

# Discovering Cardiff

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CAERDYDD



## Cardiff Case Studies

Geographical Research for Secondary School Teaching

School of Geography and Planning



This booklet is a background to the geographical, historical, economic and political factors that have shaped the growth of Cardiff.



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'From Pit to Port' sculpture at Cardiff Bay by John Clinch and John Buck (2005).

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‘Multiple, overlapping and interacting geographies of Cardiff are only recently beginning to be researched and these historic biases and silences in scholarship help explain, if not justify, the focus of this book’.





## Introduction

Cardiff has been a city for over a century, but it is only in recent decades that it has become a familiar name beyond Wales. It was granted city status in 1905, after more than fifty years of impressive population growth triggered by an explosion in coal exporting. An indication of the city's national profile in the early twentieth century was the sponsorship by a group of Cardiff businessmen of Scott's expedition to the Antarctic. It was from Cardiff that the expedition set off; a memorial commemorating that connection is to be found in Roath Park, one of a number of urban parks which are a legacy of Cardiff's Victorian and Edwardian prosperity. But from the 1920s onwards Cardiff slipped into obscurity. Its population continued to grow slowly, and on conventional measures the city was consistently more well-off than its coalfield hinterland, especially in the depression of the 1930s, a regional disparity that remains significant. But even being made capital of Wales in 1955 did little to make Cardiff exciting to outsiders.

Things are very different today, though the profile in *Table 1*, interesting as it may be, does little to explain why. Cardiff now has 'name recognition' – for example, as the place where 'Dr Who', 'Sherlock', and other popular TV dramas are filmed; as host to Cardiff Singer of the World; as venue for many televised sporting events – World Cup rugby, and test-match cricket among them; and as a major university city with as many as

50,000 student residents from three universities, of which one – Cardiff University – is in the elite 'Russell Group' of UK universities. It even has a series of crime novels based in the city; DCI Phelps may not be as famous as Inspector Morse, but when a book has 'A Cardiff Bay investigation' on its cover, it suggests that Cardiff is on mental maps well beyond Wales. Even the city's darker side is newsworthy – in the early 1990s Cardiff gained some notoriety because of a spate of urban unrest; more recently it has endured media scrutiny because a handful of young men have joined Islamist fighters in the Middle East. For one reason or another, the city is in the news pretty regularly. Arguably, it gets more, and generally better, media coverage than most cities of its size.

Cardiff's contemporary prominence is not accidental. Many would claim it as a mark of success for an approach to planning the development of the city which, since the 1960s, has enjoyed general support among the city's 'movers and shakers', i.e. its political, business and professional elites. It has also received the tacit support of the national government, and at the very least acquiescence among the population at large. The approach, sometimes referred to as 'boosterism', will be discussed later. Its essence is the view of the city as a kind of unit or team that needs to compete nationally and internationally – for investment, for shoppers, for tourists and for publicity. Success in the competition will benefit everyone, it is claimed.

This book will help explain how this approach, in the context of a distinctive historical legacy, has produced the Cardiff we have today. In so doing it explores only some aspects of Cardiff's geographies. Cardiff has many geographies: for example, the Cardiff of the property developer, planner and politician is very different from the Cardiff that children know and use, or the city as experienced by first generation immigrants to the city, or the city's Gypsies and Travellers. Multiple, overlapping and interacting geographies of Cardiff are only recently beginning to be researched and these historic biases and silences in scholarship help explain, if not justify, the focus of this book.



St Mary Street c1920s.



The Dr Who Experience.



Cardiff Muslim community, Butetown (1943).

Resident population	346,090
Population density (persons per ha)	24.7
Residents who are white (%)	84.7
One or more skills in Welsh (%)	16.2
Economically active population (%)	67.1
Single-person households (%)	33
Owner-occupied households (%)	59.1
Households with no central heating (%)	2.2
Households with no car (%)	29.0
Households with 2 or more cars (%)	23.1

Table 1: A profile of Cardiff using 2011 Census data.  
Source: Cardiff County Council.

# Historical geography

‘Successive waves of economic restructuring since the 1920s have seen heavy industry replaced by light industry and service sector employment in industrial south Wales’.

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## Cardiff and the region

Situated in South Wales, Cardiff grew as the port for the export of iron and steel, and coal, from the eastern portion of the South Wales coalfield. The Bute family, owner of Cardiff docks, and also a major owner of mineral rights in the coalfield, managed to ensure that railways from the Cynon, Taff and Rhymney valleys all led to Cardiff docks (*Figure 1 overleaf*). Thus the port's nineteenth century prosperity was secured. The railway network the family established has also made access to Cardiff straightforward for commuters and shoppers from these valleys long after the coal trade has declined. Cardiff is now the major centre of employment in south-east Wales, and well over 30,000 commute to the city daily from what were the coalfield areas alone (*Table 2*). The coal industry is a shadow of what it was, and Cardiff docks is largely a container-shipping port; even the port's owners claim that no more than 2000 jobs are 'supported' by the docks.

Successive waves of economic restructuring since the 1920s have seen heavy industry replaced by light industry and service sector employment in industrial south Wales. For over eighty years the area has been the recipient of whatever scheme of regional assistance the UK governments of the day were



*Cardiff Docks by Lionel Walden (1894).*

promoting. Grants to encourage firms to relocate or expand in the area have been the usual forms of such assistance, but there have also been more dramatic spatial interventions. At Treforest, 10km north of Cardiff, there is a trading estate which was first established under an inter-war programme of regional development by the UK government. Cwmbran, 20 km north-west of Cardiff (as the crow flies) was a 1960s new town, intended to act as a growth pole at the lower end of the economically depressed Valleys, as the South Wales coalfield

area has come to be known. Much of South Wales still qualifies for European Union (EU) funding for less developed areas, a recognition that though residents of these areas may be better off than many residents of newer EU member-states, they remain among the poorer residents of the major Western European states. Of course this will change in the next few years.

Cardiff's growth was based on servicing the Valleys, and employment in the service sector has always been important. Even in the 1950s over 70% of Cardiff's employment was in the service sector, well before the 'tertiarisation' of the UK economy in general (in 2012, 90% of the city's employment was in services). As a consequence Cardiff has suffered a little less than the Valleys from economic circumstances in which heavy and extractive industries have been hit hard. In addition, wage levels in Cardiff are much closer to the UK average than the Welsh average. It is an enclave of relative prosperity in one of the poorest regions in the UK. Of course, that does not mean that all Cardiff residents are relatively well off; averages can conceal big variations. The patterns of uneven social and spatial distribution of prosperity are best understood when viewed in their historical context.

	To Cardiff	From Cardiff
Vale of Glamorgan	20,507	4,592
Rhondda Cynon Taff *	18,753	4,432
Caerphilly *	9,744	3,223
Bridgend *	6,030	2,123
Newport	5,474	5,679
Torfaen *	2,246	1,010
Merthyr Tydfil *	2,155	1,124
Monmouthshire	1,665	1,126
Blaenau Gwent *	978	0
Bristol	1,340	1,283
Swansea	1,921	n/a

*Table 2: Commuting flows "To" and "From" Cardiff and Newport (from city-region LAs, plus Swansea and Bristol), 2011. "n/a" - data not available. \* Local authorities within the South Wales Coalfield. Source: ONS, Annual Population Survey, Great Britain, 2011.*



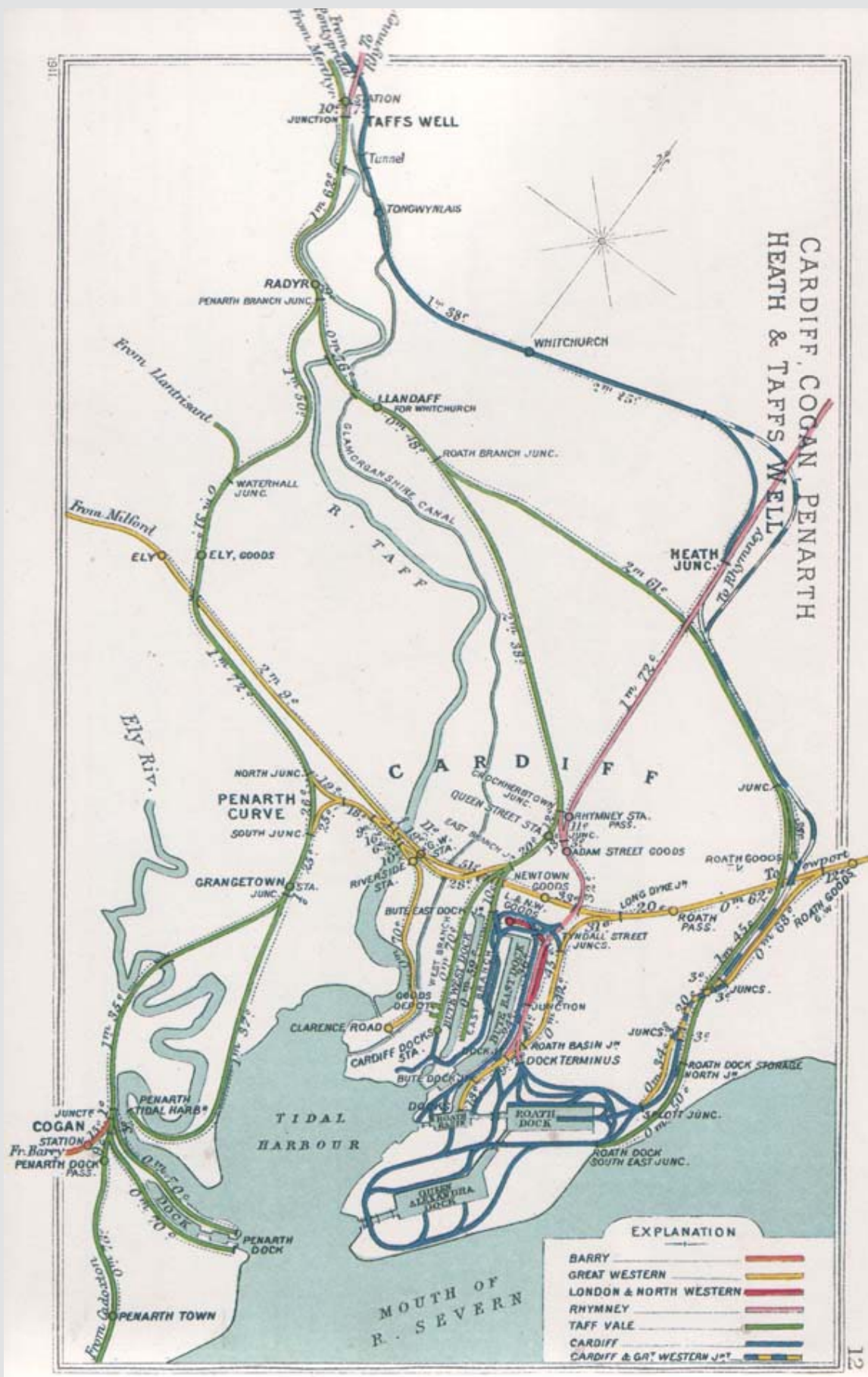


Figure 1: A 1911 Railway Clearing House map showing Cardiff docks and railway lines in the Cardiff area.





Aerial view of Cardiff Bay.

## Early development

Cardiff lies on the coastal plain on the north side of the Severn estuary. Its development is constricted by rising ground to the north. To the east are the Wentloog levels, first drained in Roman times; to the west are the fertile farmlands of the Vale of Glamorgan. One of the key planning issues in recent decades in Cardiff has been the extent the city should develop on land to the east and west. The latest development plan for the city (approved in 2015) has major new housing areas to the west and north east, but also a green 'wedge' where development will be restricted. This is a link to the Local Development Plan:

<https://www.cardiff.gov.uk/ENG/resident/Planning/Local-Development-Plan/Examination/Pages/default.aspx>

Cardiff Castle is a landmark in the modern city centre. In its present form the castle is largely a nineteenth century creation. But there has been fortification on the site since 55 CE. A fort was built at a fording point on the river Taff for the route between more important Roman settlements at what are modern day Caerleon and Carmarthen. Over the next 200 years a number of forts succeeded the original, always built on or close to the site. A Norman stone keep, probably built in



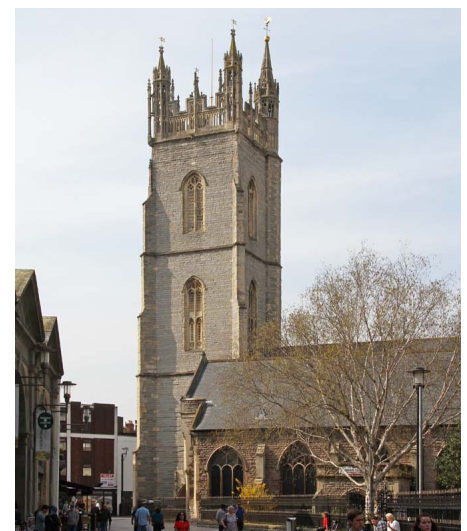
Cardiff Castle.

the late 1130s, remains within the grounds of Cardiff Castle.

From the eleventh to the eighteenth centuries Cardiff's fortunes waxed and waned between modest limits. By the late thirteenth century it may well have been the largest town in Wales, with a population of about 2000 people residing on just over 400 burgages, or urban plots. In parts of the city close to the castle the burgage boundaries have had a long-lasting influence over the form of development, with many plots being developed as deep buildings with narrow frontages. By the fourteenth century there were town walls constructed of stone. Parts of these walls remained until the 1850s, and the line of two short sections are marked in present day Queen Street, close to its junction with the Friary, and also in the enclosed St David's shopping centre.

The persistence of traces of the city's historical morphology illustrates that for many centuries Cardiff's development was slow. Davies (2002) quotes a commentator from the 1530s who judged that Carmarthen, not Cardiff was 'the chief citie of the country'. Cardiff had royal charters granted in 1600 and 1608, but in reality it was a small place dominated by the aristocratic family which owned the castle and associated estates (which extended beyond Cardiff, and Wales). Not surprisingly, few of Cardiff's buildings are more than 200 years old: in the centre, the tower of St John's Church is fifteenth century, as is the Beauchamp Tower of the castle; the suburbs, once relatively isolated rural areas, have some buildings of sixteenth century or slightly later. Cardiff was small, and not on a trajectory of inevitable growth; over the eighteenth century, for example, its population may well have declined.

All this was set to change. The Glamorganshire Canal opened in 1794. Financed by the ironmasters of Merthyr Tydfil, it linked that boom town to Cardiff, 50km to the south. Initially, the canal ran to the quayside in the town, but in 1798 it was extended 2km to a basin accessible to the Taff estuary via a sea lock. The Canal was intended to ease the export of iron, but it also made exporting coal feasible, for a barge could transport so much more than horse-drawn wagons could. Over the next 100 years the export of coal was to trigger a phenomenal growth in Cardiff.



St John's Church.



‘Coal Metropolis’:  
Cardiff, 1801-1920s

Annual exports of iron through Cardiff increased eight-fold from 1801-1830, to over 80,000 tons. It was at this time that the weight of coal exports overtook those of iron. By 1835, coal exports were 155,000 tons, with iron at around 120,000 tons. By 1913 coal exports were over 10 million tons, which gives some idea of the port’s astonishing growth. This was a consequence of two factors. First, there was the increase in the output of the South Wales coalfield, where production amounted to 53.9 million tons in 1914 (from 16.5 million tons in 1874). Second, a large proportion of this coal was exported through Cardiff, especially before the opening of rival docks in Barry in 1889 (Table 3).

The success of Cardiff’s docks owed much (arguably, everything) to the Butes. The Bute family was by far the largest single landowner in the city; for example, in the 1840s the family owned 520ha in the city, compared to the 25ha owned by Cardiff Corporation. If the Glamorganshire Canal began to establish Cardiff as a major exporting port, the opening of what came to be

Year	Bute Docks	Barry Docks
1889	7,735,536	1,073,575
1899	8,279,005	7,223,369
1909	9,614,950	10,047,370
1914	10,278,963	10,875,510

Table 3: Coal exports (tons) of the Bute and Barry docks in selected years  
Source: Davies, 2002, page 68.

called the Bute West Dock in 1839 marked an important new stage in the process. During the nineteenth century the city’s population grew from 1,870 to around 164,000 (Figure 2).

In 1905 it was granted city-status, in recognition of its prominence within Britain as much as within Wales. Cardiff is very much a city built on immigration – from elsewhere in Wales, but also from England, especially the west of England, and Ireland. Population growth continued until the 1970s, declined for a time, and has subsequently resumed. This is a consequence of a number of factors including boundary extensions which have brought in nearby settlements, large new housing areas (latterly on redeveloped land in Cardiff Bay), and a burgeoning student population. The development of a system of docks



John Crichton Stuart - 2nd Marquess of Bute  
1793-1848.

was the key to Cardiff’s nineteenth century expansion, and though the docks have declined in the last 80 years, their influence on the city’s economic and social structure can still be discerned. The docks were unusual in Britain in being developed by a

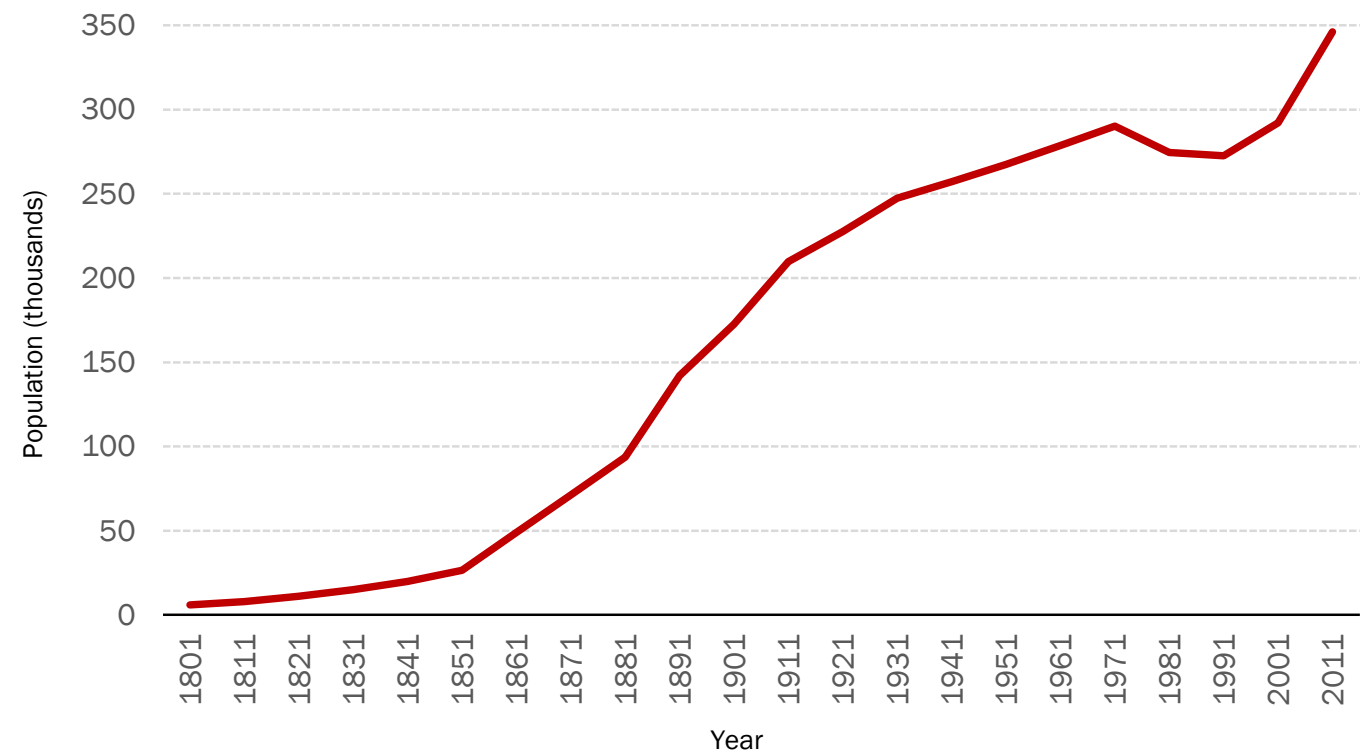


Figure 2: Population growth in Cardiff. Source data: [www.visionofbritain.org.uk](http://www.visionofbritain.org.uk)



Coal ships tied up at Cardiff dock (circa 1913).

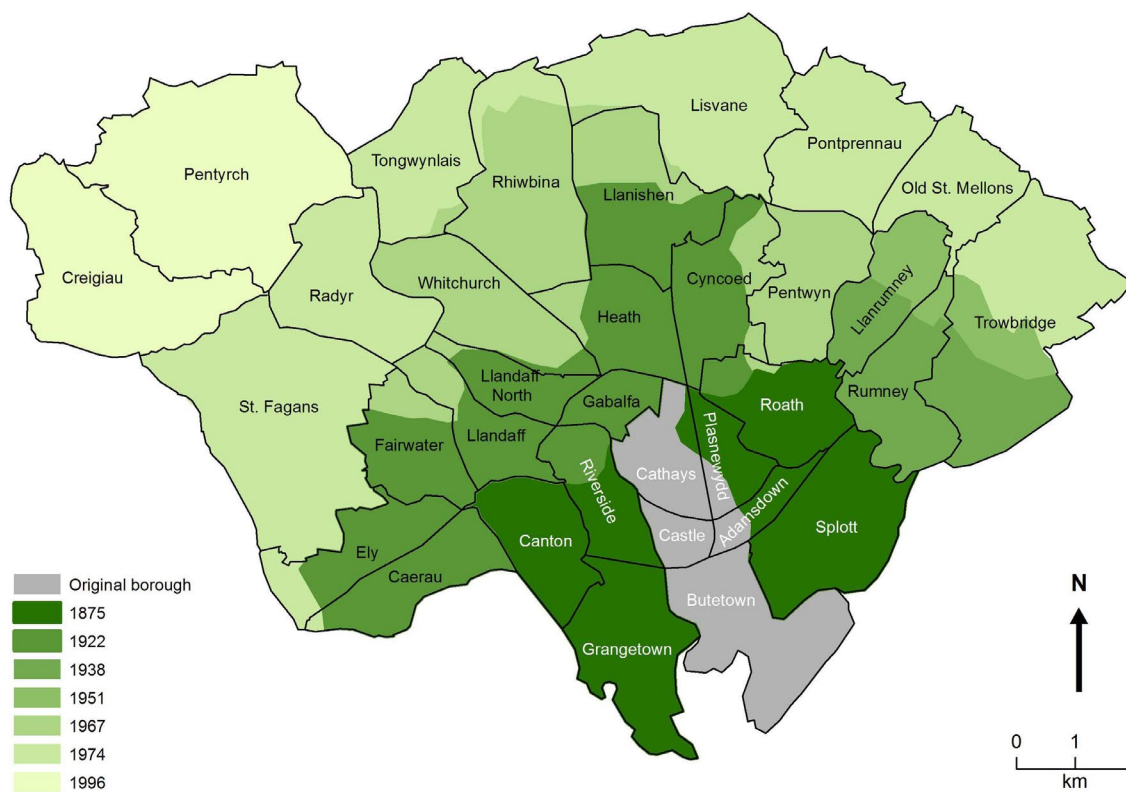


Figure 3: The extension of Cardiff's boundaries 1875 - 1996. Source: Davies, 2002.



## Discovering Cardiff

single owner, especially one with clear economic interests as an exporter. This meant that the management of the port tended to have a narrow rationale, namely the facilitation of the export trade in coal from which the Bute family would benefit most directly. Coal trucks dominated the port, and there appears to have been little support for developing other trade or maritime-related activity (though it must also be noted that the Taff lacked the physical advantages of great rivers such as the Clyde for shipbuilding and ship repair).

The focus on export meant that during its maritime heyday (some seventy years from the mid-nineteenth century) relatively little heavy industry developed in Cardiff. A major iron and steel works, the Dowlais works, opened in 1891, and there were processing industries based on imported raw materials (paper milling, brewing, flour refining), rope works, and some ship repairing. But by British standards, Cardiff was never a major industrial city.

It was service industries which flourished, many originally related to maritime trade. Trade must be supported by a range of financial, legal and other services, and in the late nineteenth century a specialised commercial area developed close to the docks. The building which best symbolises Cardiff's international significance at this time is the Coal Exchange, opened in 1886 in Mount Stuart Square. Cardiff folklore has it that the first £1million business deal in the UK was struck here. Whether this is true or not, it is clear that Cardiff entered the twentieth century as a port and financial centre of international importance.

Though the growth of Cardiff was triggered by the export of coal, that growth – together with the city's emergence as a focal point in regional communications – provided a basis for economic developments not directly related to the docks, especially in relation to services. In particular, Cardiff developed as a shopping centre for the sub-region as well as for the growing town itself.



*Dowlais Ironworks by George Childs (1840).*



*The Coal Exchange.*





Morgan Arcade.



St Mary Street circa 1920s.

St Mary Street, close to the castle, was largely developed in its current form in the late nineteenth century – the pleasant shopping arcades date from 1858 (Royal Arcade), to 1902 (Duke Street Arcade). James Howells founded the eponymous store, now part of the House of Fraser group, in St Mary Street in the 1860s.

Most ports also provide services of a less decorous nature than insurance and legal advice, and nineteenth century Cardiff was no exception. Visiting seamen sought cheap lodgings, entertainment and, on occasion, spiritual comfort. Lodging houses, public houses, clubs of better and worse repute, and a variety of places of worship grew up in the dockland area. Many were found on Bute Street, the most direct route from the town centre to the docks.

From the 1830s a small residential area was developed around the docks, on Bute-owned land, to house port-related workers, from sea-captains to dock labourers. Within a few decades better-off residents had left and Butetown, as the area was named, became a working-class docks community, home to a mix of nationalities and ethnic groups which reflected Cardiff's international trade. Butetown's close links to the docks increasingly came to mark it out economically in a town carving out a role as a regional centre, not just a port; its ethnic mix marked it out socially within the town. Moreover, as Cardiff expanded to the north, east and west of the town centre in a fan-shaped pattern, Butetown's economic and social detachment was compounded by its physical isolation, symbolised by its being south of the centre, 'below the bridge' that carried the main railway line from London to South Wales.

The area's role as a playground for boisterous sailors, and others, with time on their hands became merged in the popular imagination with its being home to a relatively poor multi-ethnic population. Before too long, the people, as much as the place, were objects of suspicion and discrimination. Cardiff, like most if not all British cities, has a history of racist hostility towards minorities, especially at times of economic and social tension.



### Cardiff on the (inter)national stage : the 1920s onwards

In 1918, as war ended, Cardiff was a major provincial city, still growing, internationally known for its coal trade, but with a diversified economy which was markedly strong in the service sector. It was the sub-regional centre for south-east Wales, a natural location for regional headquarters, and since 1881 had been the largest settlement in Wales.

The city's civic leaders regarded Cardiff's size and dynamism as a good basis for claiming any benefits (and prestige) which flowed from more regard being accorded to Welsh identity in British public life. In Wales, as in many European countries, the nineteenth century witnessed increasing popular and political interest in the idea of nationhood. In the early 1880s, against keen opposition from Swansea, Cardiff secured the South Wales college of the new University of Wales, with the Marquis of Bute donating land for the purpose (in Cathays Park). In the early twentieth century a National Museum was built in Cathays Park, and periodically thereafter Cardiff's civic leaders lobbied for Cardiff to be declared capital city of Wales. It was successful in 1955, though many in Wales continue to regard it as 'on probation'. As one of its native sons and MPs put it, it sometimes appears to be 'half and half a capital' (Morgan, 1994).

Becoming a capital city has undoubtedly underpinned the significant public sector employment in the city. Its continuing significance is demonstrated by the way that Cardiff's employment growth has outstripped that of similar cities since the late 1990s, when devolution meant that many civil service jobs moved from the London-based Welsh Office to the Cardiff-based Welsh Assembly Government. Capital city status also seems to have spurred both civic leaders and national politicians to even greater efforts to promote the city, with special attention being paid to planning. In the early 1960s the eminent planner Colin Buchanan was commissioned to draw up a plan for the

city centre that would take it to the end of the twentieth century. His detailed proposals were to be less influential than the principles which underpinned his report. These became the political and professional orthodoxy which has shaped the planning of the city to this day:

- Good access to the M4 north of the city is essential for its commercial success. Buchanan's proposal for a 'Hook Road' into the city centre were dropped, but the principle lived on, first in South Glamorgan County Council's plans
- A worthy capital city needs an impressive city centre- and that means one that is well-defined, pleasant to use, and contains appropriate civic, cultural and commercial uses. From the late 1960s, local and



South Wales College.



National Museum of Wales.



central government pursued planning policies with the aim of rationalising traffic flows and parking in the city centre, introducing a pedestrianised shopping area, and replacing run-down pubs and warehouses with new shopping centres, concert and conference halls, and offices. In addition, the city centre was promoted in planning policies as the prime location for commercial uses. The growth of prestigious universities in the centre is in line with this principle, and the council works closely with Cardiff University and the others with a presence in the city.

- The city's growth was to continue to fan out to the north, west and east. Writing in the 1960s, Buchanan could not be expected to anticipate the rapid replacement in the UK of industrial by service sector jobs. But his lack of attention to the south of the city was a pattern of behaviour that continued into the late 1970s. It was the closure of the East Moors steelworks (formerly the Dowlais Works) in 1978 which galvanised local and central government into serious thinking about the future of the docks area. The plans for the cleared site envisaged industrial development, albeit of a 'lighter' kind than steel-making. Only in the mid-1980s did ideas of a very different kind of future for this area come to be considered.

Buchanan's studies were the basis for better-focused planning by local authorities. From 1974 -1996 the city of Cardiff was a district council within the county of South Glamorgan, which also had a council. Each council had some responsibilities for planning, and they did not always see eye to eye on what priorities were in relation to planning. But there was professional and political consensus about the importance of creating a city centre more fitting for the capital city of Wales. From the early 1970s the City Council took the lead in buying land in the city centre (usually through compulsory purchase sanctioned by planning legislation). This allowed it to relocate businesses, demolish buildings and, on occasion, close roads and lanes, all with the intention of creating large, regular parcels of land in a single ownership, that would attract property developers. Meanwhile, the County Council, which was responsible for highway planning and maintenance, introduced pedestrianisation into the main shopping street (at that time, Queen Street). This activity was to transform the morphology of the city centre.

The original intention of the City Council was to have a partnership with a single developer; the Council would grant the developer a long lease on the land it had acquired, and the developer would develop the land for an agreed mix of uses and to an agreed programme. Unfortunately, the developer first chosen, in the early 1970s, pulled out

of the scheme in 1975. The Council carried on working to the original plan of sites for redevelopment, but sought different partners for each site as it was acquired, cleared and serviced. By the mid-1980s this less ambitious approach had ensured the development of the original St. David's Shopping Centre, the 2000 seat St David's Hall, a Holiday Inn hotel (now the Marriott), an ice rink and a library which were in effect cross-subsidised by adjacent profitable shopping developments. By the mid-1980s Cardiff's city centre was ranked in the top 20 of UK shopping centres.

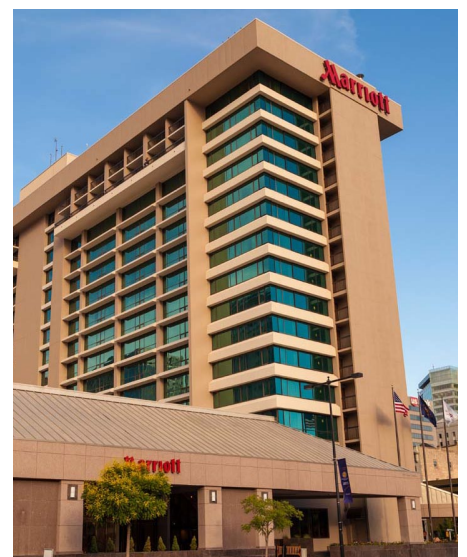
There was to be further city centre and other development in the 1990s and beyond, though by then there were also dramatic developments outside the city centre.



St David's Hall.



Queen Street pedestrianisation.



The Marriot Hotel.

# The planning and development of contemporary Cardiff

‘Cardiff is, by many measures, a successful city. Yet, the strategy of creating an attractive climate for investment, particularly in property, has produced new challenges’.

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### Politics and administration

Cardiff Council has been one of the 22 unitary local authorities in Wales as a result of reorganisation in 1996. These have major responsibilities in a number of fields, including education, waste management, social services, highway maintenance and planning. At present, there are 75 elected councillors, of whom ten are members of the Planning Committee.

Since 1999 many areas of public policy and administration in Wales, including planning, have been devolved to an elected National Assembly. A steady drift of powers and responsibilities to the Assembly over the last fifteen years has included the devolution of

responsibility for legislating on spatial planning, from 2015. Those planning Cardiff must now work within a framework of law and policy devised in the Welsh Government (the executive arm of the Assembly).

The debating chamber of the Assembly is in Cardiff Bay and the bulk of the civil service is in Cathays Park, in the centre of Cardiff. Its being in the city has elicited some wry comments in some parts of Wales, as Cardiff's electorate voted against devolution in the knife-edge referendum of 1999. It also raises justifiable concerns that Wales is generating its own form of the economic and political imbalance in favour of the south-east that has long been problematic in England. Cardiff is

not booming like south-east England, but it is a different world from some poorer parts of Wales.

Cardiff Council has mostly been under Labour control since being set up, though from 2004 the Liberal Democrats did have eight years in office as the largest single party, albeit without an overall majority. In the 1970s and 1980s, the Conservatives regularly held power, alternating with Labour. Yet whatever differences changes in administration make, in relation to the development of Cardiff there has been a marked consensus between the political parties in the city. There is no serious dissent from the view that Cardiff's future is bound up with its success in an international competition for private investment in 'cutting edge', or at the very least steadily growing sectors of the economy. This 'boosterist' strategy has been followed with more or less enthusiasm since the 1960s by a succession of administrations. It enjoys support from the local press and other media. Though much is currently being made of the significance of the Cardiff city-region (broadly the labour market area for Cardiff) as a focus for economic development, the strategy drawn up by the government-backed city-region body repeats the boosterist analysis and prescriptions. Academic qualms about boosterism do not yet seem to extend to its city-regional incarnation. Cardiff University is itself following a boosterist path in its insistence that the only viable long-term future it has, or at least wants, is as an international university able to attract staff and students from across the globe.

Boosterism, whether promoted by the council or other organisations in the city, has important implications for planning. It focuses political and professional attention on projects and areas with potential to add to the city's perceived competitiveness. The city centre and Cardiff Bay have enjoyed enormous attention as a consequence. Meanwhile, initiatives in some of the city's poorer communities have proceeded in fits and starts with nothing like the political attention and support that has been given to



Welsh Government Civil Service - Crown Building, Cathays Park.



Welsh Government Debating Chamber - The Senedd.



Whitchurch Local Library.

so-called 'flagship projects'. Nor has the council really got to grips with the serious consequences for residents on average incomes or below of ever increasing housing costs (and land values), phenomena which can reasonably be viewed as consequences of boosterism.

Promoting high-profile projects fits the city's political culture, which has long been rather secretive, hierarchical and riddled with patronage. These attributes can actually support the development of the kind of decisive and determined leadership which



Council Flats - Llanedeyrn.

is so often necessary to make big development projects happen. Unfortunately, such a culture also inhibits councillors from genuine partnership working with deprived communities, that is a partnership where power and influence is transferred to residents. It is only very recently that the council, faced by seriously stretched budgets, has tried to transfer 'community assets' like local libraries and allotments, to groups of local residents. The expediences imposed by cost-cutting, not radical principles, are what drive such initiatives; they are unlikely, therefore,

to usher in an era of more open and participatory governance in the city.

### Spatial differences and inequalities

Figure 4 maps the distribution of deprivation across Cardiff. The index being mapped combines various measures of poverty and need such as low income, poor health and receipt of social benefits. The areas shaded more darkly are the more deprived. A picture emerges of poor inner areas, relatively affluent private northern suburbs, and large social housing estates to east and west with relatively poor residents. Of course, a map of this kind is painted with a broad brush. Within each ward there will also be differences. In some, the contrasts are very stark. Butetown was once the most deprived ward by far in Cardiff. The Cardiff Bay regeneration, of which more later, attracted new residents to the area. The existing poor residents did not leave, however; nor, apparently have their prospects changed very much as will be seen later.

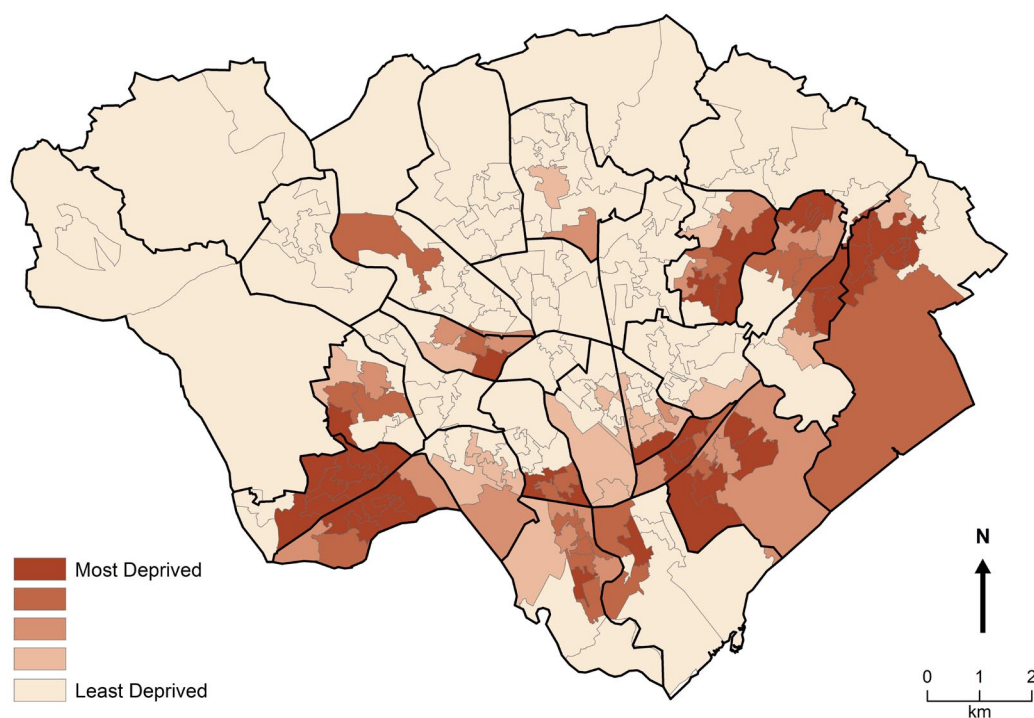


Figure 4: Index of Multiple Deprivation, 2014. Source data: Cardiff Council Council.



## Dynamism and disruption

In the mid-1980s the pattern of land use in Cardiff would have seemed familiar to advocates of the Chicago School's concentric zone model. As *Figure 5* illustrates, the city had quite well-defined zones, defined by the predominant land use : a compact city centre within which most of the commercial and civic functions of the city were located; housing areas socially differentiated and physically separated from non-housing uses; industry largely found south of the main-line railway in the dockland area, with pockets in the newer northern suburbs . The docks itself was a massive estate, consisting largely of vacant or under-used land.

This pattern was a product of the land market and the planning system. The local authorities responsible for planning the city since the 1960s had worked hard to achieve it, as the efforts expended on city centre redevelopment in the 1970s and 1980s illustrated. But from the mid-1980s key aspects of this land use pattern were to come under pressure as developers pressed



Victoria Wharf - New flats in Cardiff Bay.

for decentralisation of some uses – particularly shopping. The councils tried with mixed success to manage the pressures. They were not helped by Conservative national governments of the 1980s and 1990s which took a more relaxed view of decentralisation and would often overturn council decisions if applicants for planning permission appealed against them.

By the second decade of the twenty-first century, the pattern of land uses in Cardiff has some very obvious similarities to that of thirty years earlier, but it has also changed in some important and very visible respects.

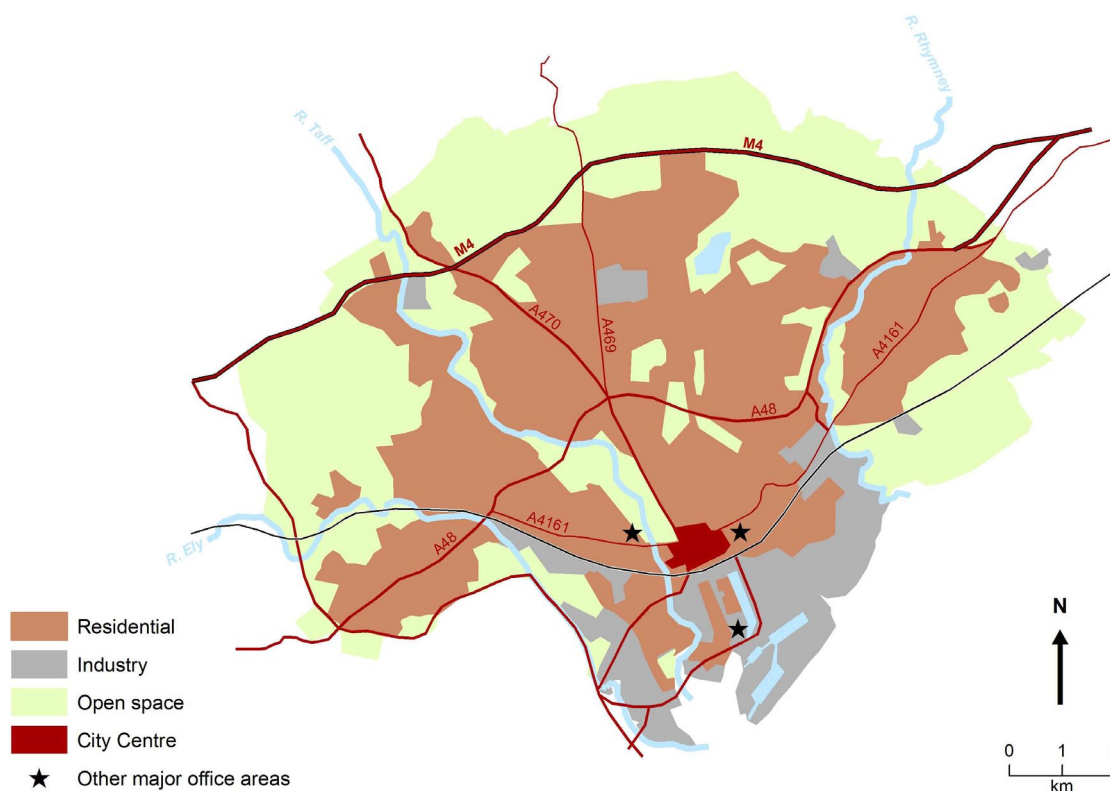


Figure 5: Land use in Cardiff, 1988. Source data: Cardiff County Council.



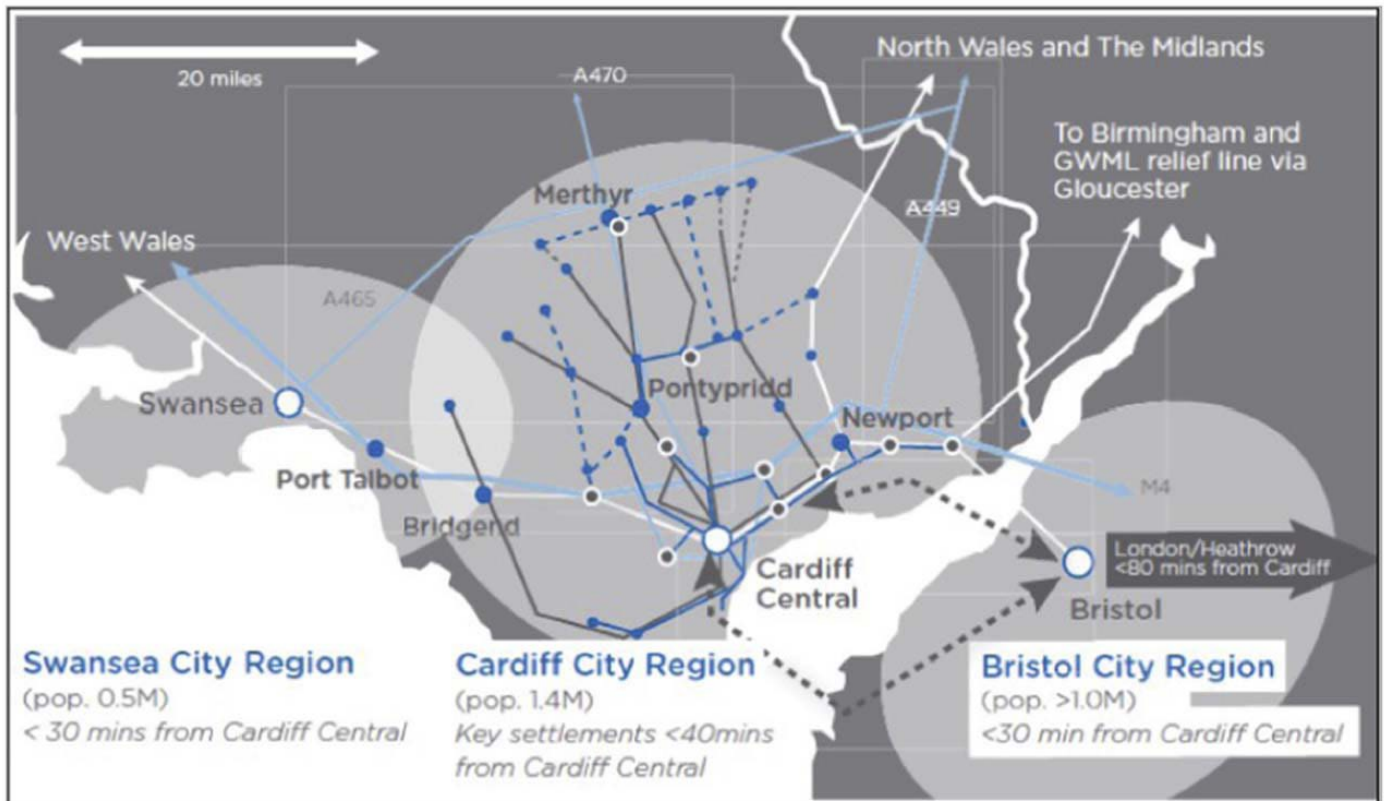


Figure 6: Cardiff city-region Metro. Source: Barry 2011.



John Lewis store.



New city centre offices.

Continuities include:

- the highway and railway network, which is, in all essentials, unchanged over the thirty years. Yet the city has grown, and patterns of travel to and within it have become more complex. It is not surprising, perhaps, that there has developed a broad coalition of support among political and business elites in the city-region in favour of an expanded public transport network that will have high capacity, improved efficiency and greater ease of use for passengers. Plans for the multi-modal 'Metro' have understandably had a great deal of publicity (Figure 6).
- peripheral residential expansion. The Local Development Plan (LDP) for Cardiff that was adopted in 2016, after intense debate and scrutiny, has allocations for over 40,000 new dwellings, very many on the city's fringes. These are intended to be developed in the next ten years. The building of thousands of houses and flats in Cardiff Bay from the late nineties onwards has not undermined pressure for development beyond the suburbs.
- the city centre remains a major focus for retail and commercial activity. In Cardiff, as in the UK more generally, the trend towards out-of-town retailing has ended. Of course, there are still very many profitable out of town stores, and new space for specialised bulky retailing such as furniture is still being built in proven locations in Cardiff such as Cardiff Gate. But there is no pressure for new superstores, and most high street retailers have a mix of in-centre and out of centre stores which they are broadly happy with. This state of affairs does not occur automatically. In Cardiff, the owner of the St David's Shopping Centre worked with the city council in the late 1990s and beyond to assemble a site for a massive (90,000sq metre) expansion of that shopping centre, which was opened in October 2009. It provided a site for John Lewis, a prestigious new retailer in the city, and consolidated the significance of the city centre as the major location for comparison

shopping in the wider region. The development of new offices in the city centre is more recent, with some employers appearing to view them as attractive for their staff (and hence facilitating recruitment and retention). In recent years Admiral Insurance (22,700 sq metres, 245,000 sq feet) and the BBC (14,000 sq metres) have committed themselves to large new offices in central Cardiff.

Changes in the pattern of the city's land uses in the last thirty years include:

- more housing in the city centre. In the years before the so-called 'credit crunch' of 2000, substantial numbers of new flats were built in the city centre, where there was almost no housing previously. From 2001/2 – 2007/8, 15 housing schemes were completed, providing just over 850 units (these figures exclude one or two small student housing schemes). Small convenience shops began to open, also reversing a long standing trend. Since 2007, the private apartment sector appears to have stalled, but purpose-built student housing has consolidated
- the city centre as a place to live. There were close to 200 units of student housing built between 2006 and 2014, and similar numbers are likely to be completed in the period to 2017. The resident population of the city centre in 2014 (as constructed from Office of National Statistics estimates for areas which approximate to city centre boundaries) was 2,500.
- a boom in hotel-building. Even in recent years, the number of hotel bed-spaces in the city in hotels of over 50 beds has increased rapidly - from just under 5000 in 2003 to over 9000 in 2014. In the 1980s, hotels were very scarce. Hotels have been developed throughout the city : on business parks, as stand-alone developments on motorway junctions, as parts of leisure complexes, and as refurbishments of 1960s office blocks within and close to the city centre. Their operators – taken together with the legion of guest-house owners in converted Victorian villas- constitute a strong lobby for Cardiff (and the region's) continuing to develop its capacity to host events of all kinds – be they sporting, entertainment, or



*A city centre fringe guest house.*

business, academic and political (such as the NATO conference of 2014 at Newport's Celtic Manor Resort, which created demand for hotel space throughout the region).

- the redevelopment of Cardiff Bay, which has transformed a run-down, sparsely-used industrial and dockland area into a mix of major leisure developments, government and other offices, a major TV studio, and lots of new housing (some of it expensive), cheek by jowl with social housing, back-street workshops and hectares of still vacant land. The regeneration of this area has been such a major episode in the city's recent development that it merits more detailed attention.



*A student hall of residence.*



*Maldron Hotel.*





Aerial view of Cardiff Bay post regeneration.

Regenerating Cardiff Bay

The name ‘Cardiff Bay’ was introduced to the world in the title of the Cardiff Bay Development Corporation (CBDC), which was set up in 1987 to promote the regeneration of an area of 1000ha in south Cardiff. Its mission was to ‘put Cardiff on the international map as a superlative maritime city, which will stand comparison with any such city in the world, thereby enhancing the image and economic well-being of Cardiff and Wales as a whole’ (CBDC,2000,p8). The corporation was wound up in 2000, but in broad terms its vision of how the ‘Bay’ should change, and how that might be achieved has continued to guide planning policy in the area.

Cardiff Bay had no social, economic or functional coherence. Put crudely, it was a collection of adjacent areas all, to some extent, physically dilapidated with low cost economic activities and a few, relatively poor, residents. The area’s population was around 5,800 people, with the majority in two concentrations in Butetown. There were more employees in the area than residents, and close to 40% of those employees were in manufacturing jobs. It was a place of small engineering shops in battered low-cost premises; of small, professional firms renting shabby offices in what had once been the heart of the city’s dockland; and the occasional larger industrial undertaking. These were the residue of the city’s dockland history, with little to connect them any more.

The name ‘Cardiff Bay’ could be viewed as an attempt to acknowledge, but also sanitise, the image associated with ‘Tiger Bay’, the part of Cardiff’s dockland notorious, in popular culture, for licentiousness and general immorality. Popular culture is not always fair in its characterisations. For example, the residents of Butetown have long been subject to negative stereotyping and the quality of their lives adversely affected by discrimination. For close to a century it has been one of the poorest parts of the city. Understandably, a big question asked of the regeneration of Cardiff



County Hall, Atlantic Wharf.

Bay was ‘what will it do to improve the lot of Butetown’s residents?’

In all key respects the regeneration of Cardiff Bay can be seen as continuing the ethos and methods of city centre redevelopment initiatives from the 1970s through to the present day. The defining characteristics of the approach adopted are :

- 1. A focus on attracting private investment in property development (this is dubbed ‘property-led regeneration’). A great deal of attention is given to creating a new image for regeneration areas that will ease anxieties of would-be investors about future prospects. Marketing becomes an important regeneration tool (see Table 4 for breakdown of CBDC’s expenditure).

Achievements	Expenditure
Private sector investment: £1.2million	Construction of barrage: £203 million
Jobs created in new developments: 16,750	Running cost of barrage: £5 million
Floorspace of non-resential develop-ments: 1.1 million sq.m	Highways: £81 million
Number of housing units: 4,480	Land acquisition: £91 million
Area of open space created: 79ha	Land reclamation: £26 million
Area of land reclaimed: 327ha	Landscaping: £20 million
Construction jobs in person years: 13,225	Marketing: £22 million
Roads built/upgraded: 42km	Grants to businesses: £26 million
	Techniquet: £12 million
	Visitor attractions: £11 million
	Community and training: £14 million
	Other: £2 million

Table 4: The estimated achievements and expenditure of the CBDC. Source: CBDC, 2000.





Cardiff Bay prior to Barrage.



The Barrage.



A sculpture at Cardiff Bay



Cardiff Bay after Barrage.



Cardiff Bay Waterfront Promenade.

immediate beneficiaries appear to be landowners and large construction companies. As will be noted later, there is little evidence of trickle down in Cardiff Bay.

2. A central role for the public sector in creating conditions for profitable investment, particularly through assembling sites which can be economically developed, improving infrastructure (roads, drainage, utilities and so on), and, if necessary, committing public investment to reassure private investors. In Cardiff Bay, a new County Hall was built in the early 1980s at Atlantic Wharf (before even a Development Corporation had been created), and the decision was made, in the late 1990s, to house the National Assembly in the Inner Harbour. Both developments signalled to private investors that government would make this area 'successful'.
3. Physical changes – of the kind described in point 1 – are given priority over 'softer' changes, such as training. CBDC's own list of its achievements (see table 4) makes this clear.
4. A belief that, in time, the benefits of focusing on property development will trickle down to all residents of the city. Supporters typically claim that the regeneration is good for 'the city' (see CBDC's mission, quoted earlier, for example), even if the
5. A top-down approach to defining the goals of regeneration, and managing the process. The CBDC was set up by, and was accountable to, a department of central government. City centre redevelopment has, in effect, been planned and managed by a small group of senior politicians, officers, influential local businesses and key developers. The local community have relatively little influence. In Cardiff Bay, CBDC even kept the elected local councils at arms length. Its operational strategy was set and supervised by a board appointed by the Secretary of State for Wales.

Critics of property-led regeneration are sceptical about how much 'trickle down' there is in reality. There are



grounds for such scepticism in relation to Cardiff, too. But there can be little doubt that CBDC helped bring about great changes in Cardiff Bay, and established a momentum that continues into the present.

The area has certainly been transformed physically. Underpinning everything, a substantially new network of infrastructure (roads, drainage, telecommunications and so on) has been installed, in order to sustain more intensive use of the land in the area. The docks' estate has been reduced as vacant and redundant land has been acquired for non-docks related activities; in these newly developed areas, the new, properly planned roads are built and maintained to the (higher) standards required by the council rather than being poorly maintained private roads often built on an ad hoc basis. Aesthetic changes initiated by CBDC included : building a 1.2km-long barrage (at a cost of over £200 million) so that the Inner Harbour area of the Bay had the appearance of being on a lakefront (ie no tides or mudflats); sponsoring sculptures on all major roundabouts and other locations and creating a pleasant waterfront promenade in the Inner Harbour. These changes were funded largely by CBDC. Others footed the bill for changes such as striking new buildings (the £124 million Millennium Centre with its opera house and other facilities; and the National Assembly's Senedd (parliament) building); but they would not have happened without the flurry of activity initiated by CBDC.

Economically, the most striking changes in Cardiff Bay have been the increased prominence of activity (as derelict and under-used property is developed), and the convergence of the kind of activities undertaken with the pattern for Cardiff as a whole. Manufacturing is less important in the Bay area than it previously was, and office work and service sector activities dominate. This is almost certainly a consequence of two factors. The first factor is the closure and relocation of manufacturing companies. Some of these companies were affected by the need to free-up land for CBDC-backed projects - notably Lloyd George

Avenue, which goes from the city centre to the Inner Harbour. Others appear to have been displaced as land owners have cashed in on the higher land values available for developing new housing on ex-industrial sites - for example, in Dumballs Road. The second factor at work has been the increased attraction of the area for service sector firms, a trend that has accelerated with the Senedd's development on the waterfront in 2006

Once it became clear that the development of Cardiff Bay was solidly established, then the availability of large areas of reasonably priced, flat, serviced land has attracted some large, sui generis developments. The BBC studios, opened at Roath Basin in 2011, is one example. Another is the International Sports Village, a complex of 50 metre pool, ice rink, white water rafting, and ski dome, being developed with a mix of public and private finance since around 2005. These are eye-catching developments. What, though, of the residents of the Bay ?

Socially, the area has seen a period of major upheaval. The 2011 Census (which may well have under-estimated the number of poorer people in Cardiff) reported that Butetown's population, at the heart of Cardiff Bay, was just over 10,000 people. This is an increase of over 5,000 people since 2001 (where, admittedly, undercounting was felt to be even more of a problem). While the numbers may not bear too much detailed scrutiny, the scale of the change in the area is clear. It is what

one might expect given that CBDC's target was to build 6000 new housing units, three-quarters of them for private ownership. The private housing and the new social housing have been built in different parts of the Bay. One consequence is that there is now very clear social polarisation in Butetown.



*International Sports Village.*



*Nelson House Social Housing, Butetown.*



*New flats - Cardiff Bay gated community.*



LTSOA	Population	% Households with no access to a car	% in rented accommodation (private and social)	% over 16 with no qualifications	% White	% Muslim
1	2,200	53	73	34	35	49
2	1,100	22	74	6	81	7
3	1,355	45	63	30	61	22
4	1,098	22	64	6	78	12
5	1,027	19	64	4	83	9
6	1,082	20	60	8	77	7
7	1,016	25	61	8	77	10
8	1,238	31	68	15	68	18

Table 5: Selected Census Variables, Butetown Lower Tier Super Output Areas, 2011.

Table 5 sets out some census data for eight areas within Butetown (in Census jargon, 'Lower Tier Super Output Areas').

The areas are shown on Figure 7. Some of the variables (eg access to a car) are proxies for income and wealth; others, such as educational qualifications and the Muslim religion are indicators, albeit very imperfect ones, of different cultural milieux. The White/non-White variable is chosen because Cardiff has not been immune to the racial discrimination that has disfigured British life for centuries. We must beware of reading too much into a handful of data relating to areas defined partly for administrative convenience; but it is difficult to resist the conclusion that, in social terms, the 'regeneration' of Butetown involves bolting on a newer, more affluent, more White, population to an existing poorer, multi-ethnic one. It is a type of gentrification in which the existing poorer population is engulfed by a new more prosperous one, rather than being displaced by it (Lees et al, 2008). It also involves high levels of renting, even by more affluent residents, as opposed to the 'pioneering' home-owning gentrification of cities like London in 1960s and thereafter, and even parts of Cardiff, like Pontcanna and Canton, in recent decades. The juxtaposition of new 'gated' communities with older social housing (albeit that the latter has also been refurbished and its environs much improved ) is the everyday physical testament to these social divides.

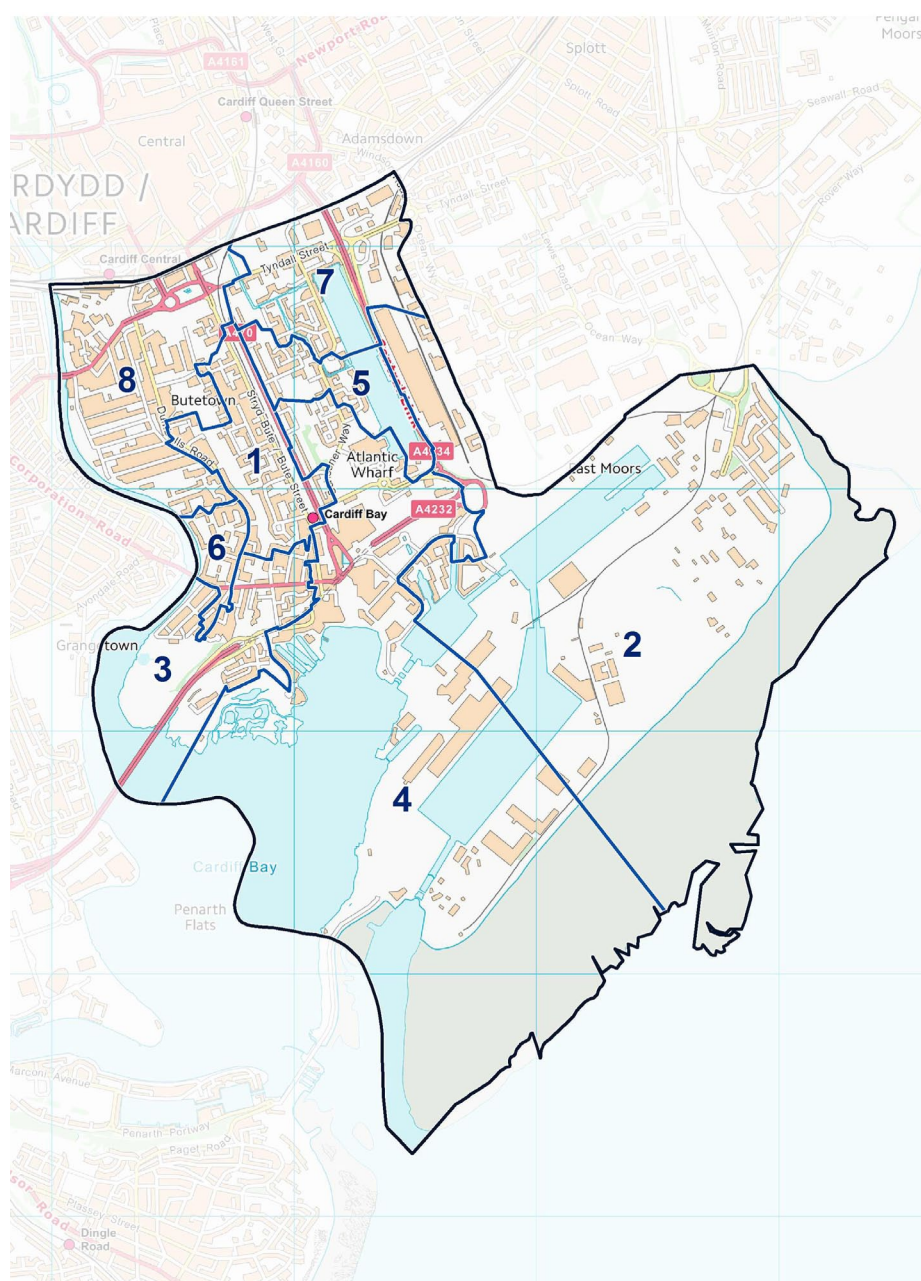


Figure 7. Butetown Electoral (LTSOA) Divisions. Base map: © Crown Copyright and database rights (2016) Ordnance Survey.





*Cardiff Bay mudflats before the Barrage.*

Environmentally, it is difficult to be very positive about the Cardiff Bay regeneration. True, the water quality of the two rivers emptying into the impounded lake created by the new barrage had to be improved (mainly by removing sewage outfalls). But by ending tidal changes, the barrage permanently covered mud-flats that were of international significance as feeding grounds for wading birds. It's officially conceded that the water quality of the impounded lake will never be good enough to allow immersion

sports, and keeping it 'acceptable' will require constant management and intervention.

Regenerating Cardiff Bay – and the planning of Cardiff more generally – has, in practice, been based on road transport, which really means prioritising the car. CBDC hardly even paid lip-service to sustainability. Cardiff Council recognises the issue. It has made great strides in waste management, working hard to increase the proportions of household waste

being recycled from 38% in June 2010 to 57% in June 2015. This has major land use (and other) implications, as sites for land-fill are scarce. In relation to transport, it supports plans for a sub-regional 'metro', and new housing estates on Cardiff's periphery will have land saved for metro routes. Perhaps, then, the development of huge private estates almost entirely dependent on the private car, like that at Pontprennau, will not be repeated.

Cardiff Bay's image has been transformed. The enormous physical changes and the programme of events (firework displays, power boat races, food festivals and the like) have undoubtedly changed outsiders' perceptions. Official estimates are that 3.9 million people visited the Bay in 2012 (Cardiff Bay Steam Report, 2012). Changing the area's image was always central to CBDC's strategy, and it has been an approach that Cardiff Council has long been persuaded of, in relation to the city as a whole as well as the Bay. This can lead to a revising, not to say sanitising, of the history of the city, and its docks. The vibrancy and cultural richness of ways of life which were, and still can be, subject to racism, is only of interest to marketing people if presented in ways which do not unsettle visitors.



*The Pierhead Building.*



## Tomorrow's Cardiff

Cardiff is, by many measures, a successful city. Yet, the strategy of creating an attractive climate for investment, particularly in property, has produced new challenges, ones that perhaps could have been anticipated had political and professional attention been more firmly on the lives and prospects of the city's ordinary residents rather than headline-grabbing developments. As land values increase, the costs of buying or renting property for any purpose, including for housing, will also increase. These will tend to hit people harder the poorer they are. Anecdotal, and other, evidence suggests that the kinds of adjustments being made in many parts of Britain to high housing costs – namely, three or four generations living in one house, and groups of unrelated young professionals jointly renting a house or flat – are also being made in Cardiff. As access to appropriate housing is one of the foundations of a contented life, it is by no means obvious whether the development of Cardiff can be accounted an unambiguous success for its working class residents if they have persistent anxieties about finding affordable housing in their own city. The city's Local Development Plan (LDP) recognises the need for more

affordable housing. But high land values may also affect the ability and willingness of housebuilders to finance affordable housing from their profits on houses built for the open market.

While sustainability and meeting social needs feature in the LDP's aims and objectives, economic development is still centre stage. The plan's proposals and indeed its tone make it clear that creating an attractive site for private investment remains central to the mainstream of the city's politics. This characteristic is also prominent in the discussions and documents about the development of a strategy (and possibly some kind of governmental infrastructure) for the Cardiff city-region. 'Effective' city-regions are widely promoted within the UK as the potential engines of prosperity for the areas within them. A Welsh Government initiative, the Cardiff Capital Region Board, incorporating business, local government and universities, produced an economic strategy that suggested that 'connectivity', innovation and skills were the keys to the region's future prosperity. Skills and connectivity might have been found in boosterist documents from anytime in the last 80 years; indigenous 'innovation' is a response to the global economic turbulence of the last ten years and the

realisation that inward investment may be more scarce in the future. Similarly, the proposed Metro is usually justified in relation to its economic prospects: '*[It will be a ...] Mix of electrified heavy rail, light rail and bus rapid transit; Max 40 minute travel from periphery to Cardiff or Newport; Max 15 minute wait at network periphery; Max 5 minute wait at network core; Other transport modes fully integrated with regard to timetables and ticketing; Economic "regeneration" focussed on Cardiff Central & key interchanges.*' (Barry, 2011, quoted in Waite, 2015, p26) Agreement by the UK government, in 2015, to fund a Cardiff Capital Region 'City Deal' involving a joint programme of projects by ten local authorities, including Cardiff, has cemented political support for activity on a regional scale in the immediate future. It is anticipated that the Metro will be the largest single project funded by the Deal. A properly integrated first class public transport system would certainly transform the accessibility map of the city-region. It would form a basis, too, for addressing imbalances in life-chances and quality of life within the region. We must hope that Cardiff stands on the cusp of a bright, more just, more sustainable future as part of a better planned and integrated city-region.



St David's Shopping Centre.



St David's Shopping Centre at Christmas.

# Cardiff Bay Walking Tour

‘This circular walk provides a flavour of the old and new Cardiff Bay’.

Distance 2.5km  
Time 45-60 minutes

The map on the opposite page (*Figure 9*) has been annotated with the points along the Walking Tour. Please turn to page 30 for a discussion of each stop along the route.

An interactive version of the walking tour map is available at: <http://cardiff-uni.maps.arcgis.com/apps/webappviewer/index.html?id=6b31bdfd199542f19fc5d79549b815ac>

Learn about each point by clicking on it; zoom in and out; and click and drag to move about in any direction.





Map of Cardiff Bay Walking Tour

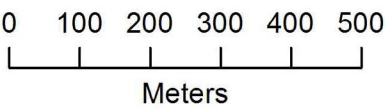
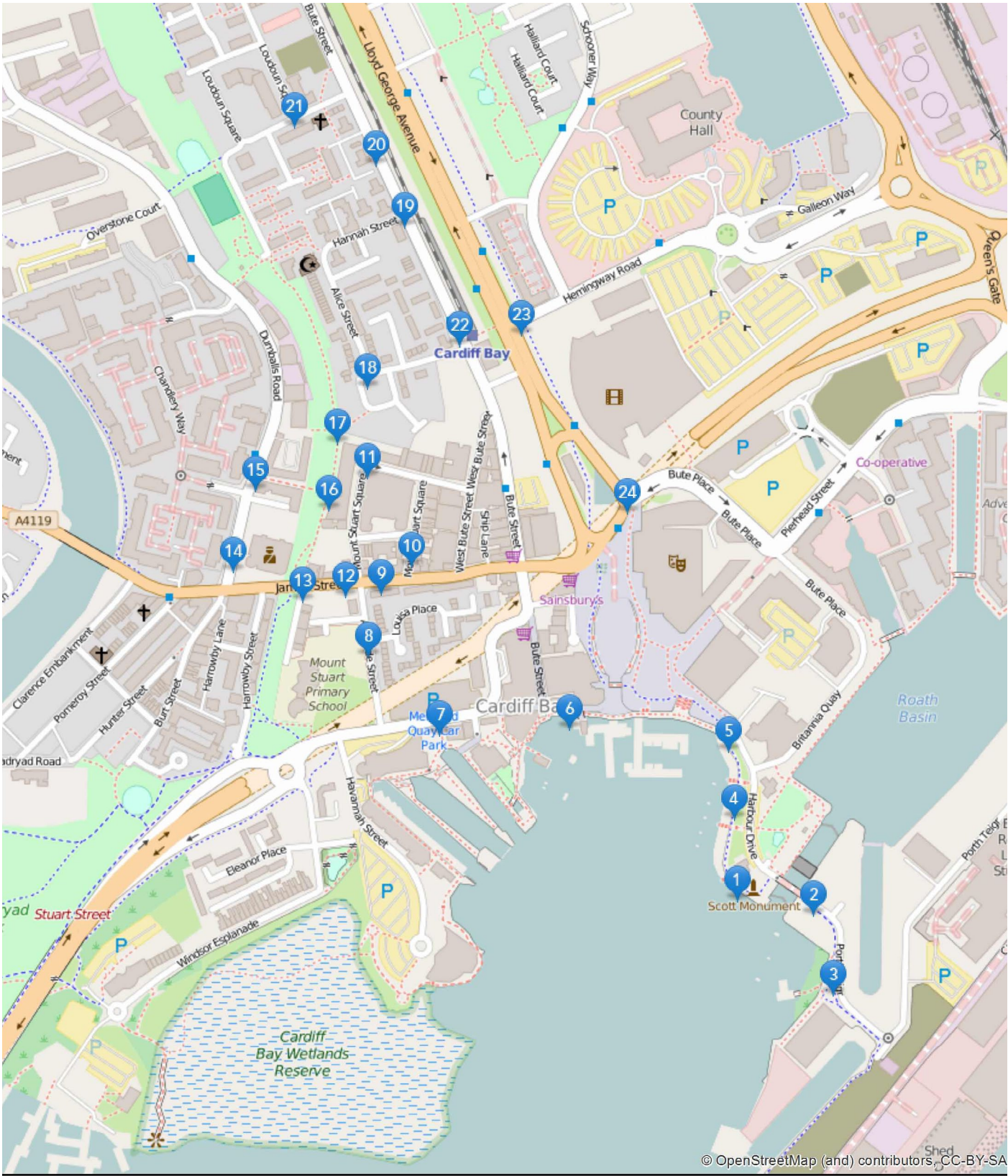


Figure 9: Map of Cardiff Bay Walking Tour.





a.



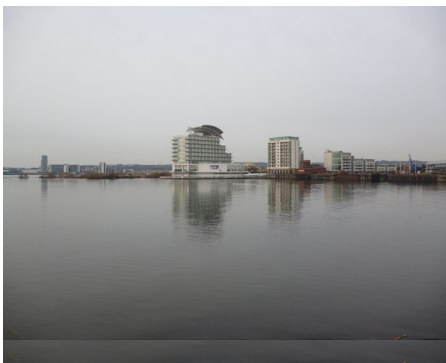
b.



c.



d.



e.

### Cardiff Bay Walking Tour

This circular walk provides a flavour of the old and new Cardiff Bay. The area has been transformed over the last thirty years, and is a well-known example of large-scale physical regeneration. While many will argue about its overall design, few would dispute that there has been a vast physical improvement in the area over that time. However there remains disagreement over:

- whether the huge amounts of public money (close to £500 million) could have been better spent – eg on a strategy less exclusively focused on creating the conditions for profitable property development by the private sector.
- the style and management of the regeneration, which in its crucial early and mid phases (1987-2000) was led by a non-elected Urban Development Corporation with local voices having no direct say over policy.
- the distribution of costs and benefits of regeneration with little evidence that Cardiff's poorer citizens have benefitted substantially.
- the increasing evidence of spatial and social segregation in the regenerated Bay.

Public art (a) and (b) has been used to create a sense of place and, some critics claim, to mark out the new Cardiff Bay as the territory of new kinds of visitors and new kinds of residents. As you walk around try to imagine how this new geography might be experienced by different kinds of people – older established (but perhaps poorer) residents as well as newer, probably better off, residents; office cleaners as well as office managers; and international tourists as well as refugees.

As it is a circular route, you can join the walk at any point. It will take most people about 45-60 minutes to complete.

1. A good place to begin the trail is at the Norwegian Church (c), arguably a triumph of marketing over authenticity. From the mid-nineteenth century there was a Norwegian Church in Cardiff Docks ministering to the needs of sailors and the city's small Norwegian community. Roald Dahl, the author, was christened in it (hence the Roald Dahl gallery currently taking some space within it). By the 1980s the church was semi-derelict. Though parts of the original were salvaged, the current version is essentially a new construction and is located about 1km from the original. It is a picturesque building, on a prominent site, and fulfilling a useful purpose as a coffee shop and arts venue. But it illustrates a sanitised, almost Disneyesque, perspective on the area's history.
2. From outside the Church there is an excellent view of the Inner Harbour's waterfront (d). Directly opposite – with a distinctive roof – is the 5 star St David's Hotel (e); next to the hotel are examples of some of the more expensive apartments built in the Cardiff Bay area. Clearly, these are bringing into the area residents quite different from those of what has long been the poorest, most deprived area of the city.
3. The Cardiff Bay barrage is also clearly visible. This controversial scheme cost over £200m of public money, and was justified on the grounds that the lake it would create would cover up the estuarine mud that was revealed at every low tide and hence provide an attractive backdrop for property development. It was anticipated that land values would rise dramatically. They have (though how much of this is the consequence of the Barrage is disputed); but there remains an important question about who benefits when land values rise – property owners, presumably; and anyone else?



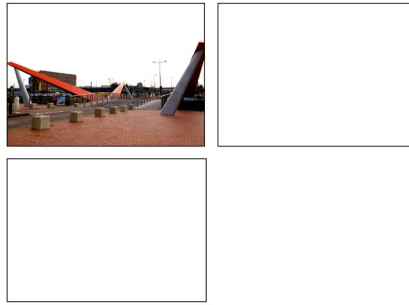


f.

The mudflats that were covered by the new lake were a Site of Special Scientific Interest, and environmental groups tenaciously opposed the barrage. The Development Corporation funded the provision of a new habitat for birds some twenty kilometres away as compensation for the loss of mudflats, an approach which itself raises interesting issues.

4. Completed in 2000, the barrage is open to pedestrians from Cardiff via a path which begins by crossing the lock (f) next to the Norwegian Church. As you cross the lock, to your left you will see a major studio development by the BBC (g). The availability of a large flat site in a fairly central location undoubtedly helped entice this development to the city. Major TV series such as 'Casualty' are now filmed there. So is 'Dr Who'; and as a spin-off there is a 'Dr Who Experience' (h) en-route to the barrage. These kinds of tourist attractions are central to the strategy for regenerating the area, and they depend upon the availability of suitable sites for development – which the planning system facilitates.

5. Proceed along the waterfront towards the impressive red-brick Pierhead Building (i). The public promenade along the waterfront was made possible because the land was bought from the docks operators, who had previously restricted access to those working in the Docks. These are undoubtedly benefits for the public at large, who can enjoy – without payment – the pleasure of a walk along the waterfront.



g.

6. The Pierhead Building stands next to the Senedd (j), the debating chamber of the National Assembly for Wales. The Pierhead Building once housed the offices of the owners of the Docks, but is now leased to the National Assembly. It is open to the public and as a listed building (ie a building declared to be of national architectural and/or historical significance) is well worth a visit. The Senedd, designed by Richard Rogers, is also open to the public; indeed its internal and external design is intended to emphasise openness and transparency, which are stated watchwords of devolved government in Wales.

7. Mermaid Quay (k) is regarded by many professionals as poorly designed and built of cheap materials. It is a development of (mainly) restaurants, bars and coffee shops, with a smattering of shops (the proportion of shops was controlled by conditions on the planning permission granted for the development). It was the product of a hasty deal by CBDC at the end of its life as it strove to meet as many of its government-imposed targets as possible. It could be seen as a result of an emphasis on quantifiable targets over quality of development.

8. Skirt Mermaid Quay and walk along Stuart Street past some of the few buildings which remain from the Docks' hey-day, including the Pilotage House (l) (now an eatery). Techniquest, (m) a hands-on science exhibition is a major visitor attraction, housed in a refurbished Ship Repair works. The graving docks on the sea-side



h.



i.



j.



k.



l.





m.



n.



o.



p.



q.

of Techniquest – still there – were for sailing ships needing repair. Techniquest is a major attraction, but needs financial support from government to survive. At Techniquest, turn right to go north along Adelaide Street.

9. As you walk along Adelaide Street, on your right is a small and popular housing estate (n), originally developed as a council (ie social) housing project in the late 1970s/early 1980s, and with many long-term residents, some of whom have bought their houses. What can Cardiff Bay's regeneration deliver to residents such as these? It is interesting to contrast this housing with post-regeneration developments, such as Century Wharf (see point 16).

10. Turn right where Adelaide Street meets James Street (o). You are now heading towards the point where the main entrance to Cardiff Docks stood in its hey-day (late nineteenth and early twentieth century), some 150 metres away. In the early twentieth century Cardiff exported more coal than any other single port in the world, as the output of the south Wales coalfield to the north of the city used the port as a way to maritime coaling -stations and factories across the world, and , especially, across the British Empire.

11. Cross James Street and enter West Bute Street (p). This street and the adjoining Mount Stuart Square are in a Conservation Area and many buildings are listed as historically and architecturally significant, giving them added protection from unsympathetic development. West Bute Street has two social housing projects from the 1980s. The more innovative is St Clair Court (q), some thirty metres from James Street. It has a mix of ground floor commercial uses and rented housing above. In the early 1980s this was the kind of future which was planned for this area.

12. Turn left and walk around Mount Stuart Square (r), exiting into James Street. The Coal Exchange (s), built on what was once the open space in the square, now dominates it. There have been easier opportunities for property development elsewhere in the Bay, and the Exchange remains under-used. But a measure of how the property market in the area has risen since the early 1980s are the new housing developments for the open market (t), not social housing as in the 1980s.



r.



s.



t.





u.

13. Just before exiting the square note the grandeur of the buildings – it gives a flavour of how significant a commercial area this was at just over a century ago. But what to do with these buildings now is a concern for their owners and for planners - they are expensive to refurbish as modern commercial or residential space, so rental income must be high before it is worth even thinking of that option.

14. Turn right at James Street but just after you do, note the vacant site on the other side of James Street (u). This site has been an undeveloped eyesore for decades, adding nothing to the welfare of the residents of Butetown or the city. Such sites are a real challenge to planning and regeneration, and raise important questions about under what circumstances private ownership of land can be regarded as creating social benefits.

15. Continue along James Street until you meet an open space/linear park (v) formed by the filling in of the Glamorganshire Canal. At this point look across James Street where you will see some workshops (w) which may not look very exciting, but since the 1980s they have provided relatively low cost space for small local firms. These workshops – the Royal Stuart Workshops, and the adjacent Douglas Buildings, are a reminder of what the Council's vision was for this area some 30 years ago: essentially, low key refurbishment of buildings to provide modest opportunities for small firms who were likely to employ local people. If you continue along James Street and turn right into Dumballs Road you will see the

consequences of a very different kind of approach to regeneration.

16. As late as ten years ago, Dumballs Road was a predominantly industrial area dominated by small scale manufacturing and manual employment. Today, its southern reaches, which is where you're walking, are dominated by new housing developments (x) – all for sale or rent at market prices, albeit in different segments of the market. It's important to realise that the change in Dumballs Road is the consequence of a rise in land values which makes it attractive to develop for housing rather than low-rental industrial uses. This rise was the consequence of changes in planning and regeneration policies, which began to support regenerating Cardiff Bay as a place for high value housing and commercial uses rather than a working class area. The existing industries were not making losses; they were simply not able to compete with other forms of land use when it came to providing a return to landowners and landlords. This illustrates nicely the kinds of choices – which are essentially political – which underpin planning policies.

Walk as far as the bus stop on the righthandside of Dumballs Road. Stop here and look further up Dumballs Road (y) to see examples of the industrial uses which once dominated the area. Then turn right at this bus stop into a pedestrianised road between two big blocks of flats called Viceroy Court and Viceroy Mansions.

17. At the end of this short pedestrianised road is the linear park again. Cross the park and then turn left up the footpath on its righthandside. Follow this footpath for about 40 metres. Then take a narrow footpath off it to your right which takes you into the residential street of West Close (z).



v.



w.



x.



y.



z.





aa.



bb.



cc.



dd.

18. In making your way around the Close note the vista north along Alice Street to the mosque (aa), evidence of the multi-cultural population of Butetown. The poor quality of the housing stock and general environment in this part of Butetown appears to have inhibited the gentrification which has been happening in the small areas of Victorian housing nearer the waterfront. The area remains socially isolated, emphasised by the wall of the railway embankment (bb) which runs the length of Bute Street dividing Butetown from the newer developments to the east.

19. At Bute Street you are recommended to go a few hundred metres north to Loudon Square, the physical and symbolic heart of Butetown. As you walk along Bute Street (cc) you'll notice how very different it feels from the cafes and bars of the waterfront, not least because of the very visible presence of Cardiff's oldest established multi-ethnic community (augmented in recent decades by new rounds of immigration, particularly refugees from Somalia). The recent regeneration of Loudon Square (dd) in a publicly funded project costing about £13m provided new homes, new bases for community activities and for local authority and health services, as well as some units for social enterprises (ie potential employers) (ee and ff). This was a project more in keeping with the approach pre-Cardiff Bay regeneration, and perhaps an acknowledgment that benefits from Cardiff Bay are slow to flow to the long-established residential community.

20. Returning south along Bute Street you will note the Cardiff Bay railway station (gg and hh) on your left. This was called Bute Road station until the late 1980s, and its name change was part of the 'rebranding' of the Bay that was central to the kind of regeneration envisaged for it. There is some physical evidence that the building – listed as being of national historic and architectural significance



ee.



ff.



gg.



hh.

- may soon be refurbished for apartments. But it has been empty for many decades, and development has been promised before and never materialised. It is an example of the way that landowners who are reluctant or unable to develop (perhaps for financial reasons) can prolong a status quo which is evidently not very beneficial to the wider community.





ii.



jj.

21. Take a turn to the left, then right, and return along the lower part of Lloyd George Avenue. To the left (and stretching behind you to the city centre) is the Atlantic Wharf development and County Hall (ii) (built as an early stage of regeneration), as well as an anonymous leisure complex predicated on car-based users. No doubt this latter development helped establish the commercial realism of the Bay's regeneration, but it raises serious questions about the environmental credentials of the strategy. Diagonally ahead of you is the massive copper roof (jj) of a symbol of the new, leisure-based Cardiff Bay. It is a building which ties in property-led transformation to the historic political project of boosting Cardiff nationally and beyond as the premier Welsh city.

22. The lottery-aided Millennium Centre (kk), opened in 2004, is a monumental presence to the east side of the Oval Basin. It is the home for the Welsh National Opera, and also stages more culturally diverse events. It is intended to be a facility which puts Cardiff on the international map, but also provides additional benefits for the city's residents. Having passed the Millennium Centre, skirt the Pierhead Building and return to the Norwegian Church (ll).



kk.



ll.

# Bibliography and further information

In this section you will find further resources and information on the topics discussed in this booklet.

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### Useful web-sites and contacts

- Butetown History and Arts Centre (BHAC) [www.bhac.org](http://www.bhac.org) A community initiative which provides a unique perspective on Cardiff's development, and the city today. Welcomes school visits.
- Cardiff Bay Harbour Authority [www.cardiffharbour.com](http://www.cardiffharbour.com) The body responsible for the operation of the Barrage and for the impounded lake. Its web-site provides a wide-range of technical and environmental information, as well as contacts for schools.
- Cardiff Capital Region [www.cardiffcapitalregion.com](http://www.cardiffcapitalregion.com) A Welsh Government site which provides up to date official information on a major political project of the moment, namely promoting 'joined up governance' in the Cardiff sub-region. The material demonstrates the continuing power of the narrative of needing to boost the city economically.
- Cardiff Council [www.cardiff.gov.uk](http://www.cardiff.gov.uk) Has a great deal of statistical data, including census data, available for the city as a whole, and also disaggregated by smaller units (wards, and below). Also provides access to current plans and planning-related documents, including the Local Development Plan, a key document. Look out, too, for regular reports on 'Cardiff Liveable City' and tourism ('STEAM reports').
- Cardiff Rivers Group [www.cardiffriversgroup.co.uk](http://www.cardiffriversgroup.co.uk) A community group active in improving the riverside environments. The web-site has real-time and historic information about river-levels in the city.
- Cardiff Story [www.cardiffstory.com](http://www.cardiffstory.com) 'In our fun, free and interactive galleries, discover how Cardiff was transformed from the small market town of the 1300s, to one of the world's biggest ports in the 1900s, to the cool, cosmopolitan capital we know today. The museum, in the beautiful and historic Old Library building, is rich in stories, objects, photographs and film telling the history of Cardiff through the eyes of those who created the city - its people.'
- Cardiff Transition [www.cardifftransition.org.uk](http://www.cardifftransition.org.uk) An umbrella organisation for initiatives related to sustainability. Its web-site provides a window on alternative views of what life and development in Cardiff could involve.
- Glamorgan Archives [www.glamarchives.gov.uk](http://www.glamarchives.gov.uk) A more specialised resource. Welcomes visits from schools.
- Local Studies Service, Cardiff Council [www.cardiff.gov](http://www.cardiff.gov) (search for local studies). A very useful resource, but something of a Cinderella service in the current financial climate. Currently in temporary accommodation on an industrial estate, the plan is to house it in Cathays Library. To users this will have the benefits of (1) convenience and (2) affording an opportunity to visit a fine early twentieth century Carnegie library (now Grade II listed).
- National Assembly for Wales [www.assembly.wales](http://www.assembly.wales) Welcomes educational visits to its buildings in the Bay.



## About Cardiff Case Studies

### *Geographical research for secondary school teaching*

The School of Geography and Planning is a centre of excellence in teaching and research in both Human Geography and Planning. Together with the School of Earth and Ocean Sciences, we have developed the initiative, through which we hope contemporary research can be used to inform and inspire the teaching of geography in classrooms across the UK.

In this booklet you will find all our recent and past case studies. We have case studies on topics as diverse as 'the environmental impacts of major sporting events' to 'slum upgrading in the developing world'.

### *Cardiff Case Studies website*

Further information on this initiative is available from the Cardiff Case Studies website where you can download all of the case studies in this booklet as well as newer case studies as they become available. You can also view many of the authors presenting and discussing their case study as well downloading presentations from past Cardiff Case Studies conferences: <http://www.cardiff.ac.uk/cplan/research/cardiff-case-studies>

### *What are Cardiff Case Studies?*

Cardiff Case Studies are 2-3 page summaries of recent research undertaken by academics at Cardiff University. They are designed to be relevant to school syllabi.

### *Why have Cardiff Case Studies been developed?*

The Cardiff Case Studies initiative brings students studying in schools closer to the research of academics in Cardiff University. Initially supported by the Higher Education Academy Learning and Teaching Enhancement Fund, the initiative has the following aims:

- To provide a free resource for school teachers to download and use as examples to support their teaching.
- To provide School-age students with a free resource to download and use as examples in their coursework and exams.
- To improve student awareness of basic university-level skills such as referencing and research methods
- To encourage links between Cardiff University and FE schools.
- To raise awareness of the types of issues covered at university level. It is hoped that this may:
  1. increase interest amongst students who have not previously considered studying at university; and
  2. improve awareness of potential differences in the material covered at A-level and in university, therefore supporting a smoother transition.

### *How might teachers use Cardiff Case Studies?*

The case studies initiative has been running for several years and our discussions with teachers have shown that case studies are now being used in very many ways – some of which we had not anticipated:

- Illustrating a point or a process and sometimes to provide an alternative perspective.
- Starting debates and encouraging critical thinking.
- As additional reading material for interested or more able students.
- Stimulating interest in Geography.
- Learning about research processes, research methods and reporting research.
- Informing independent investigation choices.
- Practicing referencing skills.

### *Attend a Cardiff Case Studies for teachers conference*

In June each year Geography teachers are invited to attend a Cardiff Case Studies conference at Cardiff University, where they will be able to meet the authors of the case studies and hear them present. We have had exceptionally positive feedback from teachers who have attended past events and it is a day that the academic staff thoroughly enjoy too.

For details about the next Cardiff Case Studies conference please visit: <http://www.cardiff.ac.uk/cplan/research/attend-cardiff-case-studies>

## Public events at the School of Geography and Planning

Cardiff Case Studies is only one of many initiatives that the School of Geography and Planning organises in order to engage the wider community.

The School have a busy schedule of talks, discussions and workshops that are open to members of the public - and school groups are always welcome to attend. These events provide a great opportunity to hear about cutting-edge research from world-renowned academics, to discuss important policy developments with key politicians and to learn more about the work of practitioners.

Full information on forthcoming events can be found at:

School of Geography and Planning - [www.cardiff.ac.uk/cplan/events](http://www.cardiff.ac.uk/cplan/events)

Most events are free of charge, but advance booking is often necessary.

