

**Lloyd George Avenue & Tiger Bay:**  
**A Study into a Cardiff Bay Development Corporation Scheme within**  
**the Context of a Historic Docklands Community**

**Jonathan Toon**

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Mackintosh School of Architecture

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## Introduction

Butetown is a historic docklands community, situated in the South of Cardiff, the capital city of Wales. With beginnings dating back to the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century; the creation of the docks, and consequently, Modern Cardiff; 'Tiger Bay' as it was once known, [many are of the community are of the inclination to continue using this name] flourished during the Coal-Export Boom at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. It was during this period the settlement came to establish one of the first truly multi-cultural communities in the UK. As a counterpart to the recognition of Tiger Bay as a model of harmonious ethnic assimilation, it also began to develop a degree of notoriety, with the slanted depiction of Tiger Bay as an immoral haven throughout port-communities, world-wide. The decimation of Tiger Bay in the 1960s, alongside the controversial name change to Butetown, on the part of the City Council, has been cited as an instance of social engineering over redevelopment<sup>1</sup>.

The 2001 census states the population of Butetown to be 4487, there has been a considerable influx of people over the last decade; with City Council estimates of 10,000<sup>2</sup>, placing pressure on an already strained housing stock. South Cardiff, and Butetown specifically, has the highest unemployment figures in the city<sup>3</sup>. Despite this, it should be attested from the outset, that the community is by no means in any state of detritus; a model of cultural and ethnic integration, with community initiatives such as the Butetown History & Arts Centre, engaging residents into collective decision making for it's community. The period of Butetown's history in which the bulk of analysis will take place is from the mid-1980s to the turn of the Millennium; a period which saw the total overhaul of the Cardiff docklands, in the form of the Cardiff Bay Regeneration Scheme. It was an exercise in large-scale redevelopment, the ambitions of which had not been seen in Wales beforehand; a drastic re-assessment of economic funding models by which to realize such redevelopment was necessary; the aim, clearly, was to re-establish Cardiff as a major European city.

Despite being integrated into early design briefs, Butetown was eventually neglected from the scheme entirely. Furthermore, development in direct proximity to the community, such as Lloyd George Avenue, have been considered as detrimental in their effects upon the community; re-aligning socially-divisive conditions, in conflict with the enterprise of the city<sup>4</sup>. This research project will aim to accurately establish what the inherent issues are in this scheme.

1 Sinclair, N. M. C., 2003. *Caged Tiger: A Community Under Threat*. Cardiff: Butetown History & Arts Centre. p. 184.

2 White Young Green, 2007. *Loudoun Square Regeneration, Butetown: Feasibility Study: Summary of Final Report 23.11.2007*. Cardiff: Cardiff Community Housing Association. p. 2.

3 Cardiff City Council, 2010., *Cardiff Today: Key Economic Statistics 2010 Edition*. Cardiff: Cardiff City Council. p. 7.

4 Minton, A., 2009. *Ground Control: Fear and Happiness in the Twenty-First Century City*. London: Penguin. p. 26.



0.1 Butetown Location within Cardiff Bay [1:30,000]

## Abstract

The research will be divided into two main sections, prior to forming a conclusion in the third and final section:

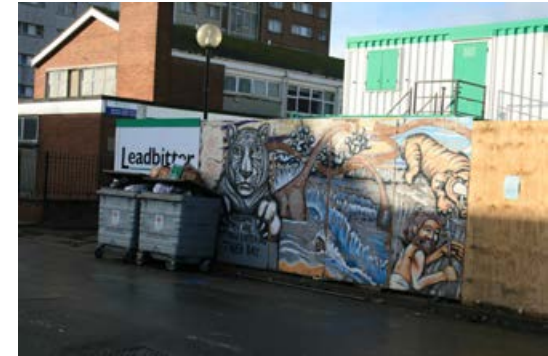
In **Section 1** an overview of the history of the docklands in South Cardiff, and the foundation of Tiger Bay will be given; tracking the gradual rise, industry boom, and subsequent demise of the Coal Industry, through to major redevelopment in the 1960s, the later Cardiff Bay Regeneration Scheme in the 1990s, alongside more recent regeneration.

A key route is taken through North Butetown, illustrating the historic transformations of the site; the intention is to present a portrait of the community as it exists currently, and how it has incrementally changed over the years. The appearance and disappearance of certain housing typologies, amenities, landmarks, and cultural/spiritual facilities will be highlighted. This will attempt to establish meaningful site analysis, of the societal and urban make-up of Butetown, which will then be applicable to Section 2.

**Section 2** will concern the Cardiff Bay Regeneration Scheme, and Cardiff Bay Redevelopment Corporation [CBDC], an Urban Development Corporation which administrated redevelopment work between 1987-2000. an overview into the political background of urban planning in the UK during this period is to be presented, alongside a key outline of the major developments carried out by CBDC in the city. The main focus will be upon the Lloyd George Avenue highway engineering project; a dual-carriageway which runs North-to-South, adjacent to Butetown. As the Intrinsic Case Study; the evolution of this project will be described, highlighting key alterations along the way. The first incarnation of the project; 'Bute Avenue', will be looked at in conjunction with discussion with the design-team, and a member of CBDC who managed the project. Moving towards the eventual construction of Lloyd George Avenue; the Urbanism of the scheme, Socio-Economic implications, and the application of History and Culture will be discussed.

In **Section 3**, illustrated approaches by which to improve the current condition of Lloyd George Avenue will be outlined. The aim is to provide considered, basic strategies for alterations to the constructed scheme, largely informed by design work completed under the guidance of CBDC, alongside site analysis of Butetown in Section 1.

The Socio-Economic, Historical & Cultural implications of the Private-Public-Partnership model used in the Lloyd George Avenue scheme, upon Butetown, will be discussed in the second and final part of the conclusion.



0.2 Mural, Loudoun Sq.

## 1.1 Historical Overview of Tiger Bay

The origins of Butetown can be traced back to 1830; Bute Street was instated as the main transportation route through this area of reclaimed mud-flat land. This was followed by the opening of West Bute Dock in 1839, and the building of the Glamorgan Canal, a measure by which to cope with the demand of the burgeoning iron and coal trade<sup>1</sup>. Built as part of the same development plan by the 2<sup>nd</sup> Marquis of Bute; John Chrichton-Stuart, the first housing was introduced in 1855, 14 houses centred around Loudoun Square. This area would become characteristic of the core of Cardiff's social elite, in which many of the Shipowners and Merchants would establish themselves in close proximity to the docklands<sup>2</sup>.

The years of 1874 to 1883 saw coal and iron exports trebled<sup>3</sup>, alongside continual expansion of the docks, the construction of an Exchange became an inevitability. The architect Edwin Seward was appointed in 1883, with The Coal Exchange to be constructed upon Mount Stuart Square gardens. The Exchange opened up for business on the 1<sup>st</sup> February 1886<sup>4</sup>, establishing a commercial centre for Cardiff; a crucial market enabler for the city.

Between the years of 1892 and 1910, exports from The Docks rose from ten, to twenty-four million tons<sup>5</sup>, a period colloquially termed as 'The Boom'. In 1909, the first £1,000,000 cheque was signed on the floor of the Coal Exchange, presented to the National Provincial Bank on Bute Street<sup>6</sup>. By 1913, the city is firmly established as the largest coal-exporting port in the world<sup>7</sup>. This period saw a rise in the formation of shipping companies within the region; with the aid of speculative investments made from banks, these multiplied, with varying degrees of success<sup>8</sup>. This culminated in a momentary boom in 1919; Cardiff's coal-exporting industry's golden era reached a head, and with the Post-WWI recession of 1919-1921, coal exports from Bute Docks began to falter, as demands diminished.

During the First World War, large-scale immigration of foreign dock-hands to the docks, fundamentally altered the racial

1 BBC, 2004. *Walk Through Time*. Available from:

[http://www.bbc.co.uk/wales/southeast/sites/nhob\\_walk/walk05.shtml](http://www.bbc.co.uk/wales/southeast/sites/nhob_walk/walk05.shtml) [Accessed 22 March 2012].

2 South Wales Echo, 1952. Tiger Bay Becomes a Memory: When Dockland Had its Berkeley Square. *South Wales Echo*, 18<sup>th</sup> November.

3 Evans, C., et al, 1984. *Below the Bridge: A Photographic Historical Survey of Cardiff's Docklands to 1983*. Cardiff: National Museum of Wales. p. 26.

4 *ibid.*, p. 26.

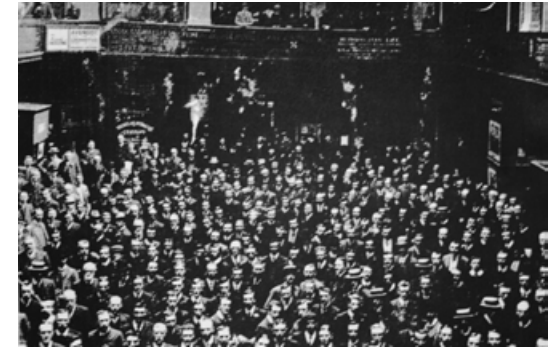
5 *ibid.*, p. 27.

6 Witty, M., 2010. *The Suburbs of Butetown and Cardiff Bay: Incorporating Tiger Bay and The Docks*. Available from:

[http://www.cardiffians.co.uk/suburbs/butetown\\_and\\_cardiffbay.shtml](http://www.cardiffians.co.uk/suburbs/butetown_and_cardiffbay.shtml) [Accessed 22<sup>nd</sup> March 2012].

7 Jauhainen, J. S., 1995. Waterfront Redevelopment and Urban Policy: The Case of Barcelona, Cardiff and Genoa. *European Planning Studies*, 3 (1), 3-23. p. 12.

8 Evans, C., et al, *Below the Bridge*, p. 27.



1.0 Exchange Floor, Mount Stuart Square, 1900.

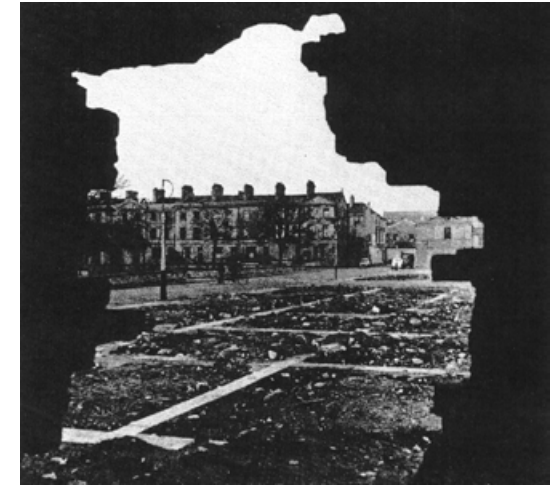


1.1 James Street, Tiger Bay.

composition of Tiger Bay; alongside existing Irish and Spanish communities, the first generation of Somalian, Caribbean, and Chinese families arrived in Cardiff<sup>9</sup>. This brought about some degree of resentment on the part of British dock-hands; in the midst of Post-WWI dislocation, with uncertain future employment prospects. In June 1919 a 'serious disturbance' was reported within the community, the first of a number of sporadic race-riots which left three men dead, and over £3,000 in damages to be accounted for by the City Council<sup>10</sup>. These events could be seen as a catalyst for the beginnings of racial segregation in Cardiff; many minority communities were founded, and remained, within Tiger Bay.

Tiger Bay saw large-scale redevelopment at the turn of the 1960s. The implementation of the Town and County Planning Act [1947] Under Clement Attlee's Labour Government meant that the site was no longer under the control of the estate policies of major landowners; the City Council subsequently carried out the filling-in of the old Glamorganshire Canal [completed in 1958]<sup>11</sup>. The repercussions of WWII on the UK economy meant that work was slow to commence on the demolition and re-building of the area. The vast majority of housing within the district had been erected between 1849-1879, and recurring issues such as flooding, poor sanitation [the T.B. Rate in Tiger Bay was seven times that of the overall city<sup>12</sup>], led to the conclusion on behalf of the Public Health Inspector, via the Housing Report of 1950, that only 6% of the existing dwellings were deemed to be in 'good condition'<sup>13</sup>. By 1960 the residents of Loudoun Square had been re-located in preparation for the comprehensive re-construction of the area; two high-rise blocks were built, Loudoun House and Nelson House, both located centrally, with 3-4 storey housing defining the perimeter of the square. Some residents were moved to nearby Hodges Square on behalf of the council, whilst more significant numbers were re-located to the more distant estates of Ely and Llanrumney, with the option of moving back once construction work was complete<sup>14</sup>.

Prior to the second phase of redevelopment between 1965-1970, the City Council had received an adverse reaction from the first residents of Loudoun House & Nelson House; concerning privacy, maintenance issues and isolation. Consequently the Council reassessed their Housing Strategy<sup>15</sup>. Alongside some commercial facilities adjacent to Bute Street, the second phase of redevelopment saw the construction of further 3-4 storey maisonettes, as well as Low-Rise housing along Angelina Street and Maria Street. The third phase of redevelopment, complete by 1982 saw further housing introduced on a small area of



1.2 The Demolition of Loudoun Square.

9 Evans, C., et al, *Below the Bridge*, p. 44.

10 *ibid.*, p. 45.

11 *ibid.*, p. 54.

12 *ibid.*, p.54.

13 South Wales Echo, 1957. How it Will Look When They Tear Down Tiger Bay. *South Wales Echo*, 10<sup>th</sup> October.

14 Evans, C., et al, *Below the Bridge*, p. 55.

15 *ibid.*, p. 55.

James Street, alongside a new community church in Loudoun Square, St Paul's<sup>16</sup>.

1979 brought about the election of a Conservative Government, which proceeded to fundamentally overhaul British Urban Policy of the age. In 1983 UK ports became independent of regulation by the government, with the Associated Local Ports Authority coming into control of the now disused Cardiff docklands. In the same year, South Glamorgan's Labour-controlled County Council initiated the redevelopment of derelict wasteland in the location of Bute West Dock<sup>17</sup> [the last of which to close, in 1964<sup>18</sup>]; this became 'Atlantic Wharf'. The Secretary of State for Wales launched a proposal to regenerate the entire inner harbour, with the establishment of the Cardiff Bay Development Corporation [CBDC] in 1987<sup>19</sup>. the Atlantic Wharf development, alongside later development in direct proximity to, [but not inclusive of] the Tiger Bay community, such as Callaghan Square and Lloyd George Avenue, will be discussed in later chapters.

A more recent instance of redevelopment in Butetown has been within Loudoun Square, commencing in 2010. This incorporates new shops along the street-frontage of Bute Street, with 720 m<sup>2</sup> of accommodation space allocated above. The development will also include a new health centre, 44 one/two bedroom flats, and eight 2-3 storey housing units. The scheme is expected to take 4-5 years to complete, with a project budget of £15,000,000<sup>20</sup>.

16 Evans, C., et al, *Below the Bridge*, p. 59.

17 Tweedale, I., 1988. Waterfront Development, Economic Restructuring and Social Impact. In: Hoyle, B. S., ed. *Revitalizing the Waterfront: International Dimensions of Dockland Redevelopment*. Chichester: John Wiley & Sons. p.190.

18 *ibid.*, p. 68.

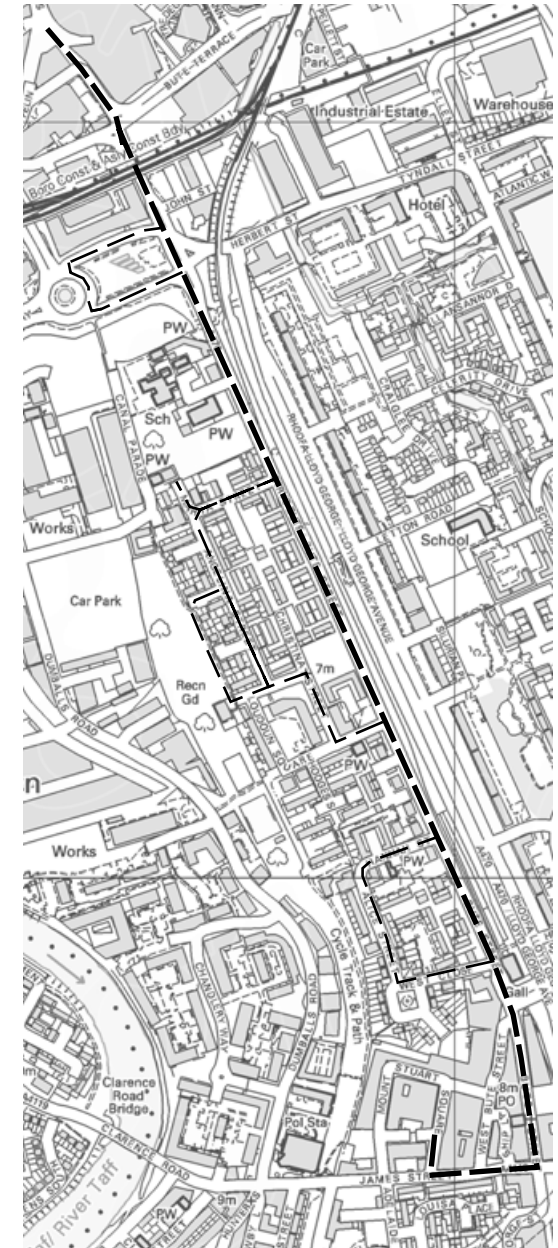
19 Jauhiainen, Waterfront Redevelopment and Urban Policy, p. 13.

20 White Young Green, 2007. *Loudoun Square Regeneration, Butetown: Feasibility Study: Summary of Final Report 23.11.2007*. Cardiff: Cardiff Community Housing Association. p.iv.

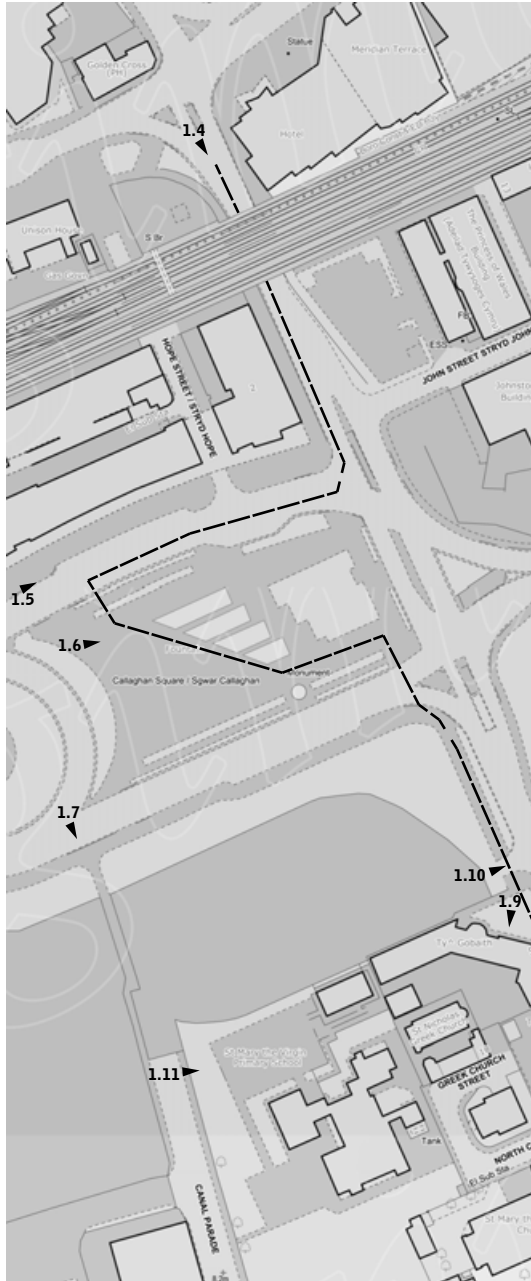


## 1.2 Route Taken Through Butetown

A historic overview of the Cardiff Docklands has been provided. In this section, a linear route is taken leading from Cardiff City Centre, to Cardiff Bay, via Bute Street; defining the Eastern boundary of the Tiger Bay community. Divergent routes will be taken through the neighbourhood. The work of local photographer, John Briggs will be utilized in comparing important scenes, and how they have changed over a period of 40 years, ranging from his first series of Photographs documenting Cardiff life; *Before the Deluge*, [1974-1979], to his second series *Taken in Time* [1998-2005], alongside my own photographs, taken in December 2011. Present-day OS Mapping of Butetown, alongside a collection of historic maps [1880, 1901, 1920, 1941]; a time-frame encompassing the rise of coal exporting industry in Cardiff, through to it's gradual decline and eventual obsolescence, will be used to study block morphology.



1.3 Route taken through Butetown



1.4 'The town end of Bute Street in 1974/75'.  
Same Scene [2011].



1.6 Callaghan Square, facing West [2011].



1.7 'Man walking towards Tiger Bay, East Wharf' [1970s]



1.5 'Crichton Street from East Wharf' [1970s].



1.11 Greek Orthodox Church [2011].

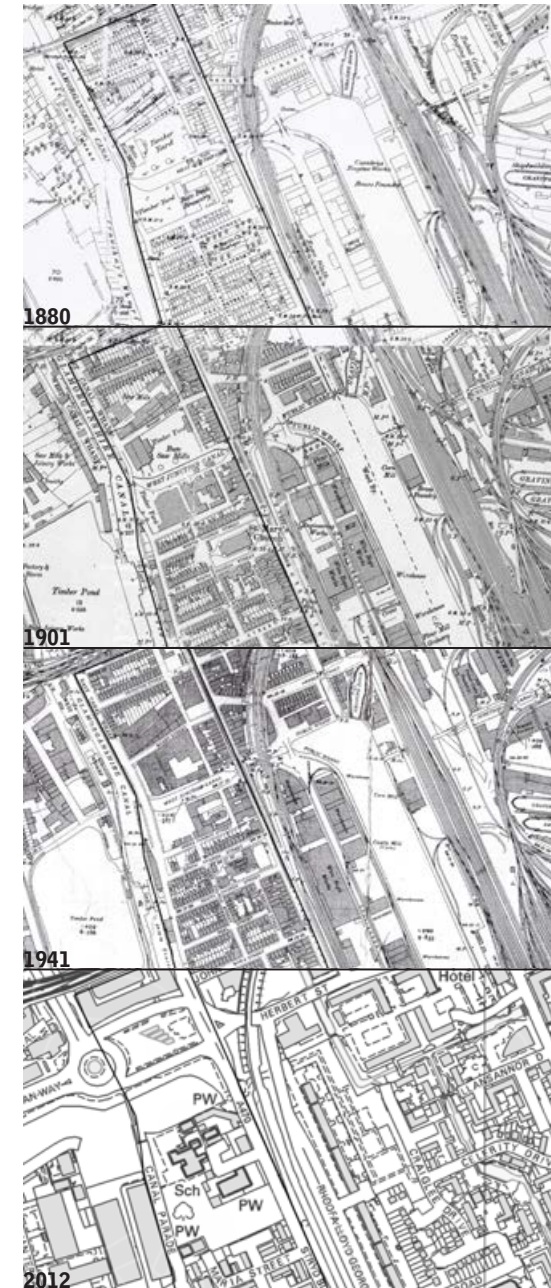
Starting where the railway bridge crosses Bute Street, this location marks a threshold between the city centre, and the beginnings of North Butetown. Just North of this location is the new retail development of St David's Centre in The Hayes. Between the dates of the two photographs [1.4] there has been a total transformation of this scene, the only structure still remaining being the railway bridge itself.

The Callaghan Square development, completed in 1999, introduced 90,000 m<sup>2</sup> of Office infrastructure to a location historically defined by Crichton Place, and Crichton Street, both of which are no longer in existence [1.5], [1.8]. East Canal Wharf, and the Glamorganshire Canal marked the Western perimeter of this block, the canal to eventually be filled in, and commercial developments to be constructed in it's place [1.6]. The route shown, leading to Loudoun Sq, is no longer in existence [1.7], in its place Canal Parade, leading to the Recreation Ground.

The Crown and Custom House pubs located at the junction of Crichton Street and Bute Street were both integral in establishing Tiger Bay's notorious reputation, the Red Light District being within the confines of the block<sup>1</sup>. Both were also the last two structures to survive prior to the Callaghan Square development. There was a subsequent influx of Greek-Cypriot workers into the community, who remained concentrated within Crichton Place/Crichton Street<sup>2</sup>. In 1906 the Greek Orthodox Church was founded [1.11], the residential block morphology largely remains the same between the dates of 1880-1941 [1.8], although all of this terraced housing would be demolished as part of the slum clearance programme of the early 1960s.

1 Briggs, J., Interviewed by: Toon, J., 21<sup>st</sup> December 2011.

2 Briggs, J., 2002. *Before the Deluge: Photographs of Cardiff's Docklands Communities in the Seventies*. Bridgend: Seren p. 154.



1.8 Block Morphology [Callaghan Sq].



At the top of Bute Street, and immediately after Callaghan square, approaching from the North, is St. Mary's Church, established in 1843. In [1.9], the premises of 240 Bute Street can be seen, originally owned by 'Spillers & Bakers' grain merchants. This structure which dates back to the 1880s was to be utilized by the Salvation Army as a hostel<sup>3</sup>. Demolished in the 1970s, the Ty Gobaith centre was built in it's place, a continuation of the Salvation Army's hostel services, alongside a rehabilitative facility [1.9]. The Junction Canal marks a historic connection between the Bute West Dock and the Glamorganshire Canal. On closure of the docks in 1964, the canal was filled-in, subsequently leaving this portion of land to decay over the next 10 years [1.10]. This viewpoint, facing East, shows the Edward England Potato Warehouse dating back to 1842; one of the few historic buildings remaining along Lloyd George Avenue. The Junction Canal now forms one of two pedestrian underpasses between Bute Street, and Lloyd G. Av. [1.10].

Prior to the slum clearance programme, the North end of Bute street constituted of commercial street-frontage; in [1.12] this specific section photographed contains a café, youth club, barbers, ironmongers, betting shop, and social club<sup>4</sup>. The proportion Bute Street prior to Hemingway Road, is fronted by low-rise housing, set-back from the pavement by an internal front-court to each house [1.12].

3 Briggs, J., 2005. *Taken in Time: Photographs of Cardiff's Docklands Communities at the Turn of the Millennium*. Bridgend: Seren. p. 130.

4 Briggs, *Taken in Time*, p. 156.



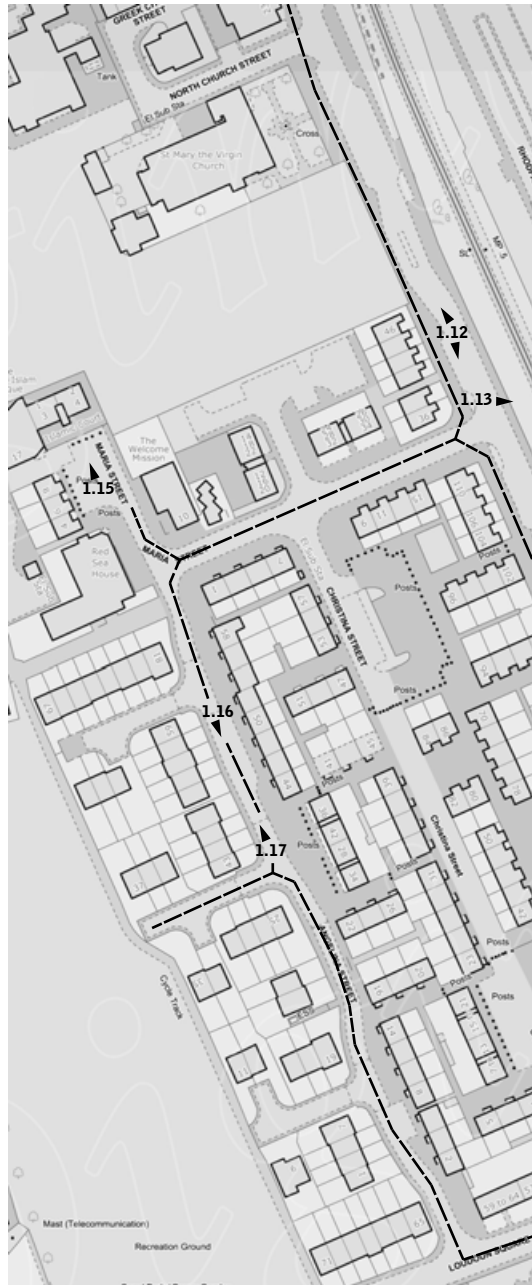
1.9 'Old Gent at the Salvation Army Hostel, 240 Bute Street' [1970s].



'Ty Gobaith/Hope House Salvation Army Centre, Bute Street' [2000s].



1.10 'Course of West Junction Canal, looking East' [1970s].  
Same Scene [2011].



**1.12** 'Buildings in Bute Street, west side, near Bute Bridge' [1970s]  
Bute Street, adjacent to the wall, facing South [2011].



**1.13** 'Man walking along Bute Street' [1970s].  
Embankment wall [2011].



**1.15** 'Nur Ul Islam Mosque, Peel Street' [1970s].

Further South down Bute Street, at the Maria Street Junction, a comparison can be made [1.13]; the rhythmic forms of industrial structures are replaced by housing built as part of the Lloyd George Avenue development. The rail embankment wall obscures views to the East. The visual stand-off apparent between the community and new housing developments the other side of the railway line have lead to the embankment being dubbed 'The Berlin Wall' by residents of Butetown and the wider city<sup>5</sup>.

The terraced housing of North Church Street, South Church Street, and Peel Street which defined the perimeter of St Mary's Church, as evident on the 1941 Map [1.8]; was demolished in the slum clearance programme. The Noor Ul Islam Mosque is located at the West-end of Peel Street, once in direct connection with terraced housing<sup>6</sup>, prior to it's isolated state in [1.15]. The Mosque was one of the first to be established in the UK, and was later rebuilt entirely as the brick building which stands today. The original site of Peel Street is now vacant between St. Mary's and Maria Street, the Mosque, remains in it's historic location [1.8]. Maria Street itself was defined by being home to the first Arab community in Butetown; an ethnic group initially localised to one street<sup>7</sup>.

Heading Southwards, Maria Street merges into Angelina Street, leading directly to the centre of Loudoun Square. The four-storey Maisonette housing which runs the Western length of Angelina Street, built as part of the Phase I redevelopment of Butetown, proved to be problematic, and issues of maintenance lead to a critical reaction from the community<sup>8</sup>. A survey appraising the housing conditions in Butetown established issues inherent to the Maisonette's design; inadequate under-floor heating meant that residents either had to supplement this system with electric fires, or were simply left with unheated homes, resulting in either unmanageable utility bills which the Department of Health and Social Security [DHSS] refused to aid, or damp problems which brought about gradual structural decay<sup>9</sup>. Photographed just prior to their demolition [1.16], the City Council replaced these structures with the terraced housing shown in [1.17]. As part of this redevelopment scheme in 2003, Red Sea House was also constructed, a housing development for elderly Somalian ex-seamen. Before the recent regeneration in Loudoun Square, this, [alongside the later to be discussed Steffani Court], were the only two examples of substantial redevelopment within Butetown since the 1960s.

5 Briggs, J., Interviewed by: Toon, J., 21<sup>st</sup> December 2011.

6 Briggs, *Before the Deluge*, p. 157.

7 Evans, C., et al, 1984. *Below the Bridge: A Photographic Historical Survey of Cardiff's Docklands to 1983*. Cardiff: National Museum of Wales. p. 49.

8 Briggs, *Taken in Time*, p. 131.

9 Llandaff College of Education, 1973. *Project carried out in Butetown, Cardiff to determine the differential perceptions of need in the area, March 1973*. Llandaff College of Education. p. 15.



1.16 'Angelina Street before renovation' [2000s].



1.17 Angelina Street, facing North [2011].





**1.18 'Ladies in Loudoun Square' [2000s].**  
**Scaffolding, Shopping Precinct at N. Loudoun Place [2011]**  
**Old shop premises, N. Loudoun Place [2011].**



**1.19 Loudoun Square [2011].**



**1.20 Redevelopment at S. Loudoun Place [2011].**

Post-1960, almost all commercial and service amenities were confined to the new shopping precinct in Loudoun Square [1.18]. As can be seen in [1.19], the residential density of Loudoun Square, as block perimeters, all facing onto the central Garden, has been redistributed into the high-rise development built within the centre. In a survey conducted by the South Glamorgan Council for Racial Equality, carried out in the years preceding the formation of the CBDC, it was ascertained that the recession had hit Butetown and its commercial infrastructure particularly hard; 20.5% of Butetown was unemployed in the Summer of 1981, a third above the average rate of Cardiff; the area immediately surrounding Loudoun Square being the worst affected, with one-in-two households containing an unemployed tenant<sup>10</sup>. A study into the Ethnic-Minority unemployed population of Butetown revealed that the break-down of this demographic was typified by workers who had previously worked in the Transport Industries, Distributive Trades, and Construction/Engineering Industries, all of which had evidently been affected by the recession of the day<sup>11</sup>, and which also typified the Industrial land-use along Collingdon Road, and in the area West of the historic Glamorganshire Canal and Dumballs Road.

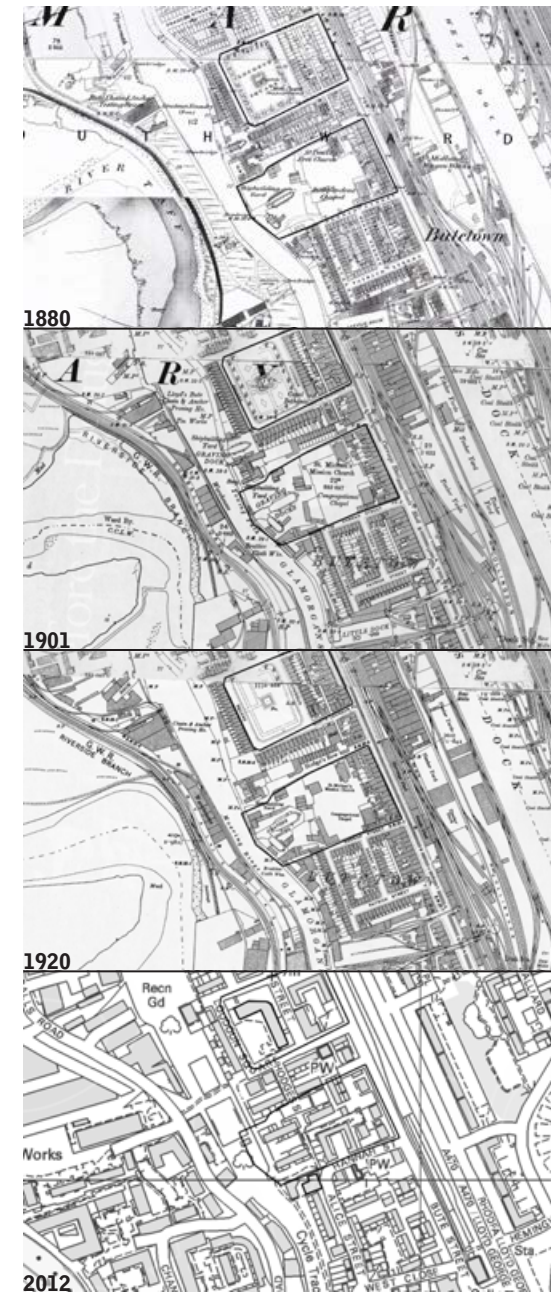
The uncertain prospects of introducing serviceable business into Butetown has been a long-running issue. With the new redevelopment of Loudoun Square [1.20], public consultation was used as a means by which to gauge the community's needs. 80% saw the need for new shopping facilities, alongside a more adequate Health Centre; the need for housing above ground-floor level shops with direct street-frontage to Bute Street was also advocated by many, alongside provision of more green space in the area, and stricter parking controls along Bute Street<sup>12</sup>.

Just North of Loudoun Square, along Christina Street, are examples of the Low-Rise Housing Developments, as part of Phase III of redevelopment in Butetown. The City Council had re-appraised their housing strategy, to try and incorporate buildings more sensitive to issues of safety, ownership and defensible space [1.21].

10 Jenkins, G., 1982. *Unemployment in a multi-racial community: a survey of the unemployed in the inner city area of Butetown, Cardiff*. Cardiff: South Glamorgan Council for Racial Equality. p. 29.

11 *ibid.*, p. 34

12 Boyle, T., 2008. *Loudoun Square: Statement of Community Consultation*. Cardiff: Cardiff Council – Neighbourhood Regeneration. p. 4.



1.19 Block Morphology [Loudoun Square].



As evident in [1.19], in 1880 the plot of land immediately South of S. Loudoun Place was used as a shipbuilding yard with graving dock. By 1941 this area is disused, and would later be the site for the Hodges Square Maisonette Housing development. Sandwiched between the West Yard and aforementioned Graving Dock is a residential block defined by Alice Street to the West. The second of Butetown's two Mosques is located at 1 Alice Street; the Masjid-e-Zawiyah Mosque [1.23], constructed in 1980. It predominantly serves the Yemeni denomination of the Islamic Faith, a community established within these streets<sup>13</sup>. Adjacent to the Mosque is the Cardiff Community Housing Association's Steffani Court development, mainly inhabited by elderly Yemeni residents [1.24]. These 28 dwellings consist of flats and houses 3-storeys in height, surrounding a central courtyard, an influence and notable arrangement of Yemeni architecture<sup>14</sup>. These were built in place of deficient Maisonette housing.



1.21 Housing, Christina Street [2011].



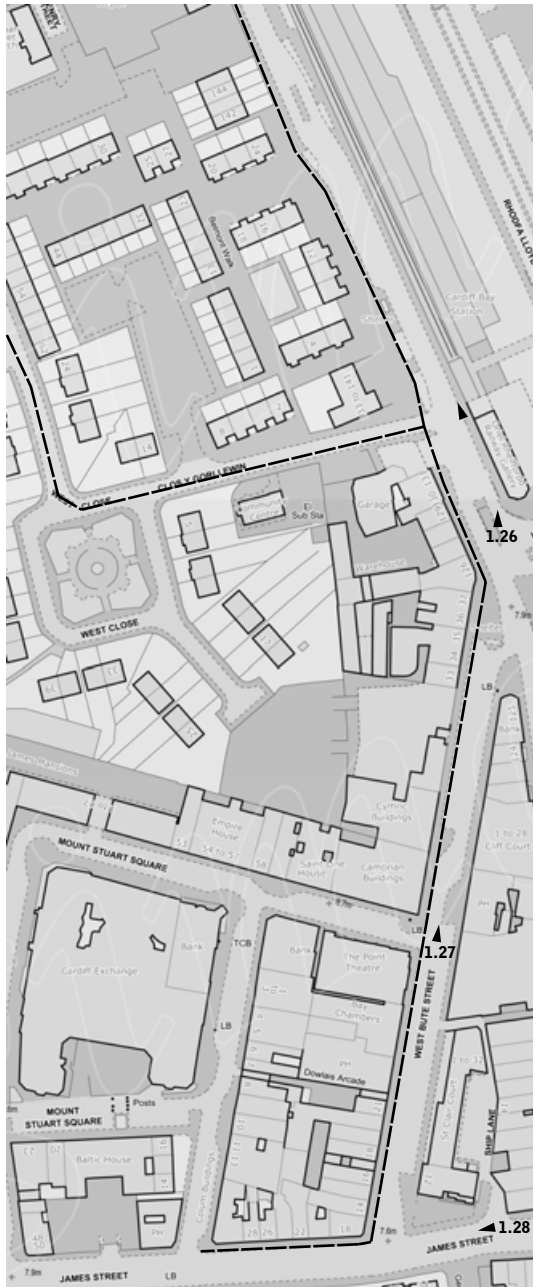
1.23 Masjid-e-Zawiyah Mosque, Alice Street [2011].



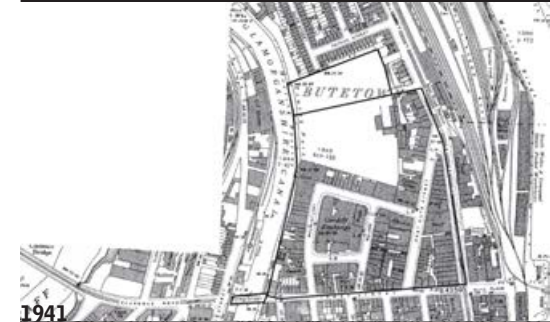
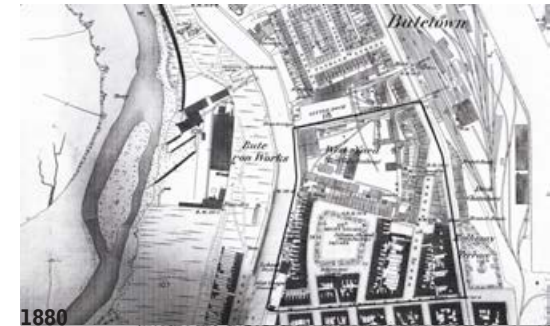
1.24 Steffani Court, Alice Street [2011].

13 Briggs, *Taken in Time*, p. 131.

14 Design Commission for Wales, 2004. Case Studies: Steffani Court. Available from: [http://dcfw.org/casestudies/view/steffani\\_court](http://dcfw.org/casestudies/view/steffani_court) [Accessed 29<sup>th</sup> March 2012].



1.26 Bute Street embankment wall; Cardiff Bay Train Station [2011]



1.25 Block Morphology [Mount Stuart Square].

South of the point at which Bute Street forks to form the secondary West Bute Street, the block morphology remains largely unchanged [1.25]. Mount Stuart Square itself being largely preserved, the Coal Exchange now functioning as a concert venue. The effectively-vacant Cardiff Bay Railway Station is a Grade II listed building, dating back to 1840 [1.26]. A secondary station at Clarence Road, parallel to Dumballs Road is evident as far back as 1920, both stations carried passenger and freight, serving both the East and West Bute Dock during the active life of the docks<sup>15</sup>.

Passing the Butetown History & Arts Centre along Bute Street [1.27]; an important cultural repository for the communal history of the Tiger Bay community, we eventually meet the junction of Bute Street, Bute Place, and James St, forming a prominent entrance to Mount Stuart Square. This is framed by two institutions built upon the prosperity of the area; the former Butetown Post Office building, and Midland Bank [1.28], in which the famed £1,000,000 cheque was presented.

Notably, the Southern end-point of Bute Street was the former home of the Welsh Industrial & Maritime Museum, originally a sub-branch of the National Museum in the city centre. Constructed in 1977, the museum subsequently closed in 1998, and was demolished in lieu of the Mermaid Quay development, most of the museum pieces being moved to the National Waterfront Museum in Swansea<sup>16</sup>.



1.27 Butetown History & Arts Centre, Bute Street [2011].



1.28 'Former Butetown Post Office and Midland Bank' [2000s].

<sup>15</sup> Briggs, J., Interviewed by: Toon, J., 21<sup>st</sup> December 2011.

<sup>16</sup> National Museum Wales, 2010. *Industry: A History of the Department*. Available from: <http://www.museumwales.ac.uk/en/199/> [Accessed 29<sup>th</sup> March 2012].



## 2.1 Overview of the Cardiff Bay Development Corporation

The Cardiff Bay Development Corporation was an Urban Development Corporation [UDC] active between April 1987 and 31<sup>st</sup> March 2000<sup>1</sup>. It administered the large-scale regeneration of the disused docklands area of Cardiff. Historical and political context is necessary in understanding the transformation in attitudes towards urban planning on the part of the UK Government, which made possible the kind of extensive inner-city redevelopment carried out under CBDC, alongside 13 other corporations set-up throughout the UK<sup>2</sup>.

During the 1970s, Planning attitudes within the UK were described by Urbanist Peter Hall to have “turned from regulating urban growth, to encouraging it by any and every possible means<sup>3</sup>”. The Inner Urban Areas Act of 1978 was introduced by James Callaghan's Labour government, as a catalyst in re-directing the focus of future development away from New Towns, towards inner-city regeneration, and the utilisation of industrial wasteland<sup>4</sup>.

The superseding Conservative government designated 'Enterprise Zones' as part of new urban policy in Margaret Thatcher's 1979 budget; locations deemed suitable for redevelopment within the confines of city limits, free from the normal planning restrictions of the day, as incentives for accelerated redevelopment. These sites included Clydebank, Swansea, Belfast, Corby and Dudley<sup>5</sup>. Subsequently, the Urban Development Corporation concept was born, as part of the Local Government Planning & Land Act of 1980; based upon an urban concept originating from Clement Atlee's 1945 Labour cabinet<sup>6</sup>. The first two to be established were the London Docklands, and Merseyside, both in 1981.

The allocated locations were typified by obsolete industrial land-use, and close proximity to their respective city centres.

UDC urban policy was a construct by which Local Authorities had limited influence upon the proceeding work. Hefty government grants were also written into the legislation, in encouraging an individualist, and entrepreneurial stance towards urban redevelopment, and in facilitating wide-scale regeneration within a relatively small time-frame<sup>7</sup>.



2.0 Regeneration of Cardiff Bay, w. Butetown highlighted  
[Dark Red: CBDC / Light Red: SGCC w. Tarmac plc].

1 Bourn, J., 2001. *Securing the Future of Cardiff Bay: Report by the National Audit Office on behalf of the Author General for Wales*. Cardiff: National Audit Office Wales. p. 1.

2 *ibid.*, p. 3.

3 Hall, P., 1988. *Cities of Tomorrow: An Intellectual History of Urban Planning and Design in the Twentieth Century*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell. p. 343.

4 *ibid* p., 347.

5 Hall, P., 2002. *Urban and Regional Planning*. 4<sup>th</sup> ed. London: Routledge. p. 133.

6 *ibid* p., 134.

7 Madgin, M., 2009. *Heritage, Culture and Conservation: Managing the Urban Renaissance*. Milton Keynes: VDM Verlag p. 56.

The economic revival of Baltimore's Inner Harbour, alongside the Boston Quincy Waterfront Regeneration scheme have both been cited as influential in forming UDC policy in the United Kingdom. In the case of the first phase of redevelopment in Cardiff docklands, prior to CBDC; The Atlantic Wharf, located on former industrial land immediately West of the disused Bute East Dock; it's mixture of housing, retail, leisure facilities and a relocated civic landmark, largely corresponded to the aforementioned schemes<sup>8</sup>. CBDC redevelopment would encompass the entire inner harbour area of the Cardiff Docklands, alongside instating a new transport link between the city and 'The Bay' in the form of Lloyd George Avenue, office infrastructure in the form of Callaghan Square, as well as the grounds for landmark structures such as Rogers Stirk Harbour + Partners' National Assembly for Wales, and civil engineering projects such as the Cardiff Bay Barrage Project.

<sup>8</sup> Tweedale, I., 1988. Waterfront Development, Economic Restructuring and Social Impact. *In*: Hoyle, B. S., ed. *Revitalizing the Waterfront: International Dimensions of Dockland Redevelopment*. Chichester: John Wiley & Sons. p. 191

## 2.2 Lloyd George Avenue [Intrinsic Case Study]

*“A formal Mall of symbolic proportions and length runs from the Inner Harbour and Roath Basin, past Pierhead, to the city centre. The revitalization of Butetown is planned in harness with the retention and improvement of the housing, industrial, and landscape along the Taff, Dumballs Road, Canal Park and Bute Street<sup>1</sup>”*

The above quote, featured within early promotional material of the Cardiff Bay Development Corporation [CBDC], is indicative of the bold statement of intent the UDC were proffering in their 'Core' Development Strategy, stretching between the City Centre and Inner Harbour. Built upon the site of Collingdon Road, 'The Mall' was devised with the intention of improving accessibility for pedestrians between the waterfront and the city [2.1]. It also set out to remove, or drastically alter the problematic Bute Railway embankment wall, optioning a LRT – Light Rapid Transit System in it's place<sup>2</sup>. The present day realities of the scheme prove to be far removed from these aspirations; a dual-carriageway demarcates a physical boundary between Butetown [the “revitalization” of which, was subsequently absent from future development], and a row of new housing-units sit along the Eastern perimeter of the highway. The railway line is still in place, and in use [2.2]. Callaghan Square sits at the North end of the Avenue.

A Turnaround in urban procedure is evident in this scheme; in it's gradual transformation from a bold processional public route, into a less-refined exercise in highway engineering. The terminology used can be re-appropriated in a disconcerting light; the “symbolic proportions” of the completed scheme, now heightening a division between an existing community, and a new demographic desired by the city<sup>3</sup>. Butetown is still obscured below, and behind the embankment wall [2.2]; interpreted, as a “a dramatic physical expression of a deeply-felt social apartheid<sup>4</sup>”. In this section, it will be established exactly how and why the primary intentions for the avenue are now absent from the scheme.

1 Cardiff Bay Development Corporation, 1988., *Cardiff Bay Regeneration Strategy*. [Promotional Poster]

2 Bourn, J., 2002. *Continuing the Regeneration of Cardiff Bay Report by Auditor General for Wales, presented to the National Assembly on 9 May 2002*. Cardiff: National Audit Office Wales. p. 21.

3 Minton, A., 2009. *Ground Control: Fear and Happiness in the Twenty-First Century City*. London: Penguin. p. 26.

4 Punter, J., 2007. Cardiff Bay: An Exemplar of Design-Led Regeneration? In: Hooper, A., Punter, J., ed. *Capital Cardiff 1975-2020: Regeneration, Competitiveness and the Urban Environment*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 149-179. p. 164.



2.1 'The Core' CBDC Development

[‘The Mall’: highlighted in grey].



2.2 View South, West; Lloyd George Avenue [2011]

### 2.2.1 Transport Systems in Cardiff & The Buchanan Report

Primarily, Lloyd George Avenue is a Highway Engineering Project, and it would be prescient to discuss the scheme in light of the changing attitudes towards transport systems, that were gaining momentum in the preceding era in the UK. Colin Buchanan & Partners' *Traffic in Towns* report of 1963, was highly influential upon UK transport planning policy of the late 20<sup>th</sup> century; one of its principle arguments was for a hierarchical traffic system for the city. This constituted of, fundamentally, two types of roads; Distributor Roads or 'Main Arteries', whose main priority was efficient vehicular flow, alongside Access Roads, typical of lighter transit for the service of buildings<sup>1</sup>. Ensuing this report was a Transport Study for the City of Cardiff, published by C. Buchanan & Partners in the Spring of 1968.

The *Draft Land Use Plan for the year 2001* section of the report aims to illustrate an overall highway strategy which allows for the future expansion of Cardiff. [2.3], [2.4] shows the transformation of the Primary Network from a radial or 'fan' arrangement, as pre-existing in 1968, towards a grid, enabling further expansion of the city to the North<sup>2</sup>. As "enlarged highways", it is acknowledged that there will be inevitable difficulties in implementing "major physical features into the standing fabric of the city"<sup>3</sup>. Notably, Buchanan makes provision for a 'Southern Primary', in amalgamation with a North-to-South route; the intention is to improve accessibility between the city centre and the docks<sup>4</sup>. Buchanan and his team predict a 130% rise in private car-use within the city by 2001, and a modal-split between private-car commuters and public transport as 80% / 20%, respectively. The analysis amounts to the conclusion that prospects of economically maintaining public transport systems are not particularly reassuring<sup>5</sup>, and that the best strategy is to invest in a highway system sufficient for private car and public bus<sup>6</sup>. The lack of optimism in this field, was criticised by some as counter-active towards hopes of improving future systems<sup>7</sup>.

Alongside the suggestion of a Primary 'Southern Route' serving a North-South 'Main Artery' between city and docks; the second of which is directly comparable to Lloyd George Avenue, the Buchanan Report [1968] proved also to be influential upon future Land-Use patterns in the docklands. In the report, a plot of industrial land is re-categorized for residential

1 Carmona, M., et al, 2010. *Public Places Urban Spaces: The Dimensions of Urban Design*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. London: Architectural Press. p. 89.

2 Buchanan, Colin., 1968. *Cardiff – Development and Transportation Study: Report of the Main Study, April 1968*. Colin Buchanan & Partners. p. 121.

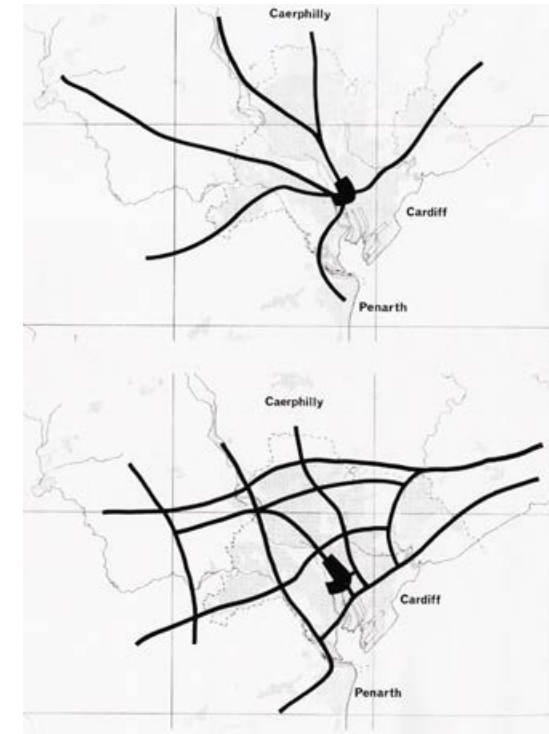
3 *ibid.*, p. 11.

4 *ibid.*, p. 129.

5 *ibid.*, p. 126.

6 *ibid.*, p. 123.

7 Owen, D., 1968. Welsh Capital 2001: A Review of the Buchanan Main Study Report. *Architecture Wales*, 15 (Nov/Dec), 5-14. p. 9.



2.3 Figure 26: Buchanan Report [1968]

Re-arrangement of Primary Routes



2.4 Figure 27: Draft Land Use 2001, Buchanan Report [1968]

Butetown highlighted in red / adjacent land allocated for residential.

development [2.5]. A review of Buchanan's publication in *Architecture Wales* perceives this move to be indicative of the first attempts to dismantle the Port Authority and associated industries, in pursuit of a "White-Collar" city; in the reclamation of 200 acres of land targeted for non-industrial development; deemed necessary by the Port Authority for future reorganisation, and survival of shipping industry in the city<sup>8</sup>.

By the time of the CBDC's inauguration, an emphasis is placed upon the "development of a hierarchical road system to serve the traffic demands arising from the regeneration of The Bay area"<sup>9</sup>. The North-to-South Distributor is consequently envisaged by the corporation as 'The Mall'<sup>10</sup>. This is identified as a measure by which to relieve pressure on Butetown Street as a main thoroughfare, serving both higher traffic demands, and pedestrian accessibility [2.6]. In its completed form, Lloyd George Avenue forms the Southern-most portion of the A470, a long distance road stretching from Cardiff to Llandudno, the first 26 miles of which is dual carriageway. The 'Southern-Primary' could be seen as the A4232, or Peripheral Distributor Road; A major engineering project, completed in 1995, which incorporated the excavation of 400,000m<sup>3</sup> of material to create the Butetown Link Road, a 2.7km long tunnel underneath South Butetown<sup>11</sup>.

Alongside the industrial Dumballs Road area, Butetown is tentatively discussed in the report. Although not being subject to the same scale of regeneration planned for the Inner Harbour, the community is still in need of "appropriate infrastructure provision, environmental improvements and developments"<sup>12</sup>. It is established that the existing housing stock in Butetown is under considerable stress; there are demands by residents to transfer between pre-existing social housing, alongside a significant number of ex-residents, dislocated as a consequence of the slum clearance programme, with familial ties to the community, wishing to make a return. The waiting list for 2-bed units at the time of the report's publication [1989] is 30 parties, the wait for 3-bed's being 29<sup>13</sup>. This observation is of significance, when discussing the housing stock introduced in the Lloyd George Avenue and Atlantic Wharf schemes. The need to improve the shop-front appearance of amenities in Loudoun Square is also noted.<sup>14</sup>.

8 Owen, Welsh Capital 2001, p. 14.

9 Cardiff City Council, 1989. *Dumballs Road/Butetown Area: Draft Final Report*, November 1989. Cardiff: Cardiff City Council. p. 3.

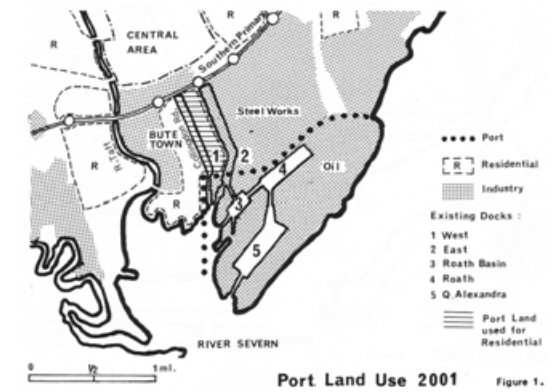
10 *ibid.*, p. 13.

11 South Wales, Echo, 1995. Butetown Link Supplement: Cardiff on the Move, Part 8. *South Wales Echo*, 23<sup>rd</sup> March.

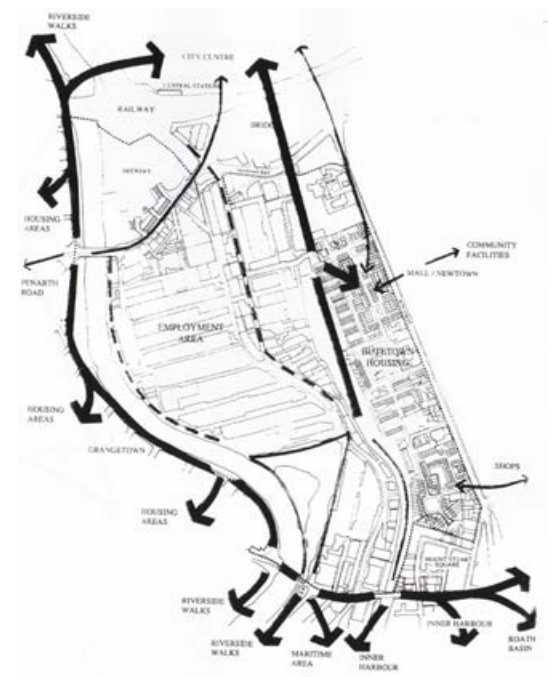
12 Cardiff City Council, *Dumballs Road/Butetown Area: Draft Final Report*, p. 2.

13 *ibid.*, p. 31.

14 *ibid.*, p. 48.



2.5 Figure 1: Port Land Use 2001, *Welsh Capital 2001*.



2.6 'Future Pedestrian Activity'  
Dumballs Road/Butetown Area Planning Brief [1989].



### **2.2.2 Bute Avenue**

This phase of the project begins with CBDC's direct involvement in 1987, in assembling a design-team to advance 'The Mall'; this culminates with the apparent dissolution of the 'Bute Avenue' incarnation of the scheme in the late-1990s. The designing of the Avenue was first appointed solely to Arup [who would remain involved with the project under an engineering capacity]; subsequently MBM Architects of Barcelona were appointed to work in collaboration with a team of artists, alongside CBDC architects.

The majority of the following sub-section will be derived from correspondence with members of that design team. An interview took place with Jane Kelly, a visual artist based on the West Coast of Scotland, who, similarly to her collaborators on the scheme; Jack Mackie and David Patten, was appointed to the Bute Avenue project by CBDC on account of her past experience working in multi-disciplinary teams; alongside architects, landscape architects, and engineers. Email correspondence was also carried out with David Patten and Jack Mackie.

In conjunction with the perspective of the artist-design team, Ian Layzell, a CBDC member of the Bute Avenue Design-Team who had direct involvement, up to it's construction in 2000, and who also carried out a Design Manager role within the corporation, was interviewed. Layzell, who prior to CBDC had a role within the London Docklands Development Corporation, is now the Director of the 'Integrate Wales' Housing consortia, which encompasses the Cardiff Community Housing Association [CCHA].

Approximately the first four years of CBDC's active lifespan, were defined by preparatory work, in obtaining the necessary parcels of land for development, across the designated site of the Bay; spreading from Penarth Haven in the West, out to Tremorfa in the East<sup>1</sup>. This period culminated in the publication of *Policies for Urban Quality* [1990] by the CBDC, as a guideline by which to carry-out future development work. Emphasis was placed upon ensuring the “coherence of block”, understanding the context of historic building materials in South Cardiff, and establishing a dialogue between building frontage and street<sup>2</sup>. Ian Layzell joined CBDC in 1992, in the role of Design Manager in the Environment Department of the corporation; this involved overseeing commissions for the Bay; the department, not so much a planning authority, had procedural responsibilities in carrying out environmental developments; “to sort of examine, vet, and comment on all the schemes that came through<sup>3</sup>”.

With 'The Mall' being recognised as the key route between the City and the Bay, a team was assembled in managing what was to become 'Bute Avenue'; in which I. Layzell partly administered, in a CBDC managerial role, a team of architects, engineers, and artists, alongside financial advisers. A design brief for the avenue was composed, and a competition held in assigning a master-planner for the scheme; which MBM Architects subsequently won.

As part of CBDC's remit for regeneration, a proportion of public art was to be incorporated into future work; the Cardiff Bay Arts Trust, an independent charitable company established by Sally Medlyn, tasked in commissioning this remit, approached Jane Kelly and David Patten in the Autumn of 1993. Patten and Kelly had worked together on several occasions prior to this appointment; notably, both were involved with the redevelopment of the Square Master-plan of Sheffield Hallam University. Kelly had also been involved with smaller redevelopment projects within Cardiff, including working with landscape architects Camlin Lonsdale on Cardiff Central Station<sup>4</sup>.

Kelly and Patten went on to invite Jack Mackie to collaborate on the scheme; Mackie has extensive experience in the integration of public art into transport network structures, in various redevelopment schemes in the USA. As the final element of the design team to be put in place, with MBM already having commenced preliminary work on the scheme, Kelly, Patten & Mackie were established as a working-unit, encompassing various areas of specialism within the assimilation of

1 Layzell, I., Interviewed by: Toon, J., 12<sup>th</sup> April 2012.

2 Punter, J., 2007. Cardiff Bay: An Exemplar of Design-Led Regeneration? In: Hooper, A., Punter, J., ed. *Capital Cardiff 2975-2020: Regeneration, Competitiveness and the Urban Environment*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 149-179. p. 164. p. 156.

3 Layzell, I., Interviewed by: Toon, J., 12<sup>th</sup> April 2012.

4 Kelly, J., Interviewed by: Toon, J., 3<sup>rd</sup> April 2012.

public art and urban design<sup>5</sup>. A Statement of Intent was written in October '93, as an initial, joint response to the brief. The artists would seek design solutions “supportive of the local economy”, which were sustainable, in that the complete urban form “does not result in the exploitation or destruction of other communities, economies or landscapes”, and which also sought to address the “historic, civil and social matrix of the city”<sup>6</sup>. Kelly, Patten & Mackie also took the initiative to converse with the Tiger Bay community early-on into site investigation<sup>7</sup>.

Anticipating Bute Avenue as a transport link between two destination points; a Civic Square, yet to be developed, and the Inner Harbour; CBDC began looking into suitable sites in earmarking this route. The site of the filled-in Glamorganshire Canal was seen as a possibility, yet “that didn't give the potential for landscaping and development along the side of it<sup>8</sup>”; on this basis, Collingdon Road was selected, a road in direct proximity to the Bute Street embankment. A major initial cost for the project was CPO [Compulsory Purchase Order] related, in assembling this extensive swathe of land for development<sup>9</sup>.

Although, primarily a North-South transport link, cross-connections between Butetown and land for future development, East of the Avenue, was identified by CBDC, as a priority, alongside the demolition of the embankment wall; “it was always envisaged that it was going to have some East-to-West linkages, because that [the wall] was identified early on as a problem<sup>10</sup>”. Stage I proposals for the scheme, incorporated a sloped strip of parkland, as an incline connecting Bute Street and the Avenue, accommodating for the difference in height [2.7], this was also to incorporate a LRT-system, in place of the demolished embankment wall [2.7]. Through a process of community consultation, I. Layzell was involved in meeting with the Butetown residents, in ascertaining the kinds of activities, that would like to be seen in the model; live-planning workshops were carried out in the Butetown Community Centre, as well as St. Mary's Primary School, alongside a questionnaire, which was posted throughout the residential core of Butetown, with an approximately 50% response rate. This primary design phase was unceremoniously cut, when it became clear that the removal of the heavy rail-link along Collingdon Road was not viable. Due to the multi-layered nature of ownership, inherent to a privatised rail system; “it proved impossible to get all of these people to agree on moving the heavy rail<sup>11</sup>”. Alongside claiming ownership of the existing infrastructure, closing a railway line would have necessitated an Act of Parliament; it became clear the objective of removing

5 Kelly, J., Interviewed by: Toon, J., 3<sup>rd</sup> April 2012.

6 Kelly, J., Mackie, J., Patten, D., 1993. *Bute Avenue, Cardiff: Appointment of Lead Artist(s) to the Design Team: Statement*.

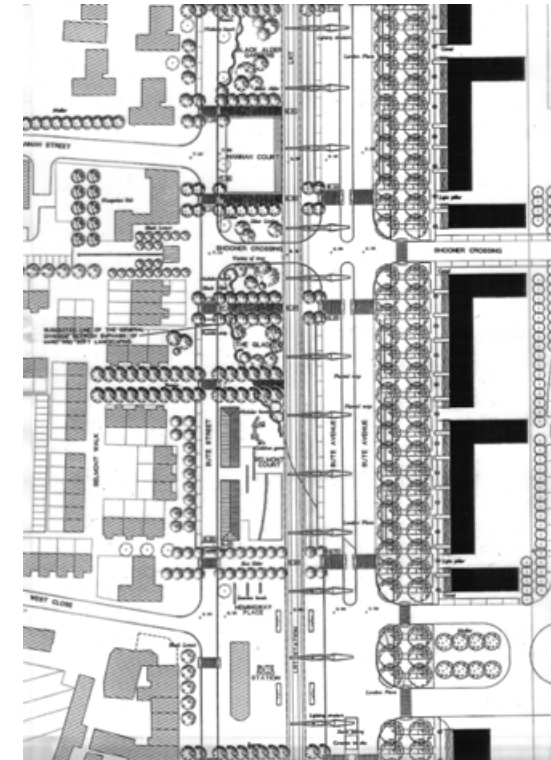
7 Kelly, J., Interviewed by: Toon, J., 3<sup>rd</sup> April 2012.

8 Layzell, I., Interviewed by: Toon, J., 12<sup>th</sup> April 2012.

9 *ibid*.

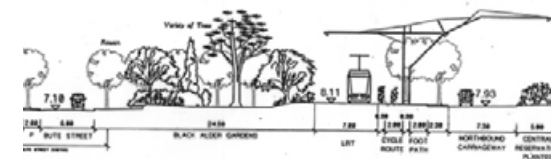
10 *ibid*.

11 *ibid*.



2.7 Bute Avenue, Plan Detail

MBM Architects [1994]



2.7 Cross Section through Avenue, Bute Street, w. LRT-System

MBM Architects [1994]

the wall was not feasible within CBDC's lifetime, and that subsequent designs would have to incorporate the existing structure.

MBM and Kelly, Patten & Mackie, began to develop schemes, separately, which looked to try and still implement cross-connections; as retaining the structural core of the wall was now a given. J. Kelly et al, began preparing proposals for the Avenue, which, through interrogating the brief, sought to treat Bute Avenue and Bute Square [now Callaghan Square] as one entity; enormous potential for the treatment of Bute Avenue as a single North-South route with prime destinations either end could be seen [2.8]; “contrasting the urban nature of the city square with the maritime, leisure-type culture, of the destination of the sea<sup>12</sup>”, both adequate, in hosting public gatherings, of differing potential. Jack Mackie states that; “we said the cross roads should be opened up, that the tram should be placed on light weight bridges, and the embankment cut back to afford broad openings<sup>13</sup>”. In presentation to the client, in January 1994, the team prepared a simple method by which to delineate a suitable number and proximity of cross channels across the Avenue; using the width of the crescent-arrangement of Bute Square as a “usable common measurement”, a 1:4 ratio is adopted to introduce three substantial pedestrian routes connecting new development on the East with Butetown<sup>14</sup>.

Several options were looked at by CBDC, in re-allocating sites for the LRT-system, and Linear Park scheme; the tram-line could be incorporated onto the existing track, or in a central reserve, between two single-carriageways, and the park, placed either centrally [in place of the LRT-system], on the East side, orientated towards the new development, or it's land-massing split between West and East locations<sup>15</sup>. Divergent approaches to the allocation of park space would be evident between the Artist Team, and the Architects, which will be discussed later. Kelly, Patten & Mackie travelled to MBM's office in Barcelona on several occasions through 1993-1994, to exchange views on the proposals each team had separately been developing, although a disparity of approaches, became apparent, in terms of the allocation of highway infrastructure into the scheme. Kelly, Patten & Mackie placed emphasis on the aspect of the brief which pushed for horizontal connections to be made; Jane Kelly states, “we were pushing for the East and the West to be drawn in, to have equal presence<sup>16</sup>”. Simultaneously, MBM were purportedly more preoccupied with the notion of rectilinear North-South movement, with the 'Rambla' promenade as

12 Kelly, J., Interviewed by: Toon, J., 3<sup>rd</sup> April 2012.

13 Kelly, J., Mackie, J., Patten, D., 2012. Email Thread 1<sup>st</sup> April

14 Kelly, J., Mackie, J., Patten, D., 1994. *Bute Avenue, Cardiff: This report represents a 'snapshot' summary of the artists' work as presented to the Client on 21<sup>st</sup> January 1994.* p. 1.

15 Ove Arup & Partners, 1994. *Cardiff Bay Development Corporation: Bute Avenue: Design Proposal, March 1994.* 47000/TL/EN.56. Cardiff: Ove Arup & Partners. p. 5.

16 *ibid.*



2.8 'City & the Sea, Analysis Drawing - 3'

Kelly, Patten & Mackie [1993-1994]

the archetype for the scheme, with fewer cross-connections. The micro-climate of the South Cardiff docklands proved to be a contentious issue. CBDC and the artists, were of the opinion that such a precedent was implausible for the locale Bute Avenue was to be placed within<sup>17</sup>.

Jane Kelly perceived David Mackay of MBM's proposal would induce a kind of 'Canyon' effect from North-to-South; with car-activity along the Avenue unregulated. The introduction of cross-routes, alongside an expansive Linear Garden was perceived as a measure by which to control this; "we had a slight hierarchy in the connections into the neighbouring communities and developments.. the rhythm of hurtling up and down that canyon was broken<sup>18</sup>". Central to Kelly, Patten & Mackie's scheme would be a condensed sequencing of gardens and allotments **[2.9]**; Jane Kelly describes the scheme as a "raft of community gardens.. all quite symmetrical.. it supplemented all sort of leisure activities.. all the things people would do on the 'Rambla', but in a much more organic way<sup>19</sup>". As a central reserve, the gardens can be reached within a 3-minute walk, whether approaching from Butetown, or from the East; it was envisaged as an impetus for social coalescence between the two communities. Notable also, is the team's treatment of the Avenue as a combination of three distinct roadways. The Eastern lane serves a practical function, in ease of access for residents to the new development, the Central incorporates predominantly, pedestrian activity, in the form of gardens, alongside a road which would place emphasis on the car-user's awareness of the pedestrian, and vice-versa; primarily "not to be designed in such a way that it was the territory of the car<sup>20</sup>". The Third-route, Bute Street, integrates new landscaping; creating a softer threshold between Butetown, and new construction the other side of the wall<sup>21</sup>.

17 Kelly, J., Interviewed by: Toon, J., 3<sup>rd</sup> April 2012.

18 *ibid.*

19 *ibid.*

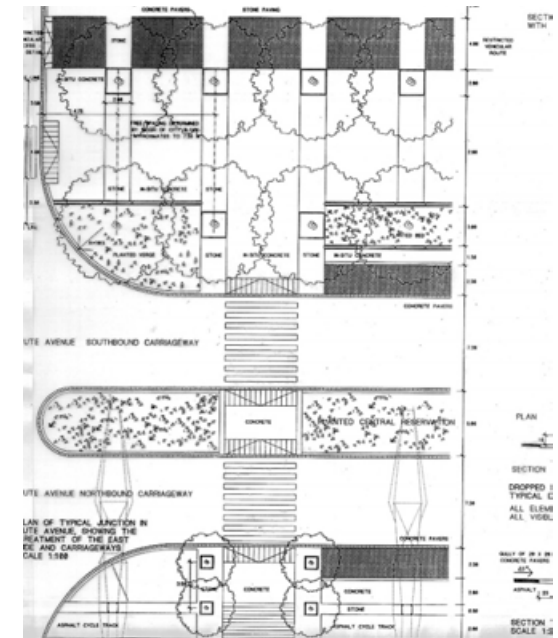
20 *ibid.*

21 Kelly, J., Mackie, J., Patten, D., 1994. *Bute Avenue, Cardiff: This report represents a 'snapshot' summary of the artists' work as presented to the Client on 21<sup>st</sup> January 1994.* p. 2.





The issue of highway-allocation across the breadth of the Avenue, became; “one of the conundrums of the whole scheme”<sup>22</sup>. MBM's initial designs allocated a single North-South carriageway, approximately 7 metres wide, as a forecast condition for car use; as, fundamentally, the project was conceived as a processional route, suitable for pedestrian activity; “it was never going to be a major route in terms of traffic, it was primarily, going to be a park with a tram-line on it”<sup>23</sup>. Subsequent MBM designs scaled-up the traffic element of the design, creating a split-carriageway with central reserve, as seen in [2.10], this was optioned so as to create a layout with more urban presence across the extensive width of the site<sup>24</sup>, rather than placing the emphasis on the private-car. It was recognised early-on into the design process, that the A4232 Central Link, running North-South, adjacent to Atlantic Wharf, would accommodate major traffic movement between the city and the docklands [2.11].



2.10 Bute Avenue Plan Detail [Carriageway]

MBM Architects [1995]



2.11 Identification of Routes

MBM Architects 1994

22 Layzell, I., Interviewed by: Toon, J., 12<sup>th</sup> April 2012.

23 ibid.

24 ibid.

Kelly, Patten & Mackie continued to develop a central allotment scheme, which extended bolder gestures, in terms of the overspill of public activity into Butetown, and specifically Loudoun Square; as can be seen in [2.12], in which the team have overlaid an elementary scheme over MBM's more rectilinear master-plan. Perhaps on account of what were perceived to be differing priorities for the usage of the Avenue, between the two design teams; alongside issues, on MBM's part, in collaborating with artists; "they were of the opinion they didn't need artists to come in and re-design their scheme<sup>25</sup>", this phase ended with what were purportedly, communication issues between MBM and Kelly, Patten & Mackie; Jane Kelly states that "our strong impression was that MBM, just did not want to include Tiger Bay.. it sounds like a contradiction really, because when they talked about a 'Rambla' type promenade, what they didn't mean was people from Tiger Bay promenading.. and the whole thing just ground to a halt<sup>26</sup>". Although it should be stated that it has not been possible in this report to pitch MBM's, and David Mackay's [as the Director of their respective, 'Bute Avenue' team] opinion on this matter. Despite this, successful elements from both parties are integrated into later design-work produced for the commission, although it is evident the allocation of land for the Linear Garden has been slightly curtailed in later proposals [2.13], [2.14].



2.12 'Landscape Proposal Overlay'

Kelly, Patten & Mackie [1993-1994]



2.13 'Proposal Model; Colours, Materials'

Kelly, Patten & Mackie [1993-1994]

25 Layzell, I., Interviewed by: Toon, J., 12<sup>th</sup> April 2012.

26 Kelly, J., Interviewed by: Toon, J., 3<sup>rd</sup> April 2012.

The materials palette and permaculture of the scheme was also developed throughout this phase, so as to be representative of the diverse mix of cultures which epitomizes Butetown. Jack Mackie describes; “new construction near the bay using materials from around the world that would come, like residents of Tiger Bay, as immigrants, and new construction closer to the city centre would be native Welsh materials, all these blending, overlapping into the corridor<sup>27</sup>”. A heterogeneous planting scheme is described by David Patten to be aligned as “double, even triple lines of trees in boulevards with planting distances based on high/low tide measurements<sup>28</sup>”. Land-massing would be based upon study into historic building footprints; a 'Palimpsest' working concept, of scraping away, and revealing imprints.

After a period of around 18 months, working on the Bute Avenue scheme, Kelly, Patten & Mackie left the project<sup>29</sup>. It was continued under CBDC, alongside MBM, up to the point of CBDC's closure in March 2000, in which responsibilities for the project were exchanged between public entities.

Throughout the development of the project, the East side of the Avenue, was envisaged to be a prime site for commercial amenities, a method by which to encourage pedestrian activity to the scheme, so as to create a destination in, and of itself, rather than solely a transport link between two destinations; “it would have a fairly high density of development along it.. it would be a wonderful site for commercial activity.. so what transpired, was that one side [East] was developed with fairly low density housing.. instead of 4 & 6 storey flats, you end up with 3 storeys.. the activity on that boulevard was not as expected<sup>30</sup>”. This was largely as a result of the over-allocation of residential land-use on the site, a condition, alongside a number of other crucial transformations of the scheme, which arose with the arrival of a PFI funding model.



2.14 Bute Avenue Model  
MBM Architects [1995]

27 Kelly, J., Mackie, J., Patten, D., 2012. Email Thread 1<sup>st</sup> April

28 ibid.

29 Kelly, J., Interviewed by: Toon, J., 3<sup>rd</sup> April 2012.

30 Layzell, I., Interviewed by: Toon, J., 12<sup>th</sup> April 2012.



### 2.2.3 The PFI Scheme & Lloyd George Avenue's Construction

Prior to the issuing of Tender Documents, for the MBM 'Bute Avenue' proposal of 1996, the project's managerial and funding model was entirely revamped. The Conservative Government of the time had introduced the PFI funding model in 1992, a measure to be implemented into large-scale infrastructure projects throughout the UK. The then Secretary of State for Wales, John Redwood [prior to the creation of the Welsh Assembly Government] had; “received orders that they needed more PFI schemes in Wales, they scouted around for something.. in a nutshell, that was how it happened, we were told by our pay-master [Secretary of State for Wales], we had to turn Bute Avenue into a PFI scheme<sup>1</sup>”. On completion of the scheme in 2000, the name was changed to Lloyd George Avenue, in veneration of the Liberal Prime Minister, David Lloyd George.

The PFI is perhaps the most commonly known form of Public Private Partnership, with 80% of all spending [up to 2006] within PPP Construction, being classified under this model<sup>2</sup>. As a construct of a Conservative Government Treasury, the PFI is cited as a method by which to offload public infrastructure construction schemes onto private developers; “..and for it not to appear on, what they say are 'The Books', the public accounts<sup>3</sup>”. In the Lloyd George Avenue PFI, the Public entity of the partnership became the Welsh Development Agency [on CBDC's closure in 2000], whilst the Private entity was represented by the City Link Ltd consortium, set-up specifically for the project. This vehicle is jointly owned by Norwest Holst Construction; obliged to construct the road infrastructure itself, alongside MEPC; a London-based property investment business concerned with the commercial development of Callaghan Square. Beazer & Wimpy Builders were brought into the arrangement, in developing housing for the scheme<sup>4</sup>.



2.15 'New Construction in Lloyd George Avenue' [1990s]  
'Passage between Lloyd George Avenue and Bute Street' [1990s]

1 Layzell, I., Interviewed by: Toon, J., 12<sup>th</sup> April 2012.

2 Cartlidge, D., 2006. *Public Private Partnerships in Construction*. London: Taylor & Francis. p. 28.

3 ibid.

4 Bourn, J., 2002. *Continuing the Regeneration of Cardiff Bay Report by Auditor General for Wales, presented to the National Assembly on 9 May 2002*. Cardiff: National Audit Office Wales. p. 23.

Within the context of CBDC's involvement with the Bute Avenue scheme, the PFI, first introduced on 31<sup>st</sup> January 1996, subsequently delayed progress for another 18 months; on account of the lengthy procedure of financial approvals for the model; it's feasibility for the given site, alongside having to go out to tender for a second time<sup>5</sup>. Ian Layzell was directly involved with the selection of a private contractor for the scheme; through a process of interviews, Norwest Holst was appointed, who consequently assembled the City-Link consortium. Initially, a crucial decision in appointing the construction contractor was their willingness to retain the design team already in place; "they had the foresight of employing MBM as their master-planner"<sup>6</sup>. Yet, ultimately, both Layzell and MBM found themselves to be reduced to monitoring roles within the project, with diminished responsibilities and command upon the proceeding design decisions; "If I'm speaking personally, at that point, the whole thing starts to get watered down, for all the usual reasons, with Architects taking on Design & Build Architects.. so basically instead of MBM being in charge of the whole process, they were then relegated to one of a team of consultants working for the lead PFI contractor"<sup>7</sup>. In having to strictly design in accordance to the Highways Act, a number of facets of the urban intricacies of the Bute Avenue scheme, began to become diluted; "...lots and lots of details, coming down to things like paving, lighting, things that you actually see and can touch"<sup>8</sup>.

Initially there was some contention as to what the PFI would actually encompass, within the master-plan; in the first instance it was only applicable to the highway engineering element itself, and not the adjacent development land. In this case the commercial aspirations for the built-up element of Bute Avenue may still have been possible, yet, due to the financial construct of the PFI, the consortium is in perpetual need of subsidising the construction of the scheme:

As a Design, Build, Finance and Operate [DBFO] model, the Private consortia [City Link Ltd] was assigned to construct, operate and maintain the infrastructure for a period of time settled upon within the contract, in this case, 25 years post-completion. After this period, the project is the responsibility of the host government. On the basis that the facility is completed and fully operational by the end of the contract [the budget to do so, being sourced from the Private consortium's dispensing of associated shareholder investment, lenders' borrowings, and offloading plot-developments to other private consortia], the project will then graduate to a phase of Unitary Payments; incremental, of a fixed amount, and paid for the duration of stated time the facility is within the operation of the Private client, by the public constituent. A perceived benefit of the Unitary Payment model is the capacity for the public sector client to measure and regulate the performance of the

5 Layzell, I., Interviewed by: Toon, J., 12<sup>th</sup> April 2012.

6 *ibid.*

7 *ibid.*

8 *ibid.*



2.16 View South, North; Lloyd George Avenue [2011]

private developer<sup>9</sup>. The specific outputs, eventually designated by the Welsh Development Agency, in this instance, were for the completion of 40 housing units along Lloyd G. Av. within six months of the end of the contractual date; plus a further 250 within five years after that. In Callaghan Square, 120,000 square feet of office infrastructure had to be in place within 18 months of completion, with the further obligation of developing another 337,000 square feet; the construction of which, to commence when the site is 80% pre-let. Callaghan Square is to remain in ownership of City Link Ltd<sup>10</sup>.

The construction of housing-units along Bute Avenue is a crucial instigator, in largely re-directing the project away from its urban ambitions. The contractual obligations of this land-parcel were offloaded to Beazer and Wimpy's; "at that time, the only thing for developers was housing, to make profit, and that's what they ended up coming back with.. by 1997, the markets had changed<sup>11</sup>". As a Public Private Partnership [PPP] scheme, constructed directly next-door to the Avenue, prior to the formation of CBDC; Atlantic Wharf and its largely residential development scheme is a notable precedent. As an initiative between South Glamorgan County Council and the private developer, Tarmac plc, commencing in 1983, and partially aided by a Urban Development Grant, the breakdown of Tarmac plc's costing for the project identifies the most profitable land-use profiles to be Retail [+71% profit margin] and Residential [+31.9%]<sup>12</sup>. SGCC wished to convert some of the larger semi-derelict warehouse structures of Bute West Dock into workshops, adaptable as new premises for small businesses existing on-site, Tarmac plc subsequently cited potential profit losses of -3% for this venture, as an argument by which to drop these plans, instead converting them into high-end apartments. Notable also, is the adverse effect the scheme had upon existing businesses, on-site, a survey illustrated the damaging effects of the displacement of jobs, directly as a result of the Compulsory Purchase Order, used in obtaining the land; firms perceived their central docks location to be intrinsic to their survival and proliferation, and ultimately moving to the city peripheral [the only option to find affordable rates], was seen as a kind of death-knell for their businesses. The legal heft of the CPO, proved to be intimidating; some took the case to public enquiry, their objections being rejected, whilst most were resigned to move<sup>13</sup>.

When considering the combined development of Lloyd George Avenue and Atlantic Wharf, its land-coverage is largely defined by residential development [as is the case in Buchanan's Report [1968], aside from the commercial 'Red Dragon



2.17 Loudoun House, Nelson House behind embankment [2012].

9 Cartlidge, *Public Private Partnerships in Construction*, p. 111.

10 Bourn, *Continuing the Regeneration of Cardiff Bay*, p. 22.

11 Layzell, I., Interviewed by: Toon, J., 12<sup>th</sup> April 2012.

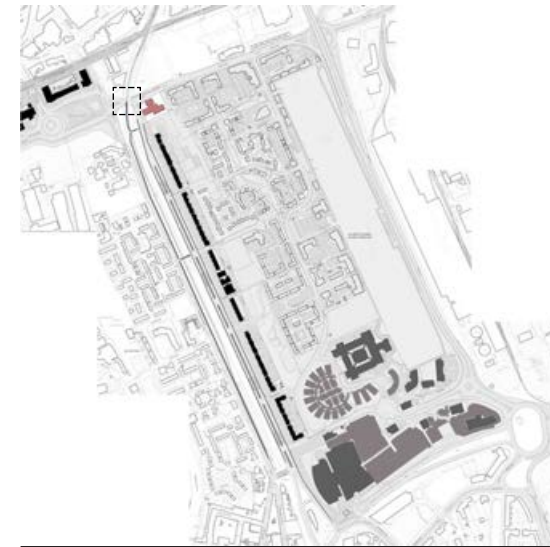
12 Tweedale, I., 1988. Waterfront Development, Economic Restructuring and Social Impact. In: Hoyle, B. S., ed. *Revitalizing the Waterfront: International Dimensions of Dockland Redevelopment*. Chichester: John Wiley & Sons. p. 193.

13 Thomas, Huw, Imrie, R., 1989. Urban Redevelopment, Compulsory Purchase, and the Regeneration of Local Economies: The Case of Cardiff Docklands. *Planning Practice and Research*, 4 (3), 18-27. p. 23.

Centre' scheme, and the relocated City Council building [2.18]. Considering the pressures upon housing in Butetown, outlined previously in Section 1, it is crucial to consider the implications of the cost-range of housing introduced into the area. Early planning material for Atlantic Wharf stated that the bottom-end of housing in the development would cost £25,000 for the smallest apartment, this in fact inflated to £55,000 by 1988, unattainable for many docklands residents<sup>14</sup>. In the case of Lloyd George Avenue, UDC legislation meant that CBDC would have no role in the amending or building of Council Housing; "there was a very sharp dividing line there, which predicated against anything happening<sup>15</sup>". The Department of the Environment was the governing body of UDC policy; "there were only certain categories of works which you could spend the budget on, and we weren't allowed to spend money on Council owned property.. that was a problem<sup>16</sup>". With some pressure, I. Layzell and associated members of Lloyd George Avenue's planning team, were able to include a small block of CCHA flats; as the only instance of social housing within the scheme, subsidised by a social-housing grant.

As illustrated, a fundamental issue of Private Public Partnership-lead design, and specifically the PFI, is how financial model largely determines urban form. Alongside this, are issues surrounding the Unitary Payment, and the true nature of the cost-efficiency of this model. In the case of Lloyd George Avenue, the Unitary Payment stated in the contract was to be £5.18 million annually, subject to indexation<sup>17</sup>. Due to inflation this has risen to £7.2 million annually, increasing the total public-sector budget of the project to £188 million<sup>18</sup>. Primarily, the scope and considerations of an urban scheme suffer from an essential conflict between Private and Public interests; in the case of Ian Layzell's work with the CBDC, projects which were entirely implemented, commission, and constructed under the corporation; such as Oval Basin; were deemed to be more successful in their composition; "we had a lot of control over the finished design, the point about PFI is that we lost control<sup>19</sup>".

The steps by which to re-direct the project, back to the kind of cohesive, urban package that was delineated by the 'Bute Avenue' scheme, has been an ongoing concern for the City Council. The most important issues surround what to do with the embankment wall, and whether there is at all scope, for new public transport infrastructure along this route<sup>20</sup>. The Welsh



**2.18 Lloyd George Avenue Nolli Plan,**

[Black: Lloyd George Avenue & Callaghan Square Housing & Offices / Dark Grey: A. Wharf, Red Dragon Centre Development / Light Grey: Car-parking allocation], Herbert Street Bridge highlighted, [£20,000]

<sup>14</sup> Tweedale, Waterfront Development, Economic Restructuring and Social Impact, p. 195.

<sup>15</sup> Layzell, I., Interviewed by: Toon, J., 12<sup>th</sup> April 2012.

<sup>16</sup> ibid.

<sup>17</sup> ibid., p. 22.

<sup>18</sup> Shipton, M., 2011. Treasury reveals Cardiff's Lloyd George Avenue set to cost taxpayers up to £189m. *Western Mail*, 7<sup>th</sup> September. Available from: <http://www.walesonline.co.uk/news/wales-news/2011/09/07/treasury-reveals-cardiff-s-lloyd-george-avenue-set-to-cost-taxpayers-up-to-189m-91466-29375898/> . [Accessed 30<sup>th</sup> March 2012].

<sup>19</sup> Layzell, I., Interviewed by: Toon, J., 12<sup>th</sup> April 2012.

<sup>20</sup> Dacey, J., 2004. *Executive Business Meeting: 22 July 2004, Replacement of Herbert St Bridge and possible Public Transport links between*

Development Agency are outlined as being supportive of future development options which retain the wall; in response to traffic bottlenecks occurring on Herbert Street. This has occurred due to the existing railway infrastructure, in the form of the Taff Vale rail bridge which spans across the street [2.18], not being adaptable to the A470 major traffic route passing underneath<sup>21</sup>. The WDA wish to retain the railway, and construct a larger-spanning bridge over Herbert Street; this method would be un-disruptive to traffic, and minimal in disruption to the future development of Callaghan Square. The Council's viewpoint is that this option is restrictive to any potential of developing an urban scheme with the kind of scope of 'Bute Avenue'<sup>22</sup>.

Despite Network Rail's immovable stance on keeping the rail line and its embankment wall intact, the Council has shown continual interest in potential elevated tram systems; specifically, Personal Rapid Transit [PRT]<sup>23</sup>. The ULTra model of PRT was investigated extensively in Cardiff, as a 800kg "personal taxi", able to carry 4 passengers, moving along a concrete track; the vehicle would only require 2kW to propel itself<sup>24</sup>.

The completion of the Eastern-wing of the Callaghan Square development, is also an ongoing concern. Phase I of this scheme was constructed in 1999, with the appointment of Nicholas Hare Architects, on the part of CBDC [who also worked on the Oval Basin scheme in the Inner Harbour]. The South-side of this development, adjacent to North Butetown and the Greek Orthodox Church, in its current state, is entirely void of development [2.19].



2.19 Vacant land South of Callaghan Square.

*Cardiff Bay and the City Centre: Agenda Item: 10.* Cardiff: Cardiff City Council. p. 2.

21 Cardiff City Council, 2011. *Planning Committee: 23<sup>rd</sup> March 2011: Report of the Chief Strategic Planning & Environment Officer. Callaghan Square: Planning Permission 97/2272C: Section 136 Agreement.* Cardiff: Cardiff City Council. p. 1.

22 Dacey, *Executive Business Meeting: 22 July 2004*, p. 2.

23 *ibid*, p. 3.

24 Yewlett, C., 2007. Cardiff Transport. In: Hooper, A., Punter, J., ed. *Capital Cardiff 1975-2020: Regeneration, Competitiveness and the Urban Environment.* Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 194-218. p. 209.



### 3.1 Conclusion [Part 1]

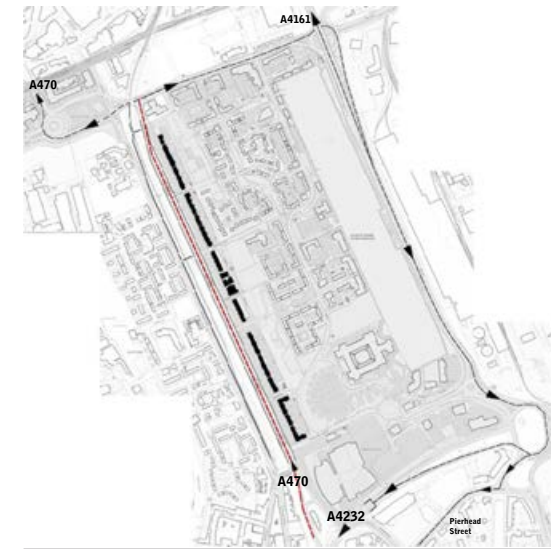
The first section of the Conclusion will consider the physical urban form of the Lloyd George Avenue Scheme. Without comprehensively re-constructing the development, suggestions by which to improve existing conditions between Butetown and the new community will be presented; this re-appraisal will be localized to the highway, rail infrastructure and associated pedestrian routes. Many of these decisions have been directly sourced to the Bute Avenue incarnation of the project, under CBDC, and will be cited so, where applicable:

#### The Alteration/Removal of the Rail Embankment Wall

In Section 2 of the project, the rail embankment wall was illustrated as problematic, in amplifying tension between Butetown and the new development East of the Avenue. In Section 1, the built nature of this feature related to the industrial usage of the site. During times of higher activity in the docks, the wall partially removed the Tiger Bay community from it's industrial vicinity; as an enclave of domesticity. With the introduction of residential and commercial development in the 1980s, the wall continues to serve a similar function, notionally obscuring Butetown from the East. In this scenario, there are problematic connotations; a barrier is created between Butetown and the the neighbouring community. In my opinion, it is a necessity to drastically alter the built-form of the wall; in opening up a continual system of pedestrian underpasses, possibly in accordance to the 1:4 ratio of cross-connections [3.1] described by Kelly, Patten & Mackie in Section 2.2. There is still future potential to serve an LRT system. These are both suggestions of the CBDC administered Bute Avenue Scheme, and ongoing concerns, as outlined in Section 2.2.

#### Installing a Light-Rail Transit System

Proposals for a LRT system, were established early-on into the CBDC's lifespan, and are still contested, as evidenced in Section 2.2. Undoubtedly, the implementation of such a system would be a major undertaking, disruptive to the surrounding traffic network; a reason the WDA has expressed scepticism towards such a proposal. Buchanan's *Transportation Study* into Cardiff [1968] has been cited in the project as a publication which can be argued to have had direct bearing upon the Lloyd George Avenue scheme. A kind of malaise towards the implementation of major public transport facilities has subjugated the regeneration scheme; Buchanan's dismissal of rail/tram systems, and endorsement of the provision for the private car and public bus [as the only public transport model] in Cardiff seems to be short-sited, lacking deliberation upon the effects of unregulated car-use; pollution, and congestion. Notably in 1992, reports indicated the use of Buses as the sole form of public



3.0 Existing Traffic Links [1:20,000].

transport along Bute Street/Bute Avenue would be in excess of the “theoretical maximum flow” of this route<sup>1</sup>. An LRT system could have huge potential, as a sustainable system, connecting commuter/tourist activity inherent to the short distance between City and Bay.

### Reducing the Traffic Capacity of Lloyd George Avenue

Incorporating a dual carriageway is characteristic of the 'Main Arteries' described in Buchanan's report [1968]; in this case it's locale is within the inner-city, and has been placed so, as a means by which to assimilate the city centre to the Bay; establishing built-up urban fabric in-between. This highway form is clearly illogical to be used in this scenario.. The A4232 Central Link runs North-to-South, East of the Atlantic Wharf Marina, serving as a major traffic route, linking the city centre to the Bay, as well as feeding directly into the larger traffic infrastructure of the A48 and M4 [3.0]. Therefore the construction of Lloyd George Avenue as primarily, a means for vehicular traffic-flow, seems to be surplus to the infrastructure already serving this function. Reducing Lloyd George Avenue to two, separate lanes, running either direction, rather than the four currently existing, could allow for the expansion of a central, or offset reserve, with associated public activity [3.1].

### Breaking the Rhythm of Lloyd George Avenue

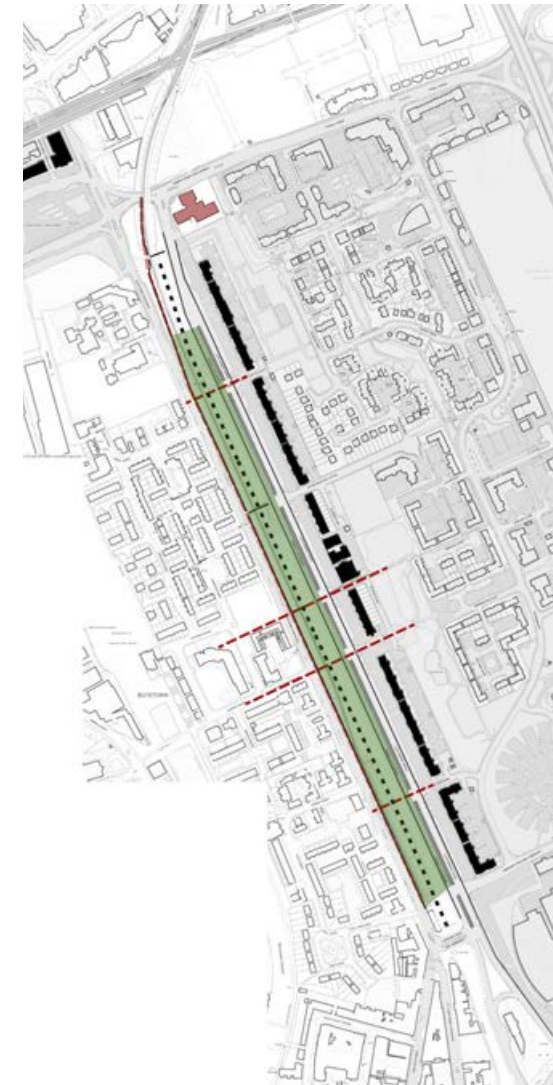
Currently, Lloyd George Avenue is abstract to any notion of pedestrian-minded design. The monotonous alignment of housing on the East, “as a piece of literal stage scenery<sup>2</sup>”, adjacent to a dual carriage way, is supplemented by unfortunate landscaping; a green corridor, West of the roadway. The Avenue lacks intricacy in material changes, and landscaping; the insistent arrangement of housing forms, suggest an automated approach to design – the current scenario considers the rhythms and velocity of car-use, frustrating the social use of the Avenue. In Section 2.2 Kelly, Patten and Mackie describe their proposal, with emphasis upon East-to-West cross-connections.. A 'Canyon' effect is anticipated, when only considering funnelled North-to-South movement. The 'Shared Space' concept, credited to the traffic engineer Hans Monderman; in replacing road priority systems with people orientated conditions<sup>3</sup>, is similar in approach to Jane Kelly's work on a competition entry for a street project in York; “there were no changes in levels, no pavements, and this worked<sup>4</sup>”; Re-establishing Lloyd George Avenue as an environment in which the car-user is fully aware and responsive to the pedestrian, and vice-versa.

1 Yewlett, C., 2007. Cardiff Transport. In: Hooper, A., Punter, J., ed. *Capital Cardiff 1975-2020: Regeneration, Competitiveness and the Urban Environment*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 194-218. p. 206.

2 Punter, J., 2007. Cardiff Bay: An Exemplar of Design-Led Regeneration? In: Hooper, A., Punter, J., ed. *Capital Cardiff 2975-2020: Regeneration, Competitiveness and the Urban Environment*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 149-179. p. 164.

3 Carmona, *Public Places Urban Spaces*, p. 107.

4 Kelly, J., Interviewed by: Toon, J., 3<sup>rd</sup> April 2012.



**3.1 Altered Lloyd George Avenue Scheme**

[Red: Cross-Connection routes / Dotted Black Line: LRT-System Route / Green: Expanded offset Reserve] [1:10,000].

### **Incorporating Bute Street**

With the opening-up of the rail embankment wall; Bute Street has potential, to some extent, of being incorporated into the Avenue scheme. In its current condition, the embankment wall has two pedestrian links between Bute Street and Lloyd G. Av; the Junction Canal underpass, is located at a point where both streets are level, whilst at Letton Road, stepped access is necessary to link the changes in height between the two routes. Unobtrusive, and imaginative landscaping, such as that which is described by Jane Kelly et al in Section 2.2, could be utilised in creating sloped and stepped points of access, at regular intervals between the two levels. Spare allocation of planting, alongside retaining a low tree-line could be guidelines by which to ensure a visual connection is still made between the Avenue and Bute Street. In Section I, the historical precedent, of Bute Street as a commercial destination, was presented, alongside community consultation in the recent redevelopment of Loudoun Square, which called for the reinstatement of shop-fronts and associated flats above ground floor level. The scheme so far has gone on to incorporate this, at the junctions of S. Loudoun Place and N. Loudoun Place. There could be the incentive for a sharing of Butetown's amenities between both communities either side of the Avenue, allowing for a wider-ranging usage of these shops, and benefits to business. Experiential references to the indigenous cultures of Butetown could be incorporated into the landscaping between Bute Street and the Avenue, in accordance with Jack Mackie's discussion of planting arrangements in Section 2.2; as a measure by which to mark a softer threshold between the Butetown Community and the Avenue **[3.1]**.



### 3.2 Conclusion [Part 2]

The second section of the Conclusion will present an overview of issues central to the Lloyd George Avenue scheme; the history and culture of the docklands, the socio-economic topics of housing and community, and how these relate to the funding model. Similarly, these matters will be discussed in direct relation to findings in the project, in Section 1 & 2.

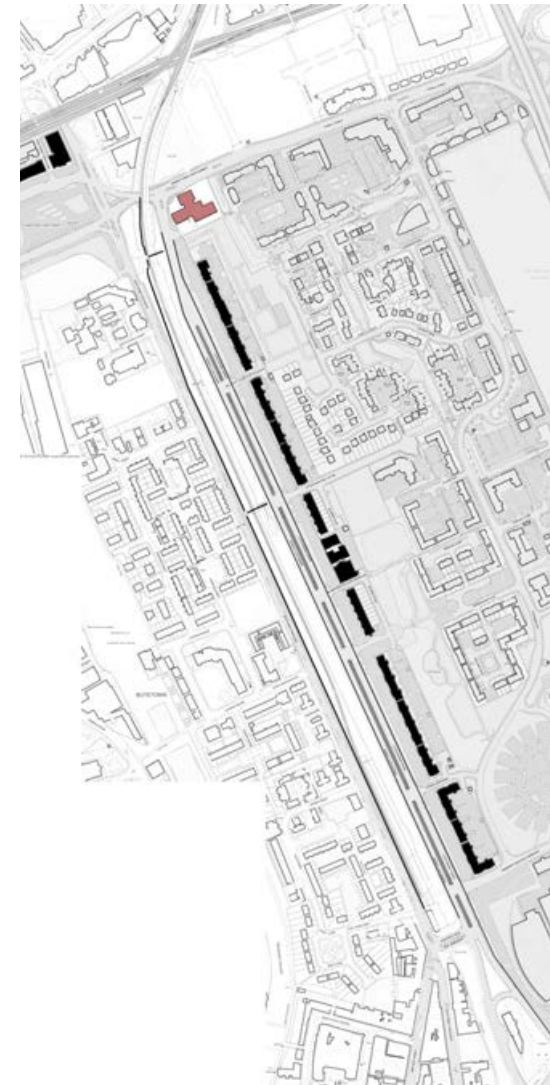
It has been established, that under the guidance of CBDC, the Lloyd George Avenue scheme had urban, public concerns central to it's design; a scheme which was initially, sensitive and inclusive of Butetown [although not actively inclusive, in terms of the redevelopment of Butetown's housing stock, due to the construct of UDC policy]. It is argued that the subsequent involvement of a Private constituent, in implementing the financing, and eventual construction of the scheme, has had a detrimental effect upon the urban quality of the Avenue, and in ultimately neglecting the concerns of Butetown from the scheme.

With the case of 'Bute Avenue', it has been presented that the UDC appointed, in administering the project, CBDC, alongside the appointed multi-disciplinary design team, displayed a considered approach in the scheme's master-planning, and implementation, within the existing urban fabric of the site – yet this was unfortunately only in the instance when the project was in complete control of the corporation.

The issues inherent to the perceived failings of the Lloyd George Avenue strategy, surround the written policy of the UDC itself, and the incompatibility of this model in relation to social housing, and possibilities of achieving a truly mixed community within a given residential scheme. In Section 1.2, it was outlined that Butetown was encumbered by continual issues with it's housing stock, post-slum clearance programme. In Section 2, in the lead up to the Bute Avenue project, the stresses upon this housing stock were also outlined. It is important to note that direct amendments to this housing stock was not a possibility under CBDC, due to the aforementioned conditions.

In Section 1.2 the recession of the mid-1980s' effect upon Butetown was discussed; it was established that a proportion of the unemployed were previously based within the construction and engineering industries. It is notable that due to the nature of PPPs such as the PFI, the construction of such projects are usually offloaded to associated sub-contractors; there is no incentive to integrate the existing employment stock of the community, into the schemes being carried out.

The use of Community Consultation on the part of the CBDC, in the early phases of the project, sets a positive precedent for future redevelopment in the region, and was seldom utilised before hand, in UK regeneration schemes [notably, similar models were adopted in 2010 Loudoun Square project, as outlined in Section 1.2]. If planning permission had been obtained



**3.2 Existing Lloyd George Avenue Nolli Plan**

[Red: Existing Historic Structure] [1:10,000].

to demolish the embankment wall, a scheme orientated as much towards the Tiger Bay Community, as the new development to the East, may have been conceivable.

The attention to the existing city-fabric, outlined from the outset, in CBDC's *Policies for Urban Quality* [1990], as well as in practice; in Kelly, Patten and Mackie's usage of a 'Palimpsest' model of land-massing; outlines concerns towards urban master-planning which would be far more applicable to the Avenue's inner-city locale. Described by architectural historian Spiro Kostoff as essentially “abstract and straight” in relation to its surroundings, the Avenue has historically coordinated the extension of “city fabric, and thereby provided urban models for the future<sup>1</sup>”. The coherence of block evident in earlier schemes of the project, alongside the pedestrian-minded design of its linear garden, and public transport infrastructure, is more coordinated towards creating an urban scheme with the potential for healthy proliferation, if the adequate commercial and cultural facilities are in place; currently, the Lloyd George Avenue/Atlantic Wharf area is defined by almost exclusively residential land-use. This is aside from the Red Dragon Centre [originally 'Atlantic Wharf Leisure Village']; a 'Pod Development'; manifesting itself at the point of juncture between 'Primary Routes' and exclusive 'Access Roads', typified as an introverted arrangement of privately owned buildings, proximate to other developments, but with little other relation, usually abundant in space allocated for associated parking<sup>2</sup>.

Atlantic Wharf's Leisure Village could be seen to have been built, as a direct result of retail-based market interests; resulting in a 'Big-Box' commercial development, abstract to its given site. Similarly, Lloyd George Avenue, as a processional route between city and waterfront, has been somewhat blighted by an over-subscription of residential development along its length, a consequence of its PFI funding model. It has become evident that the property-led model of regeneration was momentary in its perceived 'trickle-down' effects, and is not applicable to today's economic environment.

The shared attachment to place, is important when considering the context of redevelopment within the docklands. It is interesting to note the differing interpretations, for different people - applied to a given historic feature of the landscape. An example is the Bute Street embankment wall itself, which despite the largely agreed stance, on the part of the CBDC, that it was problematic; “with the best will in the world everyone was thinking 'yeah, let's open the wall up'..<sup>3</sup>”; it was discovered through the process of community consultation, that not all of the Butetown Community perceived the structure to be as socially divisive as its given 'Berlin Wall' nick-name would imply; “.. they were saying, no, we want it to stay where it is,

1 Kostof, S., 1999. *The City Shaped: Urban Patterns and Meanings*. New ed. London: Thames & Hudson. p. 249.

2 Carmona, M., et al, 2010. *Public Places Urban Spaces: The Dimensions of Urban Design*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. London: Architectural Press. p. 90.

3 Layzell, I., Interviewed by: Toon, J., 12<sup>th</sup> April 2012.

protecting<sup>4</sup>". Establishing associations between the community and the historic landscape, and the integration of this into redevelopment will now be discussed:

Section 1 of the project was concerned with assembling a portrait of Butetown. Due to the nature of its docklands past, the demographic make-up of the community has perpetually changed, on account of immigration. As a consequence, the Tiger Bay community is a diverse composition of people sharing a communal history. In re-evaluating an existing landscape for redevelopment, its constituent communities must be considered, and for successful redevelopment to take place, shared incentives, and shared appreciation of place<sup>5</sup>, between the developers and residents must be central to allow a historical continuum of place. In the case of Lloyd George Avenue and Atlantic Wharf, both subject to a PPP funding model; these developments are on the most part, ahistorical; perfunctory maritime motifs, such as the sail-forms of building facades in the Red Dragon Centre, and notional references to the docks in road names, such as 'Schooner Way', being the only cursory points of reference, little of the historic built environment remains [3.2].

The influence of private developers upon this matter is critical. Urban planner Kevin Lynch depicts what has become a common shortcoming of the customary approach to the regeneration of ex-industrial land; in attracting new enterprise, you have to erase what is perceived to be an "unloved past"<sup>6</sup>. As such, the only aspect of Butetown which is entirely preserved and considered is Mount Stuart Square; evocative of a specific period of opulence; the turn of the century, coal-industry boom. Lynch describes this form of preservation as giving a "distorted view of the past"; an erratic consideration of the historical continuum of a place<sup>7</sup>. In the case of these schemes; the private constituent of each respective agreement, has dismissed Butetown's historical and cultural continuum from the development; perceiving the community as a hindrance to commercial advancement.

In closing this project, the importance of an institute such as the Butetown History & Arts centre will be considered; as a community-run initiative, its model is applicable to future planning models for redevelopment in Butetown. In *What Time is This Place?*, Lynch envisages the 'City Attic' as a type of community-based repository of cultural and historical artefacts; through a constant re-appraisal of an older environment, by the direct-lineage of the community, new valuation can be placed upon future developments; "residents and property owners would be stimulated to express their personal intentions

4 Layzell, I., Interviewed by: Toon, J., 12<sup>th</sup> April 2012.

5 Madgin, M., 2009. *Heritage, Culture and Conservation: Managing the Urban Renaissance*. Milton Keynes: VDM Verlag p. 23.

6 Lynch, K., 1972. *What Time is This Place?* Massachusetts: MIT Press. p. 12.

7 *ibid.*, p. 13.

and hopes for the near future of the place. The preservations of futures could parallel the preservations of past<sup>8</sup>". The Butetown History & Arts Centre [BHAC] was established in 1987, as a community based oral history project, set up by American academic Glenn Jordan<sup>9</sup>. Involving professional researchers, alongside volunteers from the community, the institute stores and displays archive material concerning Tiger Bay; through photos, film, audio and writings. As a kind of participative museum, it has potential in ensuring beneficial redevelopment is carried out within the community, in securing "the memories and hopes of the users of an area<sup>10</sup>", as a measure by which to select elements of the built environment to be retained, demolished, or re-built. In cooperation with the Council, models such as this could be integral in establishing the framework for Butetown, in ensuring suitable redevelopment is implemented, that which is orientated towards the community's concerns. On the part of the City Council, it is necessary that; ".it's made absolutely clear, that whatever we are planning, whatever we are organising for the community, is intended to be all-inclusive <sup>11</sup>".

[Word Count: 11,306]

8 Lynch, *What Time is This Place?*, p. 235.

9 Thomas, H., 2004. Identity Building and Cultural Projects in Butetown, Cardiff. *City*, 8 (2), 274-278. p. 276.

10 Lynch, *What Time is This Place?*, p. 235.

11 Briggs, J., Interviewed by: Toon, J., 21<sup>st</sup> December 2011.





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### John Briggs Conversation Transcript: 21/12/11 [Cardiff]

John Briggs: The three or four buildings that have survived... one is the Potato Warehouse, which was right at the top of Bute West Dock.. The Spillers Building, which was a biscuit factory.. right at the Northern End of the Bute Dock.. the Great Western Railway Freight warehouse, Converted into flats, at the top of Bute East Dock.. it's a hotel.. Novotel ..Another one right at the top of Bute East Dock, it's a Grade II Listed Building, the first iron framed warehouse building in Wales.. I can't tell you what the original name is.. it's at the top of Bute East Dock. It's an office building. Bute Warehouse [from *Before the Deluge*. This is the Biscuit Factory; the Spillers building, in a derelict state in the mid 70s, which is now flats. This is a view showing the Spillers building, and this is the Great Western Railway. That survives, this was a dry dock works.. and that's been replaced by the Wharf Pub on the dock. It's mock Victorian [original building destroyed].. they've used a bit of the entrances into the dry dock, as a sort of water feature.

Jonathan Toon: In terms of Butetown, in the late 60s there was the slum clearance program, in terms of the population at that point, how were people relocated?

JB: they were moved out to the new estates, Rhumney, Fairwater, those two estates in particular I've heard mentioned over and over again.. residents were told that they would have the option of moving back to Butetown once the redevelopments were finished. Some did, some didn't.

JT: Was this immediately after [the slum clearance program], or a later period?

JB: ..Presumably, immediately after, the redevelopments took place in the 60s.. I mean, people at the BHAC would be able to tell you exactly what happened.. what you get at the BHAC, and what I think is the most valuable resource there are the volunteers who work there

..Feeling were so strong, about the community being absolutely decimated, put out back and beyond [the estates]

JT: From what I've read, at one point in Butetown, there were 70-80 different nationalities represented.. as a consequence of the Shipping Boom, probably the most diverse community in Wales.. From research I've done.. it seems that it's not the most thriving community anymore.. maybe the Cardiff Bay Redevelopment Scheme in the 90s.. and the decision to build luxury apartments immediately next door.. what has the effect been on Butetown

JB: You know the development wasn't built with the Butetown Residents in mind..

JT: .. No, exactly.. when looking at a Map of Cardiff Bay.. why was it a small plot within the area was completely neglected from the scheme... there are successes and failures I think [concerning the CBDC], and it is quite complex.. but it's interesting that you say that it seems there was no real consideration for the community

RT: ..with the regeneration of Liverpool, taking place at a similar period.. these people were going to be moved out full stop.. there was never any suggestion they were going to be reintegrated and come back, they were moved to places like Skelmersdale.. 15 miles away, and they never came back.

JB: Well I think, you know, that was maybe what happened in Cardiff.. maybe, it's a cynical way of doing things on the part of the Council.. if you talk to people who were brought up in Butetown in the 50s-60s, of our generation.. who saw what was happening as young people.. there's an author, although very biased, who's work is very well researched, called Neil Sinclair, who actually did the forward for the book here, he's done a couple of books, one is called 'Endangered Tiger'.. he talks about the decimation of the community, he's the same age as us [mid 60s].. having said that, he spent a lot of time in the States, got his degree from Stanford University, and spent a lot of time away from Cardiff, and then came back to it, and saw what had happened, and really honed in on it, recorded and documented it, and gave his own take on it..

JT: The general structure of the report, that I thought would make sense.. really is starting off with an introduction in terms of the history of Butetown, and then these comparative photos [J Briggs 'Before the Deluge'], and how things have changed, this could be a way of illustrating the changes which have happened, and then placing that within the bigger picture of the CBDC later on... I need to try and keep it fairly balanced, presenting a clear picture.. placing it within the bigger picture of redevelopment in the UK, in cities like Liverpool, Birmingham, and Glasgow.. is this property-led redevelopment, which has been how it's worked here for the last 20 years or so.. this is where it can possibly go wrong.. in terms of Butetown, on one side there are luxury apartments, but there seems to be no consideration for the services and amenities needed within the Butetown community... In terms of Cardiff Bay, I haven't been in a year or so, but you do notice that it still feels fairly dead there, I don't know how many people are living in the apartments there, but it just doesn't seem the most lively place..

JB: .. the development of Cardiff Bay, and all that entails.. it's inclusive of so many different Corporate interests, alongside leisure, shopping, politics, housing.. and basically it's been good for the city, it's been great for Cardiff.. and Cardiff has just absolutely blossomed since these days, it bears no relation to the Cardiff of the 1970s, and that development down there, has had a knock on effect throughout the city itself.. coming up to the centre, it's not development which has worked from the centre down, it's worked down there first, and then here... but, what I think is scandalous, is the way that that little island has been neglected, and has not benefited, and in fact has shrunk.. all the properties along the Taff side of Butetown, along Dumballs road, where you had factories there, most of that has been demolished, instead of putting affordable/sociable housing, you have yuppie flats there on that side.. the top of Butetown, which was the old red light district, with the Custom House and Crown and so on, that's been taken away, and that is now Callahan Square..

JT: ...In terms of the housing that has been part of CBDC scheme, it is high-end, almost exclusively, why is that for a certain demographic in these places..

...

JB: ..This is what was there before Callahan Sq [from book]... this is East Canal Wharf.. when you went to see the Custom house there, you carry along under the railway bridge, and as you went under the bridge, this is what you have in front of you, the Glendower pub, and this little street, which went along the railway embankment.. and really this was where Tiger Bay began, Chrichton Street.. all the names are taken from the Bute Family.. John Crichton Stuart, the 2<sup>nd</sup> Marquis of Bute.. the father of Modern Cardiff.. so by the 1970s it's still residential, as well as a red light district, a couple of notorious pubs, the Custom House, and then the Crown.. you did have some nice buildings, this built in the 1880s, was originally built as a hotel.. these are scenes inside the Custom House, mid 1970s.. showing quite a mix of people.. this guy here was a local character who I photographed on different occasions, Owen Lesley, an ex-merchant seaman, who lived in the Salvation Army Hostel which was just a few doors down on Bute Street.. this is Owen Lesley again.. he's now across the street in The Crown.. it was a very multi cultural, and multi-religious community in this area.. you have the Greek Church, it's right next to Bute street but set off the road.. St Mary's street, there is St Mary's church, the big one with two towers.. the Greek church is just behind St Mary's.. this takes us along Bute Street, these were the buildings that were left on the left side of Bute Street in the 1970s, very run down.. this was a famous children's club called the Rainbow Club. Children from bute town/ tiger bay had their sessions and classes.. it was famously visited by Shirley Bassey, in the late 1950s when she was starting to make a name for herself.

...again continuing down Bute Street, this was the end of this block.. you see where.. this pillar here is the beginning of the bridge parapet leading over the junction canal, which came from the ship basin, toward the docks.. so you have steps going down to the canal tow path, and bridge over the canal.

..Cardiff was terraced houses.. originally Butetown was a rich community, Loudoun square is the finest example of this.. you had ship captains, owners of companies, collieries, moving into there, wanting to be as close as possible to Mount Stuart Square, which was the commercial centre of Cardiff.. Mount Stuart Square is pretty well preserved, with a few terrible exceptions, but Loudoun Square was completely demolished in the early 1960s, to make way for the Butetown Redevelopment. It was where the Butetown shopping facilities were based..

JT: ..there's the new developments on Loudoun Square with retail..

JB: .. they've replaced the old shops.. when the old shops, when that complex was demolished, they were moved into temporary accommodation for a year, and now they've built the new shops they've been moved back, that's the first stage of the development.. the other stages include housing, apartments above the shops, presumably intended for the owners, and local people.. the old health centre is still there.. the old community centre has just been demolished and will be rebuilt, and the youth centre is in the process of being demolished and will be rebuilt.

.. I think it's being given some priority.. the last few buildings, dating from this era, in Tressilian Terrace, Dumballs Road.. are about to be demolished.. these buildings in Crichton street, were the last of their kind, in Butetown

The junction canal ran under Bute Street at that point.. and this is still there, this little bridge, you would never know that a canal ran underneath.. this is Bute Street here, but you are looking east toward the potato warehouses.. what is now Lloyd George Avenue, which is the other side of this wall.

JT: You were saying earlier [the Lloyd George Avenue Railway embankment] was nick-named 'The Berlin Wall' by the Butetown residents..

JB: ..Yeah, so you'd have Collingdon road, industries like this along the road, this was demolished to make way for Lloyd George Avenue, the flats are on the site of the old dock.. this is the other side of the junction canal, this is a bit of green space, between Lloyd George Avenue and the railway line.. this building, this potato warehouse [Edward England Potato Warehouse] survives, and the one next to it.

Here we are back to Bute street and the Berlin Wall, there were toilets here.. across the road again, this is St Mary's Church.. which was built by the 2<sup>nd</sup> Marquis of Bute, to replace, or keep the tradition going, of the ancient St Mary's church, which stood over there, on what is now St Mary's street, and on the side of the Prince of Wales pub, there is a brick outline of the church, which was supposedly the site of the pub which was swept away by a flood in the 16<sup>th</sup> century..

.. now this.. the grain importers [Spillers], this was their first offices, and then became the Salvation Army hostel in the 1970s, long after they abandoned their business in east bute dock.. a victorian building.. that's now the PDSA vets.. and this street going alongside it, is North Church Street, which still exists.. you would go down North Church Street to access the Greek Church.. a new salvation army hostel has been built, just a bit further up from this site [in 2<sup>nd</sup> book], the salvation army has stayed here.

Royston Toon: this might not be relevant.. what would be the significance, in this day and age.. of positioning a Salvation Army hostel there...'

JB: 'the edges of a port community was deemed a good place for a hostel..in the same area was Tressilian house, a big social/domestic facility for alcoholics, drug users, and down-and-outs, that's just been demolished, and will be rebuilt as an assessment centre, a huge building.. as you go towards the Brains brewery, Tressilian terrace is the street that goes down to West Butetown, before you get to the brewery.. what used to be here was the Central Hotel, which was destroyed by fire in the 1980s, and if you remember the façade of it, it was all different types of stone, the stone was reputedly from ships, ballast, unloading ballast onto the banks of the basin.. ready made building material for the hotel.

RT: The only reason I bring up the Savlation Army.. is the need for hostels, is that just continuity, or to do with a disintegrating, or changing community..

JB: I think it makes sense, in terms of the kinds of people that need that facility, and Tressilian House, as facility for desperate people.. maybe that was a council decision.. there are photographs in my 2<sup>nd</sup> book, there were interior photos of the hostel

JT: ..I think looking at the amenities available to Butetown residents in the past, and now, could be important, like you said, even when it was a busy community, most people went to a nearby market, you weren't as isolated from the rest of the city..

JB: Speaking of markets... a market went from Custom House terrace, to Mill lane and The Hayes.. once Mill Lane market had been taken away, there was a smaller market, St. David's market [behind Debenhams] which was taken away during the redevelopment of St David's.. it seems now the markets have now sprung up impromptu.. you have markets along the Taff, quite near the centre, you have Splott market, which is a big market, which is growing in popularity, and then I'm not sure about the market out in Bosworth Road, on the Eastern Outskirts, even back in the 70s and 80s it was known as a wholesale fruit and veg market.. there are markets still there, but you don't have a central one, apart from the covered market in the centre of town.. I think it's a shame that those have gone..

RT: ... if you have a bit of money, down there in Cardiff Bay, which a lot of residents presumably have..in other areas where industrial dock areas have been gentrified, there has been a demand for local markets in the actual areas..

JT: In terms of the people who have moved into these areas, and how that will effect amenities in the area.. how would they normally buy their food, or buy this-and-that?...

JB: The People in the new areas?.. well, they are mobile aren't they..

JT: That's the thing, if they are doing everything in the centre of Cardiff, Out-of-town even.. then possibly in Butetown, in other areas, the amenities might suffer as a consequence..

JB: They haven't got to go far.. there are new developments in Grangetown even, just across the Bay, you have IKEA, Supermarkets, Morrisons.. people from Tiger Bay, some of them anyway, aspire to move to Grangetown, which is now seen as a posh area..

...

JT: The Railway line from Cardiff centre to the Docks.. I'm not sure what the original name of the line was..

JB: That was the Taff railway line..originally, going back to the 19<sup>th</sup> century.. 1880s I suppose, there was a huge Taff Vale railway, locomotion works, wagon works, just off Bute street.. West Bute street.. and next to the railway station.. you still have the original station there.. so that was Taff Vale coming in, on the Eastern side you had the Roath Branch, it came across Newport Road, you know where the Royal Oak Pub is?..Out on Newport road, and you've got a terrace of older houses, where that terrace stops, there was railway across it, that came down to the docks, and that came down onto the railway viaduct [in book].. and this fed the sidings that were between the two docks, between the West and the East, there it is again, the bridge there.. there it is there again, I think the curve of the building was there to suit the curve of the viaduct, but this was another branch that went between the two docks, and east of East Dock, you had other sidings as well..

RT: Were these two different routes both into Tiger Bay.. were they also passenger routes as well?..

JB: Well I'm assuming, that there were passenger trains as well, the Butetown Station was a passenger station.. there was another station as well.. Clarence Road Station.. back in the 1970s, I never photographed it, been kicking myself for it ever since.. but the spur, came off the main railway line here, and you know where the back entrance for the station is, basically where the car park is now, down to the West side.. went parallel to Dumballs Road, there was the station near Clarence Bridge, that was passenger, Bute Road; passenger and freight, and then you had other sidings, between the two docks, East of the East Dock..

RT: At the minute of course, if you want to come into Cardiff Bay, by train, you can do so.. was that, there must have been a time when that wasn't possible?

JB: It should have always been possible, if you wanted to travel from Central to the Bay, you would always have to have changed at Queen Street, the trains into Cardiff Bay, into Bute road as it was originally known , they were always down from the valleys, there were always valley trains.. that was your coal route..

... A concerted effort, by a large number of people, to bring the newer residents and older residents together.. at the moment that's not happening.. there is a certain amount of animosity, a certain amount of divisions on both sides, there's a certain amount of resentment on the part of the older community, there's a certain amount of almost ghetto-isation on the part of the newer community. Wanting to stick together, wanting to establish themselves as well, due to their sheer presence and numbers.. in forming a social and cultural enclave, maybe not a ghetto, but possibly the beginnings of it I think.. which I think is going to be difficult to find an answer for.. I don't think that they get enough of an initiative within the community itself.. I think there has going to have to be initiative from outside the community, political initiative I think, city-wide initiative to bring people together.. with this new community centre being built there, hopefully you have the facility there, but it's going to be a matter of establishing some sort of frame-work which is up to the council, which is going to enable people to come together.. where it's made absolutely clear, that whatever we are planning, whatever we are organising for the community, is intended to be all-inclusive, to be very pro-active.. in getting, especially the younger inhabitants of Butetown to take part. I photograph any number of bingo players, for instance, in the old community centre, and they are all ladies who have lived in the area for 50 years, or who used to live in the area, and now live in other parts of the city, and still come down for their bingo session.. and you would think looking at that, if this is representative of the community, it's still very much the old community as it used to be.

## Jane Kelly Interview Transcript: 03/04/12 [Telephone]

Jonathan Toon: I thought what might be a useful starting point, even though we went over it before, but quickly, how the team was put together by the Cardiff Bay Development Corporation, or how you were appointed to the scheme.

Jane Kelly: I seem to remember, that as part of Cardiff Bay Development Corporation's remit, there was a requirement, that there should be a proportion of art in the redevelopment. And to that extent, and I don't know whether this organisation existed before, but there was an organisation called Cardiff Bay Arts Trust; and it was run by a woman called Sally Medlyn, who is now based in Liverpool, and I have an email address for her I could pass on to you, and she would be... you know, it's funny as we've been discussing this project, one remembers more from such a long time ago.. so it may well be, that Sally, a bit like the architects I mentioned, would have knowledge of what happened before we were involved... So what had happened was that I and David [Patten] had done a couple of other projects in Cardiff, previous to this, but on a much smaller scale, part of redevelopment, and I had collaborated, for instance, with Camlin Lonsdale on the redevelopment of the Station; Cardiff Central, and had done some other stuff on the rail corridor. And this big project came up.. and I can't remember if I was approached, or David and I were approached, and then we invited Jack [Mackie].. and so we proposed it as a collaborative approach.. it was to join a design team which included MBM, Arup and the architect of CBDC.

JT: OK, so am I right in thinking MBM architects would have been appointed by CBDC?

JK: Yes

JT: And that was already in place I guess, and then...

JK: We were the last, which is usually the case.. and I seem to remember that initially there was an assumption, and I think David refers to this, if you look at the Olympic Village and the kind of Boulevards-come-Dual-Carriageways that MBM did in Barcelona, their notion of public art is.. I don't think that they had thought we would collaborate on everything.. what they were looking for was big, big sculptures, and I mean big, that could be plonked onto roundabouts, and that what it's like in Barcelona.. there's obviously some great stuff, and there's some dire sculptures.

JT: Yeah, also out of interest, once you were working with MBM, did CBDC give you kind of guidelines or a brief about what exactly they were looking for in the scheme?

JK: Well.. what I cannot find anywhere, is a Brief, and I have had a trawl through the little I've got, but we made a statement, about what our approach would be, like a one-page thing, and that was written in October '93, and that was proposing collaboration with the design team, and also, we said the citizens of the communities being served.. that was our first indication to them, that we intended to not exclude Tiger Bay..

JT: When I first came across the Bute Avenue Project, I think what really struck me, was, basically the plan was originally.. or you might be able to clear this up.. there was at least, CBDC or your design team, was pushing the idea that the rail embankment wall, would either be taken down, or opened up somehow to the avenue.. which obviously after your involvement, that has not happened, that seems to me like the crucial move, that could have changed the scheme quite drastically, I was interested to know, really, who was pushing that as an idea, and if eventually the architects or CBDC didn't want to go through with it, or vice versa I'm not sure..

JK: Well I think our strong impression was that MBM, just did not want to include Tiger Bay, in the project, and, it sounds like a contradiction really, because when they talked about, a 'Rambla' type promenade, what they didn't mean was people from Tiger Bay promenading! What they meant was folk with money, and that it was this.. there was actually a lot of talk about the fact it was a mile-long promenade, and whether in reality, people would promenade, and there was a lot of feeling from CBDC that would not happen, that this was Cardiff, It's a bit like Glasgow, it's pretty wet, and to imagine people setting off from the city centre and walking all the way to the Bay, for wine and nibbles, just was not a reality, and that is why this sort of.. rat-run if you like.. CBDC and ourselves, were very much against that, and MBM were the only ones that were promoting the straight up and down.

JT: Another issue I was thinking about, in terms of the pedestrians.. currently today it's basically a dual carriageway, there are pavements either side, and the train-line is still in place, and there is still a service from Central Station to the Bay, but.. I was wondering if it was a difficult balance, whether people actually would walk all the way to the Bay, like you said; I think it's a mile long, or whether, as was the case I believe, there was talk of a tram-system, to connect the two up.. am I right in thinking that there was a tram-system proposed?

JK: Well yes, sort of..the reason David and I invited Jack onto the team, was that he had.. in The States, there's a lot of artwork incorporated into transport network structures,



either in stations or on tracks, and Jack had done quite a bit of this, and it was kind of out-of our experience, and that's why we collaborate with people, everybody brings different expertise.. I suppose it never got as far as detailed design, it was very much a conceptual design, although very strong, and so, yes there was.. and the idea was that there was a kind of, for us, if you were standing looking at a drawing of Bute Avenue with the city at the top and the sea at the bottom, we placed as much emphasis on what you might call the horizontal connections, as you did on the vertical.. David Mackay [MBM] was fixated on the vertical, and we said that it should be much more like a ladder, so that the connection into Tiger Bay on one side, that social area, and then maybe the commercial buildings on the other.. there was also, I seem to remember, quite a bit of discussion about the fact that in Barcelona, and indeed in Glasgow, there are some cities that people live in, and there are some cities that people don't live in, if you know what I mean, and it was whether the new commercial building could incorporate, habitation, residential.. above the shops as it were, or whether there were going to be all offices and the like, and we were promoting, very much, integration at every level really.. and at one point, we described, what David Mackay was proposing, we said that it was kind of a North-South canyon, and in fact we worked out this kind of ratio of the strongest cross connection roads, was a 1 in 4 ratio, and we had a slight hierarchy in the connections into the neighbouring communities and developments, so with that kind of.. the rhythm of hurtling up and down that canyon was broken.

- JT: That's interesting, because, like I said, the form the Lloyd George Avenue is in today, I think there are two tunnels, pedestrian tunnels, that go underneath the rail embankment wall.. there's one right at the top, near to what is now Callaghan Square, and there is one at the bottom of what I think is considered North Butetown, just before Mount Stuart Square, apart from that it is a solid wall, that is completely blocking out the view either way, and then also, I'm not exactly sure what the speed limit is on that road, even though you have wide pavements either side, it's clearly now designed for car use, it's interesting to look back, and find that the scheme.. that breaking up of the rhythm I think would have changed it for the better I think.
- JK: We also proposed that it was not, that it should all be pedestrianised in fact, so that it was not to be designed in such a way that it was the territory of the car, that it was shared, and I know that somewhere you asked about looking at precedents, and, again it's a slight blur, but for some reason I remembered, I did a project or a competition or something in York, I went to look at the site, and York had been pedestrianised, and it was really interesting, it worked, maybe because it wasn't a huge long stretch, but cars and pedestrians seemed to manage very well, and the way the routes were defined was the usual thing with changes in materials, but there were no changes in levels, no pavements, and this worked even though, I seem to remember, down the centre, sometimes there was a market, a street market, and sometimes they had fun-fairs and things, so there was a lot of milling about, but cars just really crawled through it, and I guess if they wanted to go somewhere in a hurry, they would use another route.
- JT: It sounds similar to, I forget the name of the planning model, but I was reading something recently, they've used it in Kensington in London, I think it originates from The Netherlands, but they've tried out a scheme with pavements either side, and they've taken out what you would perceive to be safety measures; they've taken out the barriers, the metal fencing, they've taken out Zebra crossings even, the thinking is that, when there is basically no barrier between the pedestrian and the car user, both are a lot more aware of each other.. so people won't drive as fast, they'll really be on the ball, and it will result in a road.. basically Lloyd George Avenue is something used to get from the City Centre to the Bay as fast as possible, by car, I think that's how it's ended up, it could have been very different to that..
- JK: It's funny, because when I come up to Glasgow, I come through Greenock, and Port Glasgow, and there's a stretch now, between Greenock and Port Glasgow, and I don't know whether you've ever been down that way, but there's a lot of.. it's quite interesting actually, it's a little bit déjà-vu because there's the redevelopment of Inverclyde going on at the moment.. it's like the last 20 years had never happened, there's some of the most diabolically horrendous public art going up. The reason I mention it, not because of that, is that this stretch; there's a dual-carriageway, and if you're driving towards Glasgow, the Clyde is on your left, and on your right the land rises, quite high, but unevenly, and the railway line is on that side, and on that stretch of road, funnily enough, there's a wall, that the railway runs on top of, and it's very much like Bute Street..and I think that there are a couple of openings in it, but the interesting thing about it, between the Clyde and that dual carriageway, there's a lot of factories and things, and eventually when you get to Port Glasgow of course, there's been a big area of demolition, and there's a huge Tesco there now, but what is interesting about that stretch of road, is that there is almost never any pedestrians on it.
- JT: When I went back to Cardiff, the last time I was in Cardiff was in December, and I probably hadn't been to that part of Cardiff for a few years before going then, but I remember even when I was younger, I used to go to a place in Cardiff Bay which was called The Point, that was a sort of gig venue, and Lloyd George Avenue, similarly, you don't really see people walking down it, even though it has these huge promenade pavements, apart from residents in the flats the other side, it's just cars really... Another thing I wanted to check, there's now a development called Callaghan Square, at the top of 'Bute Avenue' and I think, from what I've read it was once going to be called Bute square, was that part of the project you were working on, or was that something separate?
- JK: We kind of had the habit of interrogating the brief, and so I think we seemed to have added it, onto our brief, and we included the square because we thought there should

be a kind of destination, either end of the avenue, and for us, if the purpose of Bute Avenue was to link.. the city always came first in discussions, and we felt there was huge design potential in somehow contrasting the urban nature of the city square with the maritime, leisure-type culture, of the destination of the sea. And so the material palette that we proposed, we viewed as being very civic for the square end, we also saw both of them hosting public gathering spaces, but quite different in the kind of things that they might deliver, and our idea of the square was that it was not a square but kind of an asymmetrical oval-oid type space, and the reason we did that was, that what we proposed was [and this was very much a reaction to David Mackay's rectilinear way of thinking] was that we proposed, a bit like the crescents you get in Glasgow, you get in Bath.. a curved crescent of architecture, which faced West, and the idea was.. we used to see some great sunsets down there, and it's great when you get, especially in the Winter, the glazing of architecture captures the sunset, and so that was the idea, and we'd come across a theme, I don't know how to pronounce in it Welsh, but it's a Welsh phrase which means water and fire, and so we were going to suggest this sort of arc of buildings which reflected the fire and water of the sky.. I think the more rational MBM were, the more poetic we became!.. As some reaction to them really.

JT: From what I've gathered, from reading about the project, it seems that after the involvement of the CBDC, once it was handed over to the Welsh Development Agency, I think this is where the project took a left turn, completely, Callaghan Square now, is owned by the private contractor of the Lloyd George Avenue project, and that is just office buildings at the moment, exclusively, and then there's the housing the other side.. it's interesting to see how different these proposals were in comparison to what was built.. In terms of your team's involvement with the project, how long did that last, and how did that come to an end?

JK: I guess we were involved for maybe a year, 18 months.. and what happened was, I think that David Mackay and MBM, just could not agree basically, and they're involvement was just terminated, and the whole thing just ground to a halt. They had probably done a couple of years work, before we were involved, so by the time that that happened, there wasn't time to start to start again, there just wasn't the time.. I've got a couple bits of paper; I seem to remember that we started in the autumn of '93, and it probably was just about a year, on and off, and we went to Barcelona, 2 maybe 3 times, and I seem to remember it was always winter, we did that at the beginning of the project, I don't actually remember being there in the summer..

Just to briefly to go back to the wall, I seem to remember the proposal we did.. it was enough time for us to do a lot of research, to do quite a few meetings with all the architects, both MBM and CBDC, and for us to do, a really substantial proposal and a big presentation, it must have taken us some time to do that ,and I know that the proposal had the option of either retaining the wall, or demolishing the wall, and, I would say, that the core of the design was looking for devices that would integrate the sides of the avenue, rather than... I suppose the brief was to join the North and the South as it were, but we were pushing the East and the West to be drawn in, to have equal presence, and I know that our idea.. the roadway was obviously there, but this kind of raft of community gardens and allotments, all quite symmetrical, so it was incredibly rich, it supported all sorts of leisure activities.. all the things people would do on the 'Rambla', but in a much more organic way.. and the idea was, that these gardens and spaces were never more than a few minutes walk from the neighbouring, either residents or business-people.. could arrive at this central reservation if you like, of nature, within a couple of minutes, so we had a very strong push on pedestrian activity being as important as the car.

JT: I know at the site of what is now Atlantic Wharf, that used to be mostly warehouses and industry, and just West of Butetown there is Dumballs Road, which is an area which is still warehouses, there is some businesses still working there.. I think, the opinion of the site, before any redevelopment took place, was that it was a kind of wasteland, but I think there was, potentially, not a huge amount of business and industry, but I think there was more than there was generally perceived to be, so I think a scheme which connects these two sides in this way, friendly to pedestrians and road users, would have made more sense.. interestingly as well, the Atlantic Wharf project, there was some controversy because a lot of industries, a lot of businesses of 10 people or less, were given CPOs, so that they had to move out, and that whole development became exclusively housing, and there's a place called, it's now called 'The Red Dragon Centre'; now it's basically a casino, a cinema, a couple of restaurants, and the radio station studios.. it's interesting because the development that side of 'Bute Avenue', really doesn't seem to have any connection to the past there, and when you're talking about the idea of gridded allotments, when you look at these historic maps of Butetown and that area, it would make more sense I think, to acknowledge that, or to keep it dense.. whereas Atlantic Wharf at the moment, that Google Map image I think either Jack or David emailed; half of that development is just car parking.. I walked into that area when I went in December, even though it's public; it's got the county hall there, the way it's organised, I think there's a lot of security cameras as well.. it's that kind of space where it doesn't feel like public realm, which I think is a big problem..

Form what I understand the Lloyd George Avenue project was finished in 2000, so your involvement was probably ended, in '95, or '96?

JK: Oh Yes.. I think '95 at the latest.

JT: The period after that, I've been trying to gather what was going on, the one thing I know is that in 1999 a new funding model was conjured up for the project, a PFI scheme,

and I think this is where, by the sounds of it, the Council wanted to get the project done as quickly as possible, so I think that's maybe where it took a drastic change.. also as well, interestingly, I've been reading recent planning reports online, the way the Lloyd George Scheme works is that for 25 years after the end of the contract, which I think was in the year 2000, the private developer obtains and maintains that highway, and I think it's written into the contract they have to develop so much more housing or commercial developments, and then it's handed over to the local government.. it seems very different to the earlier scheme, I've only really known that project as it stands now.. by the sounds of it CBDC were supportive of the ideas you were pushing as a team

JK: Yes.

JT: They had similar ideas about trying to integrate Butetown, or at least coming up with something that is sensitive to that community.. I don't know too much about the WDA, or how the project was run after that..

JK: I think, Ian Layzell, I think he was an urban designer, I think that he went there, that was maybe how there was some kind of continuity.

When you gave me Ian's name earlier, I googled to find out what I could about him, and I think he's involved with the Cardiff Community Housing Association, which is providing social housing.. since the end other Lloyd George Avenue project there has been a few small-scale projects in Butetown, housing.. I know CCHA was involved with that.. also in Butetown there's been some small scale redevelopment or amenities.

Have you been involved with other regeneration schemes, or smaller projects?

JK: Yes, I suppose they're often linked to, specific.. not necessarily urban schemes.. David Patten and I, prior to Cardiff, had done quite a bit of work together, when we did a lot of work for Sheffield, for Sheffield Hallam University, and it was when, it was a time when the university had annexes scattered all over Sheffield, during the period, we did this before Bute Avenue, when they were trying to get everything under one roof, it was sort of a public arts strategy, I suppose our approach was; and we got quite a bit of work off the back of it, was the integration of art, architecture and landscape, and so that was with David, my CV is on my website.. so then I did Bute Avenue, with Jack and David, and then I did Cardiff Central Station regeneration, and that was for the WDA, I did a housing project with Ian Richie, that was in Glasgow, that was out by Glasgow Green, I think it's 'Homes for the Future'..

JT: At the moment we're doing a group project, our site is Calton, and the 'Home for the Future scheme' was involved with that... something I would be interested to hear about, you said previously that community consultation or workshops, are now more commonplace in redevelopment, which I know in the recent schemes in Butetown, they've been using different models of this, in workshops, presentations and surveys and what-have-you.. is that something that's really only happened in recent years, I don't know whether in Bute Avenue, if that was at all part of the process?

JK: I think it must have been a different model, there was certainly no formal structure for it, and we did it in a very informal way.. and I am not aware that the client or the architect had had any kind of discussion, or any consultation with the community before our involvement, whereas now, when you get involved with a project, usually at the feasibility study stage, a lot of consultation will have gone on, to establish user group needs and preferences, and then what will happen is, once the designers get involved or the artists or whoever, you are guided very strongly, on what groups to talk to.. for instance I did a project, at Beatson Oncology unit at Gartnavel in Glasgow, and we were having to do some for, what used to be called the Chapel, and what is now called the Spiritual Space, and I was given the contacts of 20 different religious groups that had to be consulted, on the use of this space, so, that would be an extreme example.. whereas in Cardiff, we just wandered around Cardiff Bay, talking to people, and that is not to say that there was something more formal which happened before our involvement, but I am certainly not aware of it.

## **Ian Layzell Interview Transcript: 12/04/12 [Telephone]**

Jonathan Toon: A good place to start would be how you came to be involved with CBDC and the Cardiff Bay Regeneration Project..

Ian Layzell: OK.. I'll start at the beginning.. forgive me, this is a long time ago!.. So I started in 1993, CBDC was established in 1987, so the first, roughly four years were what people called the planning stage the strategy stage, Cardiff Bay was wider than the harbour area people think of, it extended from Penarth Haven across to Tremorfa in the east, went right up to, what is now Bute Square.. so there was a lot of work that had to be done in getting the general strategy right.. here was of political work, and preparatory work, and of course the beginning to put together all the various land parcels together, which was necessary to get development going, and then it wasn't until 1992, 1993, when they started actual work on a lot of the infrastructure, roads, works, reclamation.. all of the stuff you have to do. And also right in the very beginning, a strategy document was produced, there was a broad strategy, it basically set out how the various areas of the bay area were going to be regenerated, and in amongst there was the Bute Avenue scheme, because, one of the key objectives, if you like, which pops up time and time again in all the strategy material, was linking the city centre with its waterfront, there was various ways of doing that, but basically everyone understood early on, that it meant some kind of transport link, and it came out as a road and rail-line - and more of that later. There was various routes for, there were two roads actually; Bute Street with all the old council housing along there.. if you take a cross-section; West to East, you have the little two storey houses on Bute street, you have a big stone wall, which is the embankment for the railway, then you had another area beyond that, industrial sheds, and then a road called Collindgon Road, and then more sheds.. and that was all the old site of Bute West Dock, and that whole swathe was identified as the location of the route for this new infrastructure that was going to go in.. primarily is was a link North-South, but also it was always envisaged that it was going to have some East-to-West linkages, because that was identified early on as a problem, not least of all because the railway line is there..

JT: Basically, I've talked previously with Jane in some detail about the scheme she was working on with Jack and David; she was saying her team in particular was interested in those cross-routes, the wall was recognised as something problematic.

IL: It was recognised early on as a problem, and one of the reasons why, it was envisaged.. early on, the railway line on it's embankment, with that big stone wall, was recognised as a problem, because it basically cut-off Butetown housing from anything else. So the early scheme, the very general scheme, and indeed the early planning applications, and the early MBM scheme showed that taken away, levelled off a bit, and the world-famous tram system put in, the light rail access between the bay, and ultimately to run around Cardiff somehow, that was the early plan. So that was always a problem, what to do about it. If I say that development corporations don't have all the powers to do what they need to do; one of the powers it was never going to have was control over the railways, and then you're into another story about how the railways of Britain are run, you recognise the track is owned by one organisation, and then you have all the operators.. To cut a long story short there, as you can see today, it proved impossible to get all of those people to agree on moving the heavy rail, as it is called, all to do with subsidies and contracts, and you name it.. and it's still there

JT: Yeah, it's still in use.

IL: It still runs, it's still there and it's still a barrier; and poor old David Mackie and MBM, the master-planners, had to eventually, and the corporation indeed, had to give into that, and accept it, and work around it basically, to produce the scheme that you've got today... the other thing about the heavy rail embankment is, in the very early schemes, there was development imagined along that West side, new housing for example, and on the East side, where the housing is now, it was envisaged there would be things like a hospital, health centre, shops, you name it.. what you've got now is that long row of terraced housing. So that's the story of the railway, and you'll notice there are little places it was actually possible to knock a tunnel through, mainly at the top end, and that was the best that anybody could do. But the scheme also took on Bute street, and basically 'tidied it up', improved it.

JT: The original scheme then, involved Bute Street, directly?

IL: What the original plan.. if you imagine the cross-section again, Bute Street is lower on the West side of the wall than the Eastern side, there's the gradient there, so there's got to be some kind of embankment, but the plan was to basically have a glorious park, fronting right on to Bute Street, that would accommodate the change in level, that would incorporate the light-tram rail.. and I remember working on things for the council like basketball courts, play areas, shop outlets, things like that, dotted around this linear park, with the avenue on the eastern side.. that was the idea, that was the plan, and of course that would have allowed east-to-West pedestrian and traffic routes, indeed, criss crossing that park, so it was an objective to try and link Butetown with the new development on the east, which to date hasn't happened, because the railway couldn't be taken away.

- JT: When I was talking to Jane, talking about the Linear Park, the ideas they were working on for this, and also I think she said it was originally.. currently its a dual-carriageway, originally there was a scheme where the eastern most road served that development on the east, there was a central road, the garden was on the west, essentially it was two roads, and then Bute street would be incorporated into that landscape like you said
- IL: ..It's such a shame really, that it never happened the way it was supposed to, but nothing ever does really does it? But I guess the other way of looking at it is that maybe people should have realised the problems that would be faced by trying to move a railway line..
- JT: Were you involved at all in appointing MBM, or were they in place before?
- IL: Yeah, my job as one of the Bute Avenue team.. when I arrived in 1992-1993, the bay was divided into areas, east, west, harbour area and so on.. but my job was as, if you like, Senior Architect, working with the Senior Planner, and we were in what was called the environment team, and that's where all the architects and designers, and planners were housed, and our job was basically to oversee the commissions, consultants, to carry out all the environmental improvements.. buildings, such as the Techniquet buildings, was one of our own commissions, there were not many that we did, but we did a few.. and generally work on all of the planning work. We weren't a planning authority, but we had a role within the planning procedures; to sort of examine, vet and comment on all of the schemes that came through; so that was our job.. and then a little bit later, a couple of years later, when we moved into a new phase of implementation, I became.. I kept that general role, but I was put into the Bute Avenue team, we were more sort of a project based team then; so that was a team of engineers, architects, property people, finance, community, that was the team. Specifically to push through the Bute Avenue scheme. My job was also then in commissioning; writing the brief for people like MBM, and later the artists.. but MBM came along.. the other thing about Bute Avenue as a scheme, was that it started out as a CBDC funded scheme, entirely funded, something in the order of £30-odd million, was identified for it.. so the corporation, was going to itself, require all of the land that was needed, and then literally appoint contractors, designers to do the road, do all the landscaping, and so on. There was a competition to select master-planners for that, which people like.. I think Norman Foster was in it, and we interviewed them, Terry Farrell maybe?.. but MBM came through from Barcelona, purely on the imagination I suppose, that they showed. they were appointed, they cracked on, working with Arup the engineers, produced the scheme, the master-plan scheme.. just before the time we were preparing tender documents, the government stepped in, and remember this was before the time we had the Welsh Assembly, 1994-1995, probably a bit later, 1996; and it was a Tory government bill, John Redwood was the Secretary of State for Wales, he received orders that they needed more PFI schemes in Wales, they scouted around for something, you know, that was significant, the only one they could find was Bute Avenue.
- JT: I had know idea really how, the PFI scheme came to be..
- IL: In a nutshell that was how it happened, we were told by our pay-master; Secretary of State for Wales, that we had to turn Bute Avenue into a PFI scheme, which delayed it for what was probably a good 18 months, which is why it was never finished until we closed down. What that meant was.. I didn't get involved with the finance of it, but the whole, ridiculous business of, proving it worked.. number crunching, and then of course putting it back to tender for the PFI, and so we got all these consortia coming in, and, to cut another long story short, the winning contractor consortium was .. City Link was the name of the consortia they set up.. they had the foresight of employing MBM as their master-planner, which of course was a great advantage, and so they got the job, but the snag there was..
- JT: The design of Lloyd George Avenue itself, was that altered as a consequence of the PFI in some way?
- IL: Oh yeah, if I'm speaking personally, at that point, the whole thing starts to get watered down, for all the usual reasons, with architects taking on design-and-build architects, so basically instead of MBM being in charge of the whole process, they were then relegated to one of a team of consultants working for the lead PFI contractor, and then you get into this whole thing.. PFI is all about, so that the contractor is reducing their risk, so it wasn't that it was all done on the cheap, but, there are lots and lots of details, coming down to things like paving, lighting, things that actually, you see and can touch, started to get watered down.. plus the Highways department at Cardiff County Council were involved, because everything that was done, even though if it was going to be run by the PFI contractor for 25 years, everything had to be done in accordance with the Highways Act, so that got tricky.. I came into arguments with them, they wanted this dimpled paving at crossings, you know, and they wanted them in a certain cream colour.. all of that sort of stuff.
- But poor old MBM had a hard time, they were, at the end of the day, pushed to the back seat, in a monitoring role, and the PFI team took on their own designers, landscape architects, to actually do all the details and design and build the stuff. It all got a bit watered down, nevertheless, it's not bad.. could have been a lot worse. But it's ended up really, nothing like, the full scheme that MBM were planning..
- and then of course you've got the whole business with the housing down on the East side, where we were, by then, originally that was going to be sold of by the corporation,



for developers to build, which was under our control, but then of course it came under the PFI scheme; something that was in the control of the PFI contractor; income to subsidise the building road. That created difficulties as well, and because at the time, the only things for developers was housing, to make profit, and that's what they ended up coming back with. And again, they went out to find builders like Persimmon, Barret, Wimpy; they offloaded their contractual responsibility to them.. there's some CCHA housing, halfway down, which you can't tell the difference, it all looks the same, but there were various house builders involved, housing was the only thing that was going to work, there was a couple of shops tucked in, because the planners dug their heels in, it's a city, and you've absolutely got to have it.. there you have it.. it's a good old story of planning and development in Britain, in the '90s.

JT: So MBM by the end of the process, weren't entirely involved. In terms of Jane, Jack and David, how did they get involved.

IL: Cardiff Bay, right from the outset, had a public art policy.. one of the things we would do was promote public art, there was a specific budget specified for that, you would have seen stuff all over the place, all directly commissioned by CBDC, and there was the Cardiff Bay Arts Trust, we gave them the money, and they went off and commissioned.. when it came to the Bute Avenue scheme, it was always something that was going to be part of the scheme, the Cardiff City planning approvals required it, it was a condition of planning, MBM wanted it, that was the reason. So the time came of course, the basic scheme had be done, it was time to introduce the artists, we went through the usual routine of interview, presentations, it was agreed that we would have not just one but six different locations around the whole scheme, top to bottom. Jack, Jane and David were successful, got to work.. its fair to say they had a hard time, it was also fair to say MBM were having a hard time, because the money was cut, cut, cut, it became very difficult, but they hung in there and produced work. The PFI decision was quite critical really, you can compare it with parks that we built on our own; Plymouth Park in Penarth Haven, Tremorfa Park out in Tremorfa; up in Adamsdown, Splott area, and the Oval Basin for example, which were all corporation, commissioned and built projects, we had a lot of control over the finished design, the point about the PFI is that we lost a lot of control.

JT: From what I've read about the PFI, its maintained and operated by the private contractor for, I think , 25 years, and then there's a set of outcomes, they need to build so much, office infrastructure in Callaghan Square..

IL: That's right.. Atlantic Wharf started before the Corporation, that was a private venture between the Port Authority, in partnership with the council.

JT: CBDC didn't have any involvement with that at a later stage?

IL: It was pretty much being built by the time CBDC got going, all that housing that you see, the pub, the wharf, in fact the very first piece of regeneration was the South Glamorgan Council building.. it was because they had that land, it was in their ownership, and they decided to do something with it.. there was still this huge swathe of derelict land, that nobody was going to touch, in-between.. but talking about the PFI, there was a time when it wasn't going to include development land, but there was humming and hawing about that, but everyone thought that it helped the scheme, helped to finance it.. so then the housing along Lloyd George Avenue was included, and the Offices at Callaghan Square were included, a deal was done between City-Link with MEPC, the developers, they took on the building of Phase I which is that curved building you see.. and the whole of that arc development was in MBM's master-plan.

JT: Another question I had, Jane alongside Jack and David were finding it quite difficult to work with MBM, or that there was some difference in opinion..

IL: That's right, you reminded me, there, a similar thing happened with Oval Basin, Nicholas Hare, we appointed to design that, a very well established Cambridge practice.. he also did the first office building on Bute Square, we wanted him to, so we promoted him, and tied him up with the developer, MEPC, MEPC being a fairly sophisticated London firm, that knew what was good; who took him on, which any local developer wouldn't have done at all.. with MBM, the Olympic waterfront in Barcelona, they designed every nut and bolt of that, they were of the opinion they 'didn't needs artists' to come in and re-design their scheme, they did have their difficult moments

JT: From what I understand, CBDC and Jane's team, were very much interested in the idea of opening up connections with Butetown and the new development, and she described, that MBM weren't so interested in this?

IL: .. Bear in mind the other point I made to you, the corporation was given no, it wasn't a housing authority, it had now ownership or powers to do anything with the Butetown housing, it was strictly in the ownership of the council.. the council didn't want the corporation to have anything to do with it either, so there was a very sharp dividing line there, which predicated, against anything happening.. I can't remember any major, strategic problems that they had, and then of course there were different stages as well, there was a stage when the avenue was literally going to connect with Bute Street, and then when the railway couldn't be moved.. on that score by the way, one of the things I was responsible for, which was good fun; early on into the scheme we did public consultation; we created lots of questions

about what people wanted, play spaces, we did a questionnaire and posted through everybody living in the area.. I think we got about 50% back, and then we carried out what was a sort of live-planning workshop, where we invited members of the public in for the weekend, I don't know if you've seen these? We gave them little models of various features.. they were kind of designing their own scheme,

JT: This is a system I was looking into with the new redevelopment in Loudoun Square, the new shopping facilities, I know there was a similar kind of system for that, events which get the community involved, and it seems like what they are doing there, seems to be fairly successful.. one question I've had, which you've answered, was if there was any community consultation involved with the Bute Avenue scheme

IL: Well there was, a lot, I was quite proud of it

JT: It seems to be something which is more common place now, but which in this period, was probably more rare..

IL: There was a series of workshops in the community centre, a travelling trailer, we did events in the school, at St. Mary's, that was priceless, these are like 7-8 year olds; were coming up with ideas that were just stunning.. so there was all of that, one thing I would say though, through this stage of consultation and planning, dealing with the locals, and bear in mind our environment department, Cardiff Bay always had a community team, and there were people whose job it was to go out everyday and connect, link-up with the community.. one of the things that came out was, we were proposing to knock the old embankment wall down, and many people in Butetown didn't want it, for various reasons, sentimental, because it had been there a long time, and it was like a landmark, and I can remember them saying; they wanted to keep it there, because they didn't want 'all those yuppies', from across the wall coming over!.. that was really odd, you know, with the best will in the world everyone was thinking 'yeah, let's open the wall up'.. they were saying, no, we want it stay where it is, protecting.. So the wall was cleaned up, quite nicely, to tell you the truth part of the plan was to keep parts of the wall anyway.

JT: From what I understand, talking to Jane, was that, the wall would be opened up, 1:4 ratio, but parts were to be kept..

IL: That was the plan.. even MBM were looking to keep bits of it, because it was a memory of the past, and historic.. the Light-Rail was going to be further East, from the rail-line, on the side of the carriageway, leaving quite a large, nice area for the Linear Park.

JT: Even though it would be looking very far ahead, if the tram-system had been implemented, was there talk of connecting that up to larger system..

IL: There was talk..but I mean, there was never any scheme in place, with organisational funding for running a tram-system around Cardiff, and there still isn't.

JT: From what I understand, there's still.. is it an ongoing concern?

IL: The planning permission for the square, is still not implemented, at the East end, still not finished, if you've seen the early plans, the arc comes down the the East-to-West road.. there's still a requirement there to re-route the bridge, to allow that part of the Northern carriageway to be built. It is still a concern if you like, the best anyone was thinking of, was that the Light-Rail, would go up the avenue, it would curve across the square, terminating at the back of the station [Queen Street], that's the best that anybody came up with, that was feasible.. one day it could be done, there;s no doubt about it, the system is still there, the planning permission is still there. The other thing about the square, and an interesting point, for you, is the South-side, the road runs across, and you see just hoardings, and land runs across?..

JT: Yeah, I've walked down there

IL: Yeah, that's a big shame, because all of that was allocated for development, all of that was in the master-plan

JT: There's the Greek Church by there, is that right?

IL: That's right, again, it's a great shame that that hasn't been developed, its still in the control of MEPC, perhaps someone will know in the planning department.. there's private stuff being done on Dumballs Road, but of course the other point about that is, that was another connection to the Butetown Estate, there were ways through on the plan, and that was another important feature that was gone.. there's a road at the top end of the Butetown housing,

JT: Canal Parade?

IL: It may well be yeah.. it would be, it's the old canal route, and that was seen as a major link, and of course that's not there.

- JT: I was in Cardiff Central Library, looking at some of the planning documents, from the Council, from around the late 1980s, in the lead up maybe, to CBDC.. I remember seeing diagrams, where they were looking at pedestrian routes, to the inner harbour through Butetown, alongside Bute Street.. it seems there was going to be more of a pedestrian/car balance along the avenue, at the moment there are these wide boulevard-pavements, I don't know if it's to do with the distance or not, the last time I went, over Christmas, there's never many people walking that route..
- IL: One of the things about Bute Avenue, if you remember the first comment; it is the way in which the city centre is linked with its waterfront, it was seen as a major route, it was also envisaged, early on, that it would have a fairly high density of development along it, and so the expectation was, in the late '80s-early '90s, that it would be a wonderful site for commercial development.. so what transpired, was that one side was developed with fairly low density housing; instead of 4 and 6 storey flats, you end up with 3 storeys, so the population is very light. The activity on that boulevard is not as it was expected.
- JT: Now that it's predominantly residential, there's the part of the Red Dragon Centre.. to me it seems like one of those developments that is designed with the car in mind, if you imagine those out of town bowling alleys, cinemas, its that kind of layout, which seems odd to me, to be in an inner-city location.
- IL: It's a funny one though, it was never going to be a major route in terms of traffic, it was primarily going to be a park with a tram-line on it. It was never in the highways forecast, there was never any heavy traffic expectations there.
- JT: The other side of Atlantic Wharf there's the central link, it seems that there already is a major North-South traffic link in place
- IL: This was one of the conundrums of the whole scheme; the central link is the local highway authority's major route, that's part of their 'box' which takes you down to the Bay.. Bute Avenue, like I said earlier, there were other routes for, one was along the old canal path, but that didn't give the potential for landscaping and development along the side of it... but one of the conundrums was, you had this route, about a mile long, it wasn't going to be a heavy traffic route, it wasn't going to be a heavy traffic route, one of the things MBM initially decided, was to have this single traffic route, 7 metres wide, but it would just look ridiculous.. so they actually scaled it up, to make it more of a feature, more of an urban statement, and that boulevard to the side of it, with the trees running down, it was hoped that was going to be a fairly busy place, with shops and offices and what have you along it...  
and then there's the way the whole avenue terminates, it comes around those water features, in front of the Millennium Centre, the original scheme was to carry the avenue, even before MBM, it was going to carry through to the side of Oval Basin, and carry on across the Barrage. the barrier that was hit there, was Associated British Ports Ownershop, they owned the whole of that waterfront area.  
One thing I will say, and that I have learnt, through all of that, and my earlier incarnation in London Docklands, is that the very first thing that you need to have control over is the land. The major part of the cost of Bute Avenue, was the CPO, in putting that swathe of land together.
- JT: Were there plans at all to have work-place, infrastructure in place along Bute Avenue?.. I guess the most profitable land-use, as in the case of Atlantic Wharf, would have been residential..
- IL: It was then, it wouldn't be now.. it was a bold venture in many ways, the idea of the light-Rail, the idea of taking the railway away, you could say now it was possibly naïve; that the idea of a mile-long boulevard with shops, offices, housing, community, public buildings, was nonsensical.. we started in 1987, and by 1997, the markets had changed. You're always faced with that.. you could say again, that it was all developed for housing along that stretch of the Avenue, but, on the other hand, if they hadn't done that, if they hadn't secured all those developers, house-builders, you'd end up with what you've got on the South Side of the Square, which is just a vacant site.. it's always a balance.
- JT: So, from what I understand you had some involvement with Lloyd George Avenue, up to it's construction
- IL: When the PFI started, we became, if you like, the clients, which was very, very boring, it was also being designed for real then, 1998-1999. the planning application when back to 1994, and there was a subsequent planning application in 1996.. so my job then was to sit, with the PFI contractor, and their design-team, and work up the design with the Council: the highways department and the council planning department. Sat in a room once a week, and argued about stuff, basically.
- JT: With PFIs, the intention I understand, is that it's an incentive by which to build something fast?
- IL: No, no, no..PFI's came from a Tory government, what it was all about originally, some genius in the treasury, worked out a way by which to have all this public infrastructure

built, and for it to not appear on, what they say are 'the books', the public accounts, you've offloaded it, and you pay it back over a number of years.

JT: I know with Lloyd George Avenue, the unitary payment was around £5 million, which has increased due to indexation to around £7 million..

IL: Yeah.. well you can guarantee, for obvious reasons, it'll end up costing more than it would have if you'd done it yourself.

JT From what I understand, is the controversy around that scheme, it's uncertain what the cost was for the private developer to make it..

IL I think the contract, the value of the PFI contract, to build what you see, was around £50 million, and then they're paid over 25 years to maintain it, one interesting thing about that, and PFIs, which is good, is that the contractor works very hard with the designers, to make sure they're putting in their weight.. the PFI in terms of Bute Avenue, delayed the scheme, it takes ages to go through the financial approvals for it, that it's feasible, it works, gaining approval from the treasury and so on, and then of course, you have to go out to tender again; there's a lot of wrangling about standards, about specification, all of that, which if we'd been building it ourselves, within our control.. with some good project management, it would have been close to the budget, like all the other schemes we did in the Bay.

JT: Do you think it was brought in as a measure..

IL: It was a treasury policy of the time, UK wide, they wanted to get public infrastructure schemes off 'the books', they were scouted around in the region, and they got Bute Avenue.. it wasn't done for any other reason, than I think, I would say was a political reason.

JT: ..I think the PFI has a big role to play, I think, in the change of the scheme..

IL: It does..talking about East-to-West links, that was again part of the scheme, there were 4 spur roads, off into Butetown, and across the Canal Park.

JT: It's interesting when you were saying.. the wall, has in some ways, taken on a lot of different meanings, but getting rid of it entirely, possibly wouldn't make sense.. in some way there is a part of history there, opening it up in more of a considered way could work.

IL: There were plans for these fingers of movement, through the wall.. the other glitch with development corporations was that what they could spend money on, was dictated by what was then, the Department of the Environment; the UK government, so there were only certain categories of works which you could spend the budget on, and we weren't allowed to spend money on Council Owned property, as much we would have loved to.. that was a problem.

JT: .. the housing that was built on the east side of Lloyd George Avenue.. is any of that social housing?

IL: There's a chunk.. about 2/3s of the way up, a terrace, which in the end, CCHA developed as part of the master-plan; subsidised by a social housing grant, and generally it fits the theme, but that's it as you see it. As it was developed as part of the PFI.