

Notes for Haringey Housing and Regeneration Scrutiny Panel

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- Dr Jane Lewis is a Senior Lecturer in Sociology and Social Policy at London Metropolitan University. She has worked previously as a lecturer in urban regeneration and in geography as well as in urban regeneration and economic development posts in local government in London. Jane has wide experience teaching at under-graduate and post-graduate levels with specific expertise in urban inequalities; globalisation and global inequalities; housing and urban regeneration policy and is course leader of the professional doctorate programme in working lives and of masters' courses in urban regeneration and sustainable cities dating back to 2005. Jane has a research background in cities and in urban inequalities, urban regeneration policy and economic and labour market conditions and change.

aims

- 1. Invited following presentation Haringey Housing Forum on concerns relating to council estate regeneration schemes in London in name of mixed communities polices
- 2. Senior Lecturer Social Policy at LMU (attached note)
- 3. Terms of reference of Scrutiny Panel focus on 1and 2 – relating to rehousing of council tenants in HDV redevelopments and to 7 – equalities implications

Haringey Development Vehicle (HDV) and Northumberland Park

- ‘development projects’ proposed for the first phase of the HDV include Northumberland Park Regeneration Area – includes 4 estates, Northumberland Park estate largest
- Northumberland Park Regeneration Area largest project HDV will be involved in
- LB Haringey high levels inequality – concentration deprivation in east of Borough and in Northumberland Park in particular – suffers some of highest levels deprivation in country - amongst 5% most deprived SOA’s in England – low and falling incomes, high unemployment and very high levels education and health inequalities (10 year difference life span men) – also 48% population white as compared to 66% in LBH and 71% London and 38% population black/black British (20% LBH, 10% London)
- First and foremost – talking about deprivation and poverty – ‘equalities implications’ of proposed HDV

Aims for regeneration Northumberland Park Regeneration Area

- LB Haringey (2015) *Haringey's Housing Strategy 2015-2020* - 'mixed communities [is] at the heart of our approach'
- wanting a mix of homes across the borough to address housing market imbalance –affordable new homes in centre and west and more market and intermediate homes in Tottenham (62% social housing)
- Tottenham Strategic Regeneration Framework (2014), Tottenham Area Action Plan, Strategic Master Plan (2015) – all identify Northumberland Park Regeneration Area –as in need of comprehensive regeneration involving shift from single tenure council housing estate to mixed tenure development
- Northumberland Park seen as having potential to deliver new homes – mention of delivering 2000 new homes– land owned by Council and current estate is low density

‘what will the HDV mean for Northumberland Park residents?’

- ‘do our utmost to rehouse any existing council tenants’
- Mixed communities and more of a mix of homes
- large proportion likely to be demolished
- Promise same number of ‘habitable rooms’ rather than same number of housing units – 45% stock one bedroom flats
- Raises questions over future houses owned by HDV and HDV tenancies
- **Lessons and safeguards from other council housing estate regeneration developments in London?**

'Mixed communities' policies as a means of reducing growing concentration of deprivation in council estate estates

- Mixed communities/mixed tenure policies become key part housing (planning/regeneration) policy for last 20 years since 1990s/2000s in UK and more widely in US (HOPE VI)/Europe (Netherlands – focus on ethnic de-concentration)
- **Why?**
- Developed in context growing concentration poverty and deprivation in council housing estates in the UK in 1970s/80's and 90's
- **Solution**
- Reduce concentration of deprivation and poverty in poor neighbourhoods through developing a **mix of tenure and diluting poverty by attracting higher income residents into low income single-tenure neighbourhoods**
- Hills (2007) *Ends and Means. The Future of Social Housing in England* - highlighted the **growing concentration of poverty in social housing and growing income polarisation between tenures and argued that key way to improve poor council housing estates was to change them from single tenure estates to 'genuinely mixed communities'**

'mixed communities' and council estate regeneration policy in 2017

- **Increasingly** seen as 'only' means of both regenerating council housing estates as
- **financial model** – new private housing subsidises new social housing
- tackling housing crisis - increasing number of new homes – increasing the density of council housing estates and optimising LA owned land
- Adonis and Davis (2015) *City Villages: More homes, better communities* IPPR volume of essays – 'City villages comprise socially mixed, multi-tenure housing' -optimising local authority owned land
- Savills (2016) *Completing London's Streets* - densification social housing estates to build more housing – key focus of policy today
- **That policy makers everywhere accept uncritically mixed communities policies in the face of evidence which suggests they will not be successful in terms of social inclusion or reducing poverty and will lead to significant gentrification (Bridge et al (2012) *Mixed Communities. Gentrification by Stealth*)**

3 main lines criticism of mixed communities policies (Bridge et al. 2012)

- **1. most mixed community policy is one-sided** – seldom advocated (or implemented because of land costs) in wealthier neighbourhoods
- **2. in terms of claims of greater social interaction, social capital** – that there is little evidence that people from diverse backgrounds ‘actually mix’ - **DCLG (2010) research also no evidence more social interaction** - assumptions that physical proximity leads to closer social ties – is challenged in work of Butler and Robson (2003) on Brixton – incoming middle classes attracted by idea of diversity but no evidence social interactions – or Davidson’s (2010) research on socially mixed neighbourhoods in the redevelopment of riverside in London by major developers – **which highlights high levels of segregation, gated developments and new residents in privately owned housing not seeing ‘the local area as offering appropriate or desirable retail, public, social and leisure facilities’ and instead gravitating towards central London and spending their money and leisure time elsewhere** – little investment in surrounding neighbourhood
- **3. That mixed communities policies tackle the symptoms of poverty and inequality and not the causes** (Cheshire. 2007) – **mixed communities policy cannot reduce deprivation** – statistics may show an increase in educational attainment, in income levels – but this reflects the composition of the incoming residents **not any improvements in economic circumstances of existing residents**
- Cheshire (2007) **disputes the view that’ making communities more mixed makes the life chances of the poor any better’** - low income people can benefit from living in low cost areas
- **Successful at improving ‘place poverty’ not ‘people poverty’**

Main concerns

displacement of low income residents, gentrification of council housing estates and loss of social housing

- council housing estates were seen as a 'buffer' to gentrification in London – changing fast plans to regenerate/demolish council housing estates and redevelop them into new mixed tenure communities taking place across London
- pressure to realise both high value and under-utilisation of LA owned land
- Key battle ground
- Evidence **displacement** – either **direct** (decanting/rehousing) or **indirect** (rents/costs become too high) of existing residents
- Council estate regeneration schemes across London are leading to gentrification and 'social cleansing'
- loss of large numbers of social housing
- and the creation of more segregated not more balanced communities

Loss of social housing

- Current mixed-tenure approach to estate regeneration is leading to a further decline in social housing
- GLA (2015) report on the challenges of estate regeneration looked at 50 schemes planned over the period in London from 2005-2015
- while overall number of homes set to double from 34,000 to 68,000
- 8,000 fewer social homes and
- 33,000 more private market homes

Examples of mixed tenure council estate regeneration policies in London

- **Large number of regeneration schemes on council housing estates across London in which partnership with local authority and private developer (and housing associations) – all involve:**
- **Increase in density (commonly double housing density)**
- **Shift to mixed tenure, 50% or more private sale**
- **Loss of social housing units**
- **Displacement of existing low income residents (tenants and leaseholders)**
- **Aylesbury and Heygate estates in LB Southwark, Ferrier estate in LB Greenwich, Woodberry Down estate in LB Hackney are some of largest**

Heygate and Aylesbury estates

- **Heygate estate** – 1200 council homes demolished replaced by 2469 new homes – 25% 'affordable' but only 80 social homes
- Lend Lease developer – LB Southwark sold land £50m – first thing they did was to revise down the proportion of social housing from 35% negotiated with LB Southwark – no monitoring of profit income – not eligible until end development in 2025
- Large increase in density/shift to mixed tenure/displacement social housing residents (Lees maps of location of displaced residents) and loss social housing – gentrification (land values)- new Elephant Oak development – over £1m for 2 bedroom flat
- wider Elephant and Castle redevelopment/opportunity area – 5000 new homes - 1,715 affordable homes, 874 of which will be shared ownership – 629 at rates up to 40% market rate and 212 at up to 50% of market rent
- **Aylesbury estate** - 2759 homes demolished and replaced by 4200 new homes – 1525 social homes - **50% for sale and 50% affordable** of which 75% social and 25% intermediate)
- Tenants promise of return to new social home with L&Q (phase 1) and Notting Hill Housing Trust
- Large increase in density/shift to mixed tenure/loss of social housing (1000)
- **most marketable sites – overlooking Burgess Park – private sale (maximise profits)**

35% Campaign

- Developers shifting the goal posts once they have contract
- Substituting affordable rent homes for social rent (developers and housing associations) – council estate regeneration schemes in which developers delivering affordable rent homes when social rent homes were required by planning consent – across London
- Ferrier estate in LB Greenwich 1906 homes demolished and replaced by 4400 mixed tenure – Berkeley Homes on Kidbrook Village site 67 affordable rent homes at up to 62% market rent built in place of 67 supposedly social rent homes
- Claremont estate in Brixton Notting Hill Housing Trust (RSL on Aylesbury estate) sold land by LB Lambeth for £1.5m on basis would provide 100% social housing - pleaded viability problems and new agreement 40% affordable of which 70% social homes – so far all 37 units built are affordable at up to 68% market rent
- Local authorities often no procedures in place for monitoring and enforcement of Section 106 affordable and social housing agreements

Woodberry Down estate, LB Hackney

- Principles of regeneration of Woodberry Down council estate – an estate of over 2000 homes built in 1940's/50s – in the planning policy documents set out clear aims to develop **'cohesive mixed communities', an 'integrated and balanced community', a 'tenure blind' community**
- Partnership developer Berkeley Homes working with LB Hackney, Genesis Housing Association and Woodberry Down Community Organisation (WDCO)
- Serious issues emerging and WDCO and LB Hackney beginning to ask serious questions about the way the development is going (WDCO 2016)
- Concern is about what type of community is being developed and that what is emerging are 2 highly segregated communities – social 'apartheid', polarised between lower income social housing tenants and wealthy new residents and (absent) investors, no 'middle income'
- **'growing demarcation between affordable and other tenures'**

Woodberry Down estate, LB Hackney

- Phased demolition of estate – 2000 homes replaced by over 5000 new homes by 2031
- increase in density
- new mixed tenure development – 40% social rent and shared ownership and 60% private sale
- loss of social housing – 1555 social homes (80% of estate) replaced when finished by 1088 social homes – **loss of 547 social homes** - plus 1177 'affordable' homes
- Existing tenants move only once, rehoused and flats of same size guaranteed

Growing concerns

A balanced and integrated community in Woodberry

Down: WDCO.s View (2016)

- **Growing tension and changing goal posts by developer:**
- **‘growing demarcation between affordable and other tenures’:**
- Berkeley Homes 3 developments – Skyline (30 floors) £1.1-£1.2m, Park Collection £1m and Nature Collection £560,000 to £1m – not originally supposedly targeting overseas and high end luxury market
- Marketed extensively in south east Asia – 55% first phase sold to overseas investors – large ‘buy-to let’ – transient tenants – many residents weekday only
- Second tower - not in first master plan
- Postponement of demolition of ‘seven blocks’ – worse condition on estate – first areas to be developed not worse but most marketable – overlooking reservoir where private ownership over-represented
- Berkeley Homes want private gyms and swimming pools for sole use private owners in private blocks – challenged by WDCO/LB Hackney
- Private blocks have private security guards (Genesis no longer afford) and concierge
- Private homes superior courtyards, water features and other open space which is often gated - Rivulet Gardens private paths and locked gates
- Retail strategy – Berkeley Homes own – not allowing fish and chip, pound shops – encourage the type of retail that will attract people to buy flats – Italian Deli, cafe

Woodberry Down – new private apartments

The Park Collection at Woodberry Down
Luxury Premium Apartments and Penthouses in
tranquil natural surroundings

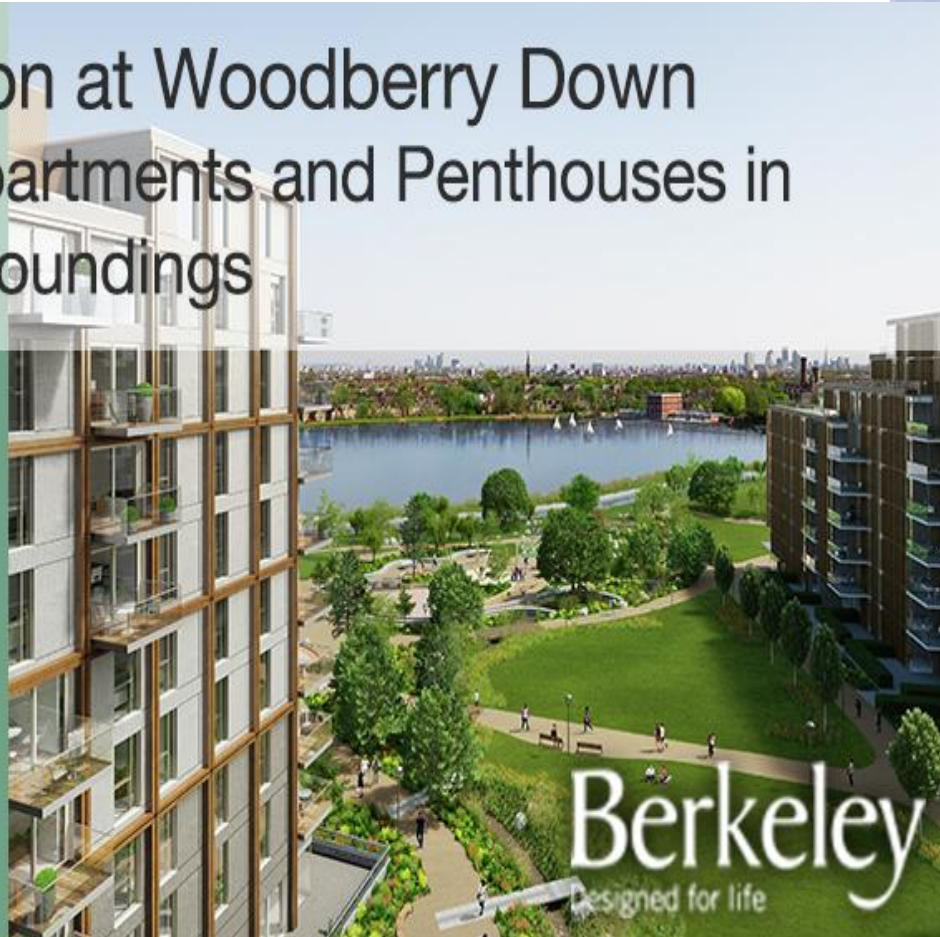
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Some lessons, safeguards and models

- Increasingly market-led and increasing shift away from principles of balanced and integrated or mixed community
- Developer has power – particularly given financial model in which social housing funded in part through sale private homes – argue need to realise highest market value
- Developer changes goalposts arguing that market has changed (Brexit)– now need to target more high end/overseas investors
- Creating **highly segregated and separate communities** – perhaps especially so and difficult In London given London housing market - and growing economic and housing market inequality in London – creating genuinely mixed communities becomes even and ever harder
- Certainly in Woodberry Down there are growing difficulties and growing concerns emerging
- council housing estates are being demolished all over London and replaced with mixed tenure developments involving gentrification, displacement and the loss of social housing
- Lessons to be learned from all of these examples of council estate regeneration – from talking to the tenants associations
- Growing numbers of campaigns and campaigning organisations highlighting key issues and lessons
- Growing number of alternative models
- Including growing evidence that refurbishment is often a better solution than demolition
- Of course, basics – resident involvement (real participation), no loss of social housing and increase in social housing and in affordable housing at significantly less than 80% market rent, every resident right to be rehoused, same tenancy and rent
- But the question is, solution to what? It depends, of course, on what the aims are in the first place.

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