

Woodberry Down Case Study

Baseline Report

Introduction

This report is part of a wider set of documents that form the baseline for the evaluation of the mixed communities initiative, namely:

- The baseline report of the evaluation
- Annex A to the baseline report, which sets out the evaluation approach
- Reports like this one for each of the case study areas
- A set of data files for each case study area.

The report is intended to provide a descriptive account of the Woodberry Down demonstration project at the start of the mixed communities initiative, and to identify key issues and questions for the evaluation of the mixed communities approach in this area. It does not contain detailed quantitative data. This can be found in the accompanying data files.

The structure of the report is guided by the theory of change approach adopted as the basis for the evaluation of the mixed communities initiative. A theory of change is a linked set of propositions leading from problem to outcome, indicating how, in theory, problems can be remedied by interventions, through what change processes and with what outcomes. The evaluation team has set out a theory of change for the mixed communities initiative (see Baseline report, Annex A), and used this to generate a series of research questions about the problems faced by the areas, the remedies adopted and the changes that occur. Clearly at the baseline stage, we are not in a position to report on change processes and outcomes, although it is important that we understand the desired outcomes and the change processes that are expected to lead to these. The report is organised around a set of research questions on the problems faced in the area and the remedies being adopted.

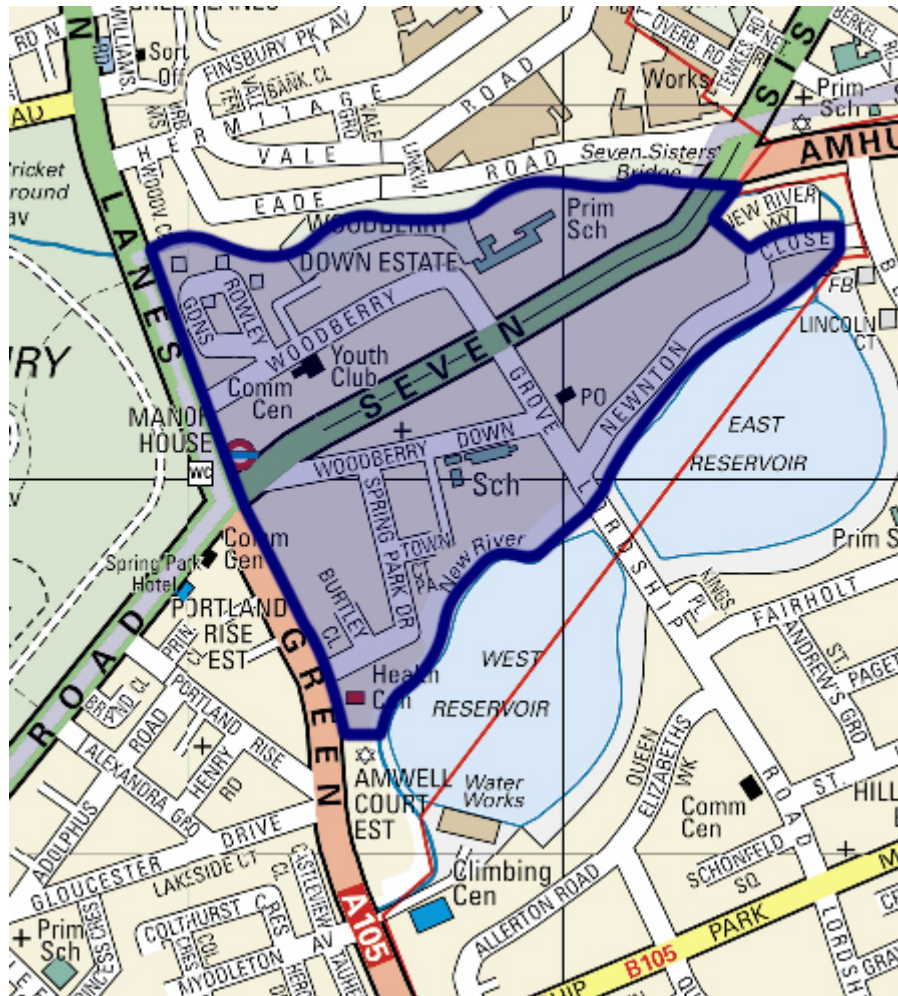
The final section of the report identifies some key questions for the evaluation in this demonstration project area and sets out the bespoke evaluation strategy that will be followed for the remainder of the evaluation, to summer 2009.

The area

Woodberry Down is a post-war housing estate located on the north-west edge of the London Borough of Hackney. The DP area covers some 24 hectares and borders the London Boroughs of Haringey and Islington. Woodberry Down is predominantly residential, with two small shopping areas at Woodberry Grove and Manor House. The

estate spans two wards – Brownswood and New River – and covers six lower level Super Output Areas.

Hackney as a whole was the most deprived local authority district in the country according to the IMD 2004¹, and Woodberry Down suffers from extensive disadvantage. Nevertheless, the area benefits from very good locational assets. It is next to the transport hub at Manor House, with direct access to central London by London Underground and road. Green Lanes (A105) runs alongside the DP area, while the estate is bisected by Seven Sisters Road (A503). The area has some high quality natural assets – it is next to Finsbury Park, close to Clissold Park, and borders on the East and West Reservoirs.



Map of Woodberry Down: Finsbury Park in LB Islington lies to the east, while The Bridge NDC in LB Haringey is immediately to the north. The London Borough of Hackney continues to the south and east of the DP area.

Woodberry Down is the largest social housing estate in Hackney, with 1,980 homes, most of which are within 57 low-rise blocks constructed in the 1950s. The Council is the main landowner and some 67% of units are rented from the social housing sector.

¹ Rank of average rank of deprivation



View of Woodberry Down from Rowley Gardens

The area is very diverse with an ethnically mixed population. A housing needs survey carried out in 2002 showed a population of around 5,800², of which 32% were White British, 17% were Black African, 10% were Black Caribbean and 10% Black British. There were also significant minorities of Turkish and Kurdish residents. The neighbouring area of Stamford Hill is home to Europe's largest Orthodox Jewish community, although few Orthodox Jewish families currently live on Woodberry Down. The estate has a relatively young population (with some 23% of the population aged 14 or under in 2001), and there is some transience with new groups arriving (for example people from Eastern European Accession States). Nevertheless, 15% of the estate's population are older people, and include longstanding tenants and leaseholders.

Woodberry Down and Stamford Hill received £22.5 million SRB funding from Round 6, which ran from 2000 – 2007. Around half of this was used to pump prime the housing scheme. This was initially conceived as a programme of estate renewal including some demolition and some refurbishment, but later became a full scale programme of demolition and rebuild, using a self-financing model. Masterplanning began under the

² Using the six LSOAs covering Woodberry Down, population was calculated as 8,754 in 2001. This area is slightly larger than the estate itself, giving rise to a discrepancy between this figure and that from the housing needs survey 2002.

SRB programme and demolitions had commenced when Woodberry Down was granted Demonstration Project status in 2007.

Problems in the area

What problems does the area suffer from, at the baseline stage, relative to other areas?

The quality of existing housing stock is a key problem in Woodberry Down. A structural evaluation report undertaken on behalf of Hackney Council in 2002 concluded that 31 out of 57 blocks on the estate were 'beyond economic repair'. The report recommended that these blocks be demolished and a further 11 blocks considered for demolition. Defects in housing stock were wide ranging, including faulty drainage systems; ground and foundation movement; presence of asbestos in the majority of blocks; poor security; lack of disabled access and lifts; water penetration; and poor thermal performance. The structural evaluation report led the Council to omit Woodberry Down from its Decent Homes Strategy, and to decide instead to pursue a self-funded regeneration programme in order to meet the Decent Homes Standard.

The estate does not suffer from low demand, owing to high pressure on affordable housing, and in particular larger units, within Hackney (although recently, voids have not been filled pending demolition). It has, however, experienced social housing residualisation, leading to a lack of mix in terms of economic activity and income.

Unlike some of the other Demonstration Projects, Woodberry Down is not comprised of many distinct different neighbourhoods and is relatively homogeneous in terms of stock tenure and type. Of the 1,980 homes on the estate, 67% are social rented. Right to buy has not been widely exercised, but some stakeholders have spoken of problems associated with buy-to-let housing, which is seen to have brought in a proportion of non-resident leaseholders with "little stake in the area".

Seven Sisters Road, a six -lane main thoroughfare, splits Woodberry Down in two. This creates a division on the estate (for example, research with young people carried out by the SRB Partnership showed that they would be unlikely to visit a youth facility on the 'other side' of the road). The very broad range of different groups of people living on the estate means that community cohesion is a concern for residents, although it is being managed by a Community Cohesion Project Group; there is little racially motivated crime. Woodberry Down Consultation Team has commissioned research around community cohesion on the estate, which will provide a more quantitative picture, but anecdotal reports suggest that the community is relatively close and that there is a high level of 'bonding capital' on the estate.

Woodberry Down has historically experienced high rates of drug related crime, street robbery and prostitution, with a hotspot around the Manor House interchange. The estate is now policed by two Safer Neighbourhoods Teams (as it covers two wards, Brownswood and New River); more intensive policing has led to a drop in reported incidences of robbery and new legislation has enabled a number of crack house closures. There have recently been some problems with gang violence on the estate, which has been targeted by gangs from neighbouring estates in Hackney and Haringey, who have over the last year been engaged in a 'turf war' around drug dealing. This has

led to a number of non-fatal shootings and more recently, stabbings of rival gang members. Blocks due for demolition, that are virtually empty, can also act as 'magnets' for drug users and prostitution. Poor design in the existing housing blocks contributes to these problems – for example, most blocks have open stairwells - although Hackney Homes have put in place several measures to address these problems, including private security, securing stairwells, decommissioning voids and swift clearance of squatters.

Despite these problems, though, Woodberry Down's crime rates are not as high as in some other parts of Hackney. For example, in November 2006, robbery rates in the two wards spanned by the estate were lower than the Hackney average; burglary rates were close to the Hackney average of 0.99 per 1000 population, but considerably lower than in some other wards with large housing estates such as Haggerstone (1.93) and Queensbridge (1.67). In the same year, the rate of drugs offences in New River was close to the borough average at 0.96/1000 population, but again well below the rates in Haggerstone (1.83), Queensbridge (2.16) and other wards including Chatham (1.77) and Dalston (2.32).

The local population experiences a high level of multiple disadvantage. According to the Index of Multiple Deprivation 2004, two of the estate's six Lower Level Super Output Areas were in the 3% most deprived in the country; a further three of the six were in the 5% most deprived. Crime, poor housing and living environment and access to services are key problems; the estate had SOAs in the worst 3% nationally in 2004 on each of these measures. Health is also poor: census data showed that some 21% of people in the area had a limiting long-term illness, compared with 18% in Hackney as a whole and 15% across London. In 2001, some 13% rated their health as 'not good', compared with 8% in London overall.

Educational attainment at primary level has improved in recent years, but Census data on qualifications amongst the working age population showed that 35% of the adult population had no qualifications, compared with 29% nationally. JSA Claimant Rate in the first quarter of 2005 (the baseline date for the Mixed Communities Initiative) was 6.2, compared with 2.3 in England. Meanwhile, 40% of dependent children were in lone parent families, compared with 23% in England as a whole. Access to public services and shops has historically been a key problem in Woodberry Down and the area scores particularly badly in the Index of Multiple Deprivation against this domain.

These problems have, according to stakeholders interviewed, given Woodberry Down "a bad reputation", but there is nevertheless a sense that many within the local community feel pride in their area and want to stay in Woodberry Down during and after the redevelopment. It is unclear to what extent Woodberry Down has any sort of reputation outside of the local area. Initial research carried out by Berkeley Homes with local estate agents suggested that Woodberry Down is not well known (perhaps because of its low level of owner-occupation). Further research on perceptions of the area both among existing residents and potential in-movers is planned in 2008.

Do the problems of the area affect the life chances of people in the area? In what ways?

Quantitative survey data does not exist to show whether people living on Woodberry Down have poorer life outcomes than those in more advantaged neighbourhoods, but those interviewed as part of the baseline research pointed to issues like lack of access

to services, mental health problems and low skills that are known to affect life chances. Several interviewees also mentioned how they felt that low aspirations, particularly among young people, chaotic lifestyles and poor parenting could affect people's life chances. It should be noted that these were individual views and are not backed up by hard evidence in the area, although there is national research that shows links between these issues and poorer life chances.

What level of public expenditure is required in this area relative to others on an ongoing basis?

Data on local service expenditure has not yet been collected, but stakeholders broadly agree that Woodberry Down has not attracted high levels of public expenditure owing to its location on the edge of the borough and that, compared with some other parts of Hackney, its problems (e.g. in relation to crime and worklessness) are not so pronounced. Woodberry Down and neighbouring Stamford Hill received £22.5 million SRB funding between 2000 and 2007, which funded some additional public services, including a detached youth team and street wardens, which were later mainstreamed. Yet there is not a sense, as in some of the Demonstration Project areas, that disproportionately high levels of service expenditure have been pumped into the area over a long period of time (in some other areas, this has been a driver for a mixed communities approach as expenditure on services has not brought about the transformational change required to address area effects; this is not the case in Woodberry Down as it has not received such high levels of investment).

Previous interventions

The Woodberry Down and Stamford Hill Partnership received £22.5 million from SRB Round 6 in 2000, after an unsuccessful bid to SRB5 in 1999. Through a seven year programme, the Partnership aimed to effect a full-scale regeneration of the area. Just over £13.5 million SRB capital funding was included in the bid, to drive redevelopment of the Woodberry Down estate. A further £8.9 million revenue funding was used for a series of socio-economic projects, aiming to maximise opportunities for local residents across both Woodberry Down and Stamford Hill.

The original SRB6 bid envisaged partial demolition and rebuild of Woodberry Down, with some refurbishment of existing units; following a structural evaluation in 2002 this was revised and the concept of a self-funded regeneration scheme developed. One of the Partnership's objectives was to deliver 1,100 new homes in its seven-year lifespan. The housing programme, however, suffered from a slow start (including a first masterplan that was later abandoned) and the SRB grant was suspended by the LDA and SRB Partnership in 2004. The project was restarted under a new project director in 2004. A new masterplan was commissioned and the regeneration programme regained momentum.

SRB6 capital funding was spent on masterplanning, leaseholder buyouts, and pump-primed 'Kick Start' sites on the estate. SRB was also used to fund a community consultation team within Hackney Homes' Woodberry Down regeneration team, and to build the capacity of the Estates Development Committee (EDC). As the housing programme progressed more slowly than planned, some capital funding was used to refurbish existing community facilities, such as the Robin Redmond Resource Centre,

John Scott Health Centre and Parkside Youth Centre. The LDA has permitted £2 million SRB capital spend to be carried over to the current financial year to fund development of a new primary community facility and the delivery of an interim strategy including CCTV, Elder Peoples Day Centre, Satellite Library and a Construction Training Centre.

Revenue funding was used to draw new services into the area, including employment support, detached youth workers, sports provision, Citizens' Advice Bureau, drugs and alcohol services, community health services, nursery provision and adult learning. In the final years of the scheme a thematic focus was placed on education and young people; business, employment and training; and health.

Drivers of deprivation

What are the drivers of area deprivation?

Poor housing is clearly a key driver of deprivation on Woodberry Down. As in other parts of London, lower waged, lower skilled people are dependent on the affordability of social housing and when this is concentrated on large estates, this leads to a concentration of relative deprivation. On Woodberry Down, the poor quality of housing, and homogeneity in type and tenure, have led to social housing residualisation, with little mix in terms of income and economic activity. Some stakeholders have noted that the availability of family units, meaning that the estate has a higher than average proportion of lone parent households, can in turn lead to higher than average rates of worklessness and an intergenerational cycle of disadvantage. Meanwhile single bed units often house individuals with high levels of need and the concentration of these units can lead to the creation of 'problematic blocks'.

Another key factor highlighted by several stakeholders was the area's location at a transport node and the layout and poor design of the estate. These make it attractive for drug dealing, drug use and prostitution, and anecdotal reports suggest that local young people are often drawn in as runners for drug dealers, with people purchasing drugs travelling to the area from some distances. The police have also pointed to displacement of drug related crime and prostitution from Kings Cross. This may also have contributed to residualisation, giving the area a reputation as a "dangerous place to be".

Poor quality and access to services exacerbate the problems that local people face. The estate's location on the edge of the borough is thought by several stakeholders (including service providers) to have contributed to poor public services in the area, as it has not in the past been a focus for public service expenditure:

"Woodberry Down suffers from boroughs' inability to work across boundaries" (Author's interview)

"Woodberry Down is a lost community in a forgotten part of London" (Author's interview)

In partnership with Hackney Homes, some SRB6 funding was used to enhance local services, including a nearby health centre (which houses two GP practices) and Parkside youth centre, which is on the estate itself. This funding was also used to refurbish an existing community facility on Woodberry Grove, which houses a library and IT suite; College of North East London began delivering outreach courses from the

centre during the SRB programme. There is however no FE college nearby and the nearest secondary school (Skinners' Company's School for Girls) is a 15-minute walk away. Access to Employment provides help with job search and training from a base near to Manor House station; this too was brought in using SRB funding, as the nearest Jobcentre is in Finsbury Park. A construction training project was planned as part of the SRB programme, but was delayed as building work did not commence on the estate during the lifetime of SRB; this project was taken on by Hackney Homes and a construction training centre has now opened and begun training local residents. However, a Citizen's Advice Bureau funded through SRB was not able to sustain a presence on the estate, and there is still very little local retail offer. Despite some improvements then, gaps remain in local services both in terms of quality and access.

There also are very few businesses on the estate, which only has two small shopping areas at Woodberry Grove and Manor House. This means there is a lack of a thriving private sector to provide, or increase demand for other, local services. It also results in very limited employment opportunities in the immediate vicinity of the estate.

Unlike some of the DPs, however, Woodberry Down does not suffer from a weak economic structure in the surrounding area, or lack of access to jobs. Woodberry Down has excellent transport links and is close to centres such as Finsbury Park, Hackney Central, Tottenham, Islington and Stoke Newington, with good access to central London. There are several drivers of higher than average rates of worklessness on Woodberry Down, although stakeholders had differing views about the relative importance of these factors and how they interact. Census data showed low skills amongst the working age population. The estate has higher than average proportion of lone parents, who are likely to face a number of barriers to employment, including the 'benefits trap', childcare issues, and problems associated with being out of the labour market for a long time. Some stakeholders also spoke of a lack of aspiration amongst especially younger residents, and 'parochialism' meaning that local people did not want to, or feel confident to, travel to other neighbourhoods to work. These are all likely to contribute to deprivation on the estate, although more research with residents would be necessary to quantify and better understand this issue.

What are the drivers of deprivation that the DP is explicitly trying to address?

The Woodberry Down regeneration scheme explicitly addresses problems arising from poor housing and lack of tenure mix. Poor design and environmental quality will also be addressed, and it is expected that this will lead to reduced crime and anti-social behaviour.

The DP also explicitly addresses poor quality of, and access to, public services on the estate. Alongside some SRB monies, the self financing masterplan has been negotiated in a way that is front-loading delivery of new community facilities including a health centre, City Academy, youth centre and community centre.

In Woodberry Down it is also important to note that the demonstration project is not only trying to address the drivers of deprivation but also taking advantage of the opportunity presented by Woodberry Down's locational assets: land value, transport links, parks and natural features. This is a key reason why a self-funded major regeneration scheme was thought to be appropriate for the area. While it faces distinct disadvantage, Woodberry Down is not the most deprived part of Hackney, and it was the combination of

deprivation and opportunity that led to the adoption of a mixed communities approach, rather than a more traditional estate renewal programme.

Is a more mixed population needed?

Mix in Woodberry Down is primarily conceived as mix of tenure, income and economic activity, as the area is already very diverse in terms of age and ethnicity. Creating this type of mix is essential to fund the regeneration programme, as the project relies on developing a high number of units for private sale. It is also widely argued amongst local stakeholders that a more mixed population will help to drive up the quality of local public and private services:

“It will bring in different types of residents and a different community perspective – there will be more stakeholders who won’t put up with poor quality services.” (Author’s interview)

“Bringing private wages into an area supports other services like shops, dry cleaners, etc.” (Author’s interview)

Some stakeholders also felt more of a mix was needed for a ‘sustainable community’. This was seen to rely on more families, with more households in work for the community to be both more confident and more aspirational. However, as one stakeholder commented, this is only likely to happen if there is both balance and integration between the existing and ‘new’ communities – for example, in terms of using common services such as the new Academy and health centre.

Demonstration Project overview

The mixed communities approach in Woodberry Down arises from the need to remodel the majority of housing stock in order to meet the Decent Homes Standard; the need to address significant area deprivation; and the opportunities presented by the area's locational assets, such as its excellent transport links.

Through the Woodberry Down regeneration scheme, the current 1,980 homes on the estate will be demolished and 4,644 new homes constructed in their place. The intention is that the redevelopment will be entirely self-funded through the introduction of housing for the private market. Although the number of units available for social renting will remain constant, tenure mix will change from 67% social rented at present, to 65% privately owned (including intermediate housing) on completion of the scheme. The development will be phased and a system of 'rolling decants' will be employed, with the intention that most residents, except those on the Kick Start sites, will only have to move house once.

The housing scheme began in 2000 as part of the SRB6 programme funded in Woodberry Down. An Area Action Plan was developed and adopted as SPG in 2004, and an Urban Design Framework prepared the following year, setting out a broad vision for the estate. A developer and RSL (Berkeley Homes and Circle Anglia) were secured for Phase 1 (the 'Kick Start' sites) in 2005. The masterplan for the redevelopment was submitted to Hackney Council in December 2006, at the same time as detailed planning applications for the first of four 'Kick Start' sites. As of September 2007, the Council had announced resolution to grant consent for the masterplan, while the detailed planning application for Kick Start 1 was still going through the planning process.

The programme has now commenced on site; six blocks have so far been demolished, with construction expected to begin early in 2008. A competitive process has now begun to find an RSL and developer to deliver Phases 2 – 5 of the scheme.



Woodberry Down Landscape Masterplan

Detail of Demonstration Project plans

Housing and tenure mix

The Woodberry Down regeneration programme aims to reprovide the current level of social housing on the estate through a self-financing model. Because of this, calculating the level of private housing needed to fund social housing, and community infrastructure, and ensuring this complied with the Borough's policies on affordable housing and unit size, was central to the masterplanning process. 1,458 socially rented homes will be reprovided. The final proposed tenure mix (without CLG gap funding) is as follows:

Social rented housing	34.0%
Intermediate housing	7%
Private for sale	59%

Depending on the level of gap funding received, the proportion of intermediate housing will increase up to 17% and private housing will decrease to accordingly.

Hackney Council requires 35% of homes within the new development to be 3-bed or above, including within private housing. The new development is intended to be tenure blind, with social housing 'pepper-potted' amongst private housing. Although density will increase to an average of 200 units per hectare, development principles for the estate include a commitment to reprovide social housing with an internal living area equating to

Parker Morris plus 10%. 10% of the development area is required to be public open space. The masterplan uses the concept of a return to 'traditional London urban form', with blocks of between 2 and 20 storeys built around garden squares.

The regeneration programme is divided into five phases, to be completed over a 20-year period. Berkeley Homes the developer for Phase 1 has submitted a detailed planning application for Kick Start Site 1 (the Old School Site); this site alone will deliver 456 units over a 3-4 year period. A competitive process has begun to find a Registered Social Landlord and developer for Phases 2 – 5; this process should be completed in 2008.

It is envisaged that the RSL will complete a stock transfer of all tenanted properties. It is intended that a Community Based Housing Association be created further down the line. If the majority of residents vote against stock transfer, a contingency plan is in place.

How will the development affect existing residents?

The scheme commits to reproviding the same level of social housing (1,458 units) and rehousing all existing residents should they wish to stay on the estate. The phasing programme allows a programme of 'rolling decants', so only those living in the Kick Start sites should need to move house more than once.

Demolition is being carried out on a 'worst first' basis. Ten blocks have been demolished to date, with 220 'temporary decants' from the first six blocks demolished. 80% of these were moved elsewhere on the estate, and the remaining 20% to other social housing in the borough. There seems to be a strong desire amongst local people to remain in the area and many of the families decanted have exercised their right to return in the future once new housing is available.

A detailed secure tenants offer has been prepared, setting out four options for secure tenants, as well as compensation arrangements for moving. Tenants are offered the following four options:

- Relocation to a new home on Woodberry Down
- Moving elsewhere in the borough through Hackney's Choice Based Lettings scheme
- Moving outside of the borough (where realistically possible)
- Moving into intermediate housing

A Leaseholder Offer was approved by Cabinet in February 2007 and offers assistance to leaseholders and freeholders to purchase new homes on the open market. Under a new addition to the Leaseholder Offer, the Council will provide loans of up to £35,000 for leaseholders who need assistance to purchase property on the open market. A range of other offers have also been developed including leasehold swap, shared equity, shared ownership schemes and returning to tenancy agreements.

Are any measures in place to control mix?

Blocks will be tenure blind and, as discussed above, the council has set out a clear line on the proportions and location of unit type and tenure. No additional mechanisms are in place as yet to control mix, although several interviewees were concerned that buy-to-let

could bring in temporary residents that “don’t have a stake in the area” and do not therefore, contribute to mixed community objectives such as driving up quality of local services. One stakeholder had concerns that, particularly in the earlier phases of the programme, larger units might not attract families (as there may still be a poor ‘building site’ image and the new Academy would not have been completed) but instead be bought by landlords to let for multiple occupation. However, as one stakeholder pointed out, buy-to-let can also make a positive contribution:

“We can be too anti buy-to-let. There is a time and a place for this. If it’s well-managed, and people are building social capital, then where’s the problem?” (Author’s interview)

What effect is population change in the DP area expected to have on population mix in adjacent areas?

The full implications of the regeneration programme for adjacent areas have not been mapped, although it is expected that land values in Manor House will increase as a result of population change in the DP area.

One issue that has been consistently raised is around whether the Woodberry Down regeneration could or should help to meet the housing needs of the Charedi (Orthodox Jewish) community in Stamford Hill. The community, the largest Orthodox Jewish community in Europe, is rapidly growing, with an average of 5.9 people per household, according to local research funded by SRB. Currently, very few members of the Charedi community live in social housing, so they are not likely to benefit directly from the Woodberry Down regeneration as this will reprovide social housing mainly for existing tenants. A criticism made of the scheme is therefore that it does not help to alleviate housing pressures on the Charedi community; in response it is argued that greater levels of affordable housing could not be provided within the restrictions of the self-funded model, so this issue is outwith the scope of the regeneration programme. In addition, the Woodberry Down Regeneration Team provides construction training within the Charedi community and support for various local initiatives such as a stand alone Charedi community facility.

Service improvements

Local services improvements are built into the DP’s plans and have been front-loaded to be delivered in Phase 1 in order to provide tangible benefits for the existing community at an early stage (many are planned to be delivered before the first 1,000 homes are built). These facilities are fully costed and have been developed with long term funding streams in place to ensure they are financially sustainable.

Planned new facilities and improvements include a priority community facility, to be managed initially by the local CBHA (Community Based Housing Association); new City Academy; expansion of existing primary schools from two- to three-form entry as part of an integrated learning campus that will contain a children’s centre, business centre and adult education centre; new youth centre; and a new health centre. An interim strategy is in place to deliver urgently needed community facilities in the shorter term, including an upgraded community centre. A Construction Training Centre has recently opened and is now taking on trainees. This was originally planned as part of the SRB programme, but was delayed as construction did not begin during the SRB’s lifetime. Instead, Hackney

Homes undertook responsibility for providing construction training. There is also a new library staffed by volunteers, who are learning to become librarians under the scheme.

New retail units will be provided on the Old School Site, which is one of the Kick Start sites. An offer is being made to existing retailers, with the existing parade of shops on Woodberry Grove now due for demolition in 2010.

Provision of key community facilities does not rely on overage; some facilities will be cross-subsidised through proceeds from private housing while other facilities draw in other local and national funding streams (including from the Council, Learning Trust, PCT and Academies Unit).

Time line

Date	Milestone
1999	SRB Round 5 Bid for Woodberry Down submitted (unsuccessful)
2000	SRB Round 6 Bid for Woodberry Down and Stamford Hill submitted (successful)
2002	Structural Evaluation Report concluded most blocks 'beyond economic repair'
2003	Asbestos study revealed presence of asbestos in majority of blocks
2004	Cost Options Report produced, specifying mix of tenures likely to be required for Woodberry Down to be 'self-funding' Area Action Plan for Woodberry Down approved by Cabinet and adopted as SPG First masterplan produced but not progressed SRB capital funding for housing programme suspended by LDA as a result of slow progress
2005	New Programme Director and regeneration team appointed; programme re-started Urban Design Framework prepared Preparation of second masterplan started, including resident consultation Berkeley Homes signed Principle Development Agreement for Phase 1
2006	Hackney Homes established as ALMO Masterplan submitted
2007	Detailed planning application submitted for Kick Start 1 Demolition of six blocks Outline consent granted for masterplan Procurement process started to find developer and RSL for Phases 2-5
2008	Construction to start on Kick Start 1 Developer and RSL consortium to be established
2011/12	Old School site completed
2015	Phase 1 Completed
2027	Phases 2 to 5 completed

Process Issues

Governance structure

A dedicated team has been set up to manage the Woodberry Down regeneration, under the leadership of a Programme Director, who has been in post since 2004. The team is part of Hackney Homes, which was established as an ALMO in 2006; prior to this, the project sat within London Borough of Hackney's Housing Department. The team currently numbers some twenty staff, based in the estate office on Woodberry Grove.

London Borough of Hackney, as main landowner, acts as client for the project, with the Director for Regeneration and Planning leading on behalf of the local authority. Political leadership is provided by the Deputy Mayor of Hackney.

The current structure of governance and leadership has been cited by all stakeholders as a key factor in the DP's progress, and is contrasted with governance and leadership in the programme's early days, when no dedicated team or programme director were in place and there was no strong political input or corporate leadership from the Council. Monthly meetings now take place between LBH's Chief Executive, the Deputy Mayor and Berkeley Homes; this is seen to signify the fact that the project is now a high corporate priority for LBH (it is in fact the Council's biggest single project).

Although there is no single overarching steering group for the programme, a range of other partners and groups have been closely involved in delivery:

- The Estates Development Committee (EDC), led by local residents (mainly leaseholders) has been very closely involved over the lifetime of the project, and has recently produced a Residents' Charter setting out design principles for the redevelopment, in collaboration with Hackney Homes.
- A Sustainable Communities Working Group was set up during the lifetime of the SRB programme. This group, chaired by the SRB Chair, met regularly to progress the masterplan and brought together a wider group of stakeholders, including the London Development Agency, local authority planning and regeneration officers, architects, designers and residents. This group has not met since the masterplan was submitted, but it is likely to be reconvened as the programme progresses.
- The SRB Partnership Board itself was also a key stakeholder group during the lifetime of the SRB programme; SRB monies were used to pump prime the housing programme and the Partnership Board provided a route for local stakeholders to input, for example through the process of appraising Hackney Homes' applications for funding.
- The programme team now works with the Manor House Development Trust, a successor body to the SRB Partnership, which will manage the priority community facility on the estate.
- The Academy Project Steering Group and Design Group includes the Skinners' Company, DCSF, Hackney Homes, Hackney Council and the architects on the masterplan. This is seen as a powerful group in terms of level of representation

and ability to make decisions on provision of local services. It has already been agreed that the Academy will have 24-hour access, including a sports hall, learning resources for all age groups,

Masterplan

A masterplan for the whole site was submitted in December 2006 and resolution to grant consent was given in September 2007. The masterplan built on principles set out in the Urban Design Framework, drafted in 2005. An Area Action Plan for Woodberry Down was adopted as Supplementary Planning Guidance in 2004. Residents were closely involved in the masterplanning process.

The masterplan covers Woodberry Down but not the Manor House interchange; this was initially considered for inclusion but eventually omitted owing primarily to difficulties around land ownership (the Council is not the main landowner in Manor House as it is on Woodberry Down). LBH is now considering developing a complementary masterplan for Manor House.

The approval process for the masterplan was lengthy owing to the level of negotiation required around densities and unit size. The masterplan also had to be altered owing to listings of two buildings on Woodberry Down (the John Scott Health Centre and Woodberry Down Community Primary School; the school was one of the first sites due to be redeveloped and was going to be the site for the new Academy). A land swap was facilitated to allow the Academy to go ahead.

Detailed planning applications will be submitted by developers for each of the sites included in the masterplan. The first of these applications, for Kick Start 1, has been submitted by Berkeley Homes and is in the planning system.

Funding

The scheme has been pump-primed with £13.5 million SRB6 funding, which has been used primarily to fund masterplanning, leaseholder buyouts and community consultation. The cost of demolitions to date has been met by Hackney Council; this forward funding will be repaid as the programme progresses.

The self-financing model means that building costs will be met by developers, with private housing cross-subsiding affordable housing and some community infrastructure. There are five phases planned, and phases 2 – 5 will not necessarily be delivered by the same developer (an open procurement process has been set up to find a developer for these phases). Unlike in some other DP areas, there is no assumed dependency on profits from the first phase to fund subsequent phases. Overage arrangements are in place and any overage will be returned to the Council. The full scheme is expected to cost in excess of £1 billion in today's prices.

Although the scheme does not depend on receipt of gap funding, some CLG gap funding will be sought to provide additional intermediate housing.

Resident involvement and consultation

Resident involvement, communication and consultation is given a high priority in Woodberry Down. Hackney Homes has established a Consultation and Communications Team comprising a Consultation and Communications Manager, three Consultation Officers covering different parts of the estate) and a Communications Officer. The team has been in place since December 2004.

Regular communication with residents is a priority for the team, which publishes monthly newsletters that distributed to all homes and published on the Woodberry Down Regeneration website. Separate briefings are sometimes produced on specific issues or changes to the programme, such as those brought about by the listings of the Woodberry Down Community Primary School and John Scott Health Centre. Annual roadshows are organised, in which a bus is taken around the estate to inform residents about plans. Early in 2007, an information centre was opened on Woodberry Down. This is jointly run by Hackney Homes, Circle Anglia and Berkeley Homes, and is open three days per week. The team has also had success in reaching 'hard to reach' groups through programmes such as the library scheme and construction training project.

The team has also organised a series of consultation activities around the masterplan, including workshops, focus groups, Fun Days to engage families and site visits to other similar developments. These are viewed as particularly successful as they have allowed residents to meet architects, developers and housing associations, and to see for themselves the type of homes that might be developed on Woodberry Down. The Regeneration Team's consultation strategy was noted in the recent government green paper on housing.

A Community Cohesion Project Group has been formed to look at the issues around integrating the existing and future community with the aim of developing strategies to mitigate and manage the process. The Project Group commissioned research on residents' views, with a survey recently conducted by BMG on retail, views on the development and community cohesion. Further research around current residents' aspirations and those of potential in-movers is well underway and will report in early 2008. The team is also interested in carrying out research to gauge attitudes towards stock transfer.

Hackney Homes works closely with the Estates Development Committee (EDC) as well as other groups of residents. Recently, the EDC produced a Residents' Charter, setting out their aspirations for the redevelopment. This was produced in conjunction with the Communications and Consultation Team. Relationships between Hackney Homes, the Council and the EDC are now seen as largely constructive, but this has not always been the case. Earlier in the programme's lifetime, relationships became very strained, coming to a low point in 2004 when the SRB funding was suspended. It has been challenging to balance residents' aspirations and expectations with the constraints under which the programme has to operate, for example in terms of timescale and densities required. Rebuilding trust and support of local residents has been essential to getting the programme back on track.

Some stakeholders believe that the DP needs to have stronger leadership from the community if the regeneration is going to be sustainable.

“It (the regeneration programme) should be done with the community, not to it – but we’re not there yet” (Author’s interview)

Work is underway to develop a Community Based Housing Association, and the possibility has been raised of linking this with the Development Trust set up as a successor body of the SRB scheme (potentially, by bringing the Trust in as a ‘socio-economic’ arm of the CBHA) to ensure that there is a strong resident-led body managing socio-economic development in the area and not a series of competing bodies.

Monitoring

Progress in delivering the scheme against key milestones is monitored by Hackney Homes and regular reports made by the Deputy Mayor to Cabinet.

Commentary from Evaluation Team

Theory of change

The statements in the theory of change developed for the Mixed Communities Initiative generally hold true for the Woodberry Down Demonstration Project, although there are some differences in emphasis. These include:

- In terms of key drivers of area deprivation, there is less evidence of a weak economic base in Woodberry Down than in other DP areas, although the other key drivers (poor housing, poor public services) are evident
- Some DP areas have had a history of ABI investment that has failed to address area deprivation, leading to a sense that only transformational change, through a mixed communities approach, can reverse negative dynamics. Although Woodberry Down has had SRB6 investment, it has not seen the same high level of public sector spending in the past as some other DP areas and in fact there is a strong sense among stakeholders that the area has historically suffered from a lack of public sector investment. Recently, funding for local services has increased and the MCI approach in Woodberry Down is seen as having potential to attract significant further investment to the area.
- In Woodberry Down, the *opportunities* presented by the area’s locational assets, and land values within the context of the London housing market, are also important drivers behind the MCI approach. This is not the case in all the DP areas.
- While the DP in Woodberry Down is planning a range of service improvements, there is less emphasis on working with local people than in some of the DP areas (e.g. NDCs) and linking with an overarching regeneration strategy.
- The Woodberry Down DP closely reflects the MCI ToC in terms of the masterplan aiming to achieve housing mix and service improvements which, together with existing connectivity with the labour market, are expected to attract and retain households with choice.
- Service improvements to support at-risk families and reduce crime are as yet not so well-developed as those to improve education and health.
- As in the MCI ToC, it is expected in Woodberry Down that new, wealthier residents will help to reverse negative area dynamics. This is thought partly to

- depend on integration, e.g. on common use of the new education and health services, although as in the MCI theory of change, the mechanisms through which new residents will and on work undertaken by partners to raise aspirations, secure resident involvement in the regeneration scheme (e.g. through the CBHA) and ensure that existing residents can stay in the area through cross-tenure opportunities. As in the MCI theory of change, However, beyond this, it is not really clear what the mechanisms will be – for example, there are some questions over which types of new residents will be moving in, and how their higher aspirations will ‘rub off’ on existing residents.
- In the London context, this is assumed to strengthen housing market demand and lead to a doubling of the population with more economically active, wealthier residents moving in.

Key research questions

Remedies:

- How can residents’ interest and support be sustained over the course of a long-term, and disruptive, regeneration programme?
- How effective will mechanisms such as the Estates Development Committee and planned Community Based Housing Association be as routes for residents to take a strategic leadership role, and act as a partner in the DP?
- How can impacts of transition be managed, so that conditions on the estate do not get worse before they get better?
- How feasible will it be to deliver local planning policies (e.g. around unit size, level of affordable housing, sustainability codes) within a self-funded regeneration scheme? What challenges will this raise and how can they be addressed?
- What impact will other major projects being pursued locally (including the Olympics) have on delivery of the programme?

Change processes:

- What would make Woodberry Down be seen as a good place to live? How can perceptions of the area be improved, both amongst existing residents and in-movers?
- What types of new residents will be attracted to move to Woodberry Down? Will this change over time and as the programme progresses? Is more work required to understand the markets that need to be targeted in order to set up conditions for a beneficial ‘mix’?
- How do services need to be improved in a way that will attract newer, wealthier residents to use them?
- How far will the Leaseholder Options strategy be effective in enabling existing residents to stay in the area, within the context of a changing housing market?
- How can governance structures be fully effective in building ownership, commitment and getting input from the full range of stakeholders?

Outcomes:

- Will mixing tenure type deliver mixed income?

- To what extent will low income residents benefit from 'mix' effects? Is there sufficient emphasis on supporting vulnerable people in the area?
- Will linking and bridging capital be built as a result of mixing communities? Will residents become more confident and able to take up opportunities more widely in Hackney and London?

Bespoke evaluation strategy

To cover the questions above, we will take the following approaches:

Question	Approach
Financing	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Through the process study on finance/planning • Tracking dynamics around delivery of planning policies on the new development
Aspirations of new and existing residents	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Working with Hackney Homes' Consultation Team and developer, secondary analysis of research planned in 2008
Effectiveness of leadership and governance structures, including in securing active partnership with the community	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Further qualitative research through in-depth interviewing and process tracking • Analysis of roles of key partners, in terms of linking the DP to a wider regeneration strategy • Analysis of what constitutes an effective community infrastructure
Managing transition	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Attitudinal/perception and socio-economic data looking at impact of development on environment and residents' choices