street car club bays, 8 on-street and 691 car club members. This is likely to rise if City Car Club’s intended expansion succeeds.

**BedZED: accessibility, the planning consent / agreements and the car club**

Given the zero fossil energy aspirations of the partnership promoting BedZED, the site was very deliberately chosen for its very good public transport access level and the availability of local services. The development is located on a major road used by two bus routes, which connect to local centres of Mitcham, Sutton and Wallington. Train stations at Hackbridge (0.7 km to the south), and Mitcham Junction (1.2 km north) are both within a walkable distance for most people. Both stations connect directly to Sutton and London Victoria, and both are on the Thameslink line to north London. Mitcham Junction is on the Tramlink route to Croydon and Wimbledon. As this PTAL contour map shows, the site has a PTAL score of four.

6 BedZED – Beddington Zero Energy Development, Sutton – General Information Report 89, Bio-Regional. The Report was published under the Government’s Energy Efficiency Best Practice programme, This Report was based on material drafted by Bill Dunster Architects under contract to BRECSU for the Energy Efficiency Best Practice programme. The views expressed in the Report are those of the authors and Bio-Regional
The car club was established as an integral element of the development’s travel plan (or green transport plan as they were known at the time). Because the proposed parking ratio was so much lower than the average for that area of Sutton, the planning authority made the travel plan and the car club a legal requirement. As Jo Taylor, author of BedZED’s green travel plan states:

“BedZED wouldn’t have happened without the Green Transport Plan to give the Local Authority the confidence they weren’t just setting themselves up for a parking headache. So the Car Club was a contributing factor to enabling that viability.”

The car club and green travel initiatives were marketed, both in published material and face-to-face, to prospective residents at all stages of the development, from pre-construction through to occupation:

“…once the marketing began, we [Bio-Regional] worked with the Marketing team to ensure that sustainability features were part of the marketing and then there were meetings for people who were interested in moving in. And then, we continued to have a Green Lifestyles Officer, who worked with residents to get all these things up and running, once they moved in.” (Jo Taylor)

As well as this thorough briefing and promotion of the car club and green travel initiatives, one of the early features of BedZED was that the Peabody Trust, which owned the site, were initially charging £200 per annum for a parking space, which provided impetus for car club membership and use of sustainable means of travel generally. Although Avis were starting their operation in Sutton at the time, Bio-Regional decided to begin working with SmartMoves to put the Car Club into BedZED, starting off with 2 cars. SmartMoves later became City Car Club, which has continued to operate the BedZED car club to date. A review document was published in 2010 - “BedZED Seven Years On” - published by Bio-Regional – the research indicates that in the Hackbridge area, 84% of households has a car/van, compared to 59% at BedZED (Sutton average is 77% and outer London average is 71%). The study suggests that car use by occupants of BedZED was some 64% lower than the national average. At this point there were three car club vehicles on-site.

A number of factors help to maintain the viability of the BedZED car club. The cars are available to BedZED occupants and people from the neighbouring area. This helps to maintain the commercial viability of the car club, which might not be supported by the occupants of the development alone. There is also both business and residential use, which again helps to maintain utilisation rates across the week, with daytime business use complementing residential use, which is typically evening and weekend.

---

7 The figure of 64% fewer miles per person is taken from a survey of residents whose estimation of their annual vehicle mileage may not be accurate and it is not known whether the higher than average proportion of social housing at BedZED might be a reason for lower than average per capita car use.
Despite these advantages, BedZED and its neighbours did not generate sufficient use to sustain the commercial viability of three car club vehicles. In response, City Car Club has changed its operation in the Hackbridge area around BedZED. Using S106 contributions from two new developments (Affinity Sutton’s Durand Close development and Saxon House), it has maintained a service of three vehicles in the area of BedZED with one car at BedZED itself and a further two at these other nearby developments to increase membership and usage. Both S106 agreements for these developments included packages of promotion and incentives (e.g. free membership and drive time) to encourage occupants to take advantage of the car club. Car club members at BedZED perceive this change as a reduction in the level of service, mainly because the off-site cars are not perceived to be convenient. Although residents commented that being able to use their Oyster card to access the car club vehicles is brilliant.

The decline in demand for the car club vehicles at BedZED might be explained by the difficulties of marketing the service to new occupants, as properties change hands. As one of the long-standing residents and car club member points out:

"... I don't know how people who move into the development find out about it. The level of marketing of the Car Club at BedZED is minimal. You know, there are some leaflets in the glove box and you're invited to hand those out to other people who might be interested. There is a Residents' Association ... but actually there is quite a low level of awareness of the Car Club and I guess the challenge is ongoing marketing” (BedZED resident, personal communication, 2015)

---

8 E.g. the car at Saxon House is in a gated car park, with keypad access, underneath the development.
The perspective of Bio-Regional - the co-developer and travel plan coordinator

BedZED is atypical of the type of housing that the volume housebuilders were building at that time (or time). It was a pioneering development that incorporated low-energy and low-waste features into a mixed use development. As such, BedZED may well have appealed to a specific demographic with particular values:

“... because of what BedZED is, it attracted people who had interest in those issues. But my guess is that the kind of profile of people who purchased at BedZED would not otherwise have purchased in Hackbridge. They had come to that development because of its sustainability features. And actually what has happened is there's a very vibrant community there because of those kind of shared interests.” (Jo Taylor, personal communication, 2015)

However, whilst it is likely that many bought into BedZED because of its green credentials, not everyone did:

"A lot of people have come here because of the green side of things, but to be honest, I'm here because I love the design of these flats ... I've got this fantastic, two-storey, two-bedroom apartment with a fully-fitted kitchen and a brilliant Scandinavian feel to it - the kind of place we can be proud to show our friends" says Marcus, a 28-year-old media resources manager - http://www.telegraph.co.uk/finance/property/new-homes/3308373/Eco-haven-that-is-forever-Hackbridge.html - published 02 Nov 2002.

As mentioned, Bio-Regional put a lot of work into promoting and marketing the sustainable services, including travel initiatives and car club at both the pre-purchase and occupation stages. This again is atypical of the general approach adopted by the volume housebuilders.

The car club was just one of a number of features that were crucial to getting planning permission for a development with far lower levels of car parking than is normal in that area. This in turn helped the development to achieve its high levels of open space and high density:

“...the Travel Plan as a whole was required to give the Local Authority confidence in the very low parking provision. And I do remember at the time a lot of scepticism amongst Local Authority Officers and .. they were very worried about overspill parking issues ... it [BedZED] wouldn’t have happened without the Green Transport Plan to give the Local Authority confidence they weren’t just setting themselves up for a parking headache. So the car club was a contributing factor to enabling that viability because the lower levels of parking enabled obviously more properties to be built and so giving a higher rate of return than you would otherwise get on the site. But you can’t attribute that to the car club alone because it's part of a much broader range of features.” (Jo Taylor, personal communication, 2015)
The green transport plan and car club have had a lasting impact in that there is no overspill parking problem from BedZED, it continues to support a viable car club operation, albeit with fewer vehicles, and at the last residents survey, car use was significantly lower at BedZED than in the surrounding Hackbridge neighbourhood.

"... the 2 residents I spoke to yesterday obviously are still [car club] members, think it's a good thing, see it very much as part of that lifestyle choice they've made in choosing to live at BedZED. It's clear, I think it [the car club] played a role as part of the Green Transport Plan in enabling BedZED to happen in the shape it did." (Jo Taylor, personal communication, 2015)

Conclusion

BedZED illustrates that in a low-density, high car-owning borough, there are locations with relatively good PTALs where low-car development can succeed, offer a very high quality of life and support a viable car club. This is the case not just in Hackbridge, but also in other parts of Sutton around its main town centres of Sutton and Wallington.

Because BedZED was overtly promoted and marketed on its sustainability credentials, it is difficult to assess whether its success was due to its intrinsic features, or whether it was due to the kind of people it attracted to live and work there. But its successes can be measured by the fact that 13 years on, BedZED’s very low car parking ratio has not resulted in an overspill parking problem and its car club is still commercially viable, albeit with fewer cars (on site). The car club exemplifies the sharing of resources that is a key feature of life at BedZED:

“BedZED hasn't become a parking problem. ... the Car Club has enabled people to be less car reliant. It's hard to imagine BedZED without the Car Club. It's giving people a real alternative, it's definitely contributed to success, I'd say. ... There's a great sense of community [at BedZED], .. it does feel a very key part of community, that sharing. And that's exactly what the Car Club is. It’s about sharing of resources.”
### Table 3 Public Transport Accessibility Levels

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PTAL</th>
<th>Range of Index</th>
<th>Map Colour</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1a (Low)</td>
<td>0.01 – 2.50</td>
<td></td>
<td>Very poor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1b</td>
<td>2.51 – 5.00</td>
<td></td>
<td>Very poor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>5.01 – 10.00</td>
<td></td>
<td>Poor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>10.01 – 15.00</td>
<td></td>
<td>Moderate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>15.01 – 20.00</td>
<td></td>
<td>Good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>20.01 – 25.00</td>
<td></td>
<td>Very Good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6a</td>
<td>25.01 – 40.00</td>
<td></td>
<td>Excellent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6b (High)</td>
<td>40.01 +</td>
<td></td>
<td>Excellent</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Ealing Borough Council:
A good practice approach to securing car clubs in new development in outer London

The following is based on two interviews with John Bowman, a principal transport planner at the London Borough of Ealing. Tim Blackwell of Hertz 24/7, Keith Kelly of City Car Club and Jonathan Hampson of Zipcar were asked about the evolution of car club policy and implementation in Ealing, as part of longer interviews. A number of planning documents and consultant’s reports have also been analysed, including Supplementary Planning Documents (SPD), the Local Implementation Plan (LIP), a report to Ealing’s Scrutiny Committee on car clubs and car club analysis carried out by Steer Davies Gleave on behalf of Ealing Borough Council.

Background

The East and West of Ealing Borough have contrasting development, transport and demographic characteristics. The East of the borough has inner London characteristics, with high density land use and frequent high-capacity public transport, for example around Ealing Broadway and Acton stations. There is considerable parking pressure and much of the East of the borough is covered by controlled parking zones. The West of the borough is characterised by outer London characteristics; lower density, suburban public housing, with less parking pressure. Demographically, the East has a higher proportion of young professional people, and the West, older and lower income households. This contrast will be diluted when in 2019, completion of the Crossrail project will stimulate considerable high-density development around the Southall area in the South West of the borough. The borough currently has three car club operators, Zipcar, City Car Club and Hertz 24/7.

Planning Policy Evolution

The guidance to developers and the planning requirements of Ealing Borough Council have evolved over the past thirteen years. In 2002, Ealing became a founding member of the London Car Club Consortium – a collection of 12 London boroughs committed to promoting car clubs as a means to provide Londoners with a range of travel options, reduce car use and reduce demand for car parking. Indeed Ealing Borough Council became chair of the consortium, following the arrival of Geoff Warren as London Borough of Ealing’s Head of Transport Planning & Policy from Camden Council. Ealing is also the lead borough for WestTrans, a consortium of the Six West London boroughs of Brent, Ealing, Hammersmith and Fulham, Harrow, Hillingdon and Hounslow.

The approach to securing car clubs in new development was formalised with the inclusion of Policy 9.8 within the UDP which and stated that low car housing is suitable if, amongst other things, a developer agrees to contribute to a car club. This was adopted in October 2004 and clarified through the publication of SPD 7 which was adopted in March 2006. This was subsequently updated with the adoption of SPD “Sustainable Transport for New Development”, a document that gives prominence to travel plans and car clubs within transport policy and was adopted in December 2013.
Some key features of Ealing’s current approach (2013 guidance):

1. Based on an understanding of the operational requirements of car clubs. For example it acknowledges that parking pressures are an important indicator of the likely success of a car club, as are having good access to local services and high frequency public transport.

2. Based on a clear and justifiable rationale for the inclusion of a car club within a Section 106 (S106) agreement, as a ‘reasonable’ and mitigating measure to address the otherwise adverse transport impacts of the development. This is important to minimise the risk of developer appealing against a decision.

3. Above a threshold of 75 [residential] units, it is a requirement that the developer / applicant consults with one or more Carplus-accredited car club operators to assess the viability of a car club operation and to identify what support would be needed to make a car club or additional car club bays or vehicles viable. Thus there is an emphasis on early tripartite pre-application discussions between the local planning authority, the developer / applicant and a car club operator.

4. In smaller developments that couldn’t support a car club vehicle, a contribution is sought for one that can be shared with nearby residents.

5. If a car club vehicle would not be viable for the development on its own, the developer /applicant can be required to subsidise membership of an existing car club for occupants (applies to residential and commercial) instead of providing car club bays.

6. Shared residential and commercial use of car club vehicles is encouraged

7. Car club bays, subsidised membership and other measures to enable car club use should be provided by the developer or their agent upon occupation of the development. This is important to enable sustainable travel behaviour patterns to be adopted by new residents and occupants from the outset.

The main differences between the 2006 and 2013 SPDs are:

1. Early involvement of a car club operator became a requirement.

2. A change in the threshold within which a car club is required, down to 75 [residential] units in 2013 (minimum 1 car), from 200 units in 2006 (minimum 2 cars).

3. Increasing the scope of the guidance from residential development to include commercial development, with inclusion of the policy – “With regards to commercial

---

use classes all businesses within the strategic level threshold would need to provide a car club on site and membership for all employees that want it unless all accredited car club operators confirm they are uninterested.”

**Application of Policy**

Ealing has had considerable success in the application of policy. One factor in this has been setting targets for increasing the provision of car club bays in its 2011 Local Implementation Plan\(^2\). The targets in that plan are to increase the number of car club bays to 107 by 2013 and 150 by 2030/31. At the end of 2014, Ealing had 94 bays, but growth is rapid:

Compared to Greater London as a whole, membership of car clubs in Ealing has grown at a faster rate in recent years with an 28% annual growth rate from 2012-2014 in Ealing compared to 11% in London. The number of cars in Ealing is also growing faster than in London.\(^3\)

One of the factors in this increase is the requirement for all developments above a certain size threshold to engage with car club providers at an early stage in the planning process – to assess the viability of car club provision within the development. This places emphasis in policy implementation on the developer and car club operators, thereby reducing the need for Council officer involvement in administering S106 payments and negotiating car club provision. The shared resource of WestTrans does mean there is some travel plan monitoring using the ‘iTrace’ monitoring tool. This provides some data for monitoring the impacts of S106-funded car clubs.

A further factor has been the mix of commercial, public sector and residential use, which is important for the viability of cars, especially where the car club network is less dense and viability more marginal, e.g. in outer London. The use of car club vehicles by Borough Council staff is an important factor:

Ealing Council staff hold 388 no-fee memberships with City Car Club. .... Staff make over 1,600 hours of booking a month on City Car Club’s low emission cars. Six vehicles, including one van, are located in the car park at Perceval House [Ealing Borough Council’s main offices].\(^4\)

This mixed use might explain why the borough has a relatively high ratio of members to cars (an average of 70 members per car)

Figures from September 2013 show the current car club provision in Ealing to be:

---

\(^2\) The London Borough of Ealing Local Implementation Plan June 2011  
\(^3\) SDG report “Ealing Car Club Study” produced by Steer Davies Gleave on behalf of the London Borough of Ealing  
\(^4\) Report on car clubs to the Scrutiny Review Panel – 16th July 2014
- Zipcar – 39 cars, 1,947 members (10% increase so far this year)
- City Car Club – 40 cars, 1,918 members (20% increase in the previous 12 months up to the end of June 2014)
- Hertz 24/7 – 6 cars, 1,900 members (18.4% increase so far this year)

The map shows how the car club provision is primarily focussed on the East of the borough especially around Ealing Broadway and Acton. Indeed much of the early car club provision focussed on the East of the borough around public transport ‘hubs’. An early exception to this easterly focus was the Grand Union Village development, a large suburban residential development of 750 houses and apartments developed by Taylor Woodrow in the Greenford area to the West of the borough. The car club operation was subsidised for the first five years by the developer, incentives included subsidised membership for the first 300 residents and the first car was placed on-site in April 2005. Whilst initially there were proposals for seven cars to be phased in as the development became occupied, there is currently only one car on site, operated by City Car Club.

Recently there has been some further car club provision in the West of the borough. This has occurred in areas which don’t have the demographic, population density or transport characteristics traditionally associated with car club provision, notably at Northolt and at Ruislip Road in Greenford (near to Grand Union Village) in the West / Northwest of the borough. The vehicles at Northolt, operated by Hertz 24/7 are funded by a pooled S106 contribution from three developments. The car operated by City Car Club in Greenford at Ruislip Road was initially provided to cater for local authority staff at offices in that area, but after the council offices moved, the car has remained viable with use from local residents.

“The reason we've got a car there initially was because this was an Ealing council office. And they closed the car park. The staff said, "Well, we can't drive our cars to work anymore but we need to go out on appointments." And I said, "well, it'll take me 6 months to get a Car Club bay through the TMO process anyway. And then our London fleet manager said, "there's this slip road off Ruislip Road. And I reckon if we put a car there, no one's going to complain." And we do have some issues there. Sometimes people bring the car back and they can't [find a suitable space to park it] …Interestingly, this office is now closed completely and these people have moved somewhere else, but this vehicle's still staying. It's early days yet."
It remains to be seen if these locations remain viable, but these examples illustrate the expanding geographical frontier of car clubs in the borough. Further westward expansion is occurring in Southall (see ‘Positive Factors and Barriers’ section below).

There have been some problems in policy implementation, specifically around the wording of some S106 agreements.

“But what I would say about the [Ealing] council as a whole is a little bit like Brighton: good on the policy side, less good on the implementation. It's actually more about how the Section 106s are drafted. So one location here ... they have got away with murder. But the reason is the Section 106 is drafted really, really weakly” KK CCC

And in this particular example, there is an issue with the developer and the marketing of the car club:

“We've got a car there and... Again, the developer not very enthusiastic, delivered the leaflets to him, absolutely insisted that I couldn't get access to put them into the letterboxes myself, insisted that the concierge would do that and 4 months later, one resident has applied. Now in other developments, where I've put the letters in the letterboxes myself or where the concierge has done it, 5, 10, 15, 20 applications with a smaller number of people.

Positive Factors and Barriers to Car Club Provision

The relative success of the car club operation in the East of the borough and the rather tentative expansion into the West can best be explained by the contrasting demographic, population density and transport characteristics of the two sides of the borough.

Geodemographic profiling of Ealing found 73% of the population falls into two Mosaic groups: City Prosperity and Urban Cohesion. City Prosperity (32% of the borough population) are well paid, young or middle aged professionals in the east of the borough who are most likely to use car clubs. Urban Cohesion (41% of the population) are home owners with extended families, predominantly of South East Asian origin in the west of the borough who are currently unlikely to use car clubs. It should be noted that use of car clubs by these groups also largely reflects low levels of current car club provision.  

5 SDG report “Ealing Car Club Study” produced by Steer Davies Gleave n behalf of the London Borough of Ealing
The more inner London characteristics of the East of the borough are reflected in the utilisation rates for car club vehicles across the Borough:

**Utilisation of car club bays**
However, new development, especially in the Southall area in the Southwest of the borough (see below), which is taking place in anticipation of completion of the Crossrail project, is likely to see more of the ‘City Prosperity’ Mosaic group moving into the West of the Borough.

Population density of Ealing (2014) and development site allocations of over two hectares

The car club operators, to varying degrees, see this as a potential market for car club expansion:

“the focus is very much is around Ealing Broadway, West Ealing. But in recent years, we have been a little bit more expansive ... I think, really, now the whole borough is of interest, whereas 2 to 3 years ago, we would have been far more focused on the fringes towards central London. So, for example, I've recently agreed with a developer that we will look at putting a car in this new development down in Southall, It's a development of about 190 units. ” Keith Kelly of City Car Club.

“I guess it depends how much high density regeneration there is. Certainly, you look at it at the moment... East and West... There's parts of the West which the borough desperately would like us to be in, but we're just not sure it would work. There aren't the disincentives to own a car. So, I guess if there's lots of development, all with no parking, particularly if there's big set piece developments that might represent opportunities where we don't think there's a market at the moment. The East [of the Borough] is very well-suited to what we do ... the west is a kind of... Let's see how it regenerates and look at each opportunity as it comes up.” Zipcar.
Discussion and Conclusions

The demographic, population density and transport characteristics of the area have been important determinants of evolution of the car club network in Ealing. With the exception of Grand Union Village, early development occurred in the more densely populated, transport-connected East of the area with a young professional demographic. However, two things are changing. One is the car club provision in new locations in areas not traditionally considered by car club operators e.g. Northolt and Ruislip Road. The second is the considerable potential for expansion presented by the developments occurring in anticipation of Crossrail services. Crossrail will dramatically improve access to central London, the City and Canary Wharf and this improved connectivity is likely to influence the demographic of the area. This presents new potential markets for car club operators. There are lessons from Ealing that could make the most of these opportunities and ensure population growth isn’t mirrored by traffic growth.

The main lesson from Ealing is the requirement for developers / applicants to engage in pre-application discussions with car club operators and the local planning authority to assess the potential viability and feasibility of providing a car club bay(s) / vehicle(s) for the development. An important point is clarity, i.e. that all parties are clear what they are entering into and what their commitment is. Having a local implementation plan with specific targets for car club growth is helpful in providing a framework for dealing with specific applications.

Critical to achieving successful car clubs in new development is getting the wording of the S106 agreement right, avoiding ambiguity. Also critical is having a sound reasoned justification for including car clubs within a S106 agreement, to ensure there is a robust defence in the event of an appeal. This includes having clear evidence of the benefits of car clubs in terms of traffic demand-management, including reduced parking demand, reduced traffic generation and pollution. There has to be clear reasoning as to how the specific measure will mitigate the external impacts of that development.

The recent, tentative, expansion of car club provision in Northolt and Greenford represent new frontiers in car club provision into outer London areas that do not have the operating characteristics (population density, access to local services etc.) that usually accompany successful car club operations. One factor here was the pooling of S106 contributions from a number of small developments to provide car club parking bay.
New River Village, Haringey – A case study of successful inclusion of car clubs within mixed-use development

This case study was drafted following interviews with Keith Kelly, Head of Locations at City Car Club and Robert Henderson, of Rendall Rittner, Property Manager at New River Village. Information was also gathered from discussion with Edwin Leigh, a transport planner at the London Borough of Haringey and an email exchange with Sabine Mosner of DriveNow.

New River Village an overview

New River Village is an award-winning development at the former Thames Water pump station in Hornsey, within the London Borough of Haringey. It was developed by St. James homes. Built in the early 2000s, the development combines contemporary design and public spaces in a high-density housing development (178 dwellings per hectare\(^1\)) of 622 units. The development is a mix of studios, one and two-bedroom flats, with 465 units for market sale and 157 (roughly 25%) let by Registered Social Landlords (housing associations). The 1901-built, listed pump house has been refurbished as a restaurant bar, with a gymnasium attached, and separate gallery with an artist-in-residence.

The development includes a 450m-long, 2 hectare linear park with wide walkways and cycle ways that connect Hornsey High Street to Wood Green and Alexandra Palace, helping to integrate it with existing communities. The village has excellent transport links to central London. Hornsey Station is about a 4-minute walk away, with regular services into Kings Cross and Moorgate to the South and Welwyn Garden City and Stevenage to the North. Turnpike Lane underground station on the Piccadilly Line, connecting the area to central London, is a ten-minute walk from the site. The development has a total of 423 parking spaces, an overall ratio of 0.68 spaces per unit. Apart from the car club parking spaces, the parking is contained in two levels of underground parking, making the development look and feel very uncluttered. Of the 423 spaces, 41 (almost 10%) of the spaces are allocated for the affordable apartments.

Background to the London Borough of Haringey

Hornsey is an inner-suburban area located about 6 miles north of Charing Cross, within the London Borough of Haringey. The borough has addressed increasing parking pressure with a programme of controlled parking zones (CPZs), introduced to manage competition for limited parking supply in

areas of high parking demand. The map below shows the existing CPZs in Haringey, which cover approximately two-thirds of the borough.

![Controlled Parking Zone areas in Haringey (March 2014)](image)

Since publication of this map, the housing area immediately to the west of NRV has become a permit-only parking zone. Haringey Council continues to introduce new or expand existing CPZs where residents are affected by increased pressures on limited parking supply (Haringey Transport Strategy 2011-2014).

**Car Clubs in Haringey**

The Council considers increasing resident and business access to car club vehicles is an important policy for encouraging sustainable car usage, easing local parking pressures, reducing pollution and carbon dioxide emissions. City Car Club has operated at New River Village since 2005, having been commissioned by the developer to discharge the requirements of the Section 106 agreement to provide a car club for the development, with three cars parked in designated car club bays on a private road within the development.

In 2008 Haringey Council tendered for the provision of an on-street car club network. Streetcar (now Zipcar) were awarded the contract and began operating the service in July 2009, with 27 vehicles located at 14 designated on-street parking bays across the borough. The car club service has been extremely popular with Haringey residents and there are now over 5,200 Zipcar members². Car club provision has expanded rapidly to keep up with demand.

² As of September 2015
In December 2014, BMW and car rental firm Sixt officially launched the ‘pay-as-you-go’ DriveNow scheme in Islington, Hackney and Haringey. The new scheme claims to be the “most flexible and spontaneous car sharing service in London”. It is a so-called ‘free-floating’ car club arrangement. After registration, residents are able to locate and reserve cars nearby using a smartphone app, leaving the car anywhere in the ‘business area’ – the area coloured green on the map below:

[Map showing DriveNow locations in Haringey]

DriveNow has 70 vehicles in Haringey, although the free-floating arrangement means that this may fluctuate depending on where within the business area they are parked. New River Village is fairly central within the DriveNow business area, with cars nearby, just off the High Street in Hornsey.

As well as these recently-added cars, there are currently 71 Zipcar vehicles located across the borough plus the three City Car Club cars at New River Village. Demand for, 

---

3 Anywhere that it is legal to park, including on-street, permit-only and pay-and-display spaces, by agreement with the respective borough councils.
4 As of September 2015
and provision of, car club services in the area around NRV looks set to grow with the development of the adjacent Smithfield Square, which is currently under construction (September 2015). The development by the same developer as NRV - St. James Homes - will comprise a total of 270 apartments and a new 34,900 sqft Sainsbury’s, which will improve the provision of local services available to residents of NRV. The first residents are due to move in in 2017 with the site to be fully complete by 2018. The apartments are a mixture of studio, one- and two-bed flats. The S106 agreement for this development includes a requirement to provide and promote a car club, with two years’ free membership for each occupant (see Appendix A).

Future car club demand analysis suggests there is huge potential for car club expansion in Haringey, with over 34,000 potential car club users. So far, Haringey has met 15% of this potential demand. Despite a slowdown in membership growth and vehicle utilisation during 2012, both have since picked up again. Following the introduction of DriveNow into the Borough, Haringey Council plans to open up the local car club market:

“From March 2016, Haringey Council will be introducing multi-operator contracts for the provision of car club services in the borough, whilst maintaining the presence of our incumbent car club operator, Zipcar. The Council’s aspiration for the introduction of multiple operators is to expand the network of car club services available to Haringey residents, providing improved accessibility and greater choice of car club services, which will build on the momentum and success of the borough’s car club network established over the last 6 years. “ (Edwin Leigh of the London Borough of Haringey)

New River Village: accessibility, the planning consent / agreements and the car club

Planning permission was originally granted for 463 units and this was later revised to provide a total of 622 units. It is a high-density housing development (178 dwellings per hectare) comprising a mix of studios, 1- and 2-bed flats, with 465 units for market sale and 157 (roughly 25%) are ‘affordable’ homes. The affordable homes are located in three apartment blocks named Colorado, Danube and Judd, which are managed by Circle 33 and Metropolitan Housing (Registered Social Landlords).

New River Village is an early example of the successful use of the planning process to secure what was a free-standing car club in a new, (predominantly) residential development.


As of September 2015.
NRV’s relatively high density and underground car parking has enabled the creation of the ‘new river’ park, which is perhaps one of the most successful aspects of the development, integrating paths and cycle ways with existing access and resulting in many large open public spaces. Paths run the full length of the site from the waterworks, along the watercourse and under the railway to Wood Green.7

The site has many of the characteristics that enable successful car club operations; high residential density, close proximity to good public transport inks, especially into central London, access to local shops and services, a low parking ratio, controlled parking in and around the site and a predominantly young, professional demographic.

The Map below shows the PTAL contours for the Hornsey area and the access to Hornsey rail and Turnpike Road underground stations. The site has a PTAL score of around 4.

In practice, PTAL 4 is associated with New River Village being very well connected, with excellent transport links to central London. Hornsey Station is about a 4 minute walk away, with regular ‘Great Northern’ services into Kings Cross and Moorgate to the South and Welwyn Garden City and Stevenage to the North. Turnpike Lane underground station on the Piccadilly Line, which connects the area to central London, is a ten minute walk from the site. Hornsey High Street, which forms the southern boundary to the development, has a reasonable range of local shops and services.

The development has a total of 423 parking spaces, an overall ratio of 0.68 spaces per unit. Although overall there is a lower parking ratio for the affordable units than the market sale ones, each of the apartments in the “Judd” apartment block, which is a shared ownership arrangement, is allocated a parking space.

Apart from the on-street car club parking spaces, all on-site car parking is contained in 2 levels of underground parking. Although there is some turnover and a market for parking

spaces on the NRV site (see http://www.philipalexander.net/new-river-village/parking), the
car park is under-utilised by up to 50% according to the property manager. The site has a
parking management scheme in place and unauthorised parking on-site is strictly controlled.
Only maintenance vehicles and the car club cars are permitted to park on any of the roads in
NRV. The surrounding area is now a controlled parking zone, so there is little scope for
residents to park in nearby streets. The on-street parking restriction on surrounding streets
is permit-only parking Monday to Friday between 11.00am and 1.00pm, which precludes all-
day commuter parking, but allows short-stay parking for most of the day.

The S106 agreement that accompanied the planning consent included provision of a car club
and its promotion to prospective occupants prior to occupation, including incentives to give
the car club a try. The incentives were one year’s free membership and a 20% Discount Card
for usage in the first year. One factor that helps to maintain the car club’s viability is that
the car club vehicles are available to residents of the surrounding neighbourhood and the
bays are located on-street, so that the cars are visible to non-residents who pass through
the development (there are pedestrian and cycle routes that run through the development
between Alexandra Palace and Hornsey).

The substantial size of the development was a factor in generating sufficient demand to
support a viable, stand-alone, car club operation. City Car Club offers membership for £1
(for the first year) to most existing members of other car clubs, so residents of the wider
area can easily gain access to the cars within the development.

Demand remains buoyant, with the three cars at NRV averaging 70-80 bookings a month
covering 600-700 hours of bookings and City Car Club would be willing to add additional
cars.

**The Development Manager’s perspective**

The property manager for NRV, Robert Henderson of Rendall and Rittner, gave an interview
to discuss the characteristics of the development and the car club. From the property
management perspective, the number of car parking spaces is more than adequate for the
residents of NRV:

“... we don't have any problem with it [the level of car parking provision], ..... 
it's not even 50% full. Because of the amount of people that don't have cars
on the site. You know, there’s a lot of people that don't have a car on-site. So
there’s quite a number of spaces empty.”

The under-occupancy of the car park was considered to be due to the level of public
transport access enjoyed by NRV and the demographic of its residents:

“Because you've got a great deal of young people on this site. I mean... it’s 7
minutes to the Overground and you're maybe 10 minutes down to the
underground from here, so public transport is well-used from this site. Into
the city, you've got.... straight into Moorgate, on the Overground. There are a lot of young people on this site and they just haven't got cars.”

Another reason for the low uptake of parking spaces at NRV may be the cost, which is about £15,000 to buy or £50 - £60 per month to rent. The ‘market’ in car parking spaces at NRV is limited to those who currently own a car parking space and don’t use them. The car park owners, St. James, don’t rent parking spaces.

The limited availability of parking is not considered to have affected demand for property at NRV:

“Well, I don't think the parking makes any difference because an average time on rental ... from when it [an apartment] comes up to rent to being rented is about two days... The average sale here is round between 7 and 10 days. I know that Philip Alexander [a local estate agent] have about 23 people at the moment wanting to rent on the site.”

The car club is well-used by NRV residents, but typically for very short rentals:

“The one [car club] that's on this site ... when I say it’s very, very well-used – they have the hour, the two hours to go to Sainsbury’s, to go the Waitrose and stuff like that. It's doing very, very well. But I would think two hours maximum, up to Muswell Hill, get your shopping, come back down again.”

From the development management perspective, the car club not seen as essential to the working of the site, but it is important to many of the residents. When asked whether NRV would function without the car club:

“I think the development would work okay, but as I say, you've got the regulars who don't have a car and use it to go pick something up at Homebase or something like that. I think they would miss it. Because there is quite a number of regulars. As I said - that hour or two hours for the shopping.”

Demand for this type of trip may well reduce when the new Sainsbury’s supermarket is opened as part of the neighbouring Smithfield Square development.

**Conclusion**

New River Village illustrates that a stand-alone car club can be viable in high-density residential / mixed-use developments that are large enough in terms of the number of residential units, where resident parking is limited and good public transport access is available. The creation of New River Park as part of the development resulted, in part, from the relatively high density and provision of a limited number of underground car parking spaces and a feature of the development is the low demand for car parking. With a relatively low parking provision of 0.68 spaces per unit, the car park within the development is nevertheless heavily under-used. This partly reflects the cost of buying or renting a
parking space, but it also reflects the lifestyle choices made by a generally young, professional demographic in an area with good public transport access to central London, reasonable local services and the availability of a car club for occasional trips that require a car.

As a result of the S106 agreement, the NRV car club got off to a good start because it was promoted to prospective occupants prior to occupation and car club use was incentivised via introductory offers. It is not known whether this enabled people to reduce their level of car ownership on moving to the development, or whether the development simply attracted people who did not own a car. However, the Carplus annual survey has repeatedly provided evidence that some households that join a car club either reduce their car ownership, or defer purchasing a car.

Operational features of the New River Village car club have contributed to its longevity, including having on-street bays that are visible to non-residents of the development and allowing shared-use of the car club with residents from the surrounding neighbourhood.

Looking to the future, the recent introduction of the DriveNow car club, the prospect of new high-density, low-car development and the intention to move to multi-operator contracts, suggests that the borough’s car club services will continue to expand.
Appendix A

Extracts from the Section 106 agreement dated 3rd April 2014, between the London Borough of Haringey, St. James Group Ltd. and Sainsbury’s Supermarkets Ltd.

| Car Club | means a scheme which gives members of a car club (being Occupiers of the Properties) access to a pool of cars or other light vehicles for flexible periods of time on a pay-as-you-drive or similar basis; |
| Car Club Membership | means 1 free membership of a Car Club per Property for a period of 2 years commencing from the date of first Occupation of the Properties, such membership to be made available pursuant to the Residential Travel Plan; |

Residential Travel Plan means the plan to promote sustainable modes of transport to and from the Affordable Housing Units and Market Housing Units, which plan shall include provision for:

(a) residential induction packs with local transport information for Occupiers of the Properties;

(b) the Developer and/or the Owner to use reasonable endeavours to establish a Car Club with at least 3 cars and to make available 1 Car Club Membership and £50 credit to each Property where a Car Club Membership is granted for use with the Car Club (and the travel plan will further provide that if the Developer and/or the Owner is unable to enter into an agreement with the operator of a Car Club for the establishment of a Car Club on reasonable commercial terms, it shall instead use reasonable endeavours to contribute to the expansion of an existing Car Club operating within 500m of the Site); and

(c) the Residential Car Park Management Plan;
This case study was drafted following interviews and site visits with Alexander Baldwin-Smith of the London Borough of Bromley and Stephen Heeley who was with LB of Bromley at the time, but has subsequently moved to TfL. The research also included an interview with Kyle Fennell of Ward Homes site sales team, Tim Blackwell of Hertz 24/7 and Keith Kelly of City Car Club.

Trinity Village, Bromley – an overview

Trinity Village is a new-build residential development on Bromley Common, in the London Borough of Bromley, located on the Kent/London border. The self-contained development is built on the site of the former Blue Circle sports ground on Crown Lane. The site is being developed in phases, with phases 1, 2 & 3 substantially complete and occupied and phase 4 currently under construction (Summer 2015). The accommodation is a mixture of apartments as well as two, three and four-bedroom houses, aimed at young professionals and growing families. The tenure is a combination of private, housing association and affordable homes, along with an extra care retirement home and there are plans for a medical centre.

The site has moderately good public transport accessibility, with a PTAL score of 3 (see below). The planning approval included a travel plan with a technical appendix stipulating the terms under which car club vehicles would be required. The travel plan formed part of a Section 106 agreement, with the car club operated as an agreement between the developer and the car club operator, Hertz 24/7.

Background to the Borough

Bromley is an outer London Borough, which does not have the characteristics associated with successful car club operations. Its population density is 19.6 people per hectare, which is the lowest density of any London borough. Bromley has 147,000 cars and lorries registered in the borough, which is the highest number in London and it has the third highest car ownership in London (31% of households have two or more cars). With the exception of some key public transport nodes, such as Bromley South and Orpington stations, it has one of the lowest borough public transport accessibility levels (PTAL) in London.

At present, Bromley has one of the lowest levels of car club provision of any of the 33 boroughs. The Greater London average provision of car clubs vehicles per 10,000 head of population is three; the Outer London average is one. However, Mayor Boris Johnson has identified Bromley town centre as an emerging Opportunity Area in his updated London Plan, as well as Biggin Hill as a strategic Outer London Development Centre, aimed at delivering thousands of new jobs and homes. Bromley town centre has recently had a £5.2 million facelift with funding secured from Transport for London and the Mayor’s

---

1 The Bromley Common [medical] Practice plans to move to the Trinity Village facility (Ground Floor, 3 Mackintosh Street, Crown Lane) - The premises will be shared with Southborough Lane Surgery.
Car Clubs in Bromley

In 2012 Bromley had around 500 residents signed up to a car club. It is assumed that most were using car clubs outside the Borough, as the Borough itself only hosted two car club cars at that time. In addition to the car club operating at Trinity Village, there are three on-street car club spaces currently provided within the Borough, two of which were secured through the Development Control process. One car is situated on Sherman Road, one in Bromley North (operated by City Car Club) and one in Orpington High Street, connected to the Orpington Town Halls development. This latter vehicle was recently withdrawn by the incumbent operator due to some operational difficulties and poor utilisation. However, City Car Club took over the operation of this location in September 2014. It is showing some signs of growth following a successful marketing campaign, which involved the Orpington Business Improvement District.

A car club vehicle, operated by Hertz 24/7, began operation at Trinity Village in Spring 2012. This is located in an off-street bay on private land within the development. The bay can be easily accessed, by residents and non-residents. Following the triggering of a utilisation clause within the travel plan (the first car club car having a utilisation rate of 25% for two consecutive months), a second car became operational in 2014. The developer is committed to financially support each car club vehicle for a period of three years from when the car becoming operational.

London Borough of Bromley car club policy evolution

Bromley does not yet have specific, adopted policies relating to car clubs. However objective B3 of the Local Implementation Plan seeks to enable genuine choices of travel mode and this has been used to secure car clubs in new development via the planning process. The London Borough of Bromley is committed to pursuing the availability of car club bays in areas of proven demand and formal agreement to proceed with actively expanding the car club network in the borough was given by the Portfolio Holder in February 2012.

The London Borough of Bromley’s new Local Development Framework, through the Local Plan is intended to be more specific in requiring car clubs in new development, with a draft policy to “make provision for a car club, if [the size of the development] is above the minimum Transport for London (TfL) threshold.” Discretion is currently used, with sites below this threshold still considered if requiring specific mitigation measures for lower parking provision for example. The Local Plan Draft Policies and Designations have been out to public consultation in Summer 2014, with a further consultation on the draft Local Plan in Summer 2015. It is anticipated that the Local Plan will be formally adopted in Spring 2016.

Parking policy is contained in Policy T3 and Appendix II of the ‘Bromley Unitary Development Plan (UDP)’ (adopted July 2006) which indicates a maximum parking standard of 1.5 spaces per unit in respect of a development where the predominant housing type is terraced housing and flats. This is a higher parking ratio than is generally considered conducive to securing successful car clubs in new development. However, this parking standard is in line with the current guidance in the London Plan, which includes the following residential parking standards (taken from: https://www.london.gov.uk/sites/default/files/FALP%20SUGGESTED%20CHANGES%20July%202014.pdf)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Maximum residential parking standards</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Number of Beds</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parking spaces</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Steven Heeley of London Borough of Bromley commented that:

“Due to the lower levels of public transport accessibility for many parts of the Borough, the Council has argued that the parking standards of the London Plan require greater flexibility to allow them to permit more parking at new developments than the London Plan Standards allow for.”

Transport for London (TfL) has historically supported the creation of on-street parking infrastructure for car clubs by assisting and funding London boroughs. Bromley submitted a bid in February 2011 and was successful in gaining £25,000 over 2011/12 and 2012/13 to implement up to 15 bays across the Borough. A tendering exercise was undertaken to appoint a commercial car club operator to manage the approved locations. However, none of the three main car club operators were prepared to tender to operate from the additional bays and the Council is currently (Summer 2015) in discussion with City Car Club to facilitate six new locations in the north west of the borough. Keith Kelly of City Car Club explained that they are now interested in expanding their operation in Bromley, stressing the importance of being offered the right locations close to railway stations:

“the locations that Steve [Heeley] has sent me as possibilities for Bromley are all ... really close to train or tram stations. ... That's what we're interested in. .. So, he's picked some really good locations. This one at Penge East is virtually in the station car park. Penge West is opposite. And then we've got a couple around Clockhouse in Beckenham. And then we've got a couple around Beckenham junction.”

After a faltering start with the Orpington High Street car club bay, provision is now expanding in those parts of the Borough with relatively high PTAL scores chiefly in the northwest around transport interchanges.
The site occupies the type of location that has not traditionally attracted car club operations, with a PTAL score of 3 (see contour map). The development is about 2km from Bromley’s main shopping centre, which does have a relatively high PTAL score (see contour map). Bromley town centre’s higher PTAL score is largely due to Bromley South station (also approximately 2 kilometres from Trinity Village), which has a journey time into London of 16 minutes, with around 5 direct trains per hour into London Victoria and 4 local stopping trains an hour also to Victoria via Herne Hill, along with a range of other rail services.

The Crowne Lane bus interchange and the A21 are at the perimeter of the site, so Trinity Village is served by frequent bus services into and out of Bromley town centre and London. The developer’s website claims that “Care has been taken in the layout of the development to make it easily navigable by foot and bicycle, with a direct cycle route link into Bromley town centre / Bromley South station.”

Phasing of the development

The development was planned as four separate phases, with some sub-phases. Construction started in late 2010, with phase 1 occupied in June 2011. On completion of phase 4 there will be a total of

---

2 [http://www.wardhomes.co.uk/new-homes/kent/H513201-Trinity-Village/]
536 owner occupied units and 96 social housing units. Of the owner occupied units around 40% (206) are 3, 4 and 5-bedroomed units.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phase</th>
<th>Date completed</th>
<th>Number of units</th>
<th>Number of bed spaces per unit</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1a</td>
<td>2011</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1b</td>
<td>2011</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1c</td>
<td>2011</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>2011</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>2011</td>
<td>173</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Under construction Summer 2015</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>632</td>
<td>222</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The planning application(s) planning conditions, the S106 agreement and the travel plan

The first application for the redevelopment of this site was submitted in 2003. It is a fairly complicated application. There were a number of submissions that were refused but the final scheme was approved on appeal on the 22nd of November 2007 by the Secretary of State for Communities and Local Government under reference APP/G5180/A/07/2043219/NWF. Following approval, there were a number of subsequent applications for the different phases of the development. Phase 1 included a high proportion of extra care sheltered housing. With a total number of units of 221 and 132 car parking spaces, this first phase had a relatively low car parking ratio of 0.6 spaces per unit.

The approved travel plan has an overall level of parking provision for the development of a maximum of 1.5 spaces per unit. However, given the relatively high number of three, four and five-bedroom units, this translates into a lower ratio of spaces to bedrooms. The parking ratio is in line with those in the Greater London Plan (see table above). The travel plan also includes a technical appendix providing details of the car club to be provided. The travel plan makes provision for the car club to have between 1 and 3 cars. As mentioned earlier, the number of cars is dependent on the utilisation rates for the first and second cars, as the following extract from the Travel Plan explains:

Hertz shall provide Vehicles for use by the Owners and Occupiers on the Site in accordance with the procedure as set out below:

(a) Hertz will provide 1 Family Vehicle for a period of three years from and including the Operative Date (“Initial Vehicle”).

(b) In the event that the Initial Vehicle has at least a 25% utilisation rate in two consecutive months (being at least 182 rented hours in one month) then the Developer will be required to add a second Family Vehicle to provide the Car Club Services (“Second Vehicle”). This additional vehicle will be made available for a 3 year period commencing from the date it is first supplied by Hertz to provide the Car Club Services.
The car club was promoted by the developer as explained by one of the sales team:

“It’s actually on our website for Trinity Village, but also it comes in what we call completion packs. So information on the actual cars themselves is available to the customers when they move in.”

In addition to that promotion, the car club operator proposed some incentives to residents to make greater use of the car club:

“...we then approached the developer and said "Okay, you're currently providing £150 on an Oyster Card as part of the [travel plan]..." And we said, "Do you know, if we gave your residents £300 of driving credit, but you only pay us £150 for it. Would that work?" And we had some good take-up on it.”

The first car reached the utilisation threshold set out in the travel plan during 2014 and a second car was then funded by the developer. The first car is now no longer receiving support from the developer, so is currently operating commercially, but it may be receiving some cross-subsidy from the developer contribution to the second car:

“That first vehicle has already been in there over 3 year, so.... technically the first one's no longer funded. That's fully operational and then the second one. I think what's probably happened is, because there's a second vehicle there already funded, that is enough to keep it [the first vehicle] if that makes sense? “

The vehicles are operated by Hertz 24/7, but the second car is fully branded as 'Trinity Village. Whilst the operator maintains that the cars are available to non-residents, the wording on the second car suggests otherwise:
The developer’s perspective

The car club was viewed positively from a commercial perspective by the on-site sales team, who felt that it is an asset in terms of selling the properties:

“Absolutely, yes. It helps people that don't have cars and want to go to places, so it's fantastic, especially with the reason about people from London - ... because they can't afford to live in central London so they come out here and are living 'London Life' but at Kent prices. So trying to get the best of both worlds.”

Due to the outer London location, with average PTAL score and limited access to local facilities, the car club had not been used as a tool to reduce the overall level of car parking, rather to mitigate any potential overspill into surrounding residential street (according to Borough Council staff). The developer did not feel that car club had affected the overall provision of parking on the site:

“Basically, everyone on site [referring here to the owner-occupied part of the site] gets their own allocated parking space .. I don't know about the residential home .. and then there are just under a hundred unallocated spaces, which are for anybody.”

One issue raised by the interview with sales staff is that whilst initially they were briefed on the operation and benefits of an on-site car club, due to staff turnover, this knowledge wasn't passed on to current site staff. However they were well aware of the advantages of having the facility on-site. A further operational issue is that due to the phased development of the site, the car club vehicles have had to be moved to a new location as construction has moved on to their original parking bays. However, neither the developer nor the operator felt this had had any detrimental impact on use.

Conclusions

Trinity Village is a low to medium-density development in outer London with relatively high parking ratios compared to typical inner London developments. As such, it is testing the limits of where car clubs can successfully operate. Trinity Village fits within a wider picture of tentative car club expansion in outer London, with City Car Club expanding its operation in the Borough to six new sites close to transport interchanges.

Amongst the plus points for Trinity Village is that the car club was marketed with the properties, both on-line and on-site, and included in ‘completion packs’ so was available to residents as they moved in. However, the branding of the second car club car as ‘exclusive use of this car for Trinity Village residents’ will narrow its catchment and may inhibit its usage, potentially posing a threat to its future viability.

It remains to be seen whether the car club on Trinity Village remains commercially viable after the developer’s financial support ends, but initial signs are encouraging, especially that the first car passed the utilisation threshold to trigger the clause in the travel plan to provide a second car.

---

i http://www.londoncouncils.gov.uk/London%2520Councils/BROMLEYFINAL%2520(2).pdf

ii http://www.homesandproperty.co.uk/area-guides/greater-london/spotlight-bromley-property-area-guide
Trinity Village – useful websites

http://www.rightmove.co.uk/developer/branch/Ward-Homes/Trinity-Village-76939.html


http://www.wardhomes.co.uk/new-homes/kent/H513201-Trinity-Village/

http://www.homesandproperty.co.uk/area-guides/greater-london/spotlight-bromley-property-area-guide

http://search.tb.ask.com/search/GGmain.jhtml?searchfor=Bromley+Borough+Council+AND+car+clubs&p2=%5EUX%5EExdm005%5EML0000%5Egb&n=77FD35DB&ss=sub&st=hp&ptb=18A73851-E048-444E-81AC-4DDF8864A6D1&si=CL6CvoLOkrsCFZGWtAodSy0AAQ&tp=sbt&ts=1409832229420
Derwenthorpe, York

This report was drafted following interviews with Keith Kelly, Head of Locations at City Car Club, Owen Daggett, Sustainability Manager at the Joseph Rowntree Housing Trust, Sara Costello, Sales manager at David Wilson Homes at Derwenthorpe, Andrew Bradley, Sustainable Transport Manager at City of York Council and James Williams, Travel Management Officer at City of York Council.

Derwenthorpe an overview

Derwenthorpe is a 21.7 hectare site 2 miles east of York city centre, being developed by Joseph Rowntree Housing Trust (JRHT) and development partner, David Wilson Homes\(^1\) (see Appendix A). Their aim is to develop a sustainable residential community, with a mix of housing tenures, energy efficient homes, biomass heating and a range of sustainable transport solutions, including a S106-supported car club. The concept is for an urban extension, with pedestrian-friendly streets, many laid out as “home zones” and generous landscaping. The masterplan, designed by PRP Architects, divides the site into four neighbourhoods. The first of four phases - “The Stephenson Quarter” - is now complete, with phases two and three under construction and partially occupied (January 2016). There are to be a total of up to 540 new homes, of which around 40% are to be ‘affordable’ - i.e. either shared equity or rented from JRHT. For example, of the 64 homes in Phase one, 39 were for sale at market value, 10 as shared equity homes and 15 let to JRHT tenants at social rents.\(^2\)

The site has taken a long time to come to development, following a number of planning and legal issues, including call-in by the Secretary of State and a public inquiry (see timeline at Appendix B) as well as an attempt by nearby residents to have the site designated as a “village green”. One of the controversial issues from the outset was the transport and traffic impact of the development, with local residents very concerned that the development would generate a lot of traffic.

To fit with the concept of a sustainable urban extension and to address these concerns the planning application and S106 agreement includes a number of features to reduce car-dependence, including limiting car parking to 1.1 spaces per dwelling, bus service improvements and incentives (free voucher for use on local bus services), improvements to walking and cycle routes, both within and beyond the development, as well as supporting a car club with the incentive of free membership and some free drive time for residents, for an initial period.

\(^1\) Part of the Barratt Group
\(^2\) Taken from https://www.york.gov.uk/info/20048/major_developments/1711/derwenthorpe_major_development accessed 07/09/2015
Background to the City of York

York is an historic, university city with a resident population of around 200,000. It has a relatively high density core and inner urban area and serves a largely rural hinterland, with a dispersed population. City of York Council is a unitary authority, but is part of the West Yorkshire Combined Authority (WYCA) – see figure 2.1 below and refer to the City of York Draft Local Plan Preferred Options (p7). Although it has its own Local Transport Plan, which gives it independent funding for transport projects, it works jointly with WYCA. For example the recent tender for a single operator car club for Leeds City Region was carried out by WYCA and covers York. York has used, and continues to use, planning conditions and Section 106 agreements to secure funding towards car clubs in new developments. To date, this has not been backed up by formally approved or adopted development plan policies or Supplementary Planning Documents, however the draft local plan does include policies relating to sustainable transport, the definition of which includes car sharing.

Figure 2.1: York in the Regional Context

---

3 https://www.york.gov.uk/downloads/file/3639/local_plan_preferred_optionspdf
4 Car sharing in new developments is also referred to in a planning guidance document on air quality and development see- https://www.york.gov.uk/downloads/file/425/aq_plan_guidancepdf
Car Clubs in York

WhizzGo were the first to operate a car club in York, starting perhaps as early as 2004/2005. However, the number of vehicles fluctuated, as Andrew Bradley of City of York Council explained:

“prior to City of York Council taking up usage of the City Car Club for its own business use, we did run into quite a lot of stumbling blocks with cars being put into various areas and then cars moved away from various areas, [with a] reduction in the overall number of cars in the city.”

In 2009, City Car Club acquired Whizzgo and became York’s sole operator. A key moment in the development of the car club was when City of York Council moved a large number of its staff into West Offices\(^5\), which has no staff car parking, apart from a few disabled parking bays. At that point the Council became a significant corporate user of City Car Club:

“The game-changer was when the council adopted City Car Club as a provider for business travel purposes. Prior to that, we’d had our own small fleet of pool cars. … we’ve moved so far in advance of what they [City Car Club] were doing pre-2013 because we’ve given such a large amount of mileage, I think we’re up to just below 9,000 miles a month now …. in terms of hourly bookings, we’re about 47% of City Car Club’s total output for a month. In terms of cars we’re now up to 25 in the city.” (James Williams, City of York Council, 2015)

The volume of business generated by City of York Council is reflected in the distribution of cars across the City, where 14 of the 29 cars are located at Nunnery Lane Car Park, which is a 6 minute walk from West Offices (see figure 3.1). A number of those cars are block-booked to City of York Council Monday to Friday 0800 – 1800, but are publically available outside those times.

City Car Club has recently been reaffirmed as York’s sole operator by the tender process carried out by WYCA, which included the York area. The tender is for a three year period, with possible extension up to two years without re-tender.

---

\(^5\) A central location, adjacent to the City walls and close to York’s main train station.
Derwenthorpe lies about 2 miles to the East of York city centre. The site has a direct walking and cycle route to the city centre on a disused railway line, which forms part of the National Cycle Network. The route also provides direct access to a number of supermarkets and other retail / leisure outlets. Cycling from the centre of York to Derwenthorpe takes about 10 minutes at a moderate pace (12mph) and is probably the quickest mode for accessing the city centre. A number of bus services serve the area around the development. Frequent services (4 an hour or more) stop at Osbaldwick Village (adjacent to Stephenson Quarter, at the south eastern edge of the site), the junction of Bad Bargain Lane and Gerard Avenue - some 600m from the entrance to the development and on Melrosegate – some 840m away (see figure 3.2):

The original section 106 agreement provided for “a contribution of £240,000 to support a half-hourly bus service across the site. Other than for neighbourhood D (Osbaldwick6), no dwelling within the development is to be occupied until a road suitable for use by buses is provided between Osbaldwick Village and Fifth Avenue (condition 30)”7. However, due to the delays in bringing the development to site (see timeline at Appendix B) a number of factors changed after the original S106 agreement had been signed and the agreement is currently being re-negotiated (Winter, 2015). Most of the transport features of the S106 agreement are not subject to change, however the provision of a bus service has not happened (as yet) due to the phasing of the development, as Owen Daggett of JRHT explains:

“Yes the bus is difficult: there was a £240K contribution in the Section 106 towards the bus service, but the issue with Derwenthorpe is it is being built out from the

---

6 Now named the Stephenson Quarter (phase 1 of construction)
7 https://www.york.gov.uk/info/20048/major_developments/1711/derwenthorpe_major_development accessed 07/09/2015
...perimeter to the centre which is where the services would terminate. But, at the moment, all you’re doing is driving onto a building site, which no bus operator would want to do, plus we haven’t got all that many people there [at the moment].”

The car club was put in place very early in the development, from the first resident moving in. It was promoted to new and prospective occupants in the “Home User Guide”, which is provided to residents and funded by JRHT:

“...Yes, so they all get a Drive time offer. In their Home User Guide they get a paper voucher or a bus voucher in there to claim their £150, contribution towards that method of transport. And there's also a voucher code for the Car Club, so it's free drive time and free membership to Derwenthorpe residents. And then City Car Club do a mail-out as well, after they move in, to provide a more timely reminder.” (Owen Daggett, personal communication, 2015)

In addition to this, in Summer 2015, JRHT and City of York Council funded travel advisers from the i-Travel York team to provide tailored travel advice for residents to encourage them to try out sustainable modes of travel in their new homes. The i-Travel York team contacted residents door-to-door, providing personalised travel planning information and offering incentives to try new forms of travel, such as free bus tickets, City Car Club membership / drive time, and vouchers towards bikes or cycling / walking equipment. York-based community interest company - Get Cycling - also provide a community bike loan offer whereby a resident can loan a bike and equipment for three weeks to try out cycling, with the option of purchasing the bike at a discount at the end of this period.10

As part of this recent promotional work, there have been a couple of open days on Derwenthorpe, where one of the residents, who is a regular car club user, brought the car club car out and carried out some awareness sessions for fellow residents, explaining why they use the car club and how to use it, what the charge rate is etc.

The low-carbon aspiration of the development is reflected in the parking ratio of 1.1 car parking spaces per dwelling, which is relatively low for a development of family homes on the edge of the City. Car parking is allocated at one space per dwelling, along with one visitor space per ten homes, with the exception of some of the larger house types, which have both a garage and an on-street parking space. JRHT’s desire to create a stable community means that the sale of homes includes a covenant requiring owner-occupation and precluding buy-to-let, which potentially makes personalised travel planning more effective.

---

8 NB JRHT is responsible for discharging the conditions of the S106 agreement, not David Wilson Homes.
9 ‘i-Travel York’ is a travel information and promotion service which is funded from the Local Sustainable Transport Fund, funding which City of York Council secured for the purpose.
10 https://www.york.gov.uk/press/article/1409/derwenthorpe_to_benefit_from_i-travel_york_advice_service
The perspective of the Joseph Rowntree Housing Trust - the developer and funder of the S106 agreement and the sales team from David Wilson Homes.

The sustainable aspirations of the development are explained by Owen Daggett, Sustainability Manager at the Joseph Rowntree Housing Trust, who said:

“Derwenthorpe is a low carbon scheme, which we designed to help residents use less energy at home. We also want to ensure that we encourage more sustainable travel patterns”

To that end, JRHT is funding the S106 agreement. The S106 agreement was an important factor in securing planning consent, especially given the concerns of local residents and the need to convince the planning authority and the Secretary of State that measures would be put in place to contain the traffic impacts of the development.

Car parking and the availability of the car club are raised with prospective occupants, when they enquire about property at Derwenthorpe:

“At this stage, the sales team make people aware that, with the exception of 3 or 4 house types, all dwellings have only one dedicated parking space and, if they do have more than one car, they will not be able to park their own cars in the spaces allocated for visitor parking. Customers with more one car are directed to the house types that have both a garage and an on-street parking space. “ Sara Costello, Sales Manager David Wilson Homes, Derwenthorpe)

Asked if the car club is a selling point for houses on Derwenthorpe Sara said it was a ‘sweetener’, rather than a significant selling point. However, the sales team commented that for some, especially those retiring to Derwenthorpe, it is an important enabler to becoming a one-car household. The car club incentive in the resident’s Home User Guide is an offer of free membership of City Car Club (usually £60 per year) and £50 of free drive time, with the proviso that the free drive time must be used within 60 days of signing up. Sara commented that some residents had used City Car Club vehicles to move belongings into their new home and the car club does get used by residents of the adjacent Tang Hall housing estate. The initial provision of one car club bay and vehicle on-site is seen as the beginning of a larger provision, as spaces have been allocated for five car club parking bays on the Seebohm Quarter and two on the Lotherington Quarter.

The low-car aspiration has almost been met on the early phases of the development. A recent survey by consultants JMP\textsuperscript{11} found there was an average of 1.12 cars per household, with 12% of households not owning a car and 26% of households owning 2 cars:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cars per household</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No cars</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 car</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>61%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 cars</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>93</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{11} 23rd November 2015 JMP Consultants Limited Derwenthorpe residential personal travel planning engagement
From the JMP survey we can see that demand for car parking is about 12% above the provision made (average 1 space per household plus some visitor parking). Several site visits at different times of the week did reveal some instances of verge and pavement parking (see photo of pavement parking in the Seebohm and Lotherington Quarters, taken on a Sunday morning). However, such instances were quite isolated and generally parking was within designated bays across the development at all times of the week.

In addition to the issue of demand for parking spaces exceeding supply, there is also an issue with the demarcation of parking spaces, as the site is designed to have minimum street clutter including minimal use of street signs. For example, visitor parking bays are indicated by a very subtle sign set into the paving of the parking bay (see photo). The issues raised are explained by Owen Daggett of JRHT:

“[parking spaces] are allocated either on-street, in which case we own the space and it’s leased as part of the house and there are some in mews courtyards just behind the houses. So yes they are all allocated. Unfortunately people don’t know where they’re [supposed to be] parking, visitors don’t know where they are [supposed to be] parking and we are trying to keep it quite a low signage scheme. We don’t want signs everywhere saying you’ll be prosecuted if you park here or park there and we’re working through that with the residents. There’s a vision for architecture and design and a reality of if I’m in a car and driving in and I can’t see where my space is....”

For the reasons mentioned in the preceding section, Derwenthorpe has not yet got its own bus service, as envisaged in the original S106 agreement. The commercial realities of getting an operator to serve 63 new dwellings at the end of what is currently a long cul-de-sac means that supporting a dedicated bus service would be prohibitively expensive to provide and under-used. So the support for a bus service is part of the review / renegotiation of the original S106 agreement. Relative to the cost of supporting bus services, support for the car club was seen by the developer as inexpensive.

JRHT have different motivations to the volume house builders:

“Commercial viability for us as a charitable developer is a bit different for your [volume house builders]. We want to create that community - we are in it for the long term. Whereas [volume house builders] will build it, and assume short term responsibility before moving off site. We want people to still be there in 10 – 15 years saying this is our community. For us it needs to be viable by not having cars
parked all over it. If the car club works then yes it will be commercially viable but we don’t know yet. What is the solution, it’s not one solution clearly ...it’s got to be a combination of the bike, walking, car pooling, car clubbing and a bus service as well. “ (Owen Daggett, personal communication, 2015)

There is no formal control of parking on the development, as it currently does not have a parking management regime in place. JRHT is providing a development manager for the site, who will have some responsibility for dealing with parking issues:

“‘No we don’t [have a parking management plan], we’re trying to avoid doing that. But what we are doing is bringing the Derwenthorpe manager on-board. We’re actually going to have a Derwenthorpe manager in, who can manage the demands of such a large community “

However, it is seen as inevitable that parking management will have to be instigated, if the current parking issues persist:

“Well I’m sure it’s only a matter of time before we have to do something like that [parking management]. I think relying on people’s good will can only go so far. It only takes one person to flaunt the rules and get people’s backs up then often what happens is other people think well if they’re going to do it, flaunting the rules so I will. “

Discussion and conclusion

Derwenthorpe exemplifies the difficulties of pursuing low-car development in a suburban location (albeit only 2 miles from the city centre). Despite limiting the availability of car parking, the development, in its initial phases, has attracted slightly more multiple car-owning households than anticipated. This resonates with findings from the Grand Union Village case study. As with other development case studies, the car club and other S106 provisions were important factors in overcoming local opposition and in securing planning consent for the development.

The phasing of the development and the timing of the sustainable transport interventions is problematic. Ideally, the sustainable travel options should be available from the first occupant moving in, to influence travel choices at a key moment of change in people’s lives. However, it is costly to provide a bus service that would be little-used until the final phase of the development is completed. Derwenthorpe also highlights the tension between an urban design aspiration to create a clean, clutter-free residential environment and people’s understanding of where they should and should not park their vehicles. The solution being pursued at Derwenthorpe is through communication with residents via the appointment of a development manager.

One advantage of funding the car club via S106 is that it is relatively inexpensive to provide and support in that initial period, where the development is only partially occupied. In the context of York, where cycling has a high mode share12, cycle provision is arguably as

---

12 According to Sport England, York has the third highest prevalence of cycling in England with one in four adults cycling at least once a week and 10% cycling at least five times a week:
important as access to public transport, for those seeking to reduce their dependence on the
car. A major advantage for Derwenthorpe is that there has been a direct, off-road cycle route
between the city centre and the site from day one. All of the available travel modes and
incentives have been well promoted by personalised travel planning strategies. Despite
these endeavours, the problem of residents moving in with more than one car and parking in
undesignated places has not yet been fully resolved. It may be that an enforced parking
management regime might have to be implemented at some point to resolve the conflicts
this creates. Again, this resonates with the earlier experiences at Grand Union Village.

england-2011-12.pdf
Appendix A – JRHT and David Wilson Homes Partnership

“We are delighted to be working in partnership with an award-winning housebuilder who has proven their ability to build bespoke homes to high environmental standards.”

Nigel Ingram, Director of Development and Asset Management, Joseph Rowntree Housing Trust

CASE STUDY

Derwenthorpe, York – Outstanding Modern Day Garden Village

The Joseph Rowntree Housing Trust set out to build a modern day garden village of the highest standards of design and sustainability.

They needed a partner to deliver their ambitions and initially selected the Group to deliver the first phase of 64 dwellings. As phase 1 neared completion we were delighted to be selected to deliver the remaining phases. The success of phase 1 and the strength of the relationships developed with project stakeholders were key factors in the Trust’s decision. In total, we’ll be constructing 489 bespoke homes in pedestrian-friendly streets and generous landscaping.

Homes have been constructed to various standards up to Code Level 5. All meet the stringent fabric energy efficient standard (FEES) and are supplied with heat and hot water from an on-site biomass energy centre. Innovative winter gardens and mechanical ventilation with heat recovery installations are also incorporated.
Appendix B - Timeline

**Timeline: the creation of Derwenthorpe**

December 1989 - Site designated for housing in the Greater York Study.

1998 - Discussions begin between York Council and the foundation to develop the site.

1999 - A competition to choose a masterplan is held, PRP Architects wins.

2002 - York Council signs an agreement to transfer the land to the Joseph Rowntree Housing Foundation, in return for ‘careful attention to environmental and social sustainability, provision of affordable housing and community participation’.


2003 - Local MP John Greenway presents a petition signed by 800 people calling for a public inquiry.

2004 - Two great crested newts discovered on the site. More environmental studies have to be done and the master plan is adjusted.

2005 - Local planners ‘minded to approve’ application, but local government office decides it needs to be called in for an inquiry by an independent planning inspector and the secretary of state.

**June - July 2006** - Communities secretary Ruth Kelly calls in the planning application, kicking off a six-week public inquiry.

**May 2007** - Ruth Kelly grants planning permission.

2007 - Protesters apply for Derwenthorpe site to be classified as a village green.

**Early 2008** - Village green inquiry investigates and rejects the claim.

**June 2008** - European Commission objects to the sale of land by York Council to the Joseph Rowntree Housing Trust.

**April 2010** - Commission rules JRHT must procure a developer for each phase.

**November 2010** - Mansell chosen as infrastructure contractor.

**March 2011** - David Wilson Homes selected to build homes, work starts onsite.

**January 2012** - Phase two planning application lodged.

2015 - Phase three completed.

2016 - Derwenthorpe completed.

Source: [http://www.insidehousing.co.uk/model-village/6520514.article](http://www.insidehousing.co.uk/model-village/6520514.article)
Timeline
• public inquiry held in 2006; Report to the Secretary of State for Communities and Local Government

• outline planning permission approved in May 2007, which granted the principle of development; The Secretary of State’s decision

• work on the first phase and infrastructure began in 2010

• reserved matters applications have been approved for all four phases of this site (Ref: outline 03/02709/OUT, Phase 1 Reserved Matters 07/02789/REMM, Phase 2 Reserved Matters 12/00242/REMM, Phase 3&4 12/01878/REMM); View the application documents

• won awards for both design and build, including a Civic Trust Award (2014 for Phase 1), Housing Design Award (‘Completed’ category 2013), What House? Awards (Silver in ‘Best Development’ 2013)

• the site is currently under construction

• Derwenthorpe Partnership Advisory Committee and various sub-groups are managed by Joseph Rowntree Housing Trust to provide on-going advice and dialogue as the site develops

Sustainable travel
3.30 The section 106 Agreement provides for a contribution of £240000 to support a ½ hourly bus service across the site. Other than for neighbourhood D (Osbaldwick), no dwelling within the development is to be occupied until a road suitable for use by buses is provided between Osbaldwick Village and Fifth Avenue (condition 30). Car journeys across the site would be prevented and speed within ‘home zones’ limited to 10mph. Car journeys might be reduced through the introduction of a car club and the Agreement provides for either a contribution of some £86400 towards a Council sponsored scheme or requires the Trust to provide one for residents of the site. Within the first phase of the development 6 car parking spaces for use in connection with a ‘car sharing club’ are to be provided 6 such spaces retained thereafter (condition 31). Such provision would be complemented by information about buses, car club booking facilities and the provision of a cycle or of a bus ‘season ticket’, for which some £81000 would be available.

Derwenthorpe
6.99 The site is close to footpaths and cycleways, bus routes, schools, local shops and community facilities. The layout of the scheme would provide a hierarchy of access arrangements incorporating a safe and convenient network of paths and cycle tracks that would be improved by carrying out physical works and integrating the on-site provision with the surrounding networks. In that way the housing on the site would benefit from City wide connections to the centre, to schools and to industrial estates by means other than the private car. Specific measures are designed to encourage alternative means to car-borne travel.

Additional cycle, pedestrian and bus facilities, together with physical improvements to existing highways, include
A new bus-only link between Osbaldwick Village and Fifth Avenue, to be provided prior to the occupation of any dwelling in the Fifth Avenue or Meadlands neighbourhoods.

Contributions towards a city wide car share club.

Provision for each household of a bus travel pass for 6 months or a £150 voucher towards the purchase of a cycle.

Provision of off road parking (on the basis of one space per dwelling) either within the dwelling curtilage or in a lay-by for each property in Temple Avenue, Ingleborough Avenue and Lang Avenue.