

**Cambridge** Centre  
for Housing &  
Planning Research

# London Strategic Housing Initiative Evaluation

## Evaluation Report

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CAMBRIDGE

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## Summary

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- The campaigns are at different stages: the rogue landlord campaign has made the most progress so far, particularly in gaining commitments on landlord licensing. The Olympic Park and Broadwater Farm campaigns are at a less advanced stage, they have developed action teams and built relationships with relevant decision makers. The Old Oak Common campaign is at a very early stage of development, currently focused on relationship building. External factors have slowed down achievements in some areas, so overall progress has been slower than anticipated.
- It is clear that individuals involved in the campaigns (referred to as 'leaders') have gained a lot from their engagement with Citizens UK. Interviewees said they had gained:
  - specific knowledge on housing
  - awareness of others' housing experiences
  - confidence in public speaking
  - skills in community organising - which they have applied to their own institutions, enabling them to empower others
  - inter-faith networks within their community
  - the power to be heard, through working as part of a group
  - a sense of being able to make a difference, through tangible 'wins'
- Leaders were very positive about Citizens UK's methodology of '121s' and 'house meetings', and also Citizens' method of engaging with decision makers through the use of testimony, gaining commitments and maintaining pressure to ensure accountability.
- Decision makers said that Citizens UK are effective and good to work with because:
  - they are genuinely representative of the community
  - they ask for specific, tangible things
  - they have an attitude of collaboration, not conflict
  - they are constructive, and acknowledge what decision makers have achieved
  - they are knowledgeable about housing issues
- Some leaders and decision makers made the following negative observations:
  - campaigns aren't always seen through to their conclusion
  - community organisers sometimes take on too much then burn out, leading to high turnover

- there is sometimes a tension between the interests and motivations of leaders, community organisers and funders
  - communication with the organisation is not always easy
  - there is too much of a focus on Community Land Trusts
- Suggestions put forward were that:
  - different chapters should work together more strategically
  - recruitment to action teams from new institutions and training sessions should be improved
  - the organisation should become more 'tech savvy' and digitally engaged
  - stronger links should be made with central government
  - the involvement with local boroughs should be further increased
- The evaluation has been extremely challenging because of:
  - the lack of separation between the Trust for London funded work and other work done by Citizens UK (including housing work done prior to receiving the Trust for London funding)
  - the lack of detail on aims and objectives: where goals are not clearly defined, it is difficult to assess the extent to which they have been met
  - inherent tensions within a bottom-up organisation: i.e. if work is being driven by the local community, to what extent can there be an overarching strategy?
  - the difficulty in 'proving' cause and effect in community work targeting housing in London – because the topic is so complex, and there are so many other actors and stakeholders involved
- The evaluation has also been slightly challenging in terms of practicalities:
  - there was a slight delay in receiving contact details for interviewees, delaying the start of fieldwork
  - in some areas, it was not practical to do fieldwork over the summer
  - on Broadwater Farm, interviews with residents were found to not be suitable
  - it was sometimes difficult to make contact with campaign leads via email
- Campaign leads' feedback on the evaluation process was that:
  - they find recording the monitoring data helpful
  - they feel shadowing events and other work will provide the best insight
- With far fewer days available for the evaluation over the next two years, we propose a light-touch evaluation based on observation of events.

## 1. Introduction

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The **Cambridge Centre for Housing and Planning Research** (CCHPR) is a research centre within the University of Cambridge, with over 25 years' experience of research in policy evaluation and analysis, and with expertise in housing, poverty and welfare reform. It sits within the Land Economy Department at the University of Cambridge.

**Citizens UK** is a registered charity that organises communities to act together for power, social justice and the common good. Citizens UK is running four strategic housing campaigns, funded by Trust for London. The aims of the four campaigns are outlined below:

1. Secure a genuinely affordable Olympic housing legacy for the people of East London.
2. Develop a resident-led strategy for regenerating the Broadwater Farm estate.
3. Build a powerful tenant-led campaign that will tackle bad and criminal landlords across the capital.
4. Ensure London's biggest development this decade – Old Oak Common – delivers homes that Londoners on low incomes can afford.

Citizens UK are also carrying out a piece of wider housing work across London.

This report presents an update on the CCHPR evaluation of the four housing campaigns and the wider piece of work on housing. It follows on from the Initial Report produced in April.

This report uses the terminology of Citizens UK. Institutions who have signed up to work with Citizens UK are called members. Individual people who are involved in Citizens UK's work are called leaders. '121's are face to face meetings carried out between two people who are either organisers or leaders, with the purpose of listening and gaining a deeper understanding of each other's views.

The report is based on interviews with campaign leads, leaders and decision makers, and observations. The main body of the report is an analysis of the points that were raised by interviewees. Comments and questions based on observations are also included, in green.

## 2. Methodology

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### 2.1. Theory of change workshop

We ran a workshop on Friday 11 May 2018 with the leaders of the housing campaigns. Three of the leaders attended in person, another joined by Skype. CCHPR gave a presentation on theories of change. The campaign leads then worked on the draft theories of change they had brought to the workshop, and presented back to the group. The campaign leads further developed these after the workshop and then shared final versions with us (included in this report, see Appendix 1).

### 2.2. Interviews

- We carried out interviews with the campaign leads of the four campaigns and the leader of the overall housing work.
- We carried out telephone interviews with eighteen Citizens UK leaders who had been involved in the housing campaigns:
  - Nine from the rogue landlord campaign
  - Six from the Olympic Park campaign
  - Two from Old Oak Common campaign
  - One from the overall housing work
- It was not possible to interview any leaders from Broadwater Farm. This will be discussed in more detail in 10.2.2.
- We also carried out telephone interviews with five decision makers who have experienced the work of London Citizens UK housing campaigns across London.
- Sample methodology: A pragmatic approach was taken to sampling. Campaign leads were asked to provide details for leaders who had recently taken part in a 121, a house meeting or an action. We then contacted these people to arrange interviews. Those who provided email addresses were contacted first as we have previously found this is the most efficient way of coordinating interviews. Contact details were provided for 46 leaders in total.

## 2.3. Observations

Kathryn Muir observed the following activities:

- 121 with new member of Merton Citizens – *26 July 2018*
- Meeting of housing action team, Merton Citizens – *26 July 2018*
- Meeting between leaders of Citizens UK and Rhona Brown from the GLA – *24 September 2018*
- 121 with existing member of Broadwater Farm – *25 September 2018*
- Housing action with LLDC and walking tour of the Olympic Park – *25 September 2018*
- Meeting at Old Oak Common – *25 September 2018*

## 2.4. Collection of monitoring data

The four campaign leads were given Excel templates to record their activity. These were completed and returned in September 2018. The lead organiser said that it was not practical to record information about the general housing work in Excel, so instead gave an update in a Word document. Internal meetings between Citizens UK staff were given in the monitoring data but are not included in this report.

### 3. Update on each campaign

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The section below gives an update on each campaign, based on interviews with the campaign leads. It also gives a summary of each campaign's activity between April and September 2018. **The rogue landlord campaign** has made the most progress so far: Citizens UK put pressure on local councils to sign up to landlord licensing schemes during the local elections. They gained several commitments which they are now holding councils accountable to.

The leaders of the other three campaigns stated that they are further behind that they had hoped to be at this stage: **The Olympic Park campaign** has been re-building relationships with the London Legacy Development Corporation (LLDC) after a change of leadership. It has been building momentum within a core group of leaders and has plans going forward for decision makers they would like to meet. **The Broadwater Farm campaign** has been building a group on the estate and carrying out listening activities. The first presentation to decision makers will take place in early October 2019. **The Old Oak Common campaign** is at an extremely early stage; a housing group has not yet been set up. The community organiser is developing relationships with people in the area. A full update on each campaign is given below:

#### 3.1. Olympic Park housing campaign

##### Update from interview with campaign lead

- Progress up to this point has been slow due to change of leadership within the LLDC.
- A core group of leaders from Citizens UK have been meeting to plan activity to build new relationships.
- A successful event was held on 25 September, a tour of the Olympic Park by the LLDC where leaders from Citizens UK made asks around issues including housing – there were 55 attendees from Citizens UK, including pupils and staff from a local secondary school. The campaign lead sees action as the beginning of a new chapter in terms of Citizens UK's relationship with the LLDC.
- Next steps are to achieve a meeting with the Chief Executive and Chair of the LLDC, and also to build a relationship with local authority leaders in Newham, Hackney and Tower Hamlets to get guarantees on the amount of affordable housing in the sections of development within these boroughs.
- There is a specific emphasis on getting commitments on the number of CLT homes.
- Sadiq Khan has committed to future developments at Pudding Mill Lane and Rick Roberts Way consisting of 50% affordable housing. Citizens UK aims to ensure this becomes a reality.



- Citizens UK also aim to push for affordable housing on the sites currently being developed: Eastwick and Sweetwater.
- They aim to build a relationship with Places for People who are developing these sites.

## Activity log

### 1. Listening and planning activities

Total people engaged – 50

- TELCO leadership group – 20 people
- Co-chairs meeting – 4 people
- Leader's away day – 20 people
- Planning meeting for tour of Olympic Park – 6 people

### 2. Action

Total people engaged – 55

- Tour of the Olympic Park with the LLDC, with asks on housing – 55 attendees

### 3. Meeting with decision makers

Total meetings – 1

Emma Frost, LLDC – September 2018

## 3.2. Broadwater Farm campaign

### Update from interview with campaign lead

- The campaign is still at a relatively early stage of work: focus has been on building relationships with decision makers and carrying out listening activities with residents.
- Not achieved as much listening as planned, due to practical difficulties of doing this over the summer months.
- Haringey Council are now proposing to demolish two housing blocks on the estate for safety reasons, and are running a 28-day consultation with the community. Citizens UK want to use this as an opportunity to talk about wider issues on the estate.
- Citizens UK are running an event on 4 October 2018 where they will present issues that have emerged through their listening activities, and make 'soft asks' to decision makers.
- Their short-term aim (next 6 months) is campaigning for a pot of money that can be used immediately to make improvements to the estate, making the argument that small improvements need to occur alongside longer-term plans. Ensuring that it is

noted that residents who have called for and won those changes, so that residents feel a sense of agency.

- Longer-term, they would like to be involved in proposals for the redesign of part of the estate.
- Citizens UK feel that the council and Homes for Haringey (the ALMO that manage the estate) appreciate their work, as they include groups that have previously not been represented e.g. migrant women.
- The biggest challenge they face with their work on Broadwater Farm is apathy and distrust from residents, because there have been many consultations on the estate and proposed plans that have not gone anywhere.
- In the future, Citizens UK would hope to build a relationship with the Mayor of London's office and central government about regeneration (currently working with them on other housing issues but not regeneration).

## Activity log

### 1. Listening and planning activities

Total people engaged – 93 people

- 121s with 25 people
- House meetings with 38 people
- Listening activities carried out by parents – 30 people

### 2. Training sessions

Total people engaged – 5

- Training parents in listening skills – 5 people

### 3. Meeting with decision makers

Total meetings – 3

- Astrid Kjellberg-Obst, Homes for Haringey – June 2018
- Cllr Peray Ahmet, Haringey Council – July 2018
- David Sherrington, Homes for Haringey – Aug 2018

(Homes for Haringey also met with 25 local residents in June, and 15 students in July)

## 3.3. Rogue landlords campaign

### Update from interview with campaign lead

- Have mainly focused on landlord licensing issue. Activity has taken place on landlord licensing in many chapters across London.
- Landlord licensing was pushed by Citizens UK leaders in local assemblies for local council or mayoral leaders, gaining commitments in seven areas. Decision makers are now being held to account through meetings and roundtables.
- Have a very strong working relationship with Sadiq Khan and the GLA.

- Planning an event at Southwark Cathedral in May 2019, where the Mayor of Lewisham will meet with five other council leaders in South London to explain what he is doing on landlord licensing. Aiming to get 800 Citizens UK leaders to attend.
- In Barnet, Citizens UK got commitments from councillors to: recruit police officers to accompany environmental health officers on visits to rogue landlords; set up a hotline for tenants to report landlords; bring in a tenants' charter so tenants are aware of their rights.
- The main barrier they are working to overcome with landlord licensing is reluctance from councils because of the work involved (any licensing agreement now needs to be signed off by national government).
- They would like to develop a relationship with national government, especially the new housing minister.
- The current focus is on organising an event with Sadiq Khan around housing in November 2018.
- In early 2019, they will be focusing on running 'Know Your Rights workshops', with the involvement of other charities if possible.

## Activity log

### 1. Listening and planning activities

Total people engaged – 95 people

- 121s with 60 people
- House meetings/issues workshops with 35 people

### 2. Assemblies

Total people engaged - 2002

Commitments gained around rogue landlords at the following assemblies in April 2018:

- Barnet – 140 attendees – commitment to: a landlord hotline
- Merton – 315 attendees – commitment to: landlord licensing, quota of affordable housing, improvement of temporary housing
- Lewisham – 115 attendees - commitment to developing a landlord licensing scheme
- Lambeth – 395 attendees - commitment to developing a landlord licensing scheme
- Southwark – 200 attendees - commitment to developing a landlord licensing scheme
- Ealing – 330 attendees - commitment to: extend licensing, develop 50% affordable housing and create a renters' rights charter
- Haringey – 140 attendees - commitment to licensing scheme
- Harrow – 306 attendees – agreement for rogue landlord taskforce
- Hackney – 50 attendees - celebration of commitment to deliver licensing, commitment to sort out 100 repair jobs in 3 months, and deliver 500 Living Rent homes by 2022

### **3. Other action**

Total people engaged - 1

- Freedom of Information requests to all councils re licensing – 1 person

### **4. Training sessions**

Total people engaged – 58

- 2-day training - May 2018 – 30 attendees
- 2-day training - July 2018 – 28 attendees

### **5. Meeting with decision makers**

Total meetings – 4

- Haringey councillors – June 2018
- PRS team at the GLA – June 2018
- Peter Mason, Cabinet Member, Ealing Council
- Haringey councillors – August 2018
- Merton councillors – August 2018

## **3.4. Old Oak Common campaign**

### **Update from interview with campaign lead**

- Still at a very early stage – building relationships with communities and partners. Do not yet hold regular house meetings or actions.
- Facing challenges in engaging the community because the development is a long time in the future. Also there is a lack of awareness of the plans.
- Plan is to set up a Civil Society Commission of 10 local leaders, who will have an initial meeting in January 2019. The Commission will carry out listening activities in the community.
- They aim to use a planned event with Sadiq Khan in November 2018 to announce the development of the Commission. They plan to have 5 leaders of the Commission confirmed by this time.
- London Citizens has previously had a good working relationship with Old Oak Common, but Old Oak Common are currently at an interim stage, getting a new CEO.
- In the future, need to build relationships with the developers on Old Oak Common, and carry out actions to ensure that the affordable homes criteria are met.

### **Activity log (April – July 2018)**

#### **1. Listening activities**

Total people engaged – 55

- 121s with 55 people

## **2. Actions**

Total people engaged – 15

- Tour of St Clements CLT site with 15 people

## **3. Training sessions**

Total people engaged – 30

- 2-day training - May 2018 – 30 attendees

## **4. Meeting with decision makers**

Total meetings – 2

- CEO of Old Oak Common – April 2018
- Meeting with Councillor Butt, Brent Council – June 2018

## **3.5. Community Land Trusts**

Both within and alongside these four campaigns, Citizens UK have been campaigning to gain commitments on Community Land Trusts (CLTs). Commitments were gained in this area from local councils at assemblies in April 2018. The GLA have added a target to their housing strategy specifically about community housing, and also ring-fenced two (previously TfL) sites for CLTs. These two TfL sites will be delivered by London Citizens CLT Limited, which is a community benefit society that separated from the community organising arm of Citizens UK in 2007.

## **3.6. Overall housing work**

### **Update from interview with campaign lead**

- Pete Brierley has been managing the overall housing work through running monthly strategy team meetings with the housing team at Citizens UK, and shadowing some of the work of the housing team to offer insight and critique. Pete has also been meeting with Susie Dye and leaders of the London Housing advisory board.
- Pete has undertaken relational meetings with housing experts including Shelter, Crisis and Generation Rent. He regularly meets with the GLA housing advisory team.
- Pete has overseen communications around the housing work including: work around the local elections; response to GLA announcements (including work around regeneration votes, percentage of affordable housing on the Olympic Park, and press on rogue landlord and licensing work) and work developed on FOI requests from the 32 London boroughs.
- Staffing changes: Pete's role has now changed from Lead Organiser for Housing to leading London Citizens UK. He will still be working on the overall housing work, but his work on rogue landlords will be passed to another organiser (either new or

existing). Citizens UK will also be employing a part-time communications professional for their housing work.

## 4. Characteristics of leaders

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### 4.1. Interviewees

#### **Demographics**

Over 70 percent of those interviewed were aged over 50, and nearly 40 percent were aged over 70. All were either working full time or retired. The vast majority either owned their own home or got a property as part of their employment; two were renting through a housing association and one through the private rented sector.

#### **Route of involvement**

Most interviewees had heard about Citizens UK through organisations they were already leaders of (almost always churches). Others had heard about it through colleagues or friends. The vast majority of interviewees had been leaders of Citizens UK for several years prior to the Trust for London work on housing beginning. Half of the leaders interviewed had been involved for 9 years or more.

#### **Motivations for involvement**

When asked about their motivations for being involved in the housing campaign, many leaders said that they were partly motivated by the experiences of people they had encountered through their member organisations, either through voluntary work they had carried out for the wider community:

*"At my church we have a charity that runs a homeless drop in, we've seen the numbers go up attending that. There's just no social housing being built."*

Or through talking to leaders of their organisations:

*"We became aware that within our congregation more and more people were facing housing problems. So it wasn't just the people that we were serving outside the church, but also people within the church that were under pressure."*

Others did not personally know anyone who had been affected, but said they were motivated by a sense of injustice about what was happening in their local area:

*"The situation that people are living in is so appalling."*

A minority of interviewees mentioned being motivated by personal experiences, such as their adult children remaining in the family home because they could not afford to rent properties, or experiences of overcrowding due to the lack of affordable housing:

"I used to live in a house with eight people, I was lucky to have good landlord, but that doesn't happen that often. You work two jobs sometimes, and still can't afford to have your own place."

However, it was rarely those who had extreme housing problems who were actively involved in the planning of campaigns (these people were encouraged to be involved through telling their stories, as will be covered in more detail in section 6.3 'Use of Testimony' below).

The final major motivation for people being involved in the campaign was previous professional or voluntary experience in the housing sector. Individuals wanted to share their expertise in this area:

"I've always been involved in housing issues... I've been involved in homeless campaigns working with Shelter. I've been on the boards of two different housing associations and generally kept a close interest on what goes on with housing in the political sphere."

## 4.2. Participants of meetings and actions

The diversity of leaders seemed to vary dramatically between the campaigns and the activity that was taking place. The housing action on the Olympic Park organised by TELCO had an attendance that was extremely diverse in terms of age, ethnicity and occupation. On the other hand, Merton Citizens housing group was mainly made up of middle-aged people who were church-goers, and it was put forward by leaders in the observed meeting that more needs to be done to increase diversity. This was emphasised by one interviewee:

"It's very much church-based, White British, aged 55+, it's not exactly very diverse. One of the things that needs to happen is that it needs to broaden out quite significantly.... to be more representative of the borough."

Another interviewee suggested that Citizens UK needed to work to engage younger people:

"If they want to attract more young people they need to be younger and more energetic, a little bit more 'pump' in what they do, to get more excitement."



## 5. Outcomes for individual leaders

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### 5.1. Self-development

A major part of Citizens UK's overall theory of change is that leaders will have *"greater skills, knowledge and confidence to participate publically on housing and the housing crisis"*, therefore the interviews with leaders included a section on what they had gained from their involvement. Interviewees talked about their increased technical knowledge of housing:

*"I understand things like the Old Oak Common initiative. I understand a bit more about planning processes."*

Decision makers were complimentary of Citizens UK's understanding of housing, both at the detailed level of individual policies:

*"They understood the legislation, they understood the constraints."*

And also their understanding of broader housing issues:

*"They have been quite strategic and focused on the big issues that matter... it's quite refreshing as an officer to see a pressure group with quite a good grasp of the strategic context of the housing crisis in London, and the big picture stuff that needs to change."*

Leaders said that they had learned to approach housing from a different perspective through their involvement in Citizens UK:

*"We've had to learn to think much more like the market."*

Many leaders also said that they had gained an understanding about the various housing issues faced by others in their community:

*"For some people it's wanting to buy and affordability, for some people it's renting, for some people it's living in a house where they've got a bad landlord, for somebody else it's trying to get onto the social housing ladder. I've had to learn what it's like for lots of other people and walk in their shoes."*

A key area in which people felt they had personally developed through their involvement with Citizens UK was increased confidence in public speaking. It was clear that there was a strong emphasis in all of Citizens UK's activities on allowing everyone the chance to speak

and supporting them to do so. This was the case in the large public events, as described by one interviewee:

"We had this big rally just after the election... everyone on the committee was given something to say. They all did really well. Some of them were going 'oh I can't do this', but I'm going 'yes you can!'. There's always the opportunity to build confidence... everyone said something that night, even if it was just a line."

One leader described how this experience had built her confidence and self-belief:

"I outlined our manifesto for housing to one of our candidates standing for election...It was quite nerve wracking because...I'm not the sort of person that usually gets in there and asks questions...it built my confidence that I can actually do that."

Another described how being on the planning team for a large assembly in 2016 gave him a real sense of responsibility, which helped him in his development:

"We took the lead on delivering that assembly, negotiating with the candidates beforehand, everything really... being involved with an assembly from the beginning right through to the end, that was a real development opportunity."

## 5.2. Development of others

From the interviews, it was very clear that people did not just feel motivated by their own self development, but also by the development of others within their member institutions. Developing 'leaders' is the methodology of Citizens UK, and this appeared to be a big part of the involvement of some of the people interviewed:

"It's been great to see the development of people in my congregation.... It's been exciting to see them get involved and get excited about doing something, feeling fulfilled in that, feeling developed."

When asked whether being involved in the campaign had changed the way they thought about things, several leaders suggested that it had made them feel that they (and others in their congregation) had the capacity to change things:

"I think it's helped me to sort of think differently about power dynamics... recognising that there are people in my congregation who you don't automatically think of as being change makers.... you can use their story or they've got long-term community knowledge or expertise that you just didn't realise that they had."

### 5.3. Transferable skills

Several leaders described how they had applied principles from their work with Citizens UK to their religious institutions or their employment:

"I have been able to implement my knowledge of citizens within my church – and I've seen the difference, I've seen that people's response is greater...I'm really thankful, it's changed my way of being."

### 5.4. Building inter-faith networks

A real benefit to being involved in Citizens UK, stated by the majority of interviewees, was that it had enabled them to connect with people in their community, especially those from different faiths:

"If we weren't involved in Citizens UK, our Catholic church would never have a relationship with the Salvation Army or the Muslim school, and that's one of the real bedrocks of Citizens UK, building bridges between communities and faiths and cultures."

### 5.5. The power of working as a group

Several interviewees explained how being part of a group enabled them to be involved and do things they would not feel able to do as an individual:

"I am not naturally likely to be the one saying "I want an interview with my MP", I'm not that kind of person, but I know it needs to be done, so doing it in this kind of group way I'm much more comfortable with."

Some people suggested that operating as a group enabled them to have a bigger impact:

"They give you an opportunity to act as a big group. Twenty-eight organisations within Hackney, [decision makers] will listen to you, whereas they're not going to listen to a private individual."

There was a recognition that everyone has different things to offer, which is why working in a group is so effective:

"We can change things by standing up to authority, as a group. Someone might have fantastic ideas but shy away from wanting to be heard. But as a group, someone else can shout! So it works for all sorts of people on different levels."

One decision maker summarised Citizens UK's role as:

"Helping people who haven't got the time or the expertise to engage on their own in the big debate around the housing crisis. Helping them to kind of articulate what they're worried about and find a way to campaign for specific things, which then are delivered – which then generates a lot of positivity, because they're achieving something."

## 5.6. Tangible 'wins'

It was clear that people really valued the opportunity to do something positive and tangible in their communities:

"It's that sense of being able to do something about an issue that feels so big. The whole housing crisis that we face at the moment.... I feel quite powerless but I think it's helped me feel I can affect change, even if it's at a small level."

The work on Community Land Trusts in particular seemed to offer this sense of progress:

"There aren't a lot of creative fresh ideas in which to make housing affordable. CLT is one way, it feels like this is a tangible way of doing something. Even if it's small. Part of it is about doing something not just all giving in and throwing our hands in the air!"

Having 'wins' was a good motivating factor for leaders:

"All of my engagement with Citizens UK and London CLT has been entirely reinvigorating for me. There aren't many organisations that you'll work with that keep winning success after success, and that tends to be what happens!"

## 5.7. Using existing skills

For those who had prior or current experience in housing roles, it was clear that they valued being able to use their skills and knowledge to guide others. One described how he would help talk through potential plans with his housing team:

"I'll bring out the positives and the negatives, what are the things they need to think about. That is the way I'll try to be helpful and advisory."

The same interviewee described how it had mutual benefits, because the connection with Citizens UK helped increase his influence:

*"I think I have much more influence now because of my links with Citizens UK, because they are a national body"*

Others described being able to apply other skills to their work with Citizens UK, for example one interviewee was a graphic designer, and utilised these skills to design flyers for the assembly and promote events on social media.

## 6. Process evaluation – positive feedback

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This section evaluates the Citizen UK's methods that have been applied during the housing campaigns. Most of the processes it describes are the same in all of Citizens UK's work. While carrying out the research, it became apparent that it is difficult (perhaps impossible) to evaluate Citizen UK's work on housing without considering their work as a whole, as their core methodology of community organising underpins all of their work.

### 6.1. 121s

Community organisers hold 121s with new leaders, but leaders also continually carry out 121s with each other, and with other people within their institutions. Individuals stressed the importance of meeting up on an individual basis in this way, as it allowed them to share their viewpoint with another person, and vice-versa:

"The 121s are so powerful. When you have a 121 you come out being part of another world. It opens up a whole new horizon, because you know this person so much... and they know things you never knew."

This sharing of viewpoints ensures that everyone is motivated and engaged:

"Having 121s is a key part of keeping a team flourishing."

One interviewee talked about 121s he runs with young people, and described how these are much more powerful than delivering a presentation to a whole group:

"When you speak at people from a podium, it doesn't have the same effect as you sitting down on a one-to-one or two-to-one basis and explaining to them in detail at their level, when they're probably more focused and more relaxed and open to interact."

**Observation:** As part of the evaluation we observed two 121s, one with a new member and one with an existing member. In the 121 with the new member, the organiser asked a lot of questions to gain a deep understanding of the member's world-view, their motivation for being involved and what skills they could bring to the organisation. One interviewee said *"sometimes it can slightly feel like you're being analysed as to what use you're going to be!"*, however, she was comfortable with this. The 121 with the existing member involved asking them deep questions about the institution they are a member of, what they want to achieve, and future work they could get involved in locally.

## 6.2. House meetings

A house meeting is a meeting of leaders with an agenda and set structure. Interviewees praised house meetings for always being well planned and organised:

"The meetings are always very well organised, everything is very clear, very well timed and then some good ideas come out."

It was recognised that it is the work of the organisers behind the scenes that holds these meetings together:

"Having the organiser playing a key role is really important: making sure everyone's going to be there, printing the agendas, coaching the chairs in advance."

It was also felt that, with the housing campaign, Citizens UK had managed to attract people with different types of experience, which was helpful.

"There are some people with expertise and not much practical experience, those with practical experience of working in this area, or living in rented housing themselves."

All of the interviewees felt their ideas were listened to in these meetings:

"When we have the meetings, everyone's encouraged to have their say.... we all go round the table individually and give our opinion, and then discuss what we would be able to actually do with those ideas. So our ideas are always listened to."

**Observation:** From observing events, it was clear that the ethos of ensuring everyone has an equal chance to speak is a central part of the community organising methodology. At the beginning of every meeting, there is a 'round' where each attendee describes what they hope to achieve, or what motivated them to be involved. Everyone is given the same amount of time (one minute). For example, at the meeting of the Housing Action Team in Merton in July 2018, the prompt was "Something you have heard or experienced in Merton recently that makes you want to act on housing."

In meetings and events, the speaking is shared, for example, at the Merton meeting they read their manifesto aloud, and everyone was encouraged to read out one line. In another meeting we observed, a few attendees had been fairly quiet throughout. Towards the end of the meeting, the chair asked them directly if there was anything they would like to say. At the end of each meeting, there is another 'round' where everyone is asked to give an individual

reflection on how the event went, how they are feeling, and anything they think could have been done differently.

### 6.3. Use of testimony

Listening to people's negative experiences of housing and presenting these to decision makers and the media was seen as a very effective method of effecting change. Interviewees gave a few examples where Citizens UK sharing their stories has led to direct positive action for the people involved:

"They did a story on my friend. They came to her house and filmed her... that interview was aired on the BBC news as well. After that she was rehoused... The council actually took action and reposessed the house from the guy that owned it."

However, interviewees and attendees of meetings suggested that there is a reluctance among people to tell their story publicly, mostly due to fear of their landlord.

"We were looking for some testimony for the assembly.... I think there was a general fear of standing up in public and telling your story.... but I think also a sense that they might get into trouble or it might make life more difficult for them. So it's that sort of double fear. And there's also that feeling of "it won't make any difference".

A suggested solution to this would be to encourage these individuals with personal negative experiences to be more fully involved in the housing campaign.

### 6.4. Member institutions

Individuals get involved with Citizens UK campaigns through member institutions (usually religious or educational organisations) that they already belong to. Leaders then apply the methods of Citizens UK to listen to people in their institution. By working in this way, Citizens UK can have an extremely wide reach into the local community and an in-depth understanding of the problems faced by local people. As explained by one interviewee:

"My job as an institutional leader is to have 121s with my congregation all the time.... often in the course of those conversations things come up, people saying that it's something that they're struggling with, and often I say 'that's something we can do something about together'."

'Core teams' are set up within some member institutions about certain topics. This means that, as well as individuals attending general Citizens UK meetings about housing, they also



have a place to discuss this more in-depth with other leaders of their own institution, to embed the ideas. One of the campaign leads stressed the importance of these core teams:

"The development of core teams within institutions is absolutely crucial to feed ideas back to the institution and get energy from it. Core teams within institutions help 'plant' ideas within institutions. This stops it from being "grass roots democracy: all grass no roots."

The use of member institutions has a practical advantage when organising events. Organisers ask anchor institutions to commit to bringing a certain number of people to an event, to ensure that a certain overall number is reached.

## 6.5. Representative of the community

Citizens UK's method of working through a range of different member organisations means that they are seen by decision makers as truly representing the local community. Decision makers appreciate Citizens UK's ability to help them engage with people they may otherwise struggle to reach:

"They have a reach that the statutory bodies don't have, they work with churches and schools and mosques. We had lots of interest from younger people... it felt like there was more engagement with the policy beyond the usual suspects."

One decision maker explained that this representativeness means that if Citizens UK are in support of a policy, then it is likely to have wide support, meaning they can use them as a bit of a 'guinea pig' for policies:

"They offer a bit of a feedback loop so that we can, with confidence, say to the mayor and the deputy mayors that... an initiative or an agenda is something that they're going to have broad-based support for.... from groups representing real Londoners."

## 6.6. Written manifesto

Citizens UK have written manifestos that they hold themselves accountable to, which leaders suggest helps keep them focused:

"The good thing is we have a written manifesto that has clear outcomes on it... it's something very clear that we can hold ourselves to account with and see what progress we've made."

## 6.7. Making asks of decision makers

Fundamentally, Citizens UK's way of working is to try to build relationships with decision makers, and build relationships of collaboration:

"Making personal relationship with people in charge and trying to work with them. Not posing as enemies, instead saying "we're here to help you'."

Several of the decision-makers interviewed reflected that this was effective:

It certainly feels like the asks they make are done in a spirit of cooperation. They say "we need to do this, and we'll help you to do this."

Citizens UK break down issues into specific asks that they deem "worthwhile and winnable". They then seek commitments on these. As explained by one campaign lead, their strategy is to always get decision makers to make the 'next step' based on their current position. Using the example of landlord licensing:

"Even if it's just getting them to do a consultation into which wards need it, or getting them to make the first steps, like meeting another council who's doing it well to see how it's working... it's finding out 'what's the next thing'."

After deciding on their 'asks', Citizens UK then aims to get public commitments from decision makers at 'assemblies'. One attendee of the Citizens UK Assembly in November 2017 described this process:

"They had very specific things they were asking James Murray [deputy mayor] to do... What that means in practice is that mayors and deputy mayors are cornered. They're made to promise things, and then they go back to the office and say "we need to do this".... basically that's the only way things ever get done!"

Asks are made of decision makers at both the local and national level:

"Once we have built power with the government and the mayor, we come back down to the local councillors."

One decision maker explained that she was grateful for the 'asks' from Citizens UK because they opened up different avenues for her to consider:

"It helps to bring things up the agenda, so something like CLTs isn't necessarily something we would automatically think of, I think it's really helpful that they promote that.... I suppose it's about keeping thinking about all the options."

Other decision makers praised Citizens UK's understanding of the topics, and clarity of explanation. One decision maker praised Citizens UK's work with their leaders on percentages of affordable housing, because they struck a good balance between detail and simplicity:

"Normally campaigns around housing are either too broad or too technical. Citizens strike a good balance. For example, around affordable housing: "We want more affordable housing in developments. We want to back the mayor's call for this new threshold. Minimum of 35% affordable housing".

## 6.8. Maintaining pressure on decision makers

Once Citizens have gained commitments from decision makers, they use these commitments to hold decision-makers to account:

"Every chance we get, we make sure the leader of the council or the cabinet member for housing and planning re-affirms that commitment. It takes a long time. One of the things Citizens UK is very good at is staying the course and keeping focused."

One method of maintaining pressure is through accountability assemblies, where Citizens UK achieve big audiences. At these events, leaders directly ask questions of those in power. Decision makers interviewed said that they like working with Citizens UK on these events. Firstly, they appreciate the fact that Citizens tell them in advance what questions they are going to be asked, which enables them to prepare. Secondly, they appreciate that Citizens publically acknowledge what the decision makers have achieved, rather than always focusing on the negative:

"They're always very constructive as well and acknowledge... what we have done, so you feel like "we're getting somewhere together" rather than it being overwhelmingly negative."

They explain that approach differs from many other organisations who are always adversarial. They suggest it is very effective because it motivates the decision maker to do more:

"They come back and say "good work, excellent, now we want *this* by the way, we want you to go further...it feels like a more virtuous circle."

Decision makers also appreciate that Citizens UK are focused on communications:

"They understand how political organisations work, they're quite message-driven and focused on good communications, which makes it much easier for us to work with them."

## 7. Process evaluation – critical reflections

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### 7.1. Campaigns aren't always seen through to their conclusion

A criticism put forward by a few interviewees was that campaigns aren't always followed through:

"Citizens do a lot of listening, then they do actions. And then sometimes instead of following-through and sticking with one thing, like housing, they tend to do more listening and then come up with a whole lot of new things that they're going to deal with! And I think 'well hang on, we're just beginning to get stuck in with the council on housing. Let's stick with that.' Because once you take the pressure off they [the council] revert back to their bad habits, and think 'these people come and go and they don't really stick at it.'"

This point was also raised by one of the campaign leads, who emphasised that staying focused and committed for the long term was key:

"If we get commitment on something we have to follow up. The danger is that we say we've won something because we've got a commitment for it, but you haven't won something until it's been implemented. And that can take time, sometimes it can take 2-3 years, but it needs constant pressure. That is a challenge for organisers, because the danger is they'll just move on to the next thing."

He suggests that inexperienced organisers are more likely to make this mistake, and 'go where the energy is', whereas more experienced organisers know to follow-up and stay persistent, in a way that is true to the community organising methodology.

### 7.2. Organisers take on too much, then burn out

A high turnover of organisers was seen to be a related issue. It was felt that more should be done to protect organisers from being over-worked, resulting in burn-out and leading to a high turnover:

"They work people to the bone, so there's an awful lot of movement, there's not enough stability in the organising team. It does impinge on achievement."

There was a recognition among leaders that this was partly due to the boundless nature of community organising. It was suggested that hiring more organisers or limiting their working hours could help with this problem:

"It's very energy consuming work... so Citizens need to ensure the organisers are well looked after... because if you burn out you're no good for anything! Either they could have more organisers or limit the amount of work they take on."

### 7.3. Balancing the interests of leaders, organisers and funders

The focus of work was mainly seen as coming from institutions and leaders in the local community, which was seen as a very positive thing. However, one interviewee said that sometimes the work could be led too much by the interests of organisers:

"Because, by default, the organiser ends up doing a lot of the work, it sometimes gets a little bit skewed and becomes more what the organiser wants.... there's a tension there that's always going to be there, so it's just being able to negotiate that tension. I think maybe something about empowering leaders to feel that they can say to their organisers, "hold on, we don't want to do that!".

This member links this issue back to the problem of frequently changing organisers, because long-term organisers would have stronger relationships with the leaders, who may then feel more able to question them, whereas:

"If organisers suddenly change then that can change the dynamic. Long-term organisers might be a good thing, so you're not swapping organisers too often."

He suggested there could also be a problem with organisers who have experience of doing a particular housing action somewhere else applying it to a new area, even if it is not a good fit. He suggests that maybe leaders could be involved in the interview process for new organisers for their area.

Another interviewee suggested that the requirements of funders could also sway the focus of activity away from what local leaders want to work on:

"They get dictated on what they work on by funders, not necessarily what leaders think is important. It's tricky because they need the money."

There is a real point of tension here which affected how we planned the evaluation. With most projects we evaluate, there are set pre-agreed aims and objectives, and progress towards these can be measured throughout the project. The broad-based, bottom-up nature of community organising means that there is no guarantee that the activities organised (based on the ideas and energy of the community) will match the plans initially set out to Trust for London. As evaluators, we have tried to navigate this challenge by running the Theory of Change workshop to establish broad overall plans for each campaign, but we also recognise that a large amount of flexibility is needed as plans may change based on circumstances.

## 7.4. Not focusing on issues that will have the biggest impact

### Community Land Trusts (CLTs)

A few different leaders and decision makers suggested that there may have been too much of a focus on CLTs, as opposed to other ways of achieving affordable housing. Some of the objections to the focus on CLTs were for practical reasons:

“The problem with CLTs is they’re incredibly expensive, they’re quite slow. They’re a bit of a nightmare to get set up. I just don’t think they’re going to be a mainstream tender anytime soon.”

It was felt that, in terms of delivering affordable housing, CLTs take a lot of effort to achieve an impact for a relatively small number of people, and that effort may be better spent elsewhere:

“I do personally question whether community land trusts are the most effective use of Citizens energies and campaigning resources. Because one CLT that might deliver 20, 30, 50 homes for owner occupation takes up a huge amount of time and energy.”

In addition to taking up Citizens UK’s energies, CLTs may not be the best use of council’s resources because they tend to be so small:

“The real challenge for councils is that...it takes as much work to bring forward a site that’s got capacity for 100 homes, as it does to bring forward a site for 2 homes”.

One decision maker was concerned that Citizens UK may aim to go against the London Housing Strategy put forward by the GLA, for example, by calling for shared ownership to be replaced by CLTs. They thought that this would be unrealistic:

"I really hope they don't go down the road of replacing shared ownership with CLT because I just think it's totally unrealistic, and London Citizens have always prided themselves on campaigning for things that are actually achievable."

Other objections to Citizens UK's focus on Community Land Trusts were based on concerns about their beneficiaries, who are not necessarily those with the highest social need:

"Who it is targeted at, who benefits? Essentially you are helping people get on homeownership ladder – which isn't bad but it has to be people with the resources to do that. Anyone on benefits or very low incomes won't be able to afford it."

Another issue that emerged about CLTs was that their complexity made them difficult to explain to leaders:

"There are different ways of delivering CLTs and sometimes the technical aspects can be very difficult to comprehend for a lot of lay people. It takes a long time to explain, and some people will grasp it and some people won't grasp it."

This poses a question: does someone need a certain level of understanding of an issue before they can campaign on it? Some elements of housing are extremely complicated and technical (e.g. CLTs, but also planning legislation). From observations and interviews, it was clear that the involvement of people with existing housing expertise is extremely important, as they can teach the other members about these technical points. However, with constraints on meeting time, there is a limit to the extent to which this is possible.

One interviewee said that she would like a training session on how the finances work within a CLT. The chair of one of the sessions I attended suggested that a training session would be run on this in the near future.

## **Estate regeneration**

One interviewee also stated that estate regeneration was not the best use of Citizens UK's time and energy, because it affects a relatively small number of people:

"London Citizens are good at focusing on the bigger picture stuff, like affordable housing... I'm slightly nervous about the temptation to focus on things like Community Land Trusts, and also things like estate regeneration. Hardly any contribution is made to the housing stock in London by estate regeneration, but it's the issue that everyone talks about and it's everyone's favourite."



This issue comes back to the question of who should steer the focus of Citizens UK's work. If Citizens UK is a bottom-up organisation, then perhaps it does not matter if the issues it works on are local ones that only affect a small number of people. But if they are aiming to have a big impact on the wider housing situation in London they will need to work strategically on the issues that will have the most impact. It seems that Citizens UK are currently aiming to be led by both agendas (being led by local people and also an overall strategy), but it is possible that this is sometimes contradictory. One decision maker suggests that it is possible to be led by both:

"It's trying to stay populist, because that's what they are, without losing that capacity to think strategically about how to influence things. Just asking those questions all the time: "What exactly are we asking for here, and why, and who will it benefit?"

## 7.5. Communication challenges

Three specific points were raised by decision makers relating to problems with communication with the organisation:

1. A representative from Old Oak Royal Development Corporation said that a previous Citizens UK community organiser had sat on their housing panel, and this had helped with communication, but he had left 1.5 years ago and communication had been more difficult since then. They feel that Citizens UK have a role on the housing panel and would like to invite them to sit on it, but they are not sure who to invite.
2. A representative from Hackney Council said that the community organiser she had been in contact with has left and now she does not know who to contact in the organisation.
3. The representative of Hackney Council also highlighted that Citizens UK always initially approach the mayor of the council, but it would be much more effective to speak directly to a cabinet member, and that way action would happen more quickly.

The structure of Citizens UK was seen as sometimes being a barrier to communication:

"I find them quite a complicated organisation to work with, they've got these different chapters that are organised geographically. I've had conversations with people in the North Chapter and the West Chapter and it's not clear to me that the chapters talk to each other sometimes."

## 7.6. Overall message

Linked to communication with decision makers, a few decision makers said they were unsure about the long terms aims of Citizen UK's housing campaign and suggested that Citizens UK could communicate this better:

"I would find it helpful if they were to re-state [what they want to achieve] to all cabinet leaders.... they might be at risk of losing some good people because it's not quite clear 'what next'.

## 8. Advice for improvement

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### 8.1. Different chapters could work together more strategically

It was suggested that different chapters could cooperate more effectively:

"It's about being a bit more strategic in bringing the teams together to drive the different issues."

One interviewee suggested that different chapters should run united actions around affordable housing:

"There needs to be a coordinated campaign with a number of actions taken, to bring it more to the public's attention and the government's attention."

### 8.2. Need to get better at recruiting new people to action teams

It was suggested by some interviewees that more needs to be done to recruit more people from member institutions to be actively involved in the campaigns. In several of the campaigns, there was seen to be a relatively small 'core' group of people actively involved (with others joining only for the larger events such as assemblies). This may be because newer institutional leaders need to engage more with the methodology, perhaps with the help of organisers:

"One of the things that would help with the meetings would be new people joining, particularly from new organisations. Often the message has been from organisers, even though we have a mosque of 1000 people join, they say they can't find anyone who's affected by housing. Which makes me think they need to do some more 121s!"

An issue was also raised at one of the meetings I attended: that the two-day training sessions do not seem to lead to many people joining action teams, so perhaps there needs to be a better system for linking between the two activities.

### 8.3. Need to build links with central government

One interviewee highlighted that Citizens UK were able to work together with David Cameron's government on a previous campaign, but they do not have a close connection to the current government:

"One of the problems I think Citizens UK have is that they don't have many friends on the Cabinet at the moment."

#### 8.4. Grow work in local boroughs

Several decision makers said that they felt that Citizens UK were increasingly focusing energy on engaging with local authorities, and that this was an effective strategy. One decision maker from a local authority appreciated Citizens UK's focus on working with her organisation, and felt they have further roles to play in this space:

"I think they see their role as sort of holding us to account and I think that's really important. But I also think.... it's finding areas where there's common ground as well. And also helping us as local authorities to share practice... In housing the networks are really poor and fragmented, so there isn't a proper London housing network so there isn't an easy way for me to connect with my counterparts."

However, another decision maker highlighted that working with separate boroughs is more resource-intensive, so suggested that Citizens UK might want to consider the extent to which they will they try and work across all boroughs.

#### 8.5. Could be more modern, tech savvy, digitally engaged

One interviewee suggested that Citizens UK should update their website and social media to attract new (particularly younger) people:

"They're pretty basic, kind-of old fashioned. They need... more technology savvy people, connecting more to universities, schools, to bring more freshness, become more modern. They need to be a little more technologically savvy, because now everything is online. They also need to upgrade their logo."

## 9. Suggestions of other housing issues

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Several interviewees gave suggestions of other housing topics that they feel Citizens UK could focus on.

### **Leaders suggested the following topics:**

- Supporting small community-based housing associations, helping them take on more of a role.
- Looking at the impact of the housing benefit cap on people's ability to rent.
- Investigating the issue of new-build developments being sold off-plan overseas, perceived to be creating problems in the housing market
- Looking at planning policy around where properties can be built (brownfield and greenfield sites).
- Working on estates to create some kind of community control over the housing budget, for example through a cooperative that manages repairs.

### **Decision makers suggested the following topics:**

- Working around security of tenure in the private rented sector – particularly no fault evictions.
- Partnering up with housing associations around providing genuinely affordable housing.
- Explaining the benefits of upcoming regeneration schemes to the local community.

## 10. The evaluation process

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### 10.1. Evaluation process 2018

This year we have co-ordinated a programme of fieldwork with the aim of gaining a fuller understanding of:

- what each of the campaigns are aiming to achieve
- what they have achieved to date, and how they have achieved this
- what has worked well in the campaigns, and what has worked less well
- the impact of involvement on individual leaders

### 10.2. Issues we faced:

#### **Timescale of fieldwork**

We had initially intended to carry out fieldwork throughout June, July and August but there was a delay setting up the interviews, due to a delay in Citizens UK providing us with the contact information.

For Broadwater Farm and Old Oak Common, the housing activity on these campaigns have been carried out largely by people connected to schools (staff, students and teachers) who could not be contacted in the summer holidays. This made it more difficult to carry out interviews, so we conducted fewer interviews with leaders of these campaigns.

#### **Interviews not appropriate on Broadwater Farm**

After facing difficulties setting up interviews directly with leaders on Broadwater Farm, we spoke to the campaign lead who told me that he did not think interviews were appropriate with most of the residents on the Farm, because it was difficult for him to build a relationship of trust with the residents, and bringing a new person on the scene may weaken these relationships. The campaign lead tried to set up interviews directly with two long-standing leaders on the Farm, but the leaders cancelled these on two occasions.

"Some of the people that we're working with have major language barriers, and by nature there's a lot of suspicion about even us working there. There's so much trust that needs to build up. If I have a 121 or someone's come to a house meeting, it feels a little bit odd to say "oh, here's someone from Cambridge to have a 20-minute chat with you... it might feel a bit odd for them."

### **Types of leaders interviewed**

We expected to interview people who had only recently become involved with Citizens UK for the first time, as this would make it easier to trace the impact of involvement in the work funded by Trust for London. However, when we made contact with the leaders put forward by the campaign leads, we found that most had been involved for a very long time – a third of the people we interviewed had been involved with Citizens UK for over 16 years. We raised this as a potential issue, and we were given contact details for a few leaders who had become involved more recently. There was definitely a sense that a lot of the people involved in the Trust for London work had been involved in the campaigns for a long time. This was especially the case with the Olympic Park and rogue landlord campaigns. (This finding may have been affected by the interview method. The Broadwater Farm and Old Oak Common campaigns are involving new leaders, but it was difficult or impossible to interview people from these campaigns. Using a different method going forward may better capture the experiences of newer members.)

### **Communication method**

We communicated with the lead organiser and campaign leads mostly via email, however, it became clear through the evaluation that this method of communication did not seem to be a good fit with their working style. Emails were sometimes not answered, and we were not always kept up to date with events and actions that were happening. Citizens UK seems to work in a more dynamic, ad hoc style, so communication by text and phone call is more effective than email. Next year, we suggest that we use these methods more frequently.

### **Trust for London funded work is not discrete and separate from other work**

Those interviewees who had been involved in housing work for some time told us that the work carried out in the past year was a continuation of housing work that had been carried out in previous years. This suggests that the campaigns that received Trust for London funding were not distinct and separate from other previous work (this was probably less the case for the Broadwater Farm and Old Oak Common campaigns but, as above, we were not able to interview many people from this work). This has made it more challenging to conduct the evaluation, as when asked about how they had been involved in housing campaigns many interviewees talked about work that had taken place before the Trust for London projects started.

### **Broad-based organisation so impossible to separate out housing work**

In addition to there being no real distinction between the Trust for London housing work and previous housing work, housing work is also not separate and distinct from the work that Citizens UK does on other issues such as living wage, jobs and refugees. The campaign

leads for the housing work are also working on these other issues, and several issues will be covered at the same meetings and events, as explained by one campaign lead:

"We don't ever just have one thing on the agenda. That's why we're called a broad-based organisation... there'll be a bunch of people there because they want to hear what the council are going to say about refugees, there'll be a bunch of people there because they want to hear what the council are going to say about landlord licensing, and there'll be a bunch of people there because they want to hear what they're going to say about crime and safety. But we hope that they're all stood there together for all of the issues. Even though you might come for one, you're actually present for all."

Because the same events are organised to tackle many different issues, it is difficult to unpick the specific elements of Trust for London work – they are very much entwined with other issues and part of a bigger whole.

### **Overall challenge: housing too intractable**

An overall difficulty is that housing is so complex, it will be hard for Citizens UK to have 'wins' in the way they have had with other campaigns. There are so many stakeholders involved, and it is perceived as a big issue to try and change attitudes on (particularly from the many people in power who are financially benefitting from the status quo):

"The housing thing, we've found it's sort of intractable in a way. With the living wage campaign, we've got different employers on board who see the point of it, and see that it's the economically worthwhile for them.... with the housing, because it's to do with capital and investments, there's not much goodwill... When we do actions and assemblies, we're listened to, but they always say 'you're right, but we can't afford it, we can't do anything about it.' You get to that impasse."

Many of the leaders expressed that this was a source of frustration:

"The difficulty is trying to keep spirits up really, because it's such a hard grind. More with housing than other campaigns because you have to be involved with big capital."

Interviewees were positive that progress could be made by really committing to the community organising methodology:

"The team-work around that is really important for sustaining everyone. 121s and



action are key to that. Make sure that we're all working to our interests but that, by going into action, we stay energised and excited about what's happening."

### **Aiming to do too much**

The work being carried out across the four campaigns is vast and complex. One campaign lead suggested that perhaps more gains would be made if they concentrated efforts on a smaller number of areas:

"I wonder if at some point we'll get to the point where we say "look, if we just put all of this resource into two of these things we would have greater impact because we'd really be able to follow up and do it well, rather than doing five different things." Why do five things, why not just do two and do them really well?"

## 11. Feedback on evaluation from campaign leads

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They found the Theory of Change session useful:

"I found the theory of change really helpful, just to put it down on paper, doing it like "activity, outcome and overall goal that you want", it's just good to have it laid out like that.... I initially did it, then took your guys advice and came up with this whole extra bit. It really helped me."

They like the activity logs, because they encourage them to make a log of the work they are doing:

"It's good for us to get into the habit of recording things a bit more methodically and thinking a bit more intentionally about what we're doing".

One suggested that, when sending the monitoring form for them to complete in Excel, it would be helpful if their previous completed forms were included in separate tabs, which we will do from now on.

The campaign leads said they thought that shadowing would be the best way of monitoring their work:

"I think the best way to understand it is by doing things like shadowing, seeing how we operate. I think the data can only say so much."

One suggested that this could be supplemented with short, informal interviews with leaders:

"Maybe it's about getting more snapshot things. Maybe at the assembly or future things, just having more of a snapshot, just quick 5 minute conversations with people."

## 12. Evaluation - plans for next year

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- We propose a new methodology.
- We will not conduct telephone interviews, instead we will observe housing events and actions in a more ad hoc way.
- We will change our method of communication with Pete and the other organisers: we will ask them to text and call us with information about upcoming events that we can attend.

## 13. Appendix 1: Theories of change

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These Theories of Change have been provided by the campaign leads.

### 13.1. Theory of Change: Olympic housing campaign

#### **Step 1: Ultimate Goals**

The London 2012 Olympic Games promised a legacy of genuinely affordable housing. Under current definitions of affordability, families in East London will be priced out of buying or renting a home. Our campaign will involve local people acting together to secure a genuinely affordable Olympic housing legacy for the people of East London. Our ultimate goal is to increase the levels of genuinely affordable housing.

#### **Step 2: Identifying Intermediate Outcomes**

Leaders of TELCO (The East London Citizens Organisation) welcome regeneration that builds inclusive, diverse and sustainable communities. The TELCO Olympic Legacy Team will focus on:

- (1) growing a team with a sense of collective ownership and ability to change the status quo;
- (2) deepening our knowledge and understanding of affordability, planning processes, and opportunities to intervene;
- (3) reducing social inequality and gentrification;
- (4) fostering a sense of meaningful contribution to the Olympic Legacy.

#### **Step 3: Identifying Activities**

The TELCCO Olympic Legacy team will meet monthly to:

- (1) develop campaign strategy;
- (2) conduct research, develop a power analysis;
- (3) plan and take public action, including negotiation with decision-makers;
- (4) evaluate gains and successes of the campaign.

#### **Step 4: Causal Links**

Citizens UK's Theory of Change argues that local people have the agency and self-interest to act together to increase the levels of genuinely affordable housing. This involves:

- (1) redefining affordability in terms of income;

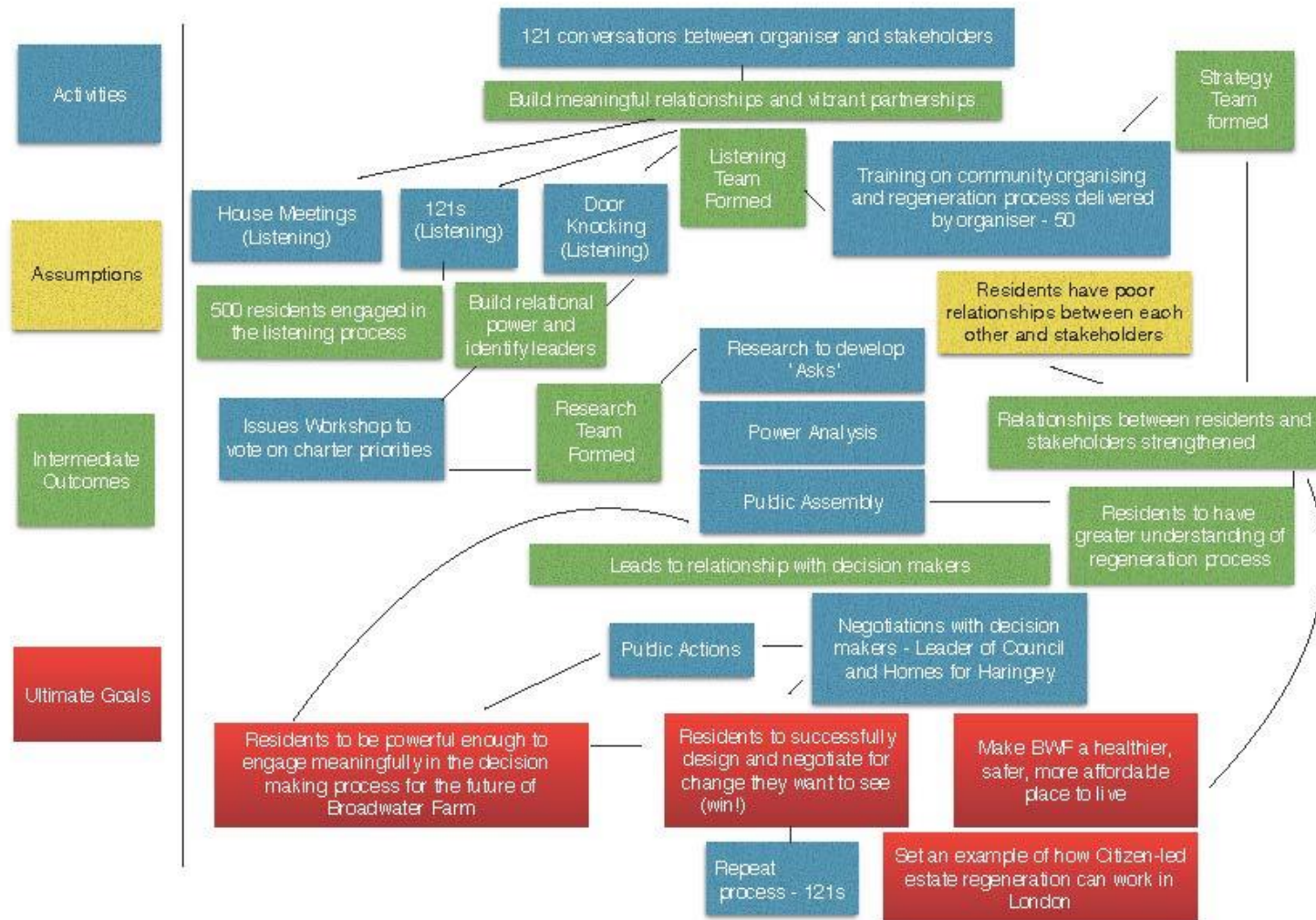
- (2) determining that the type of affordable housing is genuinely affordable according to local income;
- (3) negotiating with decision-makers for long-term systemic change in the way affordability is determined;
- (4) ensuring that the right mix of affordable homes are built.

### **Step 5: Assumptions**

Citizens UK's Theory of Change argues that genuinely affordable housing must be linked to incomes in order to build diverse and sustainable communities. This assumes that:

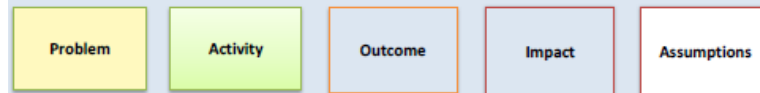
- (1) local people have sufficient knowledge and are willing to act;
- (2) people in power are willing to negotiate;
- (3) public authorities will use their power to ensure that developers follow their guidance for affordable housing on public land;
- (4) developers are willing to forgo huge profits in exchange for less profit and the common good;
- (5) A differentiation is made on the type of affordable homes being built.

### 13.2. Theory of Change: Broadwater Farm campaign

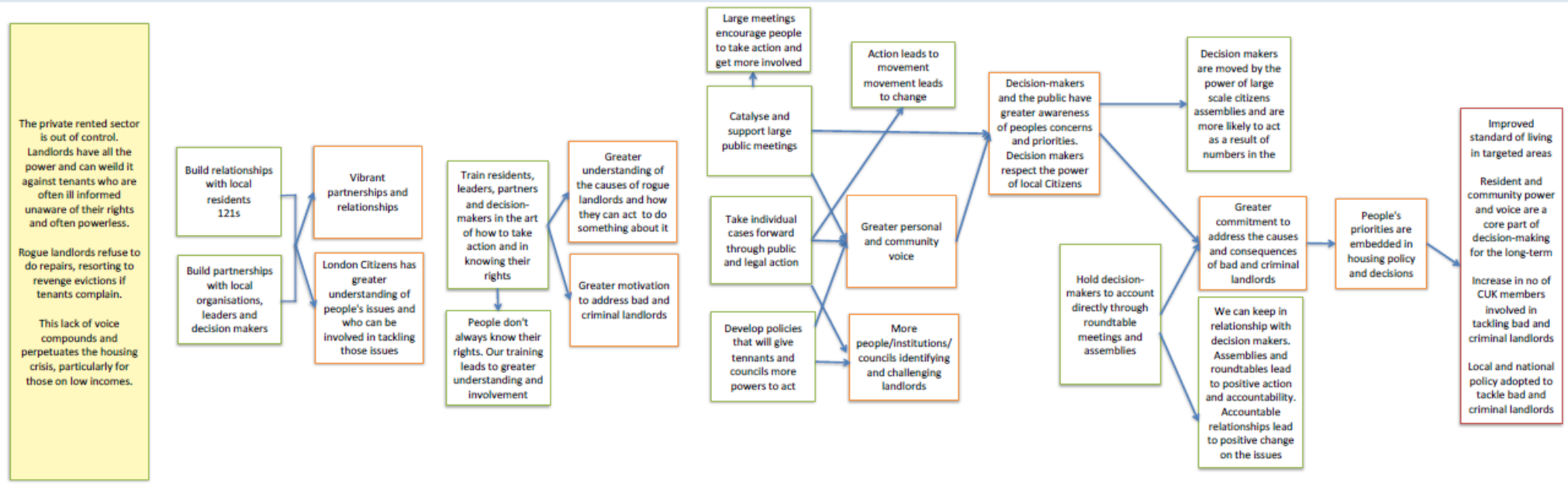


### 13.3. Theory of Change: Rogue landlords campaign

#### Citizens UK: Housing Campaign



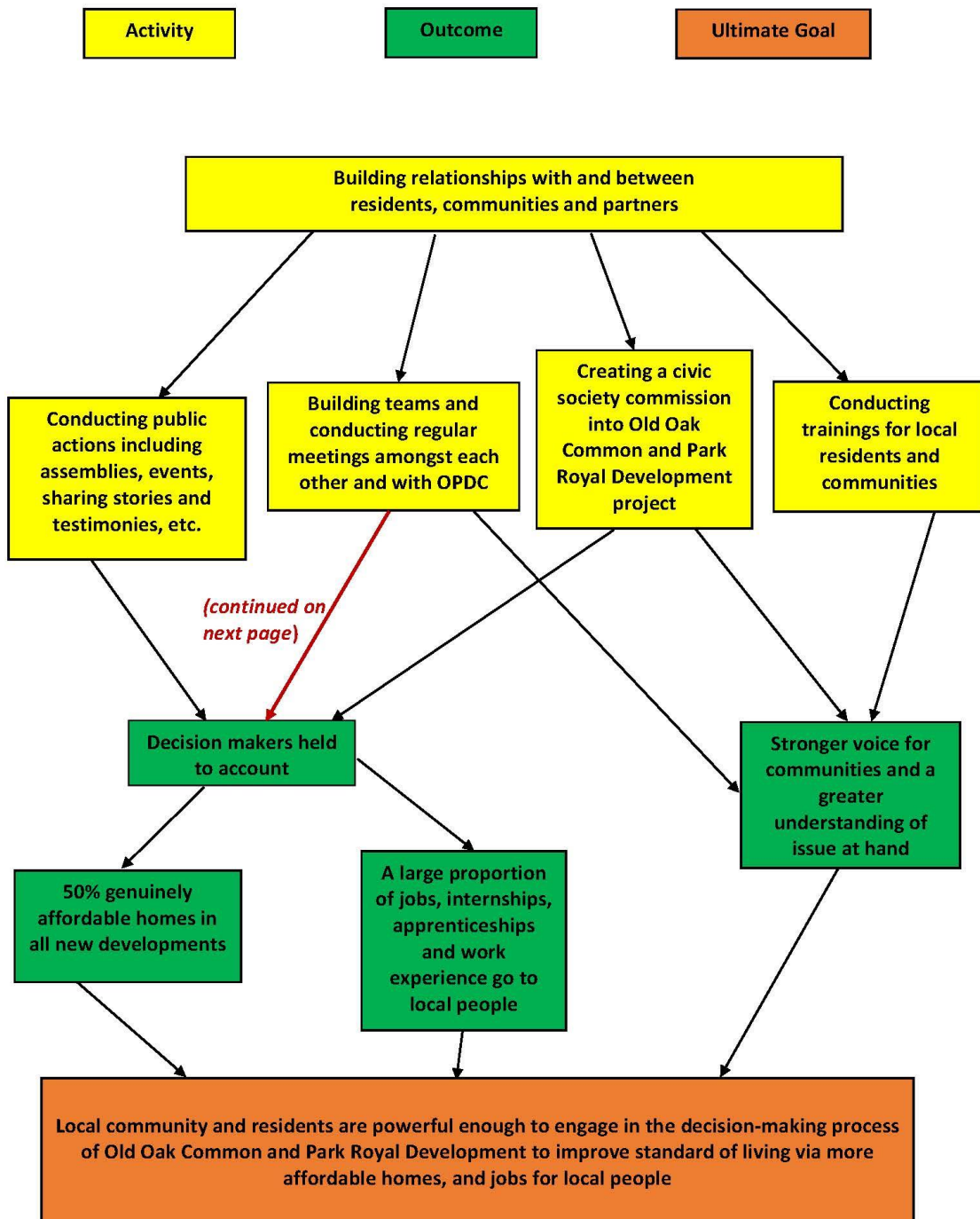
**Key Stakeholders include:**  
Local communities and residents  
Local community leaders (individuals)  
Community organisations  
Landlords  
Local government decision-makers (civil service or elected)  
National government decision-makers (civil service or elected)





## 13.4. Theory of Change: Old Oak Common campaign – Part 1

Challenge Faced: Old Oak Common development project is the largest development project to be taking place in Europe. With 24,000 new homes and 55,000 new jobs it will drastically change the lives of local areas. Communities and residents need the power to have a say in the decision-making process as there is a need for genuinely affordable homes and jobs in the area.





## 13.5. Theory of Change: Old Oak Common campaign – Part 2

**Building teams → Decision makers held to account**

