Changing places, changing lives

Assessing the impact of housing association regeneration

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Introduction

At L&Q we want to mark our 50th anniversary year by learning from our achievements and developing a set of principles that will guide us over the next 50 years.

We set out to discover the ingredients for successful cities and communities, and to explore how, in a world of austerity, we can continue to create places where people want to live.

Some of our discussion has taken place on our dedicated Future of Housing hub on the Guardian's Housing Network site. This hub has attracted up to 40,000 page views and 33,000 unique visitors every month. 'Creating places where people want to live' – our mission statement – is clearly a topic which people are passionate about.

We also decided to bring in independent experts to probe our own practice more deeply, and help us identify what we need to learn for the future. We turned to Goldsmiths, University of London, and their renowned Centre for Community and Urban Research. We asked the CCUR to assess L&Q's impact across six regeneration projects in London.

Is there evidence that we are improving physical, social and economic conditions, or is our mission no more than words? What recommendations can CCUR's action research offer to help us develop better places going forward?

Introduction

50 years of creating places where people want to live

By definition this research analyses the work of one housing association in just the one geographical location of London. We want to share our findings, as a contribution to the wider debate.

We also asked the Guardian's housing network to help add a national perspective.

The housing network surveyed housing professionals throughout the country, and editor Jane Dudman summarises these views and feedback here.

A fascinating discussion, but have we developed a set of principles to guide L&Q over the next 50 years?

We believe we have made a good start. Here's what our key partners believe:

We are a social business, driven by a social mission. We change lives. We are not a local authority but we are much more than a private company.

'Creating places where people want to live' starts with building more homes but it is about much more than that. To succeed in future we must:

- Connect with health, education, employment, the arts and whatever works locally;
- Tap into local communities, local intelligence and local commitment;
- Create tenure-blind mixed communities, rich in diversity;
- Assess the impact of our work over the long-term and share the results;
- Learn from different approaches;
- Focus on what we do best and work with like-minded organisations to do the rest; and
- Forge strong partnerships, based on trust, with local authorities to deliver their vision.

If there is anything good about austerity it is that it is liberating – we could wait for the money to come back but we will probably wait a long time. Instead, we are taking responsibility for our own future.

With liberation comes choice and with choice comes risk – the risk that we could lose sight of our founding social principles.

That is why this discussion is so important to us. In the year of our 50th anniversary we want to embed our social principles deep in our foundations so that we stay true to them forever.

In 50 years' time we want the documentaries to tell us that we got it right: that austerity forced us to reinvent housing and that, in partnership with others, we created places where people want to live.

David Montague
Chief Executive, L&Q

Aerial view of Haggerston

The national perspective

Housing lies at the heart of all our lives. We are in the grip of a housing shortage that affects us all, but designing, building and maintaining communities where people feel safe, comfortable and proud to live is about so much more than just laying bricks.

Housing has a huge part to play in creating vibrant, resilient communities, but despite this, our national survey of Guardian Housing Network members, carried out to complement this report, highlights a surprising lack of confidence about demonstrating the impact of housing on both national and local economic health and well-being.

A staggering 90% of housing professionals in the survey said they did not think the housing sector is good enough at explaining its work and the positive social and economic impact housing has on local communities.

"At present, the government thinks we perpetuate dependence, rather than help people become better citizens," was one comment. Another said they see little evidence of government taking into account the many ancillary benefits of improving housing, including better health, better educational attainment, lower anti-social behaviour and crime. "The government does not recognise the work we do to achieve their targets," commented one housing professional. "We do for free what they are paying work programme providers to deliver," said another.

The national perspective

Housing at the heart of lives

Why are housing professionals so reticent about highlighting their very real achievements, given the huge and growing demand for housing and the present fiscal climate, which makes the need for community building by the housing sector greater than ever?

One reason has been a lack of central acknowledgement of the sector's wider impact. Danny Alexander, chief secretary to the Treasury, recently acknowledged that the government has been slow to realise the importance of housing as a potential driver of economic recovery. The focus is usually on roads, rail, broadband and energy. But there are signs of change, with an indication of government willingness to take the financial measures necessary, such as increasing more flexibility on how much local authorities can borrow.

This report is being launched on the day chancellor George Osborne will announce the comprehensive spending review for government spending in 2015. At a time when local authorities have already seen spending cut to the bone and many senior community leaders have expressed their concerns about the implications for local services, the independent research carried out by Goldsmiths demonstrates the real impact of housing.

Housing professionals have a huge role to play in building communities – yet 81% of the housing professionals in the Guardian's national survey said the sector is failing to track and demonstrate the impact of their work across local communities. "There is some fantastic work being done, but outcomes are not recorded or publicised as much as they could be," said one professional.

Almost three-quarters of the professionals in the Guardian survey agreed that housing associations are an increasingly important source of community development funding, given the current tough financial climate. "We are one of the few organisations increasing our budgets in this area," said one professional. "Social housing is a crucial part of the social fabric for low-income communities," commented another.

Part of the success of community cohesion has been the development of mixed-tenure neighbourhoods – 86% of housing professionals in our survey agreed that this is vital for successful regeneration, although several acknowledged the challenges involved and one member pointed out that tenure per se is less important than income.

Our survey for the Guardian Housing Network underlines the main conclusions of this independent research report. There is more need than ever to measure the impact of the housing sector and we need commonly recognised ways to do this, including both soft outcomes and quantifiable results. This is not, of course, an issue limited to housing. Academics and charity professionals have faced similar challenges in measuring and highlighting the impact of their work at a national economic level.

Reductions in funding for housing, combined with welfare reform and rent caps, will increase the pressure on the housing sector to balance financial and social aims. As one housing professional put it, "Safe and secure housing is essential for stable, healthy and fruitful lives."

The pressing question for all housing professionals is how to capture and quantify the undoubted benefits of housing and present those benefits at a national level, to gain recognition from central government, particularly George Osborne and his colleagues at the Treasury.

There is still more to do. But the need is clear. Housing forms the literal building blocks of local communities. The picture could not be clearer: "Families and workers need domestic stability to contribute to the economy and establish themselves in communities through their children, schools, jobs and so on."

The Guardian Housing Network has been pleased to work with L&Q and Goldsmiths on this report, which we hope will be just the beginning of an informed, national debate about the role of the sector within the wider economic recovery of the whole country.

Jane Dudman
Editor, Guardian Housing Network

"Safe and secure housing is essential for stable, healthy and fruitful lives."

L&Q regeneration area impact assessment research

A report from Goldsmiths, University of London, Centre for Community and Urban Research by Imogen Slater, Susan Lelliott, Alison Rooke and Gerald Koessl June 2013

River Mill Park, Lewisham

01 Executive summary

The Changing Places, Changing Lives research into L&Q's 'community impact' demonstrates the unique position of housing associations as social landlords. It examines seven neighbourhoods, which span two periods in urban governance: the area-based initiatives of the last Labour government, which aimed to regenerate and 'renew' specific neighbourhoods characterised by large swathes of public housing; and the current housing policy of the coalition government, which places an emphasis on decentralisation and localism (rather than centralised spatial strategies). With the demise of regeneration monies, such as the Single Regeneration Budget and New Deal for Communities, and the considerable cuts to the budgets of local authority services, the ability of social landlords to attract mobile capital, nurture indigenous capacity and talent and provide community resources at this time is particularly significant as they shape urban neighbourhoods.

The research clearly points to extensive impacts upon the social and cultural landscapes that L&Q is working within. As developers, L&Q clearly have a commitment to not merely developing better homes but also to creating better neighbourhoods for the residents living in them, through partnerships with local agencies and stakeholders. This is born out over time through the work of housing associations' neighbourhood management and community investment teams.

Executive summary

Changing places, changing lives

The research finds that L&Q engage with tenants, residents, leaseholders, shared owners and outright buyers during the course of their work. By necessity, they therefore develop strong and lasting relationships with neighbourhoods. L&Q work to build relationships with delivery partners, local organisations and groups. They are therefore in a pivotal position in relation to the creation of real communities. L&Q has demonstrated that housing associations can contribute to physical enhancement, social environment, and community engagement and cohesion in neighbourhoods. These impacts are often over and above those associated with the award-winning design and redevelopment of homes and urban spaces that L&Q delivers. In undertaking regeneration, L&Q's approach, which involves working with a range of partners and residents combined with grassroots community development and delivery, wider social impacts undoubtedly occur.

The title of this report, Changing Places, Changing Lives, resonates with some of the strongest themes of this research. L&Q are working in parts of London undergoing tremendous change as the built environment transforms, bringing a new level of density to urban centres and the associated changes to local demographics. Many of the areas studied are characterised by population growth, which is over 4 times the national average (8 per cent) and more then double the population increase of London as a whole (14 per cent). The mixed tenure communities which are brought into being through these processes need careful weighting and management if they are to be truly interactive and viable. The title of this report invokes the ways that housing associations as agents of urban change, in their role as developers, landlords and neighbourhood managers, impact on the lives of Londoners beyond bricks and mortar in this urban context. Social housing providers therefore carry the responsibility of ensuring that these changes are widely beneficial to the people whose lives are affected.

Research aims

One of the questions the research aimed to address was the extent to which L&Q is creating 'viable communities' and 'places that people want to live'. This reflects current debates in the regeneration and housing sector and in urban research and theory more generally. It also speaks to the unique role of housing associations who, as social landlords and developers, are shaping and managing neighbourhoods across London working in partnership in areas of governance which were formerly the terrain of the local state. The research has found that L&Q have made extensive investments in the neighbourhoods they are working in beyond merely building, refurbishing and managing properties. Common questions across the case study areas were: to what extent is L&Q creating 'mixed communities' in the process of regenerating a neighbourhood? And what is the impact of a new social mix on some of the historical problems that regeneration seeks to address?

Methodology

The inquiry was conducted by researchers at the Centre for Urban and Community Research (CUCR)[1] over a period of 4 months. This tight timeframe shaped the research methodology. The research was weighted towards desk-based research methods, and was reliant on data provided by L&Q. The results of this desk research were then triangulated through a number of site visits and targeted interviews with L&Q staff and a small number of local stakeholders.

The research comprised six main activities:

- Rooting the exercise within the organisation by building relationships with staff;
- Gathering and assimilating L&Q regeneration scheme performance evidence;
- Setting the indicators for regeneration impact by creating an impact assessment framework (IAF)[2], which was drawn up with reference to national neighbourhood indicators, available L&Q data and available census data sets;
- Profiling six of the seven selected neighbourhoods using the framework (the seventh lacked sufficient evidence for profiling);
- Testing the IAF, and adding to the profiles via contextualising neighbourhood research, site visits, and interviews with staff residents and stakeholders; and
- Interpreting and then reporting on the findings.

The research employed a mixed methodology and, given the necessity of evidencing the impact retrospectively, has drawn on quantitative and qualitative data from a range of sources.

The impact assessment framework

The research team developed an impact assessment framework, which was tested out through the research process (see Appendix 2). The framework evolved as a result of enquiry into:

- Housing and third sector impact assessment models and indicators, including those that are of particular interest to L&Q;
- Available L&Q development, community investment and management information data; and
- National, regional and city data sets that would complement, or allow for, comparison and triangulation of association data.

The main thrust of the framework was to use data sets and fieldwork to assess changes that have occurred in regeneration locations and explore whether it is possible to ascertain who or what brought about these changes, who the changes have benefitted and in what ways.

Executive summary

Changing places, changing lives

Findings

This research highlighted the unique position of housing associations in London. In summary, L&Q achieved, and in some instances surpassed, its original 'offer' or aims in all of the profiled regeneration areas with regard to supply of homes and additional infrastructure, community and resident benefits. It also found that L&Q:

- Have had extensive impact in re-shaping neighbourhoods;
- Need to record evidence better from the outset – enabling benchmarking and a full assessment of the resulting impacts;
- Ensure that staff from all teams are focused on the common goal of community benefit;
- Make sure that a legacy plan is in place; and
- Demonstrated embedded principles informing practice across staff teams.

Creating homes: The combined investment of regeneration-focused funding, together with the staff development and management resources, has undoubtedly improved the physical living conditions across all of the schemes for residents. The improvements brought about by regeneration and refurbishment are being actively maintained to a high level by both L&Q staff and by residents.

Viable communities: The research has found that L&Q, and social housing providers more widely, are shaping neighbourhoods and that in doing so they have the ability and arguably the responsibility for creating neighbourhoods where viable communities can grow post-development. L&Q need to more strategically build on their examples of good neighbourhood management and integration practices, imaginatively engaging their increasingly diverse tenants and residents both during and after development.

Well-being and life chances: L&Q's approach to its regeneration projects, informed by organisationally embedded principles, is the key to schemes being successful when assessed against the framework indicators. As a well-resourced regeneration partner, L&Q often invest in local agencies as part of its Community investment Strategy. Some of the impacts on individual residents' 'quality of life' arise from living in improved homes and neighbourhoods. The wider impacts this research has begun to identify arise from an investment in social as well as physical regeneration. With the demise of regeneration monies, the community resources that housing associations can provide make a valuable contribution to the social and physical fabric of neighbourhoods.

Haggerston West and Kingsland Estate, Hackney

02 Overview

This research has arisen out of recognition of L&Q's role as a place-maker and a desire to better identify and evidence the 'impact' of the work of housing associations on communities and the neighbourhoods they live in. The overarching aim of this research project was to consider the extent to which L&Q have fulfilled their mission and created 'places where people want to live'. The results of the research were intended to inform L&Q's housing and impact assessment activities. The research focused on a retrospective assessment of a selected group of L&Q regeneration developments utilising a bespoke impact assessment framework (IAF).

The IAF was used in relation to seven London-based[3] L&Q developments in order to examine evidence in relation to four key questions:

- Has development lived up to the expectations of residents and the local authority?
- Has the development improved the physical living conditions of residents in terms of their housing and surroundings?
- Has a viable community been created in the development? and
- Is there any evidence to show that individual or family well-being and life chances have been enhanced as a result of living in the development?

The seven developments were selected by L&Q in order to represent a varied portfolio of their refurbishment and regeneration schemes across the capital.

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Assessing the impact

Over the past 15 years L&Q has, on varying scales, invested in estate regeneration and refurbishment in the following London boroughs: Enfield, Waltham Forest, Hackney, Brent, Ealing, Southwark, Lewisham, Lambeth, Haringey and Greenwich. L&Q's consultation around these developments, and the performance indicators set for them:

- Are related largely to housing outputs, the community element of development being executed in regard to providing community buildings; and
- Did not include evidenced measurement and an evaluation of impact over time.

As well as providing an evidence base to inform future good practice and evolve housing and community practice, the research is also intended to assist in setting terms for future priorities for the L&Q Foundation[4].

The impact assessment framework was developed by the Centre for Urban and Community Research (CUCR)[5] in order to be able to assess physical and non-physical impacts consistently and robustly in the different areas.

This report includes the following sections:

- A contextualising discussion locating the research in contemporary debates regarding the future of London and the creation of 'mixed communities in response to urban and national policy and market forces';
- A methodological explanation setting out the way the research was designed and conducted;
- An introduction to the impact assessment framework setting out how it was developed;

- Analysis of evidence for L&Q's impact across seven studied developments;
- Assessing L&Q's impact - key findings; and
- Suggestions for future practice: The research has highlighted the difficulties of trying to measure impact retrospectively. The current economic and political climate makes it critically important for social housing providers to be able to evidence their unique practices and resulting impacts, which can only be done through clearly establishing aims and measurements as part of the development process.

It presents findings emerging from the development of an impact assessment framework and its application to date across the seven L&Q regeneration developments. These should be read with an understanding of the research methodology (section 4) and the predominately desk-based nature of this research. It has not been possible to fully triangulate the desk-based findings with extensive local qualitative research given the scale of the project.

Changing places, changing lives: A contextualising discussion

This section sets out some of the surrounding debates that this research speaks to. These include the role of housing associations in the city, the changes to regeneration policy and practice due to the decline of area-based regeneration under the former government. It debates the ways that mixed tenure approaches to urban development may or may not result in social mixing between residents of different socio-economic circumstances and how regeneration results in mixed communities.

This research is conducted in the context of contemporary debates regarding the shaping of London as a global city through urban regeneration, governance and population change. The broader urban context includes:

- Population characterised by 'super diversity' (Vertovec 2007) with high rates of population churn. In the last 10 years London has seen an overall 14% growth in population and considerable changes in terms of ethnicity and tenure mix;
- London's changing economic and social landscape with growing income disparity and a historical pattern of wealth and poverty existing side by side. London is an increasingly unaffordable city in which to live; in 2012, it was ranked the 13th most expensive city in the world[6], moving up three places. Its population is already higher than the figures projected for 2016 – leading to estimates that London could be a ten million megacity by 2030 (JRF 2013)[6]. London has also been the site of increasing economic polarisation and occupational restructuring;
- Changes in national government and associated housing and regeneration policy including a shift from area-based publicly financed regeneration programmes, a reduction in central government funds for spending on affordable homes, reduced bank lending, and a market driven model of city regeneration.

The Changing Places, Changing Lives research into L&Q's 'community impact' demonstrates the unique position of housing associations as social landlords. It examines six neighbourhoods which span two periods in urban governance: the area-based initiatives of the New Labour government, which aimed to regenerate and 'renew' specific neighbourhoods characterised by large swathes of public housing, and the current housing policy of the coalition government, which places an emphasis on decentralisation and localism (rather than centralised spatial strategies). With the demise of regeneration monies such as the Single Regeneration Budget and New Deal for Communities, plus the considerable cuts made to the budgets of local authority services, the ability of social landlords to attract mobile capital, nurture indigenous capacity and talent and provide community resources at this time is particularly significant as they shape urban neighbourhoods.

The research to date clearly points to extensive impacts upon the physical, social and cultural landscapes that L&Q is working within. As developers, L&Q clearly have a commitment to not merely develop better homes, but also to create better neighbourhoods for the residents living in them, and the agencies who they work in partnership with when managing them. This is borne out over time through the work of L&Q's neighbourhood management and community investment teams. The research finds that L&Q engage with tenants, leaseholders, shared owners and outright buyers during the course of their work. By necessity, they therefore develop strong and lasting relationships with neighbourhoods. L&Q work to build relationships with delivery partners, local organisations and groups. They have the capacity to develop strong and lasting relationships and sustainable neighbourhoods. L&Q has demonstrated that housing associations can contribute to physical enhancement, social environment and community engagement and cohesion in neighbourhoods. These impacts are often over and above beyond those associated with the award-winning design and redevelopment of homes and urban spaces

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that L&Q delivers. In undertaking regeneration, L&Q's approach, which involves working with a range of partners and residents combined with grassroots community development, wider social impacts undoubtedly occur. However, the question of whether the housing association sector, in general, can use its distinctive independence and considerable assets to work across the sectoral boundaries of "housing" and other services (many of which were formerly provided by the local state) and create strong integrated communities in the process is a matter of current debate and remains to be seen in the longer term given the changes to London's socio-economic demographics and property market. Critics have voiced concerns regarding the sector's governance models and public accountability (Smyth 2013, Lupton and Tunstall 2008) and the challenge of finding a balance between its financial and social imperatives within a difficult economic climate (Mullins 2010).

Housing in London

L&Q are working in a city where there is a widely acknowledged shortfall in housing provision[7] and more specifically a lack of affordable housing options that fill the gap between full home ownership and market renting. Recent research by the Joseph Rowntree Foundation (JRF 2013) finds that London is a city with its own unique challenges regarding housing. London has a housing market that is distinct from that of the rest of the UK. It is distinguished by its tenure mix, high levels of housing need and homelessness (which increased by 27% between 2011 and 2012), and high levels of population mobility. London has high disparity between rental and income levels[8]. An increasing percentage of London's population live in housing association homes. In 1981 the percentage of London households renting from housing

associations stood at 4.1%; by 2001, this proportion had increased to 9.4% (Watt 2009: 215) and recent census data (2011) shows that the proportion of people renting from housing associations has reached 10.6%.

The core housing association activities of building and managing homes and surrounding neighbourhoods are a crucial contribution to the urban fabric. As Mullins (2010) points out, larger associations are sometimes seen as having grown away from their third sector roots, though their capacity to generate a social as well as a financial return on their investment in cities is undoubted. In today's policy landscape, social landlords are uniquely positioned. Housing associations' 'hybrid financial model' (Mullins 2010) creates a tension between their social and commercial objectives. The potential impact of creating regenerated neighbourhoods resulting from their combined business models with considerable community investment and neighbourhood activities cannot be underestimated.

Reconfigured regeneration

Under the coalition government, and at a time of fiscal austerity, tenure mixing is largely achieved through a market-led mechanism whereby local authorities create conditions that attract private investment, thereby promoting growth and a cascade of benefits flowing from investment as local authorities sell publicly owned land to private developers in return for investment in public housing, infrastructure (such as transport) or facilities. In this process, regeneration has been reconfigured (Lupton and Tunstall 2008: 111), bringing about changes in tenure and improvements to the physical and social fabric of an area. A number of urban theorists concerned with gentrification and urban

regeneration are understandably critical of changes to cities and the development of neoliberal models of urban governance that have resulted in expensive private developments or 'gentrified neighbourhoods', which are not always spatially, socially and culturally integrated with the surrounding urban fabric. If regeneration initiatives are to significantly and consciously address social inequalities and impact local communities positively, developers are required to do more than build new and improved homes. They must also generate a host of benefits such as employment, access to services, affordable homes, good quality schools, improved transport links and reinvestment in neighbourhood improvements. In this political and economic climate, large developing housing associations such as L&Q are clearly an attractive development partner in comparison to private developers. Housing associations have expertise in social housing management and community development. They are able to broker local relationships and ensure that the voices of minorities and vulnerable members of society are heard in the process of regeneration.

Regeneration through the creation of mixed communities

Within regeneration discourse, the promise of 'socially mixed neighbourhoods' rests on the premise that that targeted redevelopment and reduced spatial segregation might allow greater benefits for all local people. Creating 'mixed communities' is a key element in the government's approach to the regeneration of disadvantaged neighbourhoods. The prevailing logic is that more economically prosperous residents moving into an area prevents the re-concentration of low-income residents and the associated neighbourhood problems. Alongside changes in

tenure, simultaneous improvements to the physical and social fabric of an area appeals to private investors who are in search of profit in run-down areas. Consequently, desirable city spaces attract wealthier urban residents who are often seeking a good investment in an 'up and coming' area of a global city. In London, the Mayor, Boris Johnson, stated his commitment to mixed communities in the 2011 London Plan and his Revised Housing Strategy (2011). This can be understood as a recent manifestation of a much longer tradition of urban policy stretching back to the garden city movement. Under the last Labour government, the underlying logic of socially mixed developments was that:

- social mixing is good for community cohesion;
- it breaks up estates of social housing with problematic cultural norms, which result in anti-social behaviour (ASB) and criminality; and
- it addresses the stigmatisation of areas with poor reputations (see Kearne and Mason 2007 for further discussion).

The current commitment to mixed tenure development can be understood as a market-led solution to diversifying large areas of social housing, labelled as 'sink estates' and 'difficult' places (SEU 1998), which have been associated with entrenched social problems. By improving the physical fabric of the area, and making them attractive to home buyers, areas that were formerly dominated by social housing are replaced by mixed tenure developments where the percentage of social housing is far lower (Bolt et al. 2009, Kearns and Mason 2007).

This mixed communities approach to urban regeneration replace New Labour's area-based approaches (ABIs), such as the New Deal for

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Communities (NDC), which invested in improvements to existing homes and facilities and was combined with social welfare programmes. Instead, the argument in favour of mixed tenure developments is that more varied housing stock and forms of tenure, which combine private home ownership and social housing, will attract more economically mixed populations, breaking up formerly mono-tenure social housing and the associated social problems of physical deterioration, low levels of safety and liveability, and weak social cohesion (Dekker and Van Kempen 2004, Swaroop and Morenoff 2006, Wassenberg 2004) and complex models of local governance. The argument is that a market-driven solution will result in poverty being less concentrated, as a wider range of resources will be available, and the levels of bridging and bonding social capital (Putnam 2001, Bourdieu 1986) will increase[9].

Variety in type of tenure is, in itself, a crude indicator of mix in the socio-economic status of residents within a neighbourhood. Furthermore, it is not in itself an indicator of the extent to which social mixing between residents of different tenure takes place. The commitment to mixed tenure communities is an indication of the former government's interest in, and reliance upon, social capital as a means to improve circumstances for deprived communities (Kearns 2003). Advocates of mixed communities argue that they can potentially have a range of beneficial effects upon neighbourhoods and their residents (see Kearne and Mason 2007, and Atkinson and Kintrea 2000, for a review). These include:

- economic and service impacts such as more economic activity, better public and private services, increased employment;

- community level effects such as increased social interaction, a stronger sense of place, more residential stability;
- social and behavioural effects such as reduced ASB and better up-keep of properties, raised aspirations and educational attainments; and
- a reduction in social exclusion resulting from the reduced stigma of an area, enhanced social networks and increased connectivity.

Many of these outcomes hinge on a belief in the power of the bridging and bonding of social capital (Putnam 2001) and the considerable cultural capital (Bourdieu 1986) of the middle classes in effecting local change.

"It has long been argued that deprived areas, those areas most in need, tend to receive worse services than other areas… The argument for mixed tenure neighbourhoods is that the middle classes would be less likely to put up with this situation, or, slightly differently, that with a more mixed neighbourhood, public servants would not try to get away with providing a lower quality of service. Of course, one of the reasons for these effects is that the middle classes have better means, through a mixture of social and cultural capital, to bring about resolutions or improvements to problems with services, and to gain the most from existing provision". (Kearne and Mason 2007: 666)

However, the evidence to support these approaches to urban change is inconsistent. In a review of research evidence in the UK and the Netherlands, Kleinhans (2004) found some evidence to support benefits to the environment, mixed evidence on improving reputation, little evidence to support the

idea that there was increased social interaction between residents across tenures and, therefore, little "role model effects"[10].

This approach to urban change has come under considerable criticism from theorists of gentrification (Glass 1964, Smith and Williams 1986, Atkinson 1999, Lees 2000, Clarke 1987) who argue that:

- regeneration carried out in the name of social mixing results in class succession in areas broadly characterised by working class and unskilled households, resulting in the economic and spatial displacement of working class city dwellers (Marcuse 1986); and
- the social capital of social housing residents found in community ties, and formal and informal social networks and local economies, are strong in areas of economic poverty, as they have developed as a way of coping with the withdrawal of investment prior to an area-based regeneration initiative (Slater 2013: 376).

Butler and Robson's (2001, 2003) studies of London's middle classes across four neighbourhoods find low levels of social mixing between newer middle class residents and established populations. They describe a pattern of "social tectonics … whereby people move across each other like the plates of the earth" (2003: 92), as wealthier residents exercise their ability to strategically insulate themselves from the obligations of social capital. As a result, little social mixing between newer and more long established residents takes place (see also Mohan 1999). Research on London's riverside developments finds swathes of 'luxury' one bedroom or two bedroom flats, marketed to appeal to urban professionals, which attract a demographic who do not look to neighbourhood-based resources such as small businesses, shops, markets, cafés, schools, parks or nurseries. Instead, these younger, often childless, couples spend much of their leisure time socialising in Central London. Furthermore, their residency is generally short-term (three to five years). As a consequence, their perception of, and social and cultural investment in, their neighbourhood differs dramatically from that of more established local residents whose lives are intricately bound to local space (Davidson 2010: 173). It is also worth noting that London housing is an attractive speculative financial investment for a mobile global elite rather than simply the middle classes[11]. Clearly, spatial proximity alone does not necessarily make community nor is it a mechanism of regeneration in itself. As research by the Joseph Rowntree Foundation points out:

"Mix is a necessary but not a sufficient precondition for sustainable communities: 'tenure mix by itself will not guarantee the success of a development'" (Allen et al. 2006: 4) and that "income mix does not alleviate the need for public funding" (Silverman et al. 2005: 71). "Where tenure mix is adopted, careful attention needs to be paid to the design and layout of homes and their surroundings, the provision of the full range of facilities, as well as accessibility and integration into the wider locality (Bailey and Manzi 2008)."

In an overview of the evidence for mixed communities, Bailey and Manzi (2008) found that well-managed mixed tenure developments do have the potential to facilitate social interaction between

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residents if they are attractive developments which encourage neighbours to stay in their chosen area. (However, the impact of the 'mix' is difficult to extrapolate from other environmental effects). Current research shows that, in order for mixed-tenure developments to be successful beyond the terms of market value or delivery on a local 'offer', they need to be 'sustainable'[12]. Recent research into neighbourhood cohesion in two South London neighbourhoods finds that housing and the built environment are pivotal to how residents experience community. In this context of regeneration and population change in areas which are now attractive property investment options, open neutral public space (both indoors and outdoors) is found to be central to creating cohesion across differences of ethnicity and social class (Jensen et al. 2013).

This body of research and the debates that stem from it go to the heart of the questions that inform this report: the extent to which a 'viable community has been created in a development, and the extent to which a development has increased well-being and life chances. The mixed tenure developments L&Q is building, managing and investing in are sites where these issues of social capital and social mixing are unfolding. L&Q working across departments allows L&Q staff to develop strong and lasting relationships with neighbourhoods. In comparison to private developers, L&Q is in a strong position to be able to mitigate against the potential negative impact of mixed communities on disadvantaged residents, for example by creating community forums and improving community facilities and resources.

Silwood, Lewisham

03 Methodology

The research was conducted by CUCR over a period of 4 months. This tight timeframe shaped the research methodology. The research was weighted towards desk-based research methods, and was reliant on data provided by L&Q. The results of this desk research were then triangulated through a number of site visits and targeted interviews with L&Q staff and a small number of local stakeholders.

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1. Rooting the exercise within the organisation by building relationships with staff;
2. Gathering and assimilating L&Q regeneration scheme performance evidence;
3. Setting the indicators for regeneration impact by creating an impact assessment framework (IAF) drawn up with reference to national neighbourhood indicators, available L&Q data and available census data sets;
4. Profiling six of the seven selected neighbourhoods using the framework (the seventh lacked sufficient evidence for profiling);
5. Testing the IAF, and adding to the profiles via contextualising neighbourhood research, site visits, and interviews with staff residents and stakeholders; and
6. Interpreting findings and reporting on them.

The research employed a mixed methodology, and given the necessity of evidencing impact retrospectively, has drawn on quantitative and qualitative data from a range of sources.

Methodology

Quantitative and qualitative input

The research began with a project initiation meeting with key staff to agree the parameters, objectives, milestones and schedule of the work. An initial checklist of data was drawn up comprising both L&Q information and data to be accessed from other sources including the National Office of Statistics. The data was then gathered, filtered and presented so that it could be easily referenced. There was a regular on-going liaison with L&Q staff in order to report on progress, and to ensure that L&Q had maximum input into the data gathering and research direction.

An on-going review of relevant housing and social impact literature also contextualised the research. These tasks then informed the creation of a tailor-made impact assessment framework, which set key indicators for measuring impact against potential data sources. It did this by drawing on research and indicators from a number of other sources where they were relevant to this work.[13]

The impact assessment framework (IAF)[15] was then used to profile six of the selected neighbourhoods in which L&Q regeneration has occurred. The seventh was used as a research resource but not profiled as there was insufficient data available due to the time that had elapsed since the scheme commencement. A profile report has been produced for each area which includes data from a wide range of sources that have been augmented through targeted interviews with key staff and residents. Each of these highlights the significant characteristics and evidence of change and impact in the selected regeneration areas and lessons for future practice. The findings from these profiles collectively inform this emergent findings report.[14]

Burgess Terrace, Aylesbury Estate, Southwark

04 The impact assessment framework

The impact assessment framework

The impact assessment framework (IAF) in this report sets out the available evidence for L&Q to achieve its mission of 'creating places where people want to live'. Impact on L&Q residents in the selected locations was a key consideration. The framework has been tested through its practical application in neighbourhood profiling and requires revision as a result of this process. In using it to assess impact in the selected areas, retrospectively, there were gaps in the available data though, used formatively, it could address these at the outset. It is important to note therefore that it is still in a developmental stage and further work is needed in order to present a simplified model that is readily usable and able to inform setting baselines for subsequent impact measurement.

The framework evolved as a result of enquiring into the following:

- Housing and third sector impact assessment models and indicators, including those that are of particular interest to L&Q;
- Available L&Q development, community investment and management information data; and
- National, regional and city data sets that would complement, or allow for, the comparison and triangulation of housing association data.

The main thrust of the framework was to use data sets and field work to assess changes that have occurred in regeneration locations and explore whether it is possible to ascertain who or what brought about these changes, who the changes have benefitted and in what ways.

The impact assessment framework

Identifying improvements

Asking whether a neighbourhood has improved and who has benefitted from the changes leads to consideration of a significant number of complex factors. Asking which agencies have wrought which changes is complex too, as organisations often work in partnership to regenerate neighbourhoods. The identification of causal changes in a given neighbourhood, and pinpointing who has benefitted from change, is therefore a challenging task.

The drive to be able to assess the impacts of housing and neighbourhood developments has therefore resulted in large numbers of physical and non-physical neighbourhood change indicators being generated. These cut across fields such as mental health, building and design and well-being (see Appendix 1, for example, in terms of the indicator source lists). In general, the indicators are designed to help measure the impact of services and projects on places, and more latterly, people.

The framework focussed on indicators that covered:

- Regeneration scheme information, eg the intended size, aims and beneficiaries of the scheme;
- Locational information, eg siting and key features;
- Resident and neighbourhood management information, eg L&Q tenant data and resident satisfaction; and
- Social and physical changes to the location, eg population changes.

The recently published Creating Strong Communities: How to Measure the Sustainability of New Housing Developments[16] was particularly important to the framework. It utilises three dimensions to assess sustainable regeneration:

amenities and infrastructure; opportunities for residents to influence and social and cultural opportunities.

In order to tie the assessment framework into L&Q's Community Investment Strategy[17] we used L&Q's Community Strategy headings to categorise regeneration activity that fell within the 'social and cultural opportunities' dimension. L&Q's four community strategy headings are: increased employability, positive youth futures, strengthening communities and financial inclusion.

The impact assessment framework has a mix of features that are not found together in other assessment models:

- It is exploratory in nature. It examines the impact of L&Q in the neighbourhoods whilst yielding lessons about the assessment tools and impact assessments on housing. It is not definitive. It highlights lessons about how impacts might be better recorded in the future. It explores a range of social, economic and built environment factors relating to L&Q's participation in developing and maintaining neighbourhoods;
- It seeks to identify causal changes in locations. Where possible, it then looks at the extent to which we can know L&Q has contributed to neighbourhood changes;
- It is designed to explore issues surrounding the identification of beneficiaries, and the ways in which they have benefited, from regeneration activity. For example, it will explore the evidence for L&Q residents having benefited from developments;

- It recognises the useful data that housing associations hold. Social housing providers differ from private providers. In their neighbourhood management and community investment roles they have the potential to gather considerable amounts of information on tenants, leaseholders and neighbourhoods. This framework attempts to deploy that data alongside national and regional data sets in order to assess the impact of association development activity; and
- It utilises data held by social landlords. Housing associations differ from private providers in that they have development, neighbourhood management and community teams who all contribute to the development and sustainability of neighbourhoods. The framework draws data from across these teams to assess impact.

Recent research into impact assessment in social housing has revealed that "the sector as a whole needs to develop a greater consensus around how it measures and evidences its impact. It's still early days for social impact measurement in the housing sector."[18] Given the above factors, the framework has the potential to make a considerable contribution to sector learning.
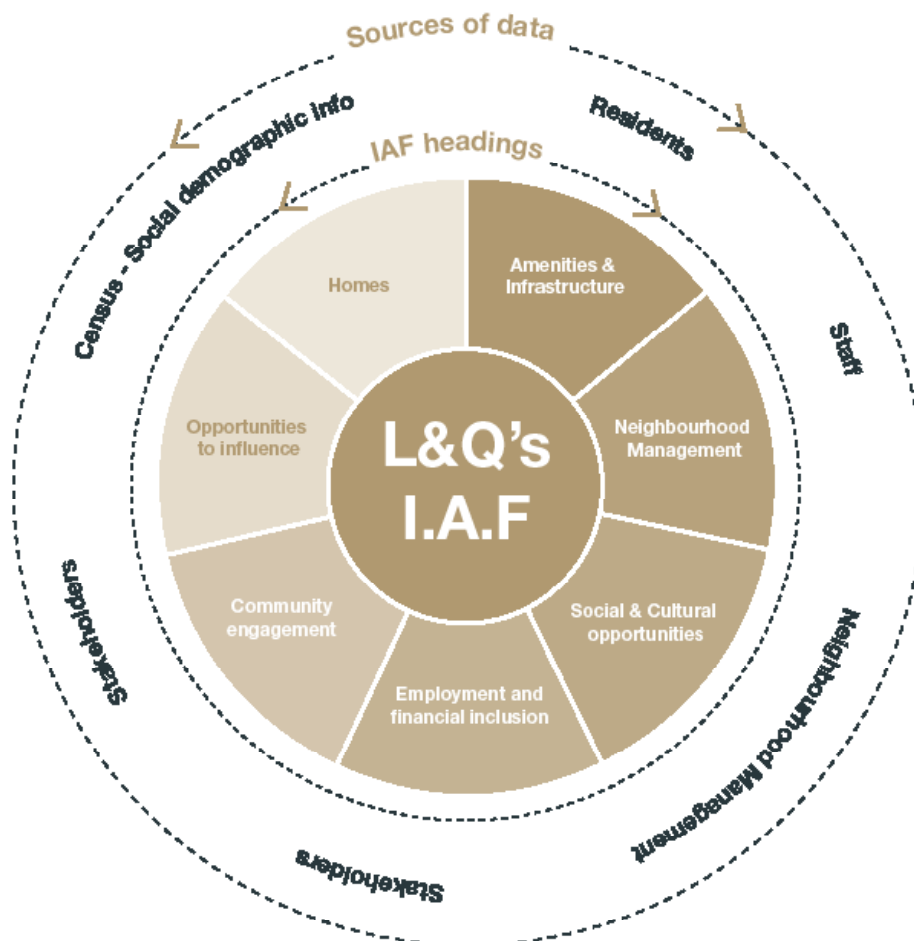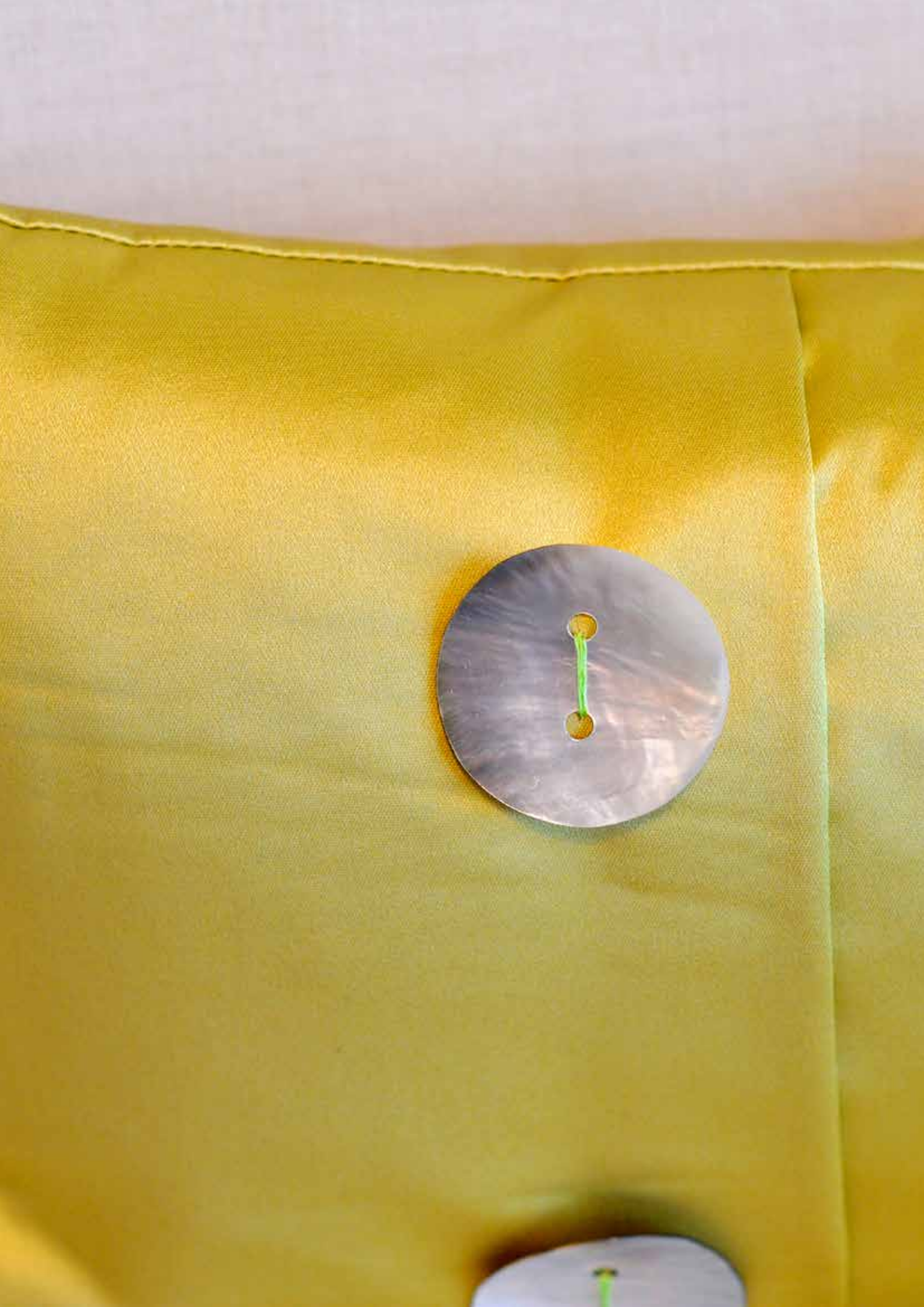
05 L&Q's impact

Analysing the neighbourhoods

The research findings set out a brief analysis of changes to the socio-demographics in the seven researched neighbourhoods between 2001 and 2011.

London is a rapidly changing city that has, for example, in the last ten years seen huge population growth and considerable changes in terms of ethnic make-up, tenure mix and income disparity. Against this background churn, all of the profiled areas have seen significant population changes. These broadly reflect London-wide trends, as younger, more affluent populations move or relocate to new areas within the city, and poorer populations move to the suburbs and outer London[19]. However some of the studied areas are experiencing changes that are distinct or greater than London trends.

This section is a brief summary of the analysis of census data from 2001 and 2011, which was accessed through use of the Neighbourhood Statistics section of the Office for National Statistics (ONS) website [20] for each of the areas. The research looked for any evidence of change in the regeneration areas (at Lower Layer Super Output Level (LSOA), or Medium Layer Super Output Level (MSOA), if a scheme spread across several LSOAs[21]). It is important to notes that in some SOAs (Super Output Levels), such as the Beaumont LSOA or the Silwood LSOA (where L&Q residents make up the majority of the SOA), the described changes can be attributed to L&Q's regeneration activity, whilst in other SOAs L&Q only accounts for a smaller proportion of the total households. This makes it more difficult to identify any relations of causality between L&Q's regeneration activity and the census data. The likelihood is that L&Q will have contributed to these changes but the level of direct impact cannot be ascertained.

L&Q's impact

Analysing the neighbourhoods

The census findings made apparent the fact that L&Q's regeneration activities are taking place in areas that are undergoing rapid urban changes, which are more marked than those found across the whole of London. For example, while London's population is increasing, many of the areas studied are characterised by population growth, which is double that of London and over four times the national average. This was also significant for changes in tenure (especially in terms of the reduction of council housing), and also for other types of change such as occupational composition and ethnicity. There also appear to be different dynamics at work in terms of the boroughs that lie within inner London (where some changes were much more pronounced than at the city level), and the regeneration schemes that are located in outer London boroughs.

We can surmise that L&Q's regeneration activities have contributed to socio-demographic changes in the regeneration areas. Notably, there have been significant increases in the total populations in River Mill Park and Silwood. There have been decreases in the proportion of 'White British' and 'Black Caribbean', especially in Lewisham Park, Aylesbury and Haggerston. All of the areas evidenced a decrease in relation to indices of deprivation, with Lewisham Park, River Mill Park and Silwood revealing greater decreases than at city level. There has been an increase in elementary occupations and also in qualification levels across most schemes. Where L&Q residents make up either the majority or a significant proportion of the SOA population[22] then it can be inferred that the socio-demographic changes are largely attributable to L&Q's regeneration activities. To further evidence the full impacts of these types of change, and what they mean for communities and individuals in a

given area, further research would be needed and should include census data triangulated with housing management data and qualitative community-based research.

The following areas of socio-demographic change covered are those that are most relevant to the research questions and we highlight where the profiled areas stand out as being in contrast with wider area and city trends. For further details on these socio-demographic areas please see Appendix 5.

1. **Population and gender:** Significant population increases in Silwood, River Mill Park, and Haggerston West & Kingsland. Beaumont is the exception and experienced a population decrease (12.7%). Gender changes in line with London (at approx 1%) other than Silwood, which has seen a 4.2% increase in the female population.

2. **Ethnicity:** London-wide, there has been a fall of almost 15% in the 'White British' population. This trend was echoed in the profiled areas within a range from 23% decrease in River Mill Park to a 6.5% increase in Silwood. Most areas saw a moderate decline in the 'Black Caribbean' population alongside a notable increase in the 'White Other' population. The biggest divergence between the areas was in relation to the 'Black African' population, with Silwood and Haggerston recording 8% and 7% decreases while Green Horizons had an 8.3% increase.

3. **Tenure:** Across London, the percentage of people living in council housing has dropped by 4.3% and those who own their home with a mortgage or loan has decreased by 6.5%. Instead, more people are now renting privately or from social housing providers. Some of these trends were more pronounced in the profiled
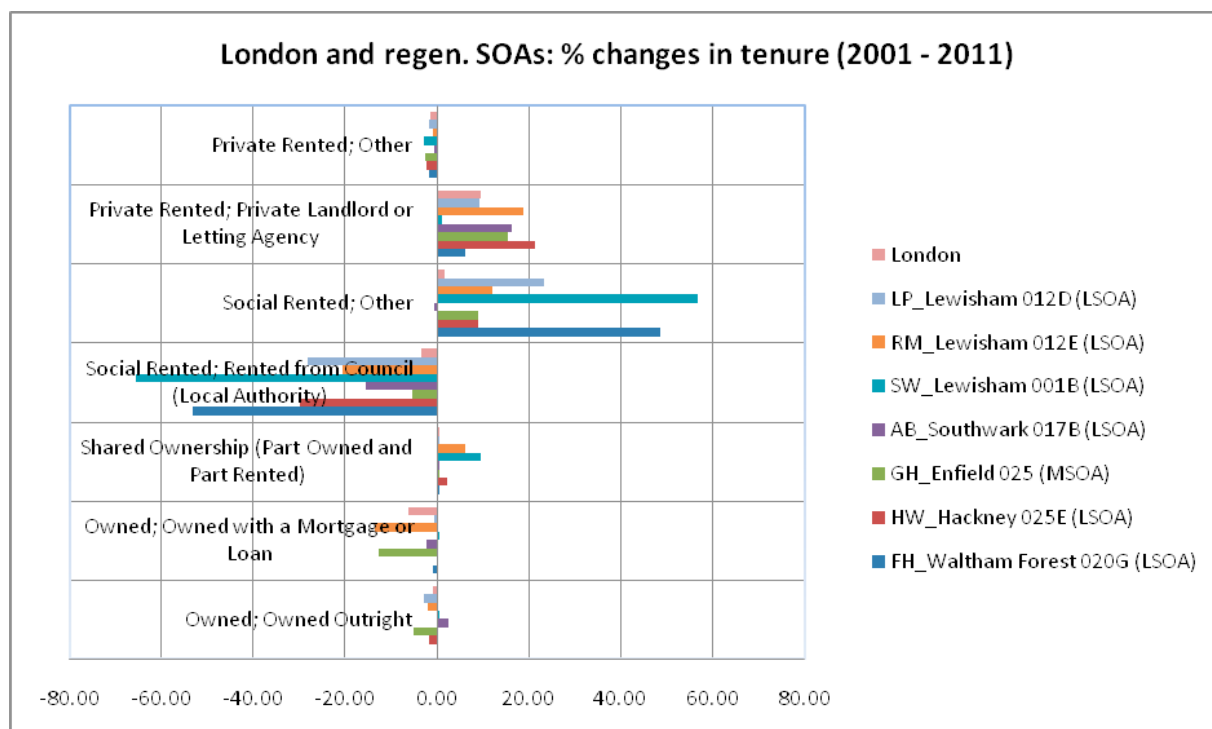
areas, with the social renting category showing the biggest increases (well above the London average), and the decline in the proportion of council tenants being more marked, for example of up to -66% in the Silwood LSOA. There has also been an above average rise in private renting in River Mill, Aylesbury, Green Horizons and Haggerston.

4 **Economic activity:** The biggest change in terms of economic activity in London as well as in the seven SOAs has been a decrease in the proportion of full-time, but an increase in the proportion of part-time, employment.

5 **Qualifications:** Qualification levels in the 7 SOAs have predominantly increased (and decreased) in line with the London trend. In Haggerston this trend has been particularly notable, with a strong increase in qualifications (Level 4+) and a big drop in residents with no qualifications.

6 **Occupations:** The most striking change in terms of occupations that has occurred in the seven SOAs (and across London) is an increase in people in professional occupations. This increased varied between 2.3% in the Beaumont LSOA to 17.4% in the Haggerston West & Kingsland LSOA. The London average lies in between, at 7.6% for 'professionals'.

7 **Indices of deprivation:** In line with the London trend over the period 2001 to 2011, the majority of SOAs experienced a decrease of households in multiple deprivation. The total households not recording any deprivation have notably decreased in the River Mill Park LSOA.

Table 1: Changes in tenure

London and regen. SOAs: % changes in tenure (2001 - 2011)

Legend:
- London
- LP_Lewisham 012D (LSOA)
- RM_Lewisham 012E (LSOA)
- SW_Lewisham 001B (LSOA)
- AB_Southwark 017B (LSOA)
- GH_Enfield 025 (MSOA)
- HW_Hackney 025E (LSOA)
- FH_Waltham Forest 020G (LSOA)

L&Q's impact

Analysing the neighbourhoods

There are also always limitations to these types of data sets, with their broad and arguably simplistic categorisations, and to their ability to communicate the detail and complexities involved. For example, the patterns of London's changes in ethnicity between the 2001 and 2011 census dates reflect the city's hugely diverse character, but are not overlaid with other variables such as immigration status, labour market experience, age and spatial distribution.

Whilst the census (and other sources of quantitative data) revealed population changes at both London and local levels, they are clearly only one dimension of the fuller picture required for impact assessment. If they tell us that the diversity of tenure has increased, or that there have been shifts in the ethnic makeup of an area, we then need to find out how these changes are experienced and negotiated by residents and stakeholders in specific places. We also need to know about the environmental, social and economic contexts that are integral to socio-demographic evidence. The framework headings therefore draw out key aspects of these data sets.

Residents at a community day on the Beaumont Estate, Leyton

06 L&Q's impact

Assessing the seven areas

The section provides a summary of how the assessment framework relates to the seven regeneration areas.

The sections below refer to the assessment framework headings. There are seven in all and each assesses the seven regeneration areas in relation to these, based on the research evidence gathered. They highlight the development areas that provide the best evidential examples of each aspect relating to:

6.1 Amenities and infrastructure
6.2 Homes
6.3 Neighbourhood management
6.4 Opportunities to influence
6.5 Social and cultural opportunities
6.6 Employment and finance inclusion
6.7 Community engagement

More detailed information can be found in each of the area profiles[23]. The following table lists each of the schemes alongside tenure and investment information for the seven schemes studied.

It should be noted that this investment includes investment in neighbourhood community projects as well as homes.

L&Q's impact

Assessing the seven areas

Table 2: Scheme summary information

Scheme and local authority	Scheme type: all stock transfers	Start date	Complete	Units handed over	Tenure mix*	Scheme total units	Investment L&Q[24]
1. Forest Homes: Beaumont Estate, Waltham Forest	Rebuild and refurbish	2002	On-going build for sale	746	GN: 81% LH: 16% AR: 3% FH: 0.3%	915	£120 million
2. Silwood, Lewisham	Rebuild	2003	On-going build for sale	480	GN: 62% SO: 29% IMR: 5% FH: 4%	428	£149 million est
3. River Mill, Lewisham	Rebuild	2003	Yes	196	GN: 59% SO: 18% LH: 11% FH: 11% AR: 0.5%	196	£9.6 million
4. Lewisham Park, Lewisham	Refurbish	2007	Yes	204	GN: 77% LH: 20% AR: 2.4% MR: 0.5%	204	£6 million
5. Haggerston, Hackney	Rebuild	2008	On-going	83	GN: 100%	761	£202 million
6. Aylesbury 1A, Southwark	Rebuild	2010	On-going	71	GN: 73% IMR: 21% SO: 4% C: 1%	261	£61 million
7. Green Horizons, Enfield	Rebuild	1998	Yes	546	N: 95% LH: 3% AR: 1% FH: 1%	548	Not known
Totals/ Summary 5 LAs	**5 rebuild 1 refurbish 1 mixed**	**15 years' time span**	**Three complete, four on-going**	**2274**		**3313**	**£538 million across five schemes**

* Tenure descriptions: GN = general needs; IMR = Intermediate market rent; SO = shared ownership; LH = leaseholder; AR = affordable rent; C = commercial; DM = direct managed; FH= Freehold; MR = market rent.

6.1 Amenities and infrastructure
Physical transformation

Aside from investment in housing, L&Q has invested over £6 million in community buildings on three schemes (Beaumont, Aylesbury and Haggerston) and over £5 million in commercial properties across two schemes (Aylesbury and Haggerston) with a total investment of £538 million across five schemes.

This is drawn down from a variety of public sources but also includes L&Q-generated investment. It s also worth noting that, more recently, public sources have decreased whilst L&Q investment has increased.

L&Q regeneration has resulted in the physical transformation of the surrounding environs in four locations (Beaumont, Silwood, Lewisham Park and River Mill Park) and commencement of transformation in two new locations (Aylesbury and Haggerston). It has also contributed to public park improvements in three areas (River Mill, Beaumont, and Haggerston). Examples of cited successful design features include courtyards, squares, traffic calming, cycle stores, homes with gardens-patios-balconies, disabled adaptations, landscaping, bringing listed buildings back into use and pedestrian prioritisation. That properties were also being designed to be 'tenure blind' was seen to be important on some schemes, for example in Aylesbury, by both tenants and staff.

The transformation of River Mill Park through regeneration partnerships has been recognised through several awards:

Winner
Best New Public Space, London Planning Awards 2008;

Winner
Best Streetscape Project, Horticulture Week Landscape and Amenity Awards 2007; and

Winner
Waterways, Local Government News' Street Design Awards 2008.

> **My kids moved away and when they came back they could not believe the transformation**
>
> Beaumont resident

> **People now like to sit on the benches or in the grass. It was not like that before the regeneration**
>
> Lewisham Park resident

L&Q's impact

Assessing the seven areas

6.2 Homes
Development and refurbishment

Over £400 million has been invested in homes by L&Q across four of the locations (Forest Homes, Haggerston, Aylesbury and Lewisham Park). The profiles evidence the development and refurbishment of over 2,400 homes built to, and sometimes exceeding, quality standards.[25] All of the profiled schemes evidence this, as the standards were clear from the outset, however later schemes are better examples of these standards as design has improved through L&Q's learning. For example, space was an issue on some earlier schemes (for example Silwood and Beaumont) whereas on newer schemes, such as Aylesbury, space is 10% above the standard. There are a further 860 new build homes planned in these locations.

Central to L&Q's regeneration is the refurbishment and development of new homes, in areas where the existing housing stock had become dilapidated and outdated. Resident consultation is well facilitated and supported across their schemes. The design of homes has improved over the timeframe of schemes profiled and it is clear that residents' feedback has informed these improvements. For example, in the newer schemes the amount of space in homes has increased. There have also been additional features including fob security, white goods, carpets, etc. Residents interviewed expressed high levels of satisfaction with their new homes. This was particularly apparent in instances of those who had been local authority tenants before the redevelopment.

There were particularly high levels of satisfaction from residents responding to surveys on Forest Homes, Silwood, Lewisham Park and Aylesbury.[26] The high levels of consultation and good liaisons with residents during the regeneration (with L&Q staff and contractors) arguably enhanced this satisfaction. The process of 'induction' of residents into their new homes and the opportunity to feed back post-completion was also deemed to be important. Some residents also reported on the level of support they had been offered during the transition.

Schemes are typically becoming more mixed in tenure, and the research was keen to explore the impacts of this. Although at this stage the evidence is not robust enough to make any claims with certainty, on the newer Aylesbury and Haggerston schemes staff and residents report that the mixed tenure nature of the schemes are a positive feature, as residents of different tenures do interact. The design and build quality on Aylesbury is such that one member of staff commented that it all "looks private". Aylesbury recently won the 2013 London Planning Award for 'The Best New Place to Live'. However, what this means for residents in terms of lived experience and impact clearly warrants further enquiry.

> **It's a nicer place in terms of houses with gardens; let's face it, most people want to live in a house with a garden…**
>
> Silwood resident

6.3 Neighbourhood management

There is clear evidence of reductions in crime, ASB and neighbourhood nuisances in two previously high crime locations (Beaumont and Silwood). L&Q have developed strategies in partnership with police and local stakeholders and initiated clear actions in order to achieve this during and after the regeneration period. This strategic commitment to working pro-actively in partnership is then reinforced through strong and vigilant on-going neighbourhood management in all of the regeneration locations.

This approach is underpinned by the grounded relationships and local knowledge that individual neighbourhood-level staff have with specific schemes and their residents and is strengthened by neighbourhood management services that are responsive, encourage resident involvement and feedback and include, in some instances, caretakers and concierges as well as regular maintenance and cleaning. This strategic approach underpinned by an operational level of close responsive management was particularly commented on in relation to Beaumont, Silwood, Lewisham Park, Haggerston and Aylesbury.

> **You tell L&Q that something is wrong and they take care of it – they sort it out**
>
> River Mill Park resident

L&Q's impact

Assessing the seven areas

CASE STUDY

TACKLING ANTI-SOCIAL BEHAVIOUR

Beaumont Estate: Forest Homes
As a result of consultation with residents, the offer document made it clear that the neighbourhood would be strongly and supportively managed with a range of core and extra neighbourhood management activity taking place alongside intensive preventative and diversionary community safety work.

Staff passionately described the scheme before ("A crime generator" and "A no go area for police") and after L&Q intervention. The strong crime and community management that has been implemented was outlined by staff and residents alike. Close knit partnerships between L&Q, residents, police and other agencies have resulted in considerable community safety achievements, including the closure of 37 crack houses, reductions in illegal occupancy, clamping down on pirate radio stations and L&Q setting case law by being the first landlord to obtain an ASB injunction.

During interviews, staff mentioned the importance of working to gaining the trust and respect of residents via a local and approachable presence, action orientation and quick and visible 'wins' at the outset of neighbourhood changes. "Residents slowly realised that the staff were genuine and what they were offering them was therefore genuine too rather than a sales pitch" - L&Q staff interview

This presence and active management has continued in the post-development phases. There is now local L&Q housing management, caretaking and a community centre presence, which includes a new L&Q office in the Forest Homes location. Monthly Community Safety meetings are still held between the housing organisation, the Council and the police and L&Q are actively involved in the London Borough of Waltham Forest's CCTV Steering Group. The communal gardens have CCTV surveillance that is linked to a 24 hour 'manned service' and the estate is serviced twice a week by refuse collection through a special arrangement between L&Q and the Council.

> **There is still a Beaumont gang but their strength is nowhere near what it was in 2002. There was also a lot of proactive work between the police and L&Q to root out those responsible and hold them to account**
>
> L&Q staff interview

6.4 Opportunities to influence
Involving residents

Across the seven developments we have found that residents have considerable opportunities to influence the places they live in. Throughout the development period this has been facilitated by L&Q staff through consultation. L&Q are particularly proficient at involving residents during the development phase, when they are negotiating on future homes with existing residents being transferred from social housing. Here, the process whereby L&Q negotiate the 'offer document', which sets out L&Q's promise to residents into the future, involves bringing residents together to discuss the details of development-spanning macro-issues such as the design of public spaces, to micro-matters such as the choice of cupboard handles.

There is evidence of imaginative and consistently high levels of involving existing tenants in regeneration across all the profiled schemes. Opportunities range from providing regular information, supporting local boards, through to organising 'demolition parties'.

These opportunities to give 'voices' are visibly translated into action. There are good examples of residents' views being taken into account in the design of all the schemes, which are then adapted in phases accordingly (eg Silwood, Aylesbury, Lewisham Park and River Mill).

The research asked how resident involvement, motivated by regeneration, was sustained post-completion. It found evidence of the transfer of knowledge from development team staff to the management team staff at the completion stage. As a result of this activity, residents are able to get to know the neighbourhood officers from the outset of the

neighbourhood management phase. Furthermore, the induction of new residents includes making sure that they know how to contact L&Q, how to get involved and have opportunities to have a voice should they wish to. L&Q offer a number of formal and informal ways to have their views heard, including 'mystery shoppers', Tenants and Residents Associations, and by becoming 'estate champions'. It is worth noting that L&Q has delegated community and estate management budgets to residents boards as 'estate champions' across all locations, and in some locations these were substantial budgets, for example £25K per year to the tenant-led forum in Haggerston for community projects.[27]

6.5 Social and cultural life
Enabling communities

L&Q is clearly moving towards a more resident-informed model of deploying resources at a neighbourhood level during the development phase and beyond. L&Q have invested considerable resources in neighbourhood facilities and amenities which support the on-going social and cultural life of the L&Q developments and their neighbours. Investments across the seven researched development sites have:

- Provided three high specification community centres in three locations and upgraded existing community space in Beaumont, Silwood, River Mill Park and Aylesbury;
- Provision of four new high specification community facilities (nursery and community centres) in Aylesbury, Haggerston and Silwood; and
- Upgraded seven existing community spaces and the provision of Cyber Centres, youth centres and community rooms (Beaumont: Forest Homes, Silwood, Aylesbury and River Mill Park).

L&Q's impact

Assessing the seven areas

CASE STUDY

HAGGERSTON ARTS AND CULTURAL INITIATIVES

Arts and culture have been successfully employed in mediating the development process. Some of this has emerged in response to the regeneration process impacting on resident artists living in the area. The 'Inside Out' Project saw artists and young people turn the estate into a gallery, while the 'I Am Here' project posted large portraits of residents on the older blocks of flats to show who was still resident on the estate during demolition.

The participatory nature of the artwork has meant that art has been an effective community engagement tool for existing residents. The 'I Am Here' project has been a way for residents to respond to the changes in the area and L&Q's support of these projects, combined with a refusal to grant permission to filmmakers and TV shows seeking to use stereotypical 'crappy housing estates' as film locations, is a farsighted example of the positive uses of cultural approaches to regeneration. L&Q have also utilised local creative skills to produce films about the regeneration, and the resident involvement in shaping it, for use in communication and publicity materials.

There is also a community arts studio on the estate where, amongst other activities, local film viewings are held. These cultural events and artworks have resulted in positive PR for the area as they celebrate the history of the area and look forward to its future, for example during the Open House Event.

Other community engagement activities have included: the Court Yard Improvement Project, the table tennis project, parties and seasonal celebrations, Over 50's Group, Knit and Natter Project, and a Demolition Party.

"Onlookers no longer stand unchallenged, as their gaze is met and returned by a multitude of faces consisting of current and former residents on the estate. Thus, the project literally humanises a piece of architecture on its final journey"

Resident artist

6.6 Employment and financial inclusion
Helping residents

L&Q staff have been employed to actively work with residents in need of support regarding employment and financial inclusion. This work has been developed in recognition of the impact of the current financial climate, and the welfare reform policies of the coalition government on social housing tenants. During the regeneration phase there has been rigorous tenant needs assessment work in all locations. Staff have worked closely with residents to ensure that they understand the cost of their housing (eg on Aylesbury) and have offered additional support with budgeting as part of the package.

L&Q's investment in initiatives and partnerships which aim to impact unemployment amongst residents has been strong on many schemes. On Silwood, Forest Homes, Haggerston, Aylesbury and Lewisham Park developments, there are examples of the 'offer' including training and employment for local residents. These include:

- Providing direct funding for a Benefits Case Worker and Worklessness Co-ordinator (Aylesbury);
- Worklessness – two staff posts to tackle

unemployment and training (two-year funding). The key groups were identified as those who need additional support, including single parents, those with mental health issues and older unemployed (25 plus). This work includes: residents assisted with Jobsearch, one-to-one support with CVs/applications/interview techniques, Short Adult Learning Courses, SE17 Working Launch event and Job Fair Group Employability workshops;
- Facilitating construction and related skills training on all schemes for local residents;
- Assisting business start-up and support schemes on Haggerston and Beaumont. Construction Programme benefiting 30 students from local schools and a referral process for 20 work-ready residents;
- Providing funding or facilitating community-learning provision on five schemes, often with accreditation opportunities; and
- Carrying out in-depth preparatory work with all general needs tenants in advance of national welfare reforms.

L&Q has also supported high levels of often-innovative youth work in four locations through funding and partnership-working, eg countering gang crime on Beaumont. At Aylesbury, through the

> **Silwood was one of the worst estates in London and that L&Q scheme has been about doing things that make sense in terms of trying to create opportunities for people to be able to develop skills and get employment. Their apprentices worked in construction on a community centre. All of that makes sense. It's great.**
>
> Mayor of Lewisham

L&Q's impact

Assessing the seven areas

CASE STUDY

AYLESBURY

Working with local partners to deliver local initiatives that are responsive to identified needs

There is strong and effective partnership working on the Aylesbury at a local level. L&Q's approach has been to work with established local organisations in the area in order to support residents. Key partners include Southwark Council and the Creation Trust, a community development trust with a voluntary board made up of local residents and stakeholders.

L&Q helps to fund the Creation Trust and some of its support is targeted at specific areas of work, which have been worklessness and youth. For example, it funded a six-week summer youth programme on the estate in 2012. L&Q has also supported Tykes Corner, a parents and toddlers group, by refurbishing its premises and paying for a part-time member of staff.

As a result, L&Q has fostered very positive relationships with those involved. This is valuable in that it supports grassroots level organisations that are already well established and networked in the area, and staff stressed the importance of this "collaborative approach". Adversely, it may mean that residents do not fully realise the extent of L&Q's community investment in the area.

L&Q has committed £1.35 million of 'added value' funding in regard to the social and economic development on the Aylesbury estate. The majority of the funding has been directed via the Creation Trust. To date, approximately £850,000 has been committed to deliver various programmes and staff posts until 2015 covering areas such as employment, regeneration, welfare reform and young people. In addition, £2 million has been spent on the infrastructure of the 'resource centre', which is run and managed by Southwark Council.

SE17 Working is a new partnership to help Aylesbury Estate residents into work by removing barriers to finding work and linking residents with employers. The scheme is funded by L&Q, Southwark Council and the Creation Trust. L&Q will also ensure that there is training, apprenticeships, placements and employment for local people during Phase 7 of the Aylesbury development.

A recent needs assessment identified three current priority groups: single parents, people with mental health issues and older unemployed people (aged 25+).

L&Q is currently funding the creation of three new posts that focus on work with older people and operate in relation to financial inclusion and welfare advice.

Creation Trust, L&Q have supported a range of youth initiatives including a summer programme of events and activities.

In Haggerston there has been partnership with the Council and the Youth Offending Team on a borough-wide project called 'street law', which was designed to tackle gang activity. On Silwood there has been and continzues to be extensive youth work in the area, which is supported through partnership with local agencies including a youth arts and film project. Community engagement

6.7 Community engagement
Supporting cohesion
Community engagement is integral to much of L&Q's work and it is covered in several sections of this report, including the discussions above regarding engaging residents and local stakeholders in decisions about the deployment of resources at a neighbourhood level, and in the discussion of resident involvement. L&Q's engagement work with local residents and wider communities through resident forums and local boards are not merely mechanisms for gathering opinions and feedback or opportunities for influence. They are also spaces for participative governance, which is integral to the process of creating viable communities.

As L&Q are building developments for residents with very disparate incomes (for example, residents in receipt of benefits living alongside those who are able to buy a home valued at £300,000+), as well as diverse and changing ethnicities, matters of community engagement are paramount if L&Q is to create 'mixed communities' rather than merely mixed tenure developments.

Community engagement work is important if L&Q are to recognise their role in local stewardship and governance. As developers, neighbourhood managers and investors in communities, L&Q have a strong stake in ensuring that neighbourhoods are well managed and harmonious. It is important, therefore, to recognise that social sustainability is a joint responsibility. Some aspects of it these are directly delivered by L&Q as a developer. Others depend on the expertise and involvement of other arms of the association working in partnership with local stakeholders including the residents themselves.

L&Q are beginning to develop good practice in supporting and developing cohesion, for example using cross-cultural and arts mediated approaches to developing mixed communities within neighbourhoods. The Silwood, Haggerston and Beaumont developments offer examples of L&Q supporting resident-led social and community activities, which brings residents together, eg at parties, celebrations, and street events. Of particular note are:

• Beaumont (cohesion);
• Haggerston (arts and cultural); and
• Green Horizons and Forest Homes' award-winning work.

Forest Homes won an Award for Safer Neighbourhoods from the Chartered Institute of Housing, having previously been seen as "a crime generator" and "a no go area for police". However, the interviews conversely raised mixed messages with regards to cohesion between residents across different tenures in different schemes, with interviewees commenting on the tendency to 'live alongside'[28] rather than interact.

07 Key findings

These findings are the result of: profiling six neighbourhoods and researching seven locations, 35 interviews (with staff and residents), one local authority interview, six site visits and extensive desk-based research. The analysis from these combined research methods have so far revealed that L&Q has had a considerable positive impact on the type and quality of homes provided in all of the locations.

The research has evidenced that in all of the locations L&Q has worked in partnership to improve the homes and their surrounding environs. L&Q has also worked (usually in partnership) to meet broader community aims and address, often longstanding, local issues. L&Q's contribution to this includes:

- Physical and community development resources;
- Co-ordination and procurement of development and community activities; and
- Supplying dedicated (sometimes neighbourhood-based) staff to liaise with residents, stakeholders and delivery partners during and after regeneration.

The following sections draw from the available evidence detailed in the profiles to refer back to the key research questions and in doing so identify the overarching domains of L&Q impact across these sites.

Key findings

Assessing impact

Has the development lived up to the expectations of residents and the local authority?

"Because they are organisations that have a social purpose, they have looked at doing things that are more than simply building a house and making sure you get your rent. They have sought to do more than this. You don't necessarily get that with private developers" - Mayor of Lewisham

The research indicates that L&Q achieved, and in some instances surpassed, its original 'offer' or aims in all of the profiled areas with regard to supply of homes and additional infrastructure, community and resident benefits. However, this is difficult to fully confirm as in some areas the original offer document was not available for scrutiny. Furthermore, in some areas, the aims, as opposed to the deliverable objectives, were not sufficiently clear at the scheme outset.

Whilst the processes involved in large scale regeneration schemes are complex and often contentious, L&Q has evidenced a strong commitment to working closely with local residents and stakeholders throughout the development phases. In considering whether expectations were met it is important to look at how they were met and how residents were consulted and enabled to express their views and input into aspects such as scheme design.

The research revealed evidence of good practice in relation to L&Q's work regarding resident involvement and voice. For example, investment in arts and cultural activities and collaboration with small arts initiatives has been valuable in mediating negative public perceptions of the regeneration process. In Haggerston, arts collaborations have created opportunities for public debate, built community interactivity and developed a sense of place. To some extent this was made possible through the presence of residents who worked in the creative sector and were invested in the neighbourhood. However, there is clearly scope for considering the value of such approaches to managing change and bringing residents together simultaneously.

Resident views of the schemes have been varied and have often changed over time. The research heard from several L&Q tenants who had been resident in the area prior to regeneration. They spoke of initial scepticism about the developments being proposed, particularly where this involved a change in landlord from the local authority to L&Q. However, area research also detailed the consultation processes involved, and the efforts made by development and management staff to involve residents and to assist them in negotiating these changes. Some of the residents interviewed described how through this process their views had changed and how were now positive about the benefits of the regeneration for themselves and for the area.

The building of relationships with local residents and local groups and 'hand holding' through the processes of consultation, development and subsequent management have been critical. The clarity about these processes and residents seeing their ideas and involvement in decisions being actualised has been critical. For example, one resident on Aylesbury spoke proudly of how they had insisted that the new build used typical London yellow stock bricks.

With regards to local authority views of the schemes, within the timeframe of the research it was only possible to conduct one local authority interview (Lewisham), which took account of three of the schemes.

Has the development improved the physical living conditions of residents in terms of housing and surroundings?

"Residents slowly realised that the staff were genuine and what they were offering them was therefore genuine too, rather than a sales pitch"

"On Forest Homes it was all about presence. Being there, knocking on doors, doing over and above the promise. Being there weekends. Removing burnt out cars, fixing windows…" - L&Q staff

Across the researched regeneration areas, L&Q will have built over 3,300 new homes of which 2409 are social rented units. Over £538 million has been invested in homes by L&Q across five of the locations (Forest Homes, Haggerston, Silwood, Aylesbury and Lewisham Park). In three of the studied locations L&Q contributed community buildings/and or environ improvements to developments, totalling £6 million of investment (Beaumont, Aylesbury, Haggerston) and over £5 million in commercial properties across two schemes (Aylesbury and Haggerston).

Across the locations, L&Q generated additional funds from external sources and therefore brought considerable added value to the regeneration areas. The qualitative interviews highlighted the considerable investment of housing association staff time across all of the developments.

The combined investment of regeneration-focused funding, together with the staff development and management resources, has undoubtedly improved the physical living conditions across all of the schemes for residents.

The changes are well illustrated by both the photo archive (including before and after images) and by residents' own accounts. The research has also found that the improvements brought about by regeneration and refurbishment are being actively maintained to a high level by both L&Q staff and by residents. Residents interviewed commented on various positive aspects including the quality of architecture, the space, layout, security, and reductions in ASB. The physical and environmental changes are broadly reflected in the decreases in indices of deprivation, where one of the four factors is housing. However, understanding the full impacts of these changes to residents in terms of their lived experiences would warrant more in-depth research.

Has a viable community been created in the development?

One of the biggest impacts of L&Q's regeneration activities has been the changes in the mix and variety of tenure[30] within the schemes researched. Some of these have radically changed from being socially rented mono-tenure with small numbers of leaseholders to a mixed tenure with high percentages of private and shared ownership. Alongside this, the researched schemes have seen significant changes in population, specifically population growth and changes in ethnic mix. It may prove useful to further explore what these changes mean in terms of the lives of those that remain in the

Key findings

Assessing impact

area. Furthermore, what these changes highlight is the need for initiatives, resources and spaces that enable social interaction and connections between established and new residents, which also bridge socio-demographic divides and income disparity.

It is important to understand and assess what the kinds of changes the research has identified mean in terms of the lived experiences of residents and, crucially, it raises the question of whether the new residents become an integral part of a transformed local community who share a sense of place. Alternatively, do residents simply live alongside each other in "their own little bubble"? Therefore, is it true to say that "the everyday sharing of public space cannot be translated into more than passive coexistence based on a level of public familiarity"[31]? In Aylesbury, Haggerston and River Mill Park, L&Q is working in areas where inner-city regeneration and gentrification is having a significant impact on the socio-demographics of neighbourhoods. These impacts are challenging for social housing providers who seek to ensure that community cohesion and sustainability is carefully considered and resourced in order to avoid creating 'social tectonics' (Butler and Robson 2001, 2003).

Two of the research areas (Green Horizons and Beaumont: Forest Homes) offer strong examples of L&Q being a force for building a sense of inclusion and cohesion between communities. Green Horizons won a Chartered Institute of Housing award for Innovative Community Safety. Schemes like Aylesbury 1A and Haggerston provide an opportunity to monitor how a sense of community grows in a mixed tenure development over time. When one Aylesbury resident was asked about

the scheme, his view was that the 'old community' now resides in the new scheme. However, the question of how long-term Aylesbury residents interact with newer residents and the extent to which a sense of community grows remains to be seen. On Beaumont there was the view that there is some 'separateness' between different groups of residents, whilst on Silwood staff were of the view that residents tended to live in 'different worlds'. L&Q will undoubtedly continue to be a critical factor in this dynamic and are in the position through their development and management roles to facilitate interactive communities.

To summarise, the research has found that L&Q and social housing providers are shaping neighbourhoods more widely and that in doing so they have the ability and arguably the responsibility for creating neighbourhoods where viable communities can grow post-development. L&Q need to more strategically build on their examples of good neighbourhood management and integration practices, imaginatively engaging their increasingly diverse tenants and residents both during and after development.

Is there any evidence to show that individual or family well-being and life chances have been enhanced as a result of living in the development?

This question was the most difficult to answer within the remit and scale of this research. Evidencing improved well-being and life chances requires longitudinal study on a level that engages with individuals and groups. However, the census data, enhanced through interviews, pointed to a number

of factors that are likely to impact on well-being and life chances.

In two of the profiled locations (Beaumont: Forest Homes and Silwood), population analysis and interviews reveal that L&Q has had a positive impact on crime. It is also likely that L&Q has contributed to the decrease of some indicators of deprivation. In Silwood, changes to levels of deprivation and qualification could be due, in part, to population movement. On the Beaumont Estate (Forest Homes) L&Q took the lead on regenerating the area and, as part of this, it spearheaded change, with targeted action aimed at reducing levels of crime and ASB.

It is worth noting that where there is evidence of a reduction in crime and deprivation in L&Q schemes, interviews with 'on the ground' staff suggest that this is in part due to the changes in population (resulting from decanting), which have contributed to the success (this is the case on Silwood and Beaumont). However, it can also be attributed to L&Q's determination to tackle local ASB issues and to work in partnership with local residents, police and local authorities to do so. This change is then embedded through the ongoing engagement and responsiveness of management teams.

L&Q, as a large housing association and property developer, has considerable resources at its disposal at a time when many voluntary sector agencies providing community level services are facing severe financial difficulties. As a well-resourced regeneration partner, L&Q often invests in local agencies as part of its community investment strategy (with the following priorities: strengthening communities; positive futures for young people; increased employability; and financial inclusion). The work on the Aylesbury estate offers a positive illustration of how local needs can be assessed and responded to through strong collaborative partnerships (in this instance with the Creation Trust). Through these types of additional community-based initiatives it is likely that there is impact on individual residents' well-being and life chances.Resident involvement

Overarching findings

This research highlighted the unique position of housing associations in London. It also found that L&Q:

- Achieved their 'offer' in relation to homes, infrastructure, community and residents benefits;
- Have had extensive impact in re-shaping neighbourhoods;
- Need to record evidence better from the outset – enabling benchmarking and full assessment of resulting impacts;
- Ensured that staff from all teams focused on the common goal of community benefit;
- Ned to make sure that a legacy plan is in place; and
- Demonstrated embedded principles, informing practice across the staff team.

The research indicates that L&Q achieved, and in some instances surpassed, its original 'offer' or aims in all of the profiled areas with regard to

Key findings

Assessing impact

supply of homes and additional infrastructure, community and resident benefits. However, this is difficult to fully confirm as in some areas the original 'offer document' was not available for scrutiny. Furthermore, in some areas the aims, as opposed to the deliverable objectives, were not sufficiently clear at the scheme outset.

Suggestions for future practice

Both the research process and the findings pointed to opportunities for learning for L&Q's future practice. These were developed in an internal document for L&Q. To summarise these, L&Q should include learning in regard to:

- **Regeneration performance management:** Some of the schemes studied have been recognised as containing examples of imaginative, innovative and rigorous practices. L&Q should develop an explicit system of regeneration scheme evaluation which records the impact of neighbourhood development more systematically and creates a consistent archive.
- **Community investment performance management:** L&Q deploys considerable resources to community organisations and provides for community level activities. Particularly given the climate of fiscal constraint, it is advisable to target resources according to needs analysis and set measurable performance indicators for those receiving funds. This approach would give L&Q vital information about the wider outcomes and impacts.
- **L&Q in principle and practice:** The research revealed that, across all the regeneration schemes, L&Q has strong organisational and principles,

which is translated into an action-oriented approach to community level investment, support and capacity building. This could be enhanced by more integration between the development team and other neighbourhood work in L&Q, thereby building on the good practice identified in the research.
- **Post-development housing management practice:** There are examples of good practice whereby development staff have worked closely with management staff to 'hand over' local knowledge and transfer the strong relationships built with residents to the post-development stage. There are opportunities for increasing opportunities for 'mixing' between new and more recent residents here.

Further research

The research has contended with the difficulties of trying to measure impact retrospectively. The current economic and political climate makes it critically important for social housing providers to be able to evidence their unique practices and resulting impacts, which can only be done through clearly establishing aims and measurements as part of the development process. Helen Cope described "one of the weaknesses of the whole activity of the sector" as not evidencing or tracking the wider social and community impacts.

Full impact measurement would be informed by setting population and development needs-assessment baselines against which any changes

could then be clearly charted. Findings could be implemented alongside further research (if necessary). This might be most usefully done in a situation with practical application where researchers work with L&Q staff at the development stage of a scheme. This would enable the assessment framework to be further honed and used from the outset, thereby providing benchmarking against which to effectively measure impacts over time.

This report presents findings emerging from the development of an impact assessment framework and its application to date across the seven L&Q regeneration developments. As discussed earlier in this report, these should be read with an understanding of the research methodology and the predominately desk-based nature of this research. It has not been possible to fully triangulate the desk-based findings with extensive local qualitative research given the scale of the project.

At present it is too early to say that creating more 'mixed communities' has directly improved the L&Q regenerated areas for individuals and communities (in relation to social and economic indicators). However, it is possible to state that the combined drivers of L&Q staff commitment, physical (eg design, infrastructure) and population changes have undoubtedly contributed to significant transformations in the profiled regeneration schemes. Private sales/intermediate market rent and shared ownership have provided the essential funds

in order to make this possible and financially viable. The future density and tenure mix of these London locations had risen, is rising or is set to rise. This is a context that is conducive to exploring housing and community integration practices set against the backdrop of a debate about how to negotiate a balance between the social responsibilities and the financial imperatives of the sector.

08 Appendices

Appendix 1

Neighbourhood impact indicator and framework documents informing the L&Q impact assessment framework

1) Creating Strong Communities: How to Measure the Social Sustainability of New Housing Developments, Parts 1 & 2, The Berkeley Group in partnership with Social Life and the University of Reading, 2013.

2) Design for Social Sustainability: a framework for creating thriving new communities, Saffron Woodcraft with Tricia Hackett and Lucia Caistor-Arendar, Partnership between the Young Foundation, Future Communities and Homes and Communities Agency, 2011.

3) Presentation on Urban Regeneration and Impact, Assessment for Social Sustainability, Professor John Glasson and Dr Graham Wood, Co-Directors, Impacts Assessment Unit (IAU), Oxford Institute for Sustainable Development (OISD) and Oxford Brookes University (UK), undated.

4) New Economics Foundation Well-Being Indicators: http://www.neweconomics.org/sites/neweconomics.org/files/Five_Ways_to_Well-being.pdf

5) HM Treasury Green Book – Annex 2

6) The ambitions and challenges of SORI, Third Sector Research Council Working Paper 49, Dr Malin Arvidson, Professor Fergus Lyon, Professor Stephen McKay and Dr Domenico Moro, 2010.

7) The Social Impact of Housing Providers, Daniel Fujiwara for HACT, 2013.

8) Urban Regeneration and Impact Assessment for Social Sustainability, Professor John Glasson and Dr. Graham Wood, Co-Directors, Impacts Assessment Unit (IAU), Oxford Institute for Sustainable Development (OISD), Oxford Brookes University (UK).

9) Delivering Great Places to Live: 20 questions you need to answer, Building for Life, Commission for Architecture and the Built Environment (CABE) on behalf of the Building for Life partnership, 2008.

10) Economic Impact Assessment, the Berkeley Group with Ernst & Young LLP (Ernst & Young), 2012.

Appendix 2

Pilot impact assessment framework

L&Q regeneration area: Pilot impact assessment framework: Scheme information

Information	Sources of information	Example-related frameworks and indicators
Start and, where applicable, end date of L&Q scheme. Identify whether it's on-going and if so, what stage of development has been reached • Approval • Development start • Property handover dates • Proportion of lets to voids/out of charges to date • Development phases Fit with L&Q strategic/business plan and community investment strategy Intended beneficiaries of the L&Q scheme, eg former local authority tenants and numbers, single young people, young professionals etc. Whether L&Q was selected for this scheme and if so why the proposal was successful. Whether it was part of a larger regeneration framework or master plan, eg a business corridor, nature and extent of that and the key partners that were involved. • Fit of L&Q scheme with wider frameworks and schemes • What the development replaced, or was integrated with Size and extent of L&Q scheme: • Homes improved or created and their type, eg flats and tenure	L&Q development and community investment information and publicity, including Business Plan and Community Investment Strategy L&Q spreadsheets Local authority area and community plans Interviews and telephone discussions with staff stakeholders (local authority economic development/allocations staff) and residents Site visit Walking the patch	Creating Strong Communities, How to Measure the Social Sustainability of New Housing Developments, Berkeley Group with Social Life and the University of Reading Building for Life Guide (CABE) Berkeley Group Economic Impact Assessment 2012 HM Green Book Guidance on Regeneration

Information	Sources of information	Example-related frameworks and indicators
• Changes to public realm • Community facilities improved or built Community engagement plans and structures Investment level of L&Q and, if known, of partners: fiscal, in kind and other What factors influenced the L&Q scheme's design • Whether the design was specific to this scheme; • Fiscal and planning constraints; • Resident consultation; • Resident participation in the design Which construction company carried out the scheme • Estimated number of jobs and training places created by the build		
Siting of L&Q units (developed and 'under development') and related L&Q developments in relation to surrounding SOA	L&Q development unit totals and postcodes SOA postcodes and boundaries (census 2011)	N/A

Appendix 2

Pilot impact assessment framework

L&Q regeneration area: Pilot impact assessment framework: Census SOA information

Information	Sources of information	Example-related frameworks and indicators
Notable features of location Siting Historic development Urban/suburban Regeneration activity other than the L&Q scheme	Desk-based research	N/A
Socio-demographic picture of the SOA 2001 and 2011: Deprivation level Population numbers Population type: • Age • Gender • Ethnicity • Qualification levels • Socio-economic classification • Economic activity • Income levels • Health Tenure Housing density Characteristics of population flow House prices and rent levels Crime rates	**Census data:** www.neighbourhoods.co.uk **House price data from internet sites, eg:** www.ourproperty.co.uk www.zoopla.co.uk **Crime stats:** www.homeoffice.gov.uk www.police.uk **Business:** www.UKstastics.gov.uk Local authority economic development statistics No of units, voids and 'out of charge' units – L&Q spreads Average number of L&Q residents per household in the location (given unit size) Units x average number = estimated population	Creating Strong Communities, How to Measure the Social Sustainability of New Housing Developments, Berkeley Group with Social Life and the University of Reading Putting the 'S' Word Back into Sustainability, The Berkeley Group with Oxford Brookes University, Matrix for Assessing Social Sustainability HM Green Book Guidance on Regeneration No wider comparison located

Information	Sources of information	Example-related frameworks and indicators
Business start-ups and closures • Indication of the extent to which L&Q residents comprise the SOA population in 2011 Notable features of location Siting Historic development Urban/suburban Regeneration activity other than the L&Q scheme	No of units, voids and 'out of charge' units – L&Q spreads Average number of L&Q residents per household in the location (given unit size) Units x average number = estimated population	

L&Q regeneration area: Pilot impact assessment framework: L&Q resident and neighbourhood information

Information	Sources of information	Example-related frameworks and indicators
Current principal tenant: • Age • Gender • Ethnicity • Tenure • Benefit	L&Q management information	No wider comparison located
Other known features of the tenant population, eg high levels of single parents or young men	Neighbourhood management and local authority staff interviews	No wider comparison located
Defects reported on homes in the location as compared to an external benchmark	L&Q management information Source of external benchmarking	No wider comparison located

Appendix 2

Pilot impact assessment framework

Information	Sources of information	Example-related frameworks and indicators
ASB reporting rates in the location over time as compared with cross-Association rates Types of ASB in the location Community safety activity undertaken by L&Q in the location	L&Q management information	HM Green Book – Annexe 2
Turnover of tenants and leaseholders in the location (from handover date) as compared with cross-association turnover rates Current average property re-let times in the location as compared with cross-association figure	L&Q management information Wider benchmark? Local authority allocation L&Q neighbourhood staff interviews Resident interviews	Re-locate sources that link neighbourhood sustainability with population flux
L&Q resident satisfaction levels (over 3 years) as compared to cross-association levels Overall satisfaction with housing association Satisfaction with repairs Satisfaction with housing services Homeowner satisfaction with homes	L&Q resident satisfaction survey results Resident interviews	GoWell Project (Scotland) – Measurement of the impact of regeneration schemes on well-being
Resident associations and local governance groups in the location	Staff interviews L&Q community investment information	Urban Social Sustainability Contributory Factors List by Dempsey et al. as cited in Creating Strong Communities

L&Q regeneration area: Pilot impact assessment framework – Changes in the location

Information	Sources of information	Example-related frameworks and indicators
Notable changes in SOA, as compared with ward and city changes What can be inferred about who has and has not benefited from these changes Changes that could be inferred to interrelate with L&Q scheme activity • Deprivation level • Population numbers • Population type: • Age • Gender • Ethnicity • Qualification levels • Socio-economic classification • Economic activity • Income levels Health • Tenure • Housing density • Business start-ups and closures • Population flow • House prices and rent levels Crime rates	Census data: SOA, ward and City level 2001 & 2011 L&Q scheme start and completion dates Extent to which L&Q residents are • Estimated to comprise the SOA • Population in 2001 and 2011? L&Q principal tenant data L&Q resident turnover and re-let times	Putting the 'S' Word Back into Sustainability, The Berkeley Group with Oxford Brookes University, Matrix for assessing social sustainability Social Sustainability in Practice: Acting on the Four Dimensions (Amenities and Infrastructure, Social and Cultural Life, Voice and Influence, Space to Grow) – from Creating strong communities: developing the framework

Appendix 2

Pilot impact assessment framework

Information	Sources of information	Example-related frameworks and indicators
Changes to amenities and infrastructure within the SOA since the commencement of the L&Q development Non-L&Q regeneration schemes Amenities and services Cultural innovations Transport links	SOA 'notable features' section of this assessment Map of location Staff and stakeholder interviews Resident interviews	Urban Social Sustainability Contributory Factors List by Dempsey et al. as cited in Creating Strong Communities How to Measure the Social Sustainability of New Housing Developments, Berkeley Group with Young Foundation and University of Reading Social Sustainability in Practice: Acting on the Four Dimensions (Amenities and Infrastructure, Social and Cultural Life, Voice and Influence, Space to Grow) – from Creating strong communities: developing the framework
Changes to amenities and infrastructure in scheme location since L&Q began developing Changes that can be directly assigned to L&Q Changes that L&Q contributed to Changes not involving L&Q • Homes • Schools • Surgeries/health centres • Shops • Meeting spaces – buildings and external space • Cultural innovations • Transport links • Business facilities • Parking • Walking and cycle routes	Map of location Staff and stakeholder interviews Resident interviews Site visit/walking the patch with check list Assessment 'scheme' information	Urban Social Sustainability Contributory Factors List by Dempsey et al. as cited in Creating Strong Communities How to Measure the Social Sustainability of New Housing Developments, Berkeley Group with Young Foundation and University of Reading

Information	Sources of information	Example-related frameworks and indicators
Resident satisfaction with their home: • Internal layout • Quality of finishes • Security • Noise disturbance • Quality of build • Access to green space • Space • Rent levels and service charges (where appropriate)	Resident interviews L&Q neighbourhood staff interviews L&Q resident satisfaction surveys L&Q defect data	GoWell Project (Scotland) – Measurement of the impact of Regeneration Schemes on Well-being The social impact of Housing Providers, Daniel Fujiwara for HACT, 2013 Social Sustainability in Practice: Acting on the Four Dimensions (Amenities and Infrastructure, Social and Cultural Life, Voice and Influence, Space to Grow) – from Creating strong communities: developing the framework
Lived experience of the location and, where at all possible, how this compares with pre-development lived experience. Amenities and infrastructure (as per list above) Opportunities to influence L&Q and location (eg resident networks, links to L&Q staff, opportunities to influence the development scheme) Social and cultural life (mixing with diverse neighbours, volunteering opportunities community groups, social groups, learning opportunities) Community concerns: ASB, crime, access, voids, community mix Economic opportunity: local employers, financial inclusion projects	Resident interviews L&Q neighbourhood management staff interviews L&Q resident satisfaction surveys Impact Assessment 'Scheme Information' L&Q Community Investment Information L&Q ASB and community safety data L&Q void and re-let data	GoWell Project (Scotland) – Measurement of the impact of regeneration schemes on well-being Creating Strong Communities, How to Measure the Social Sustainability of New Housing Developments, Berkeley Group with Social Life and the University of Reading Building for Life Guide (CABE) New Economics Foundation, Five Ways to Well-being Urban Social Sustainability Contributory Factors List by Dempsey et al. as cited in Creating Strong Communities Social Sustainability in Practice: Acting on the Four Dimensions (Amenities and Infrastructure, Social and Cultural Life, Voice and Influence, Space to Grow) – from Creating strong communities: developing the framework

Appendix 3

L&Q impact assessment table: Positive outcomes, outputs and achievements

Achievement/output/outcome	Quotes/examples	Profiles that best evidence this
Amenities and infrastructure		
Over £6 million invested in community buildings on three schemes (Beaumont, Aylesbury/Haggerston) Over £5 million invested in commercial properties across two schemes (Aylesbury and Haggerston)		Silwood was a wider regeneration scheme and there is no breakdown of the 120 million over all figures. River Mill Park: never received investment information Community investment = Silwood/Haggerston/Aylesbury. No figures for the other schemes. It will be an underestimate Retail investment occurred on Beaumont and possibly Silwood but no figures are available
The physical transformation of the surrounding environs in four locations (Beaumont, Silwood, Lewisham Park, River Mill Park) and the commencement of transformation in two new locations (Aylesbury/Haggerston) Contributing to public park improvements in three areas (River Mill Park, Beaumont, Haggerston)	Courtyards, squares, traffic calming, cycle stores, homes with gardens/patios/balconies, disabled adaptations, landscaping, bringing listed building back into use (Beaumont)	Beaumont, River Mill Park, Lewisham Park
Homes		
The creation or refurbishment of over 2000 homes built to, and sometimes exceeding, quality standards, eg Lifetime Homes, Parker Morris Space Standards, Secure by Design and Code Level 4 (energy efficiency) Standards 860 further new builds planned in these locations	"You could not wish for anything else. I think we are in a nice place" - RMP resident "My kids moved away and when they came back they could not believe the transformation" - Beaumont resident	All schemes evidence this – standards were particularly clear Later schemes are better examples, as space was an issue in Silwood and Beaumont
Over £400 million invested in homes by L&Q across 4 of the locations		Forest, Aylesbury, Haggerston and Lewisham Park

Achievement/output/outcome	Quotes/examples	Profiles that best evidence
Neighbourhood management		
Evidence of a reduction in crime, ASB and neighbourhood nuisance in two high crime locations	"People now like to sit on the benches or in the grass. It was not like that before the regeneration." – Lewisham Park resident "People no longer sleep in the garages" - Lewisham Park resident "We closed 37 crack houses" - L&Q staff "We don't get as many call outs that end now" – Lewisham Police re Silwood	Beaumont and Silwood
Strong and vigilant management over time in all of the regeneration locations	"L&Q are a good landlord" - Silwood resident "You tell L&Q that something is wrong and thy take care of it – they sort it out." – River Mill Park resident	Beaumont, Silwood, Lewisham Park and Haggerston
Strong local care taking, concierge and community presence	"L&Q keep the blocks clean" - Aylesbury resident	In all locations but particularly Lewisham Park and Beaumont
Closing 40+ crack houses in 2 schemes		Lewisham Park and Beaumont
Opportunities to influence		
Delegating community and estate management budgets to residents across all locations. In some locations these were substantial, eg £25,000 per year to the tenant-led forum in Haggerston		Haggerston, estate champions in all locations
Taking into account residents' views in the design of all schemes and adapting the scheme phases accordingly		Silwood, Aylesbury, Lewisham Park, River Mill Park
Imaginative and consistently high levels of involving existing tenants in regeneration across all schemes. Opportunities range from providing regular information through to organising 'demolition parties'	"Resident feedback has been key to driving improvements on the project. For example in Phase 1 a passive ventilation scheme was employed which residents were not happy with. As a result, this has been changed for future phases" - the Housing Forum	

Appendix 3

L&Q impact assessment table: Positive outcomes, outputs and achievements

Achievement/output/outcome	Quotes/examples	Profiles that best evidence this
Social and cultural		
Providing three high spec community centres in three locations and upgrading community space		Beaumont, Silwood, River Mill Park, Aylesbury
Provision of four new, high spec community facilities in three areas (nursery and community centre) Upgrading of seven existing community spaces/provision Cyber Centres, youth centres and community rooms		Aylesbury, Haggerston, Silwood Beaumont, Silwood, River Mill Park
The funding of many existing community projects in regeneration areas, eg Aylesbury, the Creation Trust and Tykes Corner		Aylesbury, Haggerston, Beaumont
Employment and financial inclusion		
Possible reduction in deprivation of residents (less likely here to be brought about by population changes)		Silwood and Beaumont
Supporting high levels of employability work in three locations via funding and partnership working		Haggerston, Beaumont and Aylesbury
Facilitating construction and related skills training on all schemes Assisting business start-up and support schemes on two schemes		Beaumont and Haggerston
Providing, funding or facilitating community learning provision on five schemes, often with accreditation opportunities		Not Lewisham Park, little in River Mill Park
In-depth work with all general needs tenants on welfare reform		

Achievement/output/outcome	Quotes/examples	Profiles that best evidence this
Community engagement		
Supporting high levels of often imaginative youth work in four locations via funding and partnership working, eg countering gang crime		Silwood, Haggerston, Aylesbury, Beaumont
Given changes in population (rises in the majority of locations – not Beaumont or Lewisham Park), new tenure mixes (varying extent in all locations – drop in White British in all and African Caribbean in all but one) and local authority divides on some estates. L&Q are beginning to develop good practice in cohesion, cross-cultural and arts-related work	"People all from all over the world live here now" - River Mill Park resident "People live in their own little worlds" - L&Q staff "People live in their own little bubble" - L&Q resident	Beaumont (cohesion) and Haggerston (arts and cultural)
Supporting resident-led social and community activity, eg parties, celebrations, street events		Silwood, Haggerston, Beaumont
During regeneration – rigorous tenant needs assessment work		In all locations

Appendix 3

L&Q impact assessment table: Positive outcomes, outputs and achievements

Achievement/output/outcome	Quotes/examples	Profiles that best evidence this
L&Q principles and practice		
Fair minded approach – giving residents a good service and expecting respect for homes and locations in return	"We may own the property but to our tenants it is home" - L&Q staff	Silwood, Haggerston, Aylesbury, Beaumont
Action orientation – delivering on offer promises and sometimes exceeding them in 4 locations	"99% of L&Q staff give over 100%" - L&Q resident and employee "I heard the phrase 'going the extra mile' three times"	In Haggerston and Aylesbury this has yet to be realised
The deployment of large-scale human resources in order to ensure that regeneration schemes work, eg up to 100 staff on particular schemes		Beaumont, Haggerston, Lewisham Park
Ensuring a strong local presence in the majority of schemes	"In Forest Homes it was all about presence. Being there, knocking on doors, doing over and above the promise, being there weekends, removing cars, fixing windows" - L&Q staff	All schemes: Beaumont, Silwood and Lewisham Park being strong examples
Staff recognising the importance of gaining the trust of local people – going the extra mile – doing what is needed – tailoring transfer and lettings support	"We committed on day 1 to tackle the issues. We did 100% door knocking and sign ups in properties" - L&Q staff	Lewisham Park, Silwood, Aylesbury,
Extensive partnership working, often building on, and supporting existing provision, eg over 90 organisations counted as being partners across the six locations and this will not represent all the partnerships that exist.		Beaumont, Silwood, Haggerston, Aylesbury

Appendix 4

Record of interviews

| Scheme	Development Staff/Staff Involved at Development Phase	Resident and Neighbourhood staff	Community Investment Staff	Residents / Other	Site Visit
Green Horizons	John Johannu 12.04.13	N/A	Paul Nehra (Cray Hub) Matt Randle (Garret Lane Hub) Sheryl Martin (Stratford Hub) 24.04.13	N/A	
Forest Homes	Richard Southall 10.04.13 Jehan Weerasinghe 15.04.13	Chris Newton – Team Leader 22.04.13		1 resident/L&Q employee 22.04.13	22.04.13
Silwood	Jan Mackey 27.03.13	Karen Westbrook Patricia Okonkwa Maria Middleton		19.04.13	19.04.13
River Mill	Caroline Boguzas 10.04.13	Karen Westbrook Janet Easton		Estate Champion 28.04.13	28.04.13
Lewisham Park	Caroline Boguzas 10.04.13	Tamara Morris Anne Winston Nicholas Pyne		Also spoke with residents during site visit on 29.4.13	20.04.13
Haggerston West	Lukman Ahmed 15.04.13			29th April and spoke with residents during site visit	21.04.13
Aylesbury	Adam Simpson 15.04.13	Natalie James, Melanie Banton and Bianca Callaghan 8.04.13		15.4.13 active Aylesbury resident for 40 years	15.4.13

Scheme	Development Staff/Staff Involved at Development Phase	Resident and Neighbourhood staff	Community Investment Staff	Residents / Other	Site Visit
Scheme-wide			Matthew Corbett - Feb 2013 Mike Donaldson's views at the first L&Q meeting Emma Brooker and Leanne Hollins - 02 March 2013 Oliver Jones - Feb 2013		
Lewisham Schemes				Steve Bullock – Mayor of Lewisham	21.5.13

Appendix 5

Socio-demographic analysis

Table 3: Population changes in scheme LSOAs
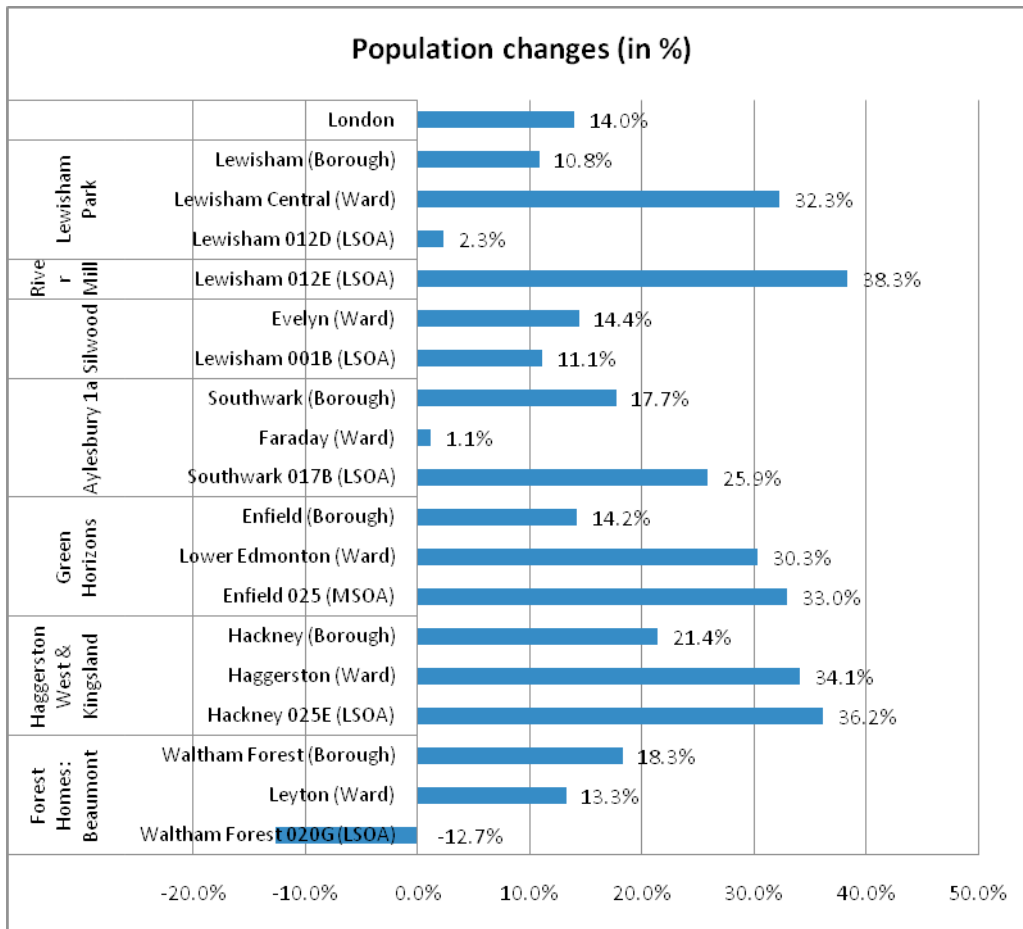
Please note that the ward and borough data for River Mill Park is the same as for Lewisham Park.

Population and gender

Between 2001 and 2011, the overall population of London increased by 14%, from 7.1 million to 8.1 million. All the study areas have experienced population increases to differing degrees, except for the LSOA number in which Forest Homes: Beaumont Estate is located, which saw a -12.7% drop, as the graph above shows. The highest increases of population occurred in Lewisham in the LSOA in which River Mill Park is located (+38.3%),

followed by the LSOA in which Haggerston West & Kingsland is situated (+36.2 %). As handed over L&Q properties only account for 10% to 35% of the total households within the corresponding LSOAs (with the exception of Silwood where the figure is approx 70% and Beaumont, where principal tenants account for 97% of the LSOA), increases of population can only partly be attributed to L&Q's activity but these developments are taking place in areas where there is rapid population change in general.

In terms of gender, apart from the LSOA in which Silwood is located, which has experienced an increase of its female population by 4.2%, the LSOAs gender changes in the majority of the SOAs are in line with the London trend (increase in proportionate male population by 1%).
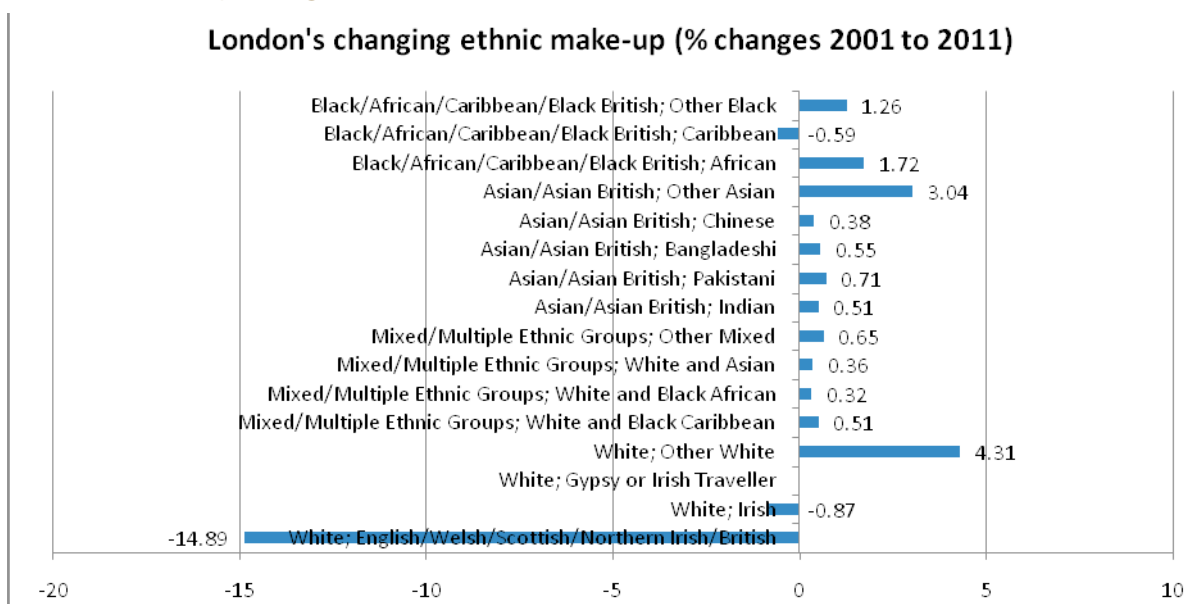
Ethnicity

The patterns of London's changes in ethnicity between 2001 and 2011 reflect the city's hugely diverse character, which is not captured sufficiently by census categories that do not capture other variables such as immigration status, labour market experience, age and spatial distribution. However, given these limitations we can identify a fall of almost 15% in the proportion of the 'White British' population. This overall trend could also be identified in all of the SOAs, and was sharper in some areas (eg a 23% fall in River Mill Park SOA, to a reduction of 6.5% in Silwood SOA and 6.8% in the Haggerston West & Kingsland SOA). The highest increase in terms of ethnicity occurred

among the group of 'White Other' (in London +4.3%). This increase was less pronounced in the Beaumont LSOA (+2.2%), the Green Horizons MSOA (+2.5%) and the Lewisham Park LSOA (+2.5%), while other SOAs experienced an increase of the group of 'White Other' that was far above the London average (eg River Mill LSOA: +9.9%, Aylesbury1a LSOA: 9.6%, Haggerston West & Kingsland LSOA: +7.1%). Most SOAs (apart from the Silwood SOA) also saw a moderate decline in the proportion of the group of 'Black Caribbean'.

The highest divergences in terms of (proportionate) increases versus decreases in population among SOAs occurred within the group of 'Black African'. While there was an increase of this group in the Beaumont LSOA (+3.4%), the Green Horizons MSOA (+8.3%), Lewisham Park LSOA (+4.1%) and River Mill Park LSOA (+1.4%), other SOAs have experienced a decrease in this ethnic group (Silwood LSOA: -8%, Aylesbury1a LSOA: -3.4%, Haggerston West & Kingsland LSOA: -7%). Over the period 2001 to 2011,

Table 4: Ethnicity changes in London

London's changing ethnic make-up (% changes 2001 to 2011)

| Ethnic group	% change
Black/African/Caribbean/Black British; Other Black	1.26
Black/African/Caribbean/Black British; Caribbean	-0.59
Black/African/Caribbean/Black British; African	1.72
Asian/Asian British; Other Asian	3.04
Asian/Asian British; Chinese	0.38
Asian/Asian British; Bangladeshi	0.55
Asian/Asian British; Pakistani	0.71
Asian/Asian British; Indian	0.51
Mixed/Multiple Ethnic Groups; Other Mixed	0.65
Mixed/Multiple Ethnic Groups; White and Asian	0.36
Mixed/Multiple Ethnic Groups; White and Black African	0.32
Mixed/Multiple Ethnic Groups; White and Black Caribbean	0.51
White; Other White	4.31
White; Gypsy or Irish Traveller	
White; Irish	-0.87
White; English/Welsh/Scottish/Northern Irish/British	-14.89

Appendix 5

Socio-demographic analysis

Tenure

Across London, the percentage of people living in council housing has dropped by 4.3% from 17.1% in 2001 to 13.5% in 2011 and those who own their home with a mortgage or loan has decreased by

6.5% from 33.5% to 27.1%. Instead, more people are now renting privately (14.3% to 23.7%) and from RSLs (from 9% to 10.6%). Some of these trends have been more pronounced in the seven SOAs, as the following graph illustrates:

Table 5: Changes in tenure
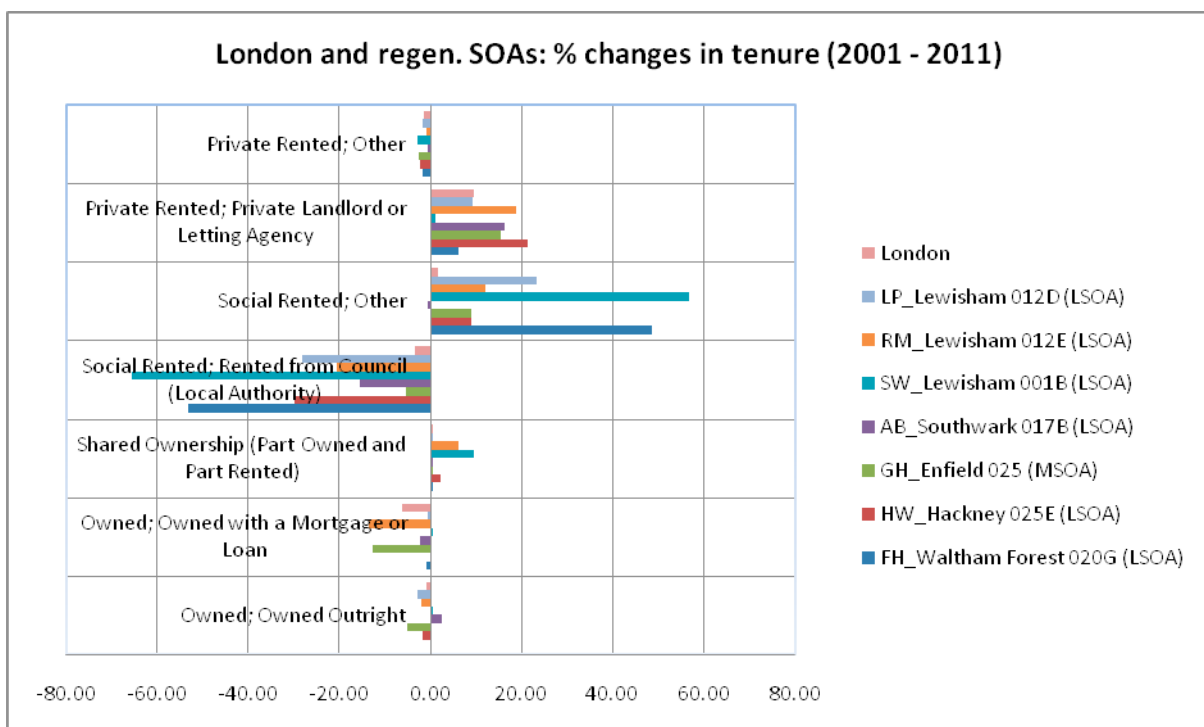
The biggest changes in tenure in the 7 SOAs occurred in the social renting category. While the proportion of people renting from the council declined far above the London average (up to -66% in Silwood LSOA) in the majority of SOAs (except Green Horizons where changes are only slightly above the London average), the percentage of people renting from other RSLs has increased much above London average in most SOAs (except Aylesbury1a LSOA).

However, there has also been an above London average rise in private renting in River Mill Park LSOA, Aylesbury1a LSOA, Green Horizons MSOA and Haggerston West & Kingsland LSOA. Only Silwood LSOA shows almost the same level of private renting in 2001 and 2011. Shared ownership has only increased in River Mill Park LSOA and Silwood LSOA. Interestingly, almost all SOAs and London show a decline of home ownership with a mortgage or loan as well as a decline in outright ownership (except Aylesbury1a LSOA, where there was a 2.4% increase in the latter).
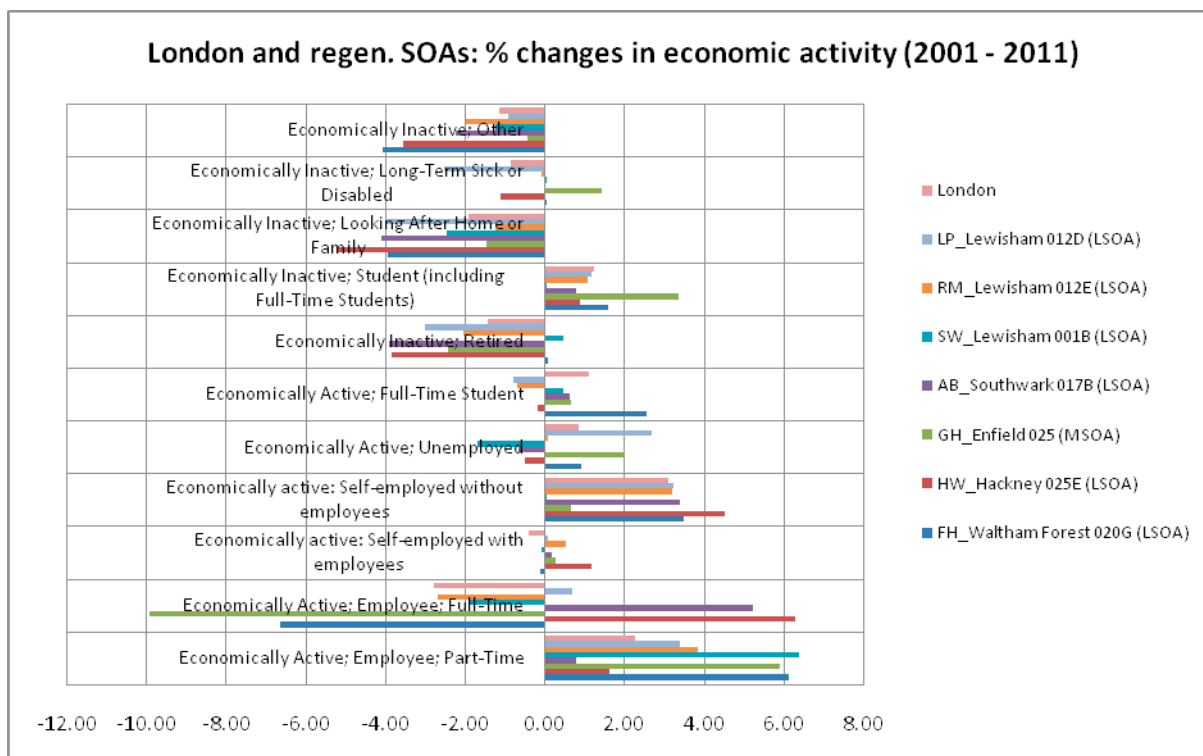
Economic activity

The biggest change in terms of economic activity in London as well as in the seven SOAs has been a decrease in the proportion of full-time and an increase of the proportion of part-time employment. Except in the Aylesbury 1a LSOA (+5.2%), Haggerston West & Kingsland LSOA (+6.3%) and Lewisham Park LSOA (+0.7%), which have seen an increase in full-time employment (and hence a lower increase of part-time employment), the remaining SOAs are in line with the London trend.

Between 2001 and 2011, unemployment across London has increased by 0.85%, which is also reflected in most SOAs, including the Beaumont LSOA, the Green Horizons LSOA and the Lewisham Park LSOA. These increases are however only marginally above the London average. A decrease of unemployment was registered in the Haggerston West & Kingsland LSOA, the Aylesbury1a LSOA and the Silwood LSOA. Census data has also shown that by 2011 there had been a decrease in retired people living in London and the majority of the SOAs reflect this (except the Silwood LSOA and the Beaumont LSOA). Self-employed people without employees have gone up in all SOAs (except Silwood), which is reflective of the London picture. The following graph illustrates these changes.

Table 6: Changes in economic activity

London and regen. SOAs: % changes in economic activity (2001 - 2011)

Legend:
- London
- LP_Lewisham 012D (LSOA)
- RM_Lewisham 012E (LSOA)
- SW_Lewisham 001B (LSOA)
- AB_Southwark 017B (LSOA)
- GH_Enfield 025 (MSOA)
- HW_Hackney 025E (LSOA)
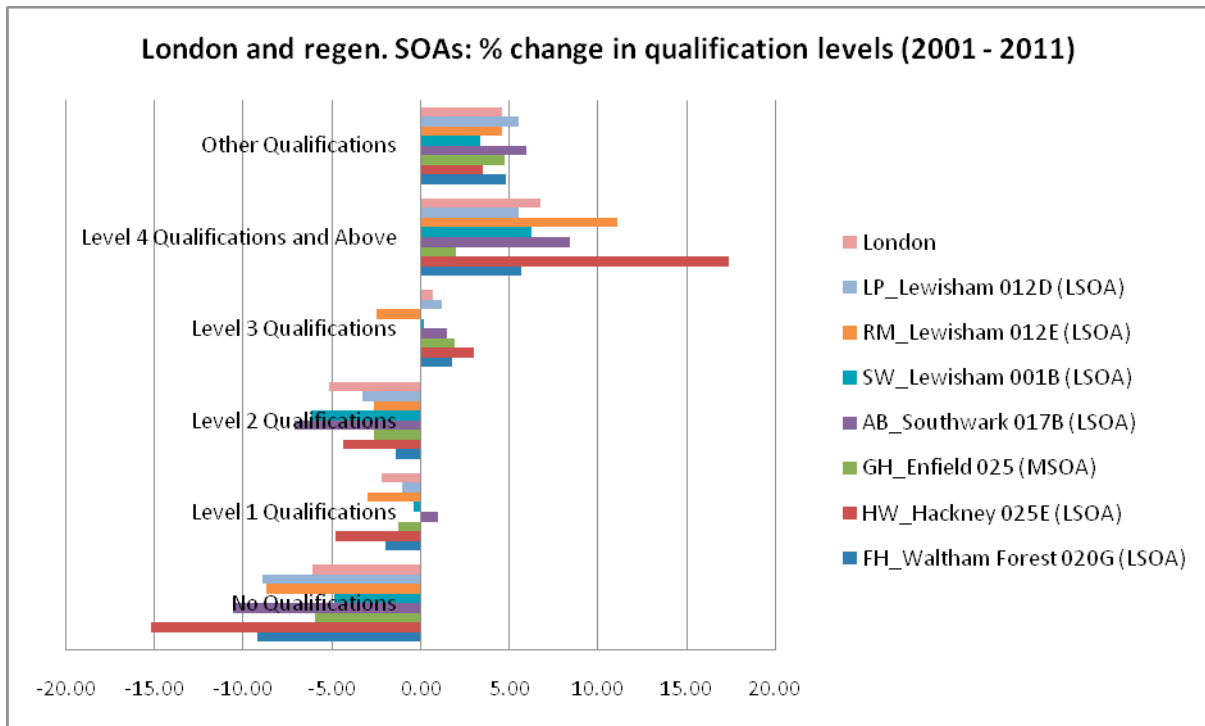- FH_Waltham Forest 020G (LSOA)

Appendix 5

Socio-demographic analysis

Qualifications

Qualification levels in the seven SOAs have predominantly increased (and decreased) in line with the London trend. This trend shows an increase of Level 3 and Level 4 and above qualifications and a decrease in the proportion of people with no qualifications, and Level 1 and Level 2 qualifications. In the Haggerston West & Kingsland LSOA, this trend has been particularly marked (ie a strong increase in Level 4 and above qualifications and a big drop in people with no qualifications).

Table 7: Changes in qualification levels

London and regen. SOAs: % change in qualification levels (2001 - 2011)

Legend:
- London
- LP_Lewisham 012D (LSOA)
- RM_Lewisham 012E (LSOA)
- SW_Lewisham 001B (LSOA)
- AB_Southwark 017B (LSOA)
- GH_Enfield 025 (MSOA)
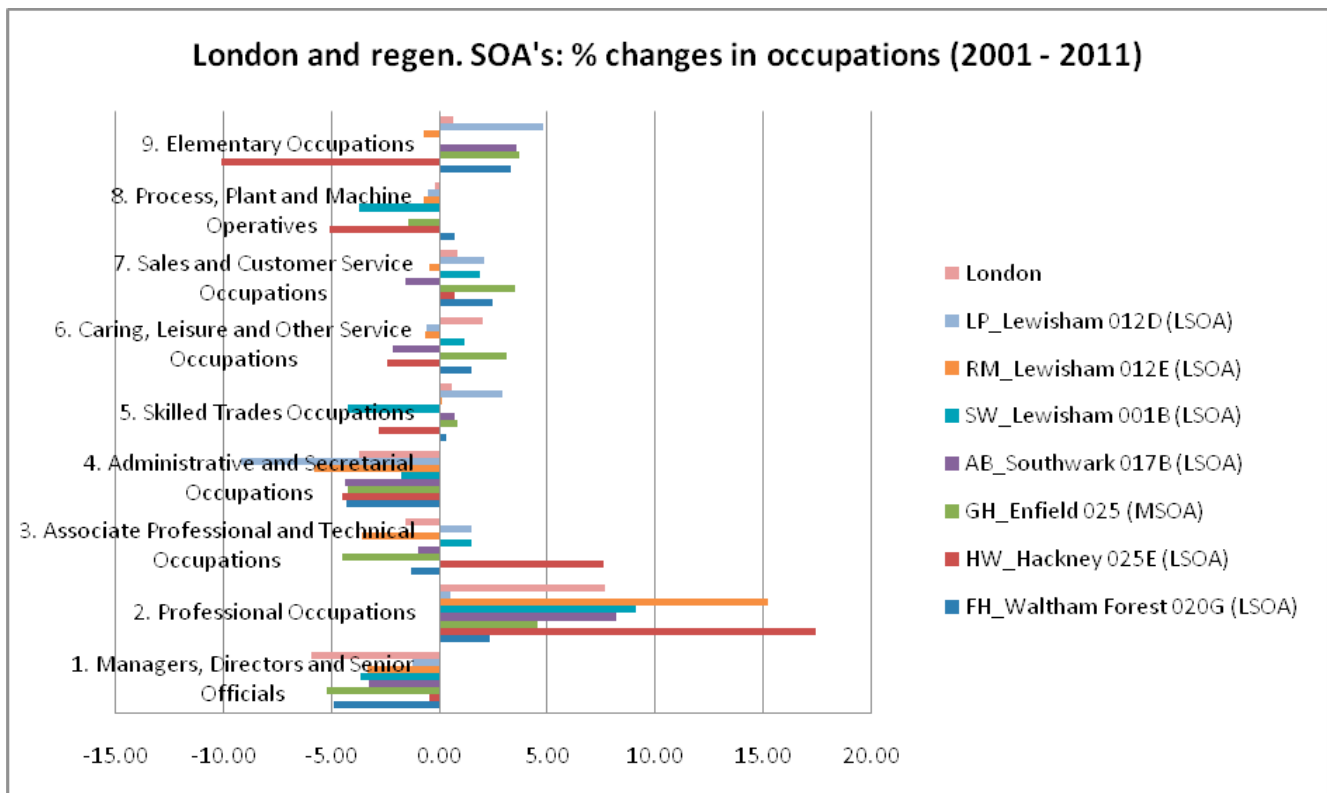- HW_Hackney 025E (LSOA)
- FH_Waltham Forest 020G (LSOA)

Occupations

The most striking change in terms of occupations that has occurred in the seven SOAs (and across London) is an increase in people in professional occupations. This increased varied between 2.3% in the Beaumont LSOA to 17.4% in the Haggerston West & Kingsland LSOA. The London average lies in between at 7.6% for 'professionals'.

Table 8: Changes in occupations

London and regen. SOA's: % changes in occupations (2001 - 2011)

Legend:
- London
- LP_Lewisham 012D (LSOA)
- RM_Lewisham 012E (LSOA)
- SW_Lewisham 001B (LSOA)
- AB_Southwark 017B (LSOA)
- GH_Enfield 025 (MSOA)
- HW_Hackney 025E (LSOA)
- FH_Waltham Forest 020G (LSOA)

Categories:
9. Elementary Occupations
8. Process, Plant and Machine Operatives
7. Sales and Customer Service Occupations
6. Caring, Leisure and Other Service Occupations
5. Skilled Trades Occupations
4. Administrative and Secretarial Occupations
3. Associate Professional and Technical Occupations
2. Professional Occupations
1. Managers, Directors and Senior Officials

Appendix 5

Socio-demographic analysis

Indices of deprivation

In line with the London trend over the period 2001 to 2011, the majority of SOAs experienced a decrease of households in multiple deprivation; that is, a reduction of households that state that they are deprived in more than one dimension. These dimensions[30] include clearly defined aspects regarding employment, education, health and disability as well as housing. Only the Green Horizons LSOA saw a slight increase in households being deprived in all four dimensions.

There has however been an increase in households whose census responses revealed that they are deprived in one dimension. This was the case in River Mill Park and the Haggerston West & Kingsland LSOA. Additionally the total households not recording any deprivation have decreased in the River Mill Park LSOA. The general trend, however, is a clear overall reduction of deprivation levels, which is also reflective of the London picture.

Table 9: Changes in deprivation levels

London and regen.SOAs: % changes in deprivation levels (2001 - 2011)
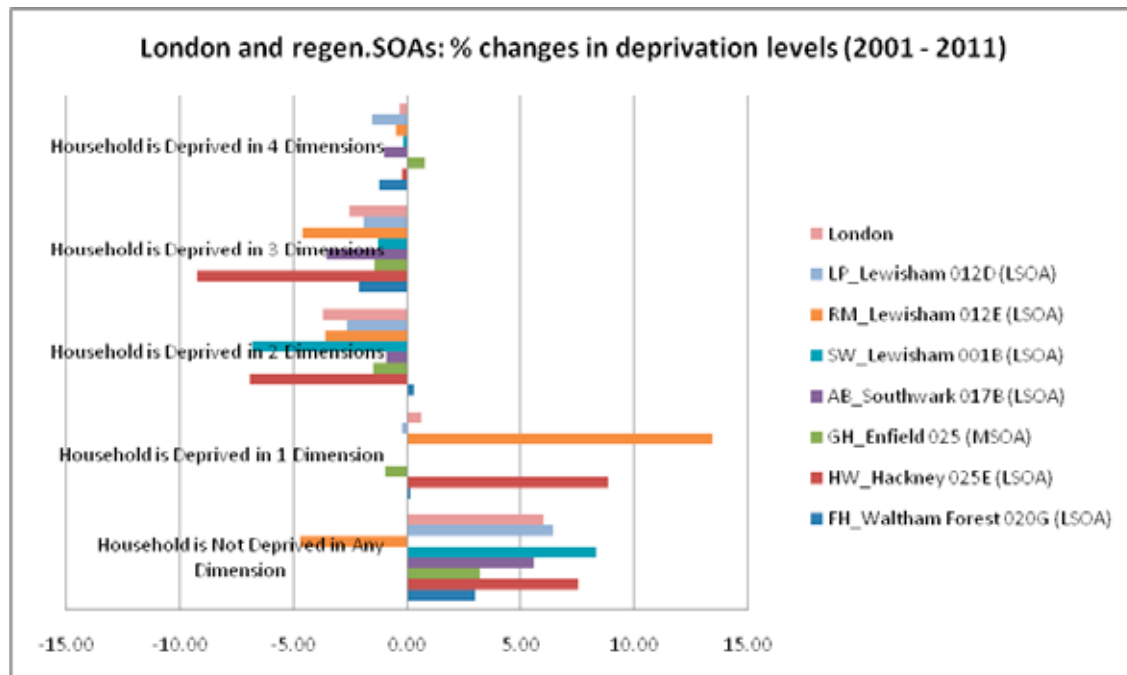
Whilst it is positive to report that there have been decreases in deprivation, it is challenging to identify any direct correlation between L&Q's impact on the Indices of Deprivation at a neighbourhood level due to several factors. Firstly, that separating L&Q's impact from that of an overall regeneration partnership is retrospectively problematic and,

secondly that there have been socio-demographic changes with newer wealthier homeowners moving into mixed-tenure developments. However, there is statistical evidence of a reduction in deprivation of residents on Silwood and Beaumont over and above any changes which are likely here to be brought about by population changes.

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http://www.londonWell-beingconference.co.uk/

http://www.lqgroup.org.uk/_assets/files/flexible-and-focused_fullrpt.pdf

http://www.theairportgroup.co.uk/wp-content/uploads/2012/12/Airport_Group_Giving_Neighbourhoods_a_
Flying_Start_2009_FINAL.pdf

http://g15london.org.uk/double-the-impact/

10 Footnotes

1 See www.gold.uc.uk/cucr

2 See Appendix 2.

3 The work focused on seven schemes but in fact fully profiled six. These are: Beaumont Estate: Forest Homes, Silwood, River Mill, Lewisham Park, Haggerston and Aylesbury 1a. Green Horizons was researched but not profiled. See table 2 for more information.

4 The L&Q Foundation was established in 2011 to help communities. It improves people's chances in life by creating opportunities and developing innovative projects that tackle disadvantage and social inequality. The work of the Foundation is fundamental to our vision of improving resident satisfaction and creating places where people want to live. http://www.lqgroup.org.uk/services-for-residents/about-landq/investing-in-neighbourhoods/the-lq-foundation/

5 CUCR sits within the Sociology Department at Goldsmiths College, University of London. For more information see http://www.gold.ac.uk/cucr/

6 http://www.jrf.org.uk/blog/2013/03/housing-london-cost

7 http://www.thetimes.co.uk/tto/life/property/article3730944.ece

Footnotes

8 In 2012, London had 366,613 households on housing waiting lists, an increase of 73 per cent over the previous 10 years. In some boroughs, such as Newham, the housing waiting list comprised 35 per cent of all households. First-time buyers in London face paying 20 per cent more of their salary on mortgage payments than buyers in the rest of the UK http://www.jrf.org.uk/sites/files/jrf/affordable-housing-london-summary.pdf

9 The underpinning logic of redevelopment in the name of improving neighbourhood outcomes is a causal argument of 'where you live affects your life chances' so therefore improving neighbourhoods improves life chances. This has perhaps inadvertently given weight to the idea that 'poor people are bad for each other' (Lupton 2008: 114). While critics of what is known as the 'cottage industry of neighbourhood effects' influences literature, Sampson (2002) and Slater (2013) argue that the social problems these approaches seek to alleviate are not simply the result of 'neighbourhood effects' but rather other structural inequalities which give rise to differential life chances and produce inequality, ie the reverse argument: 'Your life chances affect where you live'.

10 Several researchers have found the discourse regarding social mixing and the ways that such approaches are evaluated problematic (see Atkinson and Kintrea 2000, Smith 1996, 2002, Bond et al. 2011).

11 Offshore buyers are a driving force in London's housing market due to an attractive taxation system as ordinary "professional middle classes are being priced out of 'super gentrified' neighbourhoods" (Butler and Lees 2006) as the pro-active spatial disengagement of the affluent results in emerging forms of self-segregation and social insulation from what are perceived to be 'risky' urban environments. Rather than their social capital contributing to social and cultural improvements, this research finds that the 'super rich' are largely distanced from the mundane flow of social life in urban areas and tend to be withdrawn from the civic life of cities more generally. This emerging 'Alpha Territory' is the subject of a current ESRC funded research project at CUCR http://www.gold.ac.uk/cucr/research/super-rich/

12 Sustainable communities can be defined as "places where people want to live and work, now and in the future. They are places that meet the diverse needs of existing and future residents, are sensitive to their environment, and contribute to a high quality of life. They are safe and inclusive, well planned, built and run, and offer equality of opportunity and good services for all" (2003 Sustainable Communities Plan).

13 See Appendix 1 for source details

14 Whilst L&Q collect significant amounts of different types of information (tenant data, investment

data, management data, scheme development data etc), this was not consistently or centrally held and was often not formatted in ways that yielded accessible information for review and analysis. Ascertaining L&Q's impact from this this data was also challenging where partnerships were involved and partners held data (eg about specific local projects). A wealth of information resided with the staff closely involved in an individual scheme. Interviews with staff and residents were vital to gleaning detail, checking against other data sources, and better understanding the processes and impacts arising from regeneration in specific neighbourhoods. However, the extent of these interviews was limited by the timescale and scope of the research.

15 See Appendix 2 for the impact assessment framework

16 Commissioned by Berkeley Homes and conducted in partnership with Social Life and the University of Reading (Prof Tim Dixon) Oct 2012.

17 L&Q Foundation Community investment Strategy 2012/15

18 Community Investment by Social Housing Organisations: Measuring the Impact, HACT in partnership with TSRC, Vanessa Wilkes and David Mullins, 2012

19 See http://blogs.lse.ac.uk/politicsandpolicy/archives/22826 which finds that poverty is increasing

20 http://www.neighbourhood.statistics.gov.uk/ accessed on 2 May 2013

21 A Lower Layer Super Output Area (LSOA) has a minimum population of 1,000 and a maximum population of 3,000 or a minimum number of households of 400 and a maximum number of households of 1,200. A Medium Layer Super Output Area (MSOA) has a minimum population of 5,000 and a maximum population of 15,000 or a minimum number of households of 2,000 and a maximum number of households of 6,000. (http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/guide-method/geography/beginner-s-guide/census/super-output-areas--soas-/index.html accessed on 1 May 2013)

22 The six neighbourhood profiles are available on request from L&Q.

23 At the time of writing the research team did not have full investment figures for all schemes. This was further complicated by the fact that the different sources of L&Q investment (eg L&Q grants, revenue generated by property sales and funds received by L&Q from authorities and the Homes and Communities Agency) were not clearly delineated for the majority of schemes.

24 Lifetime Homes, Parker Morris Space Standards, Secure by Design and Code Level 4 (energy efficiency) Standards.

Footnotes

25 See individual profiles for more survey information.

26 At the time of writing it is proposed that the ground rent for this site (estimated to be between £100,000 and £140,000 per annum) is set aside in perpetuity for the local board to spend as they deem appropriate on local estate management and improvements.

27 See individual profiles for more survey information.

28 Gidley, B., Jayaweera, H. and Jensen, O. (2012) Diversity, Cohesion and Change in Two South London Neighbourhoods' Concordia Discors Final Report, Centre on Migration, Policy and Society (Compas), University of Oxford.

29 Speaking at the London Well Being Conference 2013 'Creating Communities'. Helen Cope is a former Chief Executive of the East Thames Group and an expert on housing and worklessness. For more info see - http://www.londonWell-beingconference.co.uk/

30 With the exception of Lewisham Park, the only refurbished scheme.

31 Deprivation dimensions: The dimensions of deprivation used to classify households are indicators based on the four selected household characteristics:

- Employment (any member of a household not a full-time student is either unemployed or long-term sick)
- Education (no person in the household has at least Level 2 education, and no person aged 16-18 is a full-time student)
- Health and disability (any person in the household has general health at a 'bad or very bad' level or has a long term health problem), and
- Housing (household's accommodation is ether overcrowded, with an occupancy rating of -1 or less, or is in a shared dwelling, or has no central heating).

A household is classified as being deprived in none, or one to four of these dimensions in any combination. Source: http://www.neighbourhood.statistics.gov.uk/dissemination/LeadMetadataDownloadPDF.do?downloadId=31839

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