

The

Revival

of the

Social Housing Community

**providing
secure tenure
and
quality housing
for the
urban poor**

The
Revival
of the
Social Housing Community

re · vi · val

/rɪˈvʌɪv(ə)l/

an improvement in the condition, strength, or fortunes of someone or something.

so · cial hou · sing

/ˌsəʊ.ʃəl ˈhəʊ.zɪŋ/

rental housing with the aim of providing security and shelter for the urban poor

com · mu · ni · ty

/kəˈmjuːnɪti/

a group of people living in the same place or having a particular characteristic in common.

Colophon

The Revival of the Social Housing Community
Providing secure tenure and quality housing for the urban poor

MSc Graduation Thesis
P5 Report

publication
June 28, 2021
Delft, The Netherlands

author
Arne Jort van den Broek
student number: 4458028

first mentor
dr. Arie Romein
Chair of Spatial Planning & Strategy
Department of Urbanism
Delft University of Technology

second mentor
ir. Leo van den Burg
Chair of Urban Design
Department of Urbanism
Delft University of Technology

board of examiners delegate
ir. Stefano Milani

graduation studio
Planning Complex Cities Graduation Studio
MSc track Urbanism
MSc Architecture, Urbanism & Building Sciences
Delft University of Technology

The Revival of the Social Housing Community

Abstract

Adequate housing has long been considered a basic human right. Trends of globalisation, financialisation and urbanisation are oppressing this right. Social housing is neglected by authorities and stigmatised by society. Local, low-income residents are dispossessed and displaced, and social housing is close to disappearance. London has become a fragmented and unequal city, with an unbalanced governance. The power of the private investors induces that residents cannot make use of their right to the city. To recover the right to the city for all residents and to counteract the displacement and dispossession, a shift has to be made towards a revival of the social housing community, providing secure tenure and quality housing for the entire population. This graduation project introduces a community land trust growth model. By gradually taking land out of the market into a CLT, the residents are able to make their own decisions and improve their living conditions. The model provides tenure security and permanent affordability. The project designs a transparent and modular People's Plan with a holistic, multiscalar vision providing secure tenure and quality housing for the urban poor.

Keywords

social housing; London; urban planning; community land trust; right to the city.



Acknowledgements

This graduation project finalises my MSc track Urbanism of the MSc Architecture, Urbanism, and Building Sciences at the TU Delft. The project could not have been realized without the participation of inspiring people, who supported me in this one-year process of creating this piece. I would like to express my acknowledgements to my family, friends, fellow students, urbanism staff and contributors to this project. I would like to express my gratitude to certain people in particular who directly supported me throughout the project.

To my mentors Arie Romein and Leo van den Burg, who formed a complementary mentor team. I would like to express my gratitude for the way they have lead me through this process, providing me with challenges, inspirations. The project would not have reached its depth and extent without their expertise. To Arie, thanks for inspiring me with new methods and ideas, and for keeping me on track throughout the process. To Leo, thanks for the constructive feedback and in-depth questions, keeping me excited to push my project forward.

To Rodrigo Cardoso and Caroline Newton, who provided me with their knowledge about London, as well as sharing their network for me in the quest to empirical knowledge about the city.

To Daniel Fitzpatrick, Iqbal Hammaduddin, Kath Scanlon, Matias Piazza, Marieke de Bode, Lucy Natarajan, and David Roberts, who I am grateful for your time and for sharing the information and expertise that I would not have been able to collect myself.

To Gabriele, who stood beside me throughout this entire graduation year. Thanks for being a major inspirator and motivator, but more importantly, a dear friend.

To Aron, who was besides a flatmate a great co-worker. Thanks for your availability to discuss and improve my project. I am grateful to have you as a friend.

To Wessel and Isaac, I would like to express my appreciation for the co-working experience during lockdown, giving constructive feedback, discussions and endless motivation. Your expertises have made a substantial impact on my project.

And finally to my family, whose continuous support has been the foundation of this project.



Motivation

I have been living in student housing for five years, accommodated by a student housing association. If I did not have the opportunity to rent a student home, I would not have been able to leave my parental house to live in the city where I am studying in. Student housing is a special form of social rent, but it explains the reason of existence of social housing very well. It is a home to deliver security and shelter for those who cannot afford to buy a house or rent privately themselves. On top of that, social housing provides an opportunity for the disadvantaged and deprived. This is important in a world where maximising individual gain seems to be transforming the city as a *right* to a city as *possibility* and *opportunity*.

Social housing is being neglected and stigmatised towards disappearance. Its disappearance, in my opinion, would be an enormous loss. Cities have a tendency towards residing the elite, obliterating hard working residents with lower incomes. It seems forgotten that these people are needed just as much in creating a 'good' and working city. With my graduation project I am aiming for a revival of social housing, improving its tenure security, quality, and image.

London is a city that amazes me. Its size, its diversity, its dynamics. I have visited London three times in three different stages of my life, with different people, and everytime I got new impressions of the city. Its size, diversity, and dynamics make it a complex city, with many challenges. London is pressured by a severe housing crisis and an increasing inequality. Local residents are oppressed by international capital, dispossession and displacement lie in wait. I am motivated to propose a revival of social housing in a large, diverse, dynamic city where social housing is neglected towards disappearance.



Table of Contents

<i>1. Introduction</i>	13
introducing the project, problem, and location	
<i>2. A Scattered City Unhooked From Its Context</i>	16
setting up a broad problem field around the project, explaining the drivers of the problems and analyzing the current situation of London that resulted from it.	
<i>3. Project Definition</i>	32
methodology chapter defining the problem and setting up the reseach approach and methods	
<i>4. Social Housing Crisis</i>	46
investigating the history and current situation of social housing in London	
<i>5. Planning & Governance Structure</i>	60
investigating the history and current planning system and governance structure in London	
<i>6. Project Location</i>	72
analysing the chosen project location	
<i>7. Alternative Housing Concepts</i>	96
exploration and definition of alternative housing concepts, using literature and case studies	
<i>8. Roadmap Towards Revival</i>	110
implementative of the alternative housing concepts in a roadmap for the community	
<i>9. People's Plan</i>	130
urban design containing the essential interventions through the scales of a gradation of space	
<i>10. Vision</i>	164
spatial framework and future vision on the Gascoigne Estate	
<i>11. Conclusion & Reflection</i>	178
conclusion and reflection of the project	
<i>References</i>	186
<i>Appendix 1: Theory Essay</i>	194
<i>Appendix 2: Graduation Plan</i>	204
<i>Appendix 3: Research Methods</i>	212
<i>Appendix 4: Spatial Analysis</i>	222

1 Introduction

Introduction

Adequate housing has long been considered a basic human right. The well-being of individuals and families is substantially affected without satisfactory housing (Karamujic, 2015). Housing as a right is an integral factor for other economic, social, and cultural rights (Brenner et al., 2011). Trends of globalisation, financialisation and urbanisation are oppressing this right. Cities are pressured all over the world, and are caught by severe housing crises. In order to deliver the housing demand, cities need to grow. In this process of growth, it is important to meet the needs of all social classes.

Cities have a tendency towards inequality (Travers et al., 2016). A growing city is likely to have an increasing inequality. Housing is transforming from a social good to a financial asset (Rolnik, 2019). International capital is taking over the housing market, oppressing the urban poor. This is amplified by the fact that a large amount of housing, especially social housing, is deprived and thus are in need of change to become satisfactory. Cities are regenerating buildings and neighbourhoods, often an inequality-increasing process (Campkin, 2013). Regeneration is accompanied by dispossession and displacement, pushing local residents out of the city. Moreover, in the housing crisis, social housing seems to be persecuted.

Social housing is pressured by its poor quality and lurking regeneration plans. To bring increasing inequality to a halt, this project aims to revive social housing in London through using alternative planning tools in the creation and preservation of the tenancy. Bottom-up planning tools will be used to make sure the needs and demands of the community is heard. Furthermore, it aims to improve the quality of the living environments and to increase tenure security. Top-down planning tools should create support from authorities and awareness in society. This graduation project aims to contribute to the concept of the *right to the city* by Lefebvre (1968) and strives to a more inclusive city.

The project first sets up a broad problem field, showing how London is progressively unhooked from its context. The Scattered City shows the results that were caused by the drivers explained in the problem field. Then, the project is defined in a methodology chapter, presenting the research questions, aim and methods. The first two sub research questions are analyzing the history and current situation of social housing and the planning structure in London. Afterwards, the appropriate planning tools and concepts are recognized, which will be implemented in a strategic project, proposing an urban design with social, spatial, and governance recommendations. The project concludes with the results of the design, and gives suggestions towards a revival of social housing.

Contextual Terms

<i>Greater London</i>	ceremonial county of England, takes up the majority of the London Region.
<i>Mayor of London</i>	head executive of the GLA, currently Sadiq Kahn.
<i>borough</i>	local authorities that make up Greater London
<i>ward</i>	electoral district within a borough
<i>LSOA</i>	geocode to represent output areas within a ward, used for census and data
<i>social housing</i>	rental housing with the aim of providing security and shelter for the urban poor
<i>public housing</i>	housing build by local authorities, in the UK mainly social housing
<i>council housing</i>	housing build by local authorities, in the UK mainly social housing
<i>interwar housing</i>	housing build between 1918 and 1940
<i>postwar housing</i>	housing build shortly after WWII, between 1945 and 1980
<i>housing estate</i>	group of homes build together in one development with the same aesthetics

Abbreviations

BAME	Black, Asian and other Minoric Ethnicity
CLT	Community Land Trust
GLA	Greater London Authority
LSOA	Lower Super Output Area
MHOS	Mutual Home Ownership Society
OA	Output Area
PP	People's Plan
RSL	Registered Social Landlord
RtB	Right to Buy
RtM	Right to Manage
RtT	Right to Transfer
SDG	Sustainable Development Goals
TMO	Tenant Management Organisation
UK	United Kingdom
WWI	World War I
WWII	World War II

London



2 London: A Scattered City Unhooked From Its Context

The Collective, 2017

Introduction

London is progressively 'unhooked' from the state where it exists. The city became a theatre for international capital, its fortunes decided by forces over which it has little control (King, 1990). The city of London is developing into a city that tends to reside the elite, with international capital pushing the local population out. To define a problem statement for this graduation project, a broad problem field needs to be set up, done through a literature review and spatial analysis. It researches the drivers and effects of the current, worrying situation.

The chapter first gives a short introduction on the birth of the metropolis. Then it explains the influence of internationalization and neoliberalism, and how they created the processes of financialisation and privatisation. Afterwards, the review explains the current housing crisis in London, with a focus on social housing and the stigmatisation on it. It exposes the scatteredness of London in spatial maps and lastly points out the severe inequalities that occur in the city.



Figure 2.01
Deprivation in London
Business Insider, 2015

London, A Metropolis

London is located on the Thames. In Roman Times it was not a main city, possibly it was just a port (Rasmussen, 1934). This port and the Roman roads, however, transformed the city to the centre of the country. Through the middle ages it developed into a central fortified city (Ormsby, 1924). London was connected with the rest of the world by the Thames, one of its most characteristic elements. London was a relatively small, compact city. Other cities in the middle ages had space within the fortified city to expand, London was already fully built. Therefore London experienced a very early process of suburbanization with a creation of small settlements outside the city. The city was seen as an open city with good connections to the outskirts. London became a 'scattered' city, with the settlements expanding into towns through the low land values and high amount of space (Rasmussen, 1934). London became a major player in the world and started expanding outside its city walls. It kept growing and accumulated towns where people still live in their own communities and local governments, which is still reflected in today's situation (Clayton, 1964). Figure 2.2 shows all these town centres that are now accumulated. Many ancient Roman roads are now commercial High Streets, connecting the towns with the city centre.

During the industrial revolution London expanded rapidly along the Thames, creating industrial areas and ports with accessory workers homes. The majority of the buildings in Greater London date back from the 1930s and earlier. In the 1930s the city had already 8 million inhabitants, mainly factory and harbour worker families. Around the 1980s the city made a shift from manufacturing to finance and business, redeveloping the city centre and former industrial areas. The city developed an international character on cultural, social, spatial, and economical level. Many headquarters of banks, other multinationals, as well as the national government are located in London. Together with New York and Tokyo it is the most important economical centre of the world. The amount of jobs and opportunity, mainly in the financial sector, attract people from around the globe, creating a diverse demography. The city is a creative cluster with many museum, ateliers and architectural firms, attracting millions of tourists every year.

London is divided in 33 local boroughs which are based on the local communities and governments that were created in the middle ages (Clayton, 1964). Together they form the Greater London Authority. The boroughs are separated into 13 inner London and 20 outer London boroughs. All have their own character and community. There are large differences between these boroughs in demography and geography, but also in wealth and quality of life, preserving the scattered city that it was in medieval times.

Figure 2.02: Town Centres & High Streets

image by author, based on:
London Datastore, 2020

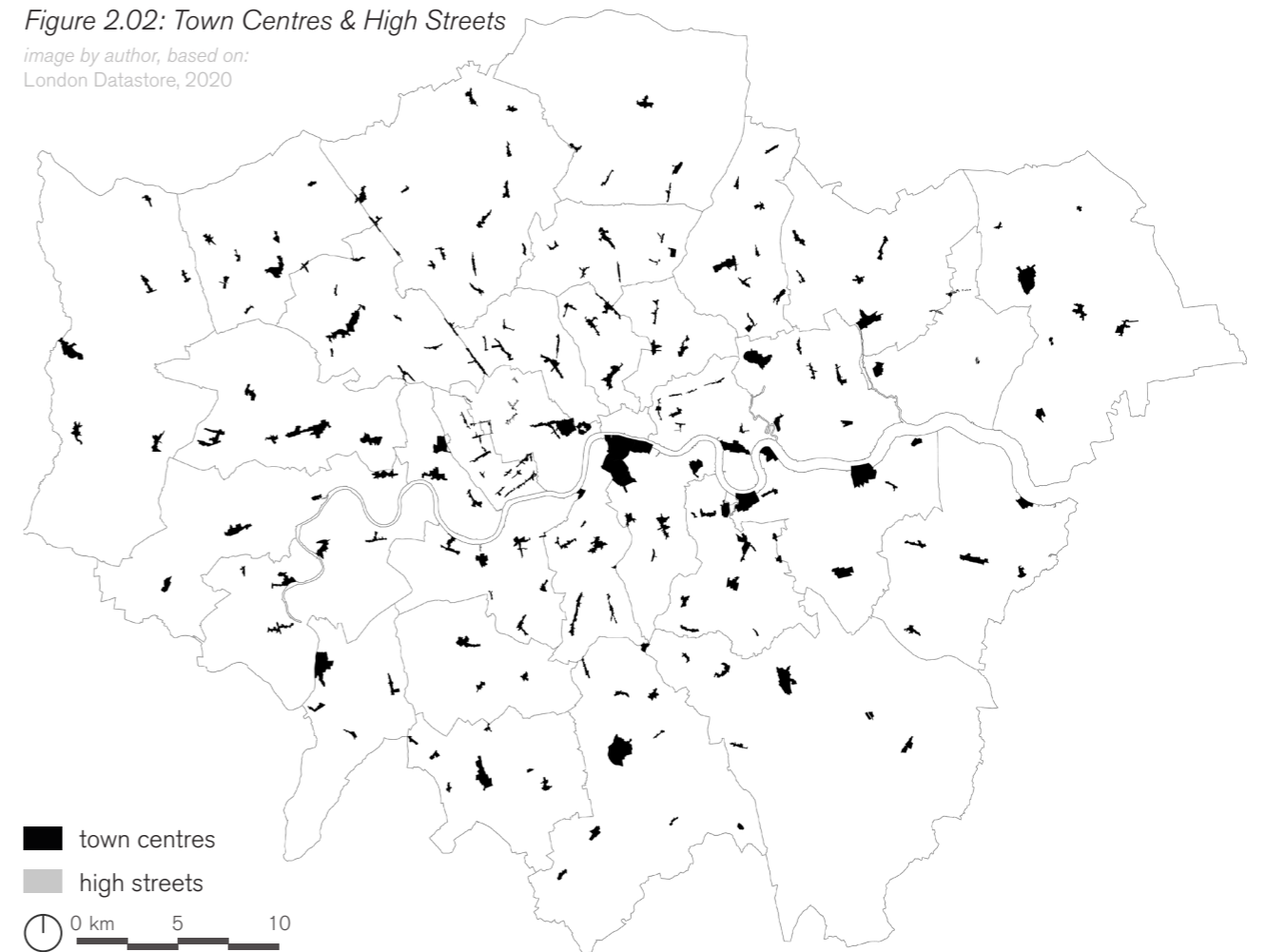
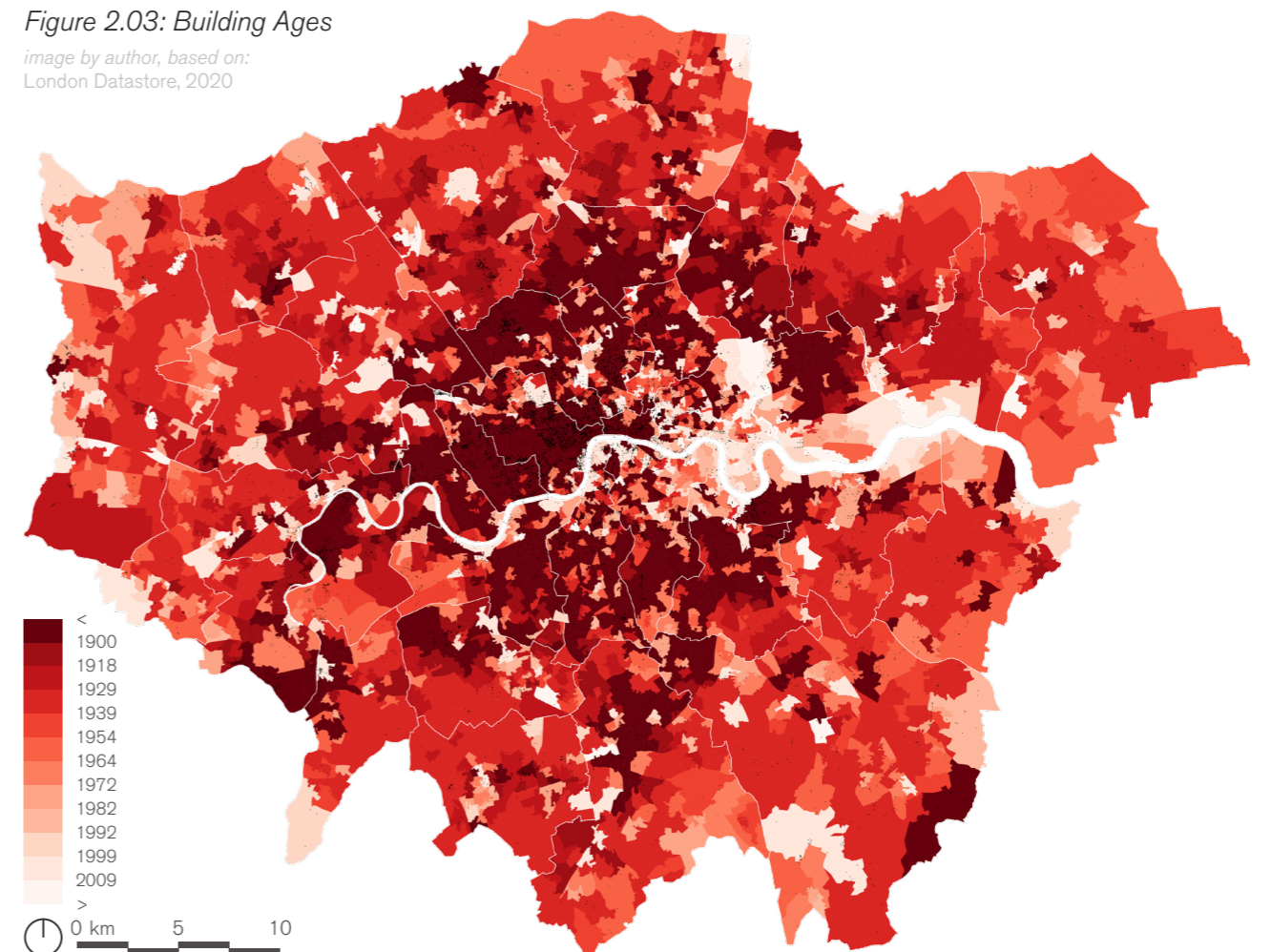


Figure 2.03: Building Ages

image by author, based on:
London Datastore, 2020



Internationalization

As mentioned, London was a Roman City that gained relevance through its location on the Thames. In the sixteenth century the city became a centre of trade. Other than other cities, London developed into a commercial city (Rasmussen, 1934). The government supported free trade, which found its maxims (Cunningham, 1882). The central location reinforced with the industrial revolution and the destruction of any competition (King, 1990). Industry and harbour expanded rapidly, as well as the creation of workers homes.

London kept the industrial character for a long time, but evolutions in communication and transport technology reshaped the role of the city. London was transforming into a finance and business centre. There was a drastic decline in manufacturing employment, causing local people to move out of the centre to be replaced by illustrative employees of the international capital (King, 1990). The UK government considered the declining manufacturing industry 'should not be saved', which left hundreds thousands of people without a job. Homelessness and informal economies were the result. Authorities invested to establish the city even more in the world economy. Large inequalities increased into larger inequalities. Unemployment is a major force for inequality, engendered by internationalization (King, 1990).

The internationalization provoked the upcoming of multinationals, starting a process of internationalization of capital. The multinationals moved production to the continent and beyond, focussing on the financial sector in London (King, 1990). The internationalization was strengthened by the neoliberal government of Margaret Thatcher, empowering the free market (Rolnik, 2019). The big bang in 1986 caused an exponential increase in market activity, resulting in a similar increase in banks and jobs (Plender, 1986). The internationalization of capital also provoked international buyers of property. Investors want to be as central as possible, increasing land values and housing prices (King, 1990).

International investment in residential property escalated redevelopment, created an international rental market, and caused disappearance of social

housing. The competition, encouraged by the government, resulted in extensive increase in house prices and a rising problem of homelessness. This created a social polarization in London. Unemployment and low incomes accompany disadvantages such as overcrowding, residential insecurity, or higher death rates. Tax cuts favoured the rich, even with the substantial increase of poverty. (King, 1990).

London is progressively 'unhooked' from the state where it exists. The city became a theatre for international capital, its fortunes decided by forces over which it has little control (King, 1990). Internationalization is recognized as the scene which enabled financialisation practices to take hold. Neoliberalism acts as the ideological justification for the extension of capital, and privatisation, marketisation and commodification as displays of the forms housing markets have taken (Jacobs & Manzi, 2019).

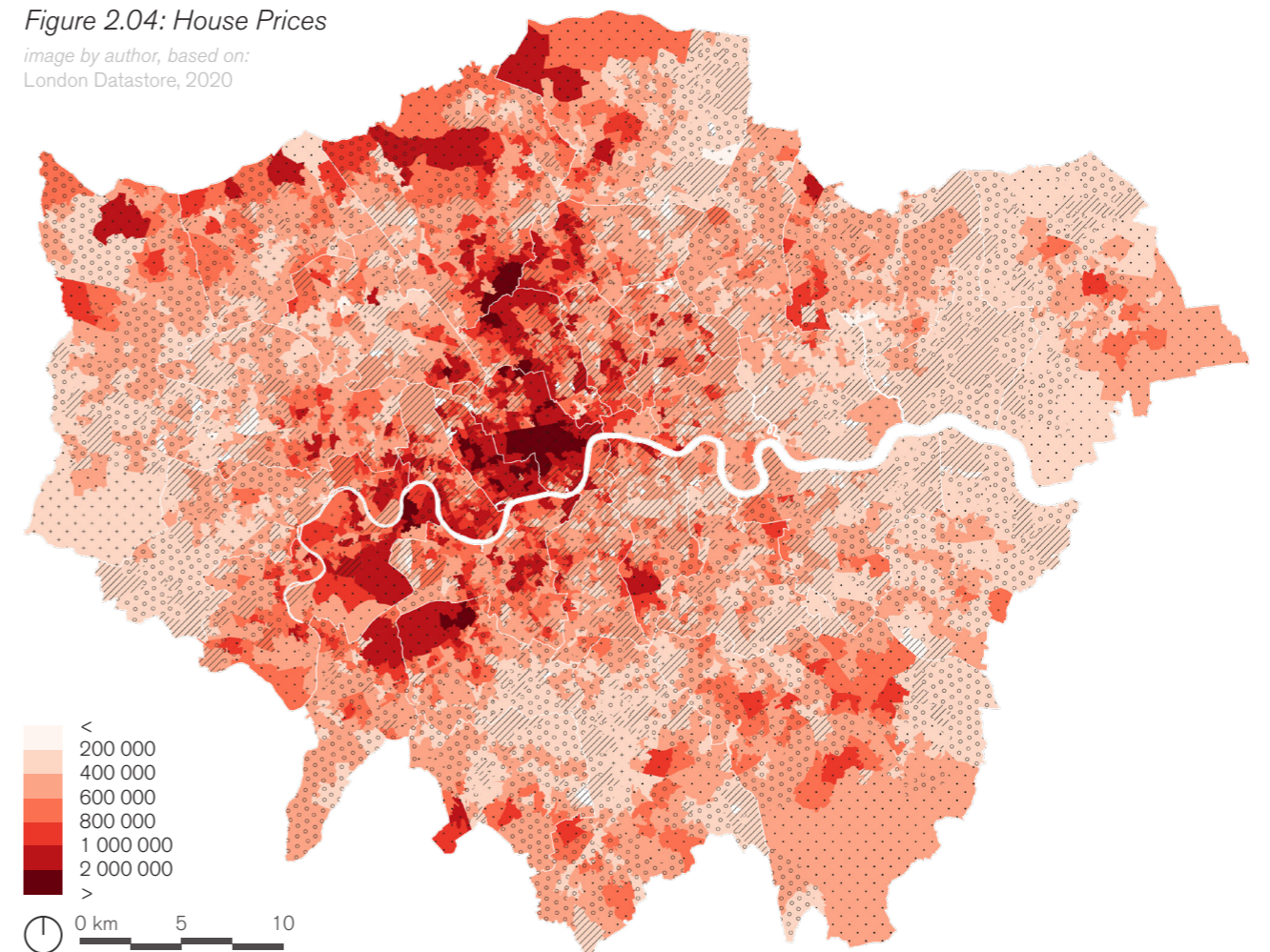
Financialisation of Housing

Neoliberalism, broadly meaning economic and social transformation profiting the free market (Connell, 2010), gained prevalence in the United Kingdom when Margaret Thatcher became prime minister. Policies and regulations deregulated the housing finance systems, privatized council housing and reduced public expenditures, transforming the role of housing from a social good to a financial asset (Rolnik, 2019). This process is called the financialisation of housing. Financialisation can be defined as the 'increasing dominance of financial actors, market, practices, measurements and narratives at various scales' (Aalbers, 2016). It has become a major notion for understanding changes in the housing markets (Wijburg, 2020).

Finance and markets have always played an important role in (re)developing the urban fabric (Harvey, 1982; Moreno, 2014). Neoliberalism, however, reshaped the built environment itself into an instrument for value capture by finance to increase capital (Weber, 2002; Newman, 2009). Financialisation is a set of elementary transformations in capitalism which is not solely the increase of capital. It also adapts the line of thought and behaviour of non-financial firms, identifying their

Figure 2.04: House Prices

image by author, based on:
London Datastore, 2020



land and house as assets, not as social good (Edwards, 2016). Planning, for example, took a neoliberal turn into neoliberal planning, diminishing into a facilitator of the market (Baeten, 2012). Neoliberal planning narrows the city down to an economy, interpreting everything in gain or loss, with all non-economic planning issues lacking a vision to adequately deal with (Wacquant, 2009). Neoliberal planning separates the social and the economic, prioritizing economic growth and disempowering the social domain of planning. This contradicts with the *raison d'être* of planning to be integrative in order to make 'good' decisions (Baeten, 2012). As Gunder (2006, p.214) states: 'What happened to planning's traditional concerns about fairness, equity and social justice?'

Paradoxically, narrowing down the city to an economy is tempting. Individuals and institutions try their luck in the world of opportunities created by the free market. The financialisation of housing can be highly desirable for those who profit from it (Harvey, 2005). Motivated by the greed to harvest capital growth at the expense of all other values, smothering that what does not serve profit (Mar-

cuse, 2009). The buzz, pride and appreciation that pursues from successful neoliberal planning are sharply contradicted by the management of the poor neighbourhoods and its ever shrinking social budgets (Baeten, 2012).

Cities and natures are increasingly organized by individual responsibility and individual freedom. This freedom means being free from bureaucracy and state financing, rather than the freedom from the need for transport, shelter or safety (Rose, 1999). Maximizing individual gain is essential in the neoliberal city, transforming the city as a *right* to a city as *possibility* and *opportunity* (Baeten, 2012). Housing plays a central role in this city. The financialisation of homes fabricated the financialisation of homeowners. The expansion of the mortgage market was necessary for financialising homes, but vaster access to mortgage loans derived in higher house prices (Aalbers, 2008), eventually leading to the financial crisis in 2008. This crisis, however, did not yet lead to neoliberal dispersal (Baeten, 2012). Pressure on urban areas is still mounting and prices are skyrocketing, plunging London in a severe housing crisis.

Privatisation of Property

As mentioned above, during the 1980s the United Kingdom under Thatcher changed policies and regulations, deregulating housing finance systems, privatising council housing and reducing public expenditures (Rolnik, 2019). The UK is a pioneer in social housing, but Thatcher governments pioneered in utility privatization, outsourcing public land assets alongside the mitigation of constraints on the financial sector (Edwards, 2016). Following governments endured with privatization and using land as a financial asset.

Privatization was mainly done through a the Right To Buy system, giving a renter attractive discounts to buy the house (Rolnik, 2019). Mortgages became easily accessible, even for households with low income (Beswick et al., 2016). This caused a vast decrease in social housing, with local authorities troubling to maintain remaining units (Rolnik, 2019). The central government reduced subsidies to local authorities thoroughly, while sponsoring individual owner-occupation (Edwards, 2016).

The privatisation caused bidding wars in rental housing, resulting in the centralisation of housing ownership under global investors, tying residents into the market even when the mortgage relation has been detached (Beswick et al., 2016).

Rental housing has become a new asset for global investors, showing how housing is in a new spiral of financialisation (Beswick et al., 2016). Since 2010, a new and aggressive privatisation of social housing has emerged, leading to a large share of social housing can be captured by global investors (Hodkinson & Robbins, 2013). Research observed that at least one third of social housing sold under the Right To Buy are currently owned by buy-to-let landlords (Copley, 2014). The shift towards private rental society has alarming implications for the concept of housing as a social good. It shows that even without mortgage systems the financial capital is able to control housing and its residents, forming new strategies of accumulation and dispossession. The financialization of housing is pushed further, damaging again the ones who have been suffering the effects of earlier financialisation (Beswick et al., 2016).

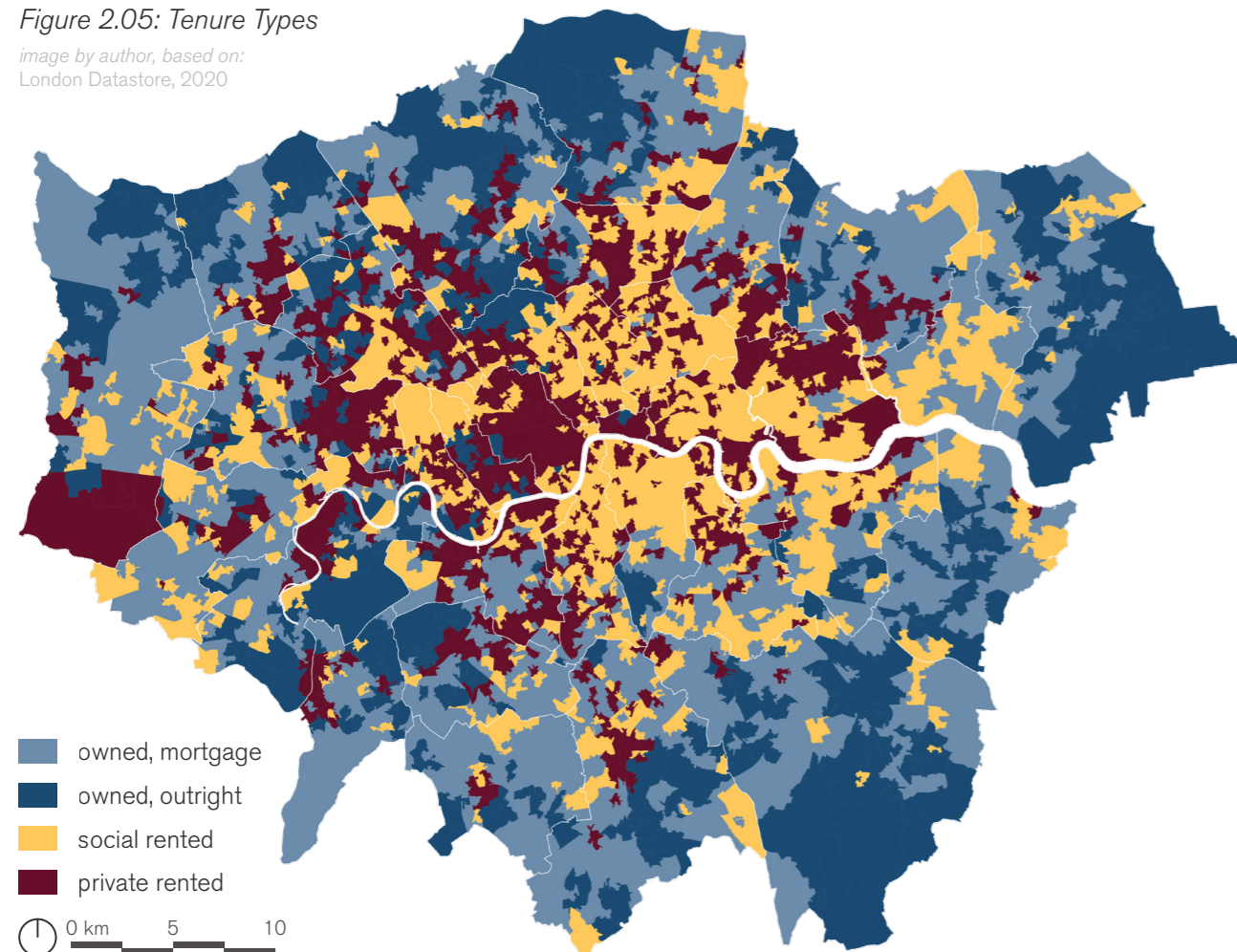
Housing policies reinforced the financialisation of housing, shifting the center of gravity from social housing to private (rental) housing (Aalbers, 2016), implicating that the government is partly responsible for the affordability of housing and fuelling mortgage bubbles (Holm et al., 2015). The government's current privatization violation on social housing could transform London into a corporate dystopia owned by global investors (Beswick et al., 2016).



Figure 2.06
Thatcher's Privatisation
Gimson, 2014

Figure 2.05: Tenure Types

image by author, based on:
London Datastore, 2020



Housing Crisis

Internationalization and neoliberalism lead to the financialisation of housing and privatisation of property. Financial capital has grip on the housing market, land values and housing prices are skyrocketing, leading to increasing competition and increasing dispossession. The United Kingdom, and London especially, is gripped by a severe housing crisis. The UK has the fastest growth in housing prices and the widest regional inequalities (Edwards, 2016). Since 1996, median housing prices in London have increased almost five-fold, with a growing difference between the prices in London and the rest of the country (Travers et al., 2016). This inflation brings along problems, such as overcrowding, homelessness and negative health effects.

Continuous economic growth, population growth and inward migration have pushed up demand. The higher the demand, the higher the value and price. Increase in value increases the disparity between home-owners and non-homeowners. More and more people are unable to become a home-owner, and are thus excluded from the 'housing ladder' (Travers et al., 2016). The system in London could actually better be described as an escalator than a ladder, with a widening gap between those who can house themselves in the market and those who cannot. Ownership has had important political implications, because home-owners have a personal interest in the further growth of value, causing more inequality (Edwards, 2016).

The larger the inequality, the worse the housing market experience will be for poorer people (or the non-homeowners). Richer people have a larger consumption of space, and they can outbid poorer people (Edwards, 2016). The distribution of housing space thus becomes more unequal (Dorling, 2013). Spatial differentiation in value and prices is often growing. People pay more for better accessibility, directing richer people into inner areas and poorer people to the outskirts (Edwards, 2016). Where the poverty in inner London is decreasing, it is increasing in outer London: poverty is suburbanizing (Travers et al., 2016). Any London borough is likely to become expensive, and the city may become a visualisation of the survival of the fittest: the financially fittest. Only those who can afford to live there survives (Glass, 1989).

The housing demand in the UK grew continuously, and faster than the housing stock (Barker, 2004). The market fails to house population well and intensifies inequality. The need for social housing increased while its number declined (Edwards, 2016). On top of that, Mayor Boris Johnson decided to support higher income people, instead of housing those in greatest need. The national state invests in infrastructure, which the owners of property benefit from. These investments of the public sector, only feed the private sector (King, 1990). Without these public investments, the expected growth could not be contained (Edwards, 2016).

The consequence of the intensification of inequality is that people are inadequately housed. Value for money is poor, standards are poor and the environmental performance is substandard. These groups do not benefit from large public investments (Edwards, 2016). It is not only nearly impossible to get into the housing ladder, housing costs are also eating away the income of households. The high costs reduce the amount of money people can spend on goods (Travers et al., 2016). Large amounts of public money is being spent on housing regeneration and gentrification, but more could go to what is needed: good quality affordable housing with good services in good environments (Edwards, 2016).

Figure 2.07: Homes for Londoners campaign

Social Housing in the Crisis

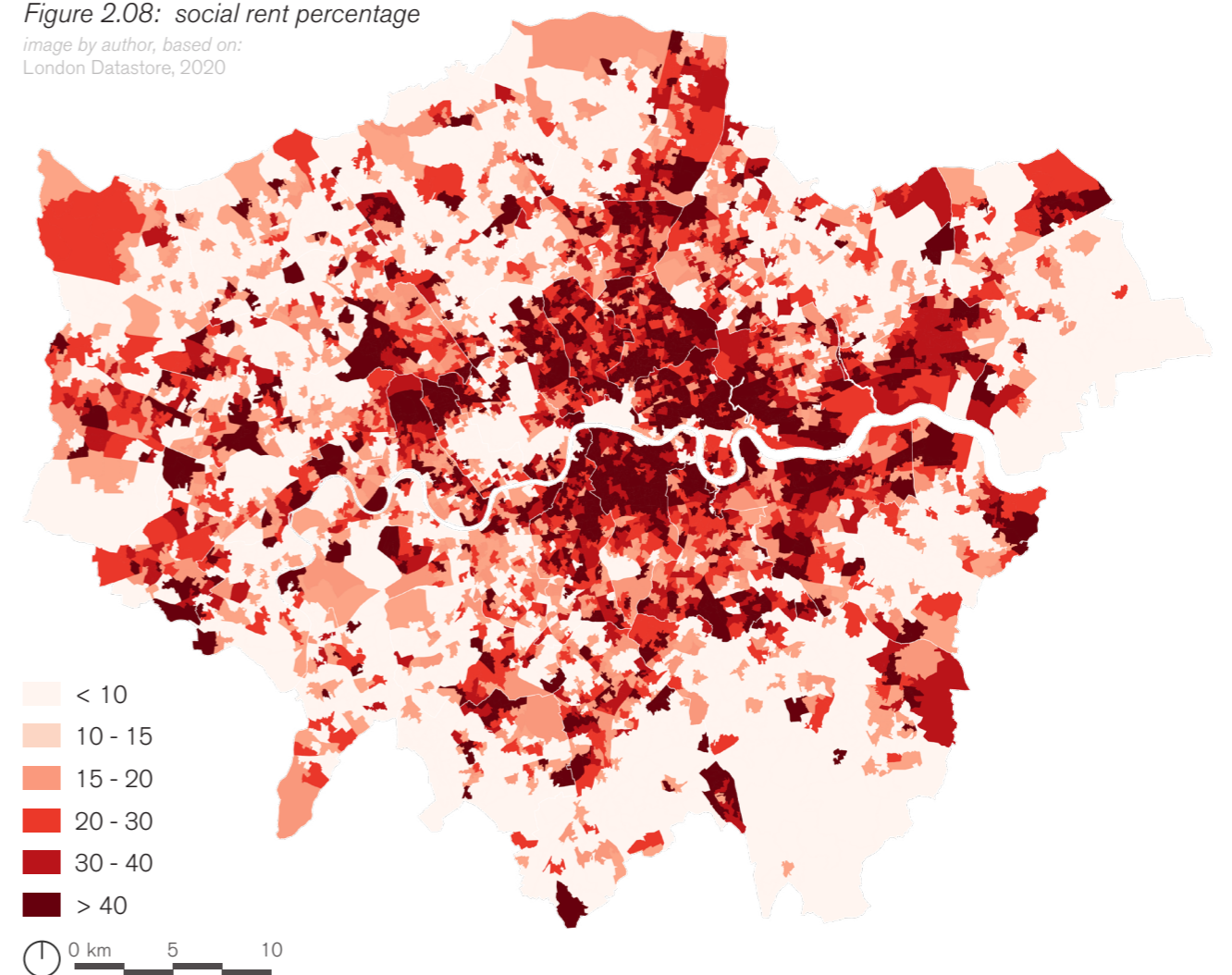
The housing crisis is gripping London, and social housing seems to be persecuted. This paragraph elaborates on social housing in the housing crisis. The United Kingdom has been a pioneer in social housing, especially in the post-war decades (Rolnik, 2019). Current generations, however, are unable the access social housing which had been accessible for earlier generations by a vast decline in supply (Edwards, 2016). The previously mentioned Right To Buy system handed tenants the opportunity to buy their house with a large discount, between 33 and 55 per cent of their value (Rolnik, 2019). The privatisation originated by Thatcher's government in the 1980s continued through the years. The governments of Blair, Brown and Livingstone did transmit some public money into social housing production (Edwards, 2016), but it was not enough to keep pace with losses from the privatisation processes. Recently, publicly housing is switching to 'affordable housing', with much higher rents (Just Space, 2014).

Grants for social rent housing from the central government have been decreasing since the application the Housing and Planning Bill of the Conservative Government (House of Commons, 2016), assaulting the remaining social housing stock and the guaranteed tenure and affordability (Hodkinson & Robbins, 2013). The poor security, short leases and poor health and safety conditions are causing a severe tenure insecurity (Rolnik, 2019). London Plans set targets for the creation of social and 'affordable' homes (GLA, 2016), but failed to keep pace with the demand (Edwards, 2016). The London Plan (2016) aims at creating mix-used areas, but that does not effectively serve vulnerable and disadvantages families.

London's housing market is becoming increasingly socially polarized with a prosperous owner occupied sector and distressed social rented sector (Hamnett, 2004). This movement from publicly to privately owned and the upcoming of private rent would bring social housing one step closer to disappearance (Beswick et al., 2016).

Figure 2.08: social rent percentage

image by author, based on:
London Datastore, 2020



Stigmatisation

Social housing has become housing of 'last resort' (Spence, 1993). People would not want to reside or even visit social housing areas through the negative image on social housing. It is the result of years of stigmatisation. During this graduation project, the author wrote a theoretical review paper on stigmatisation of social housing in London. This section gives a summary of the paper, the complete paper can be found in Appendix 1. The paper first introduces stigma and recognized two types of stigma: socio-spatial stigma and political stigma. It discusses the influence of stigma on the decline of social housing.

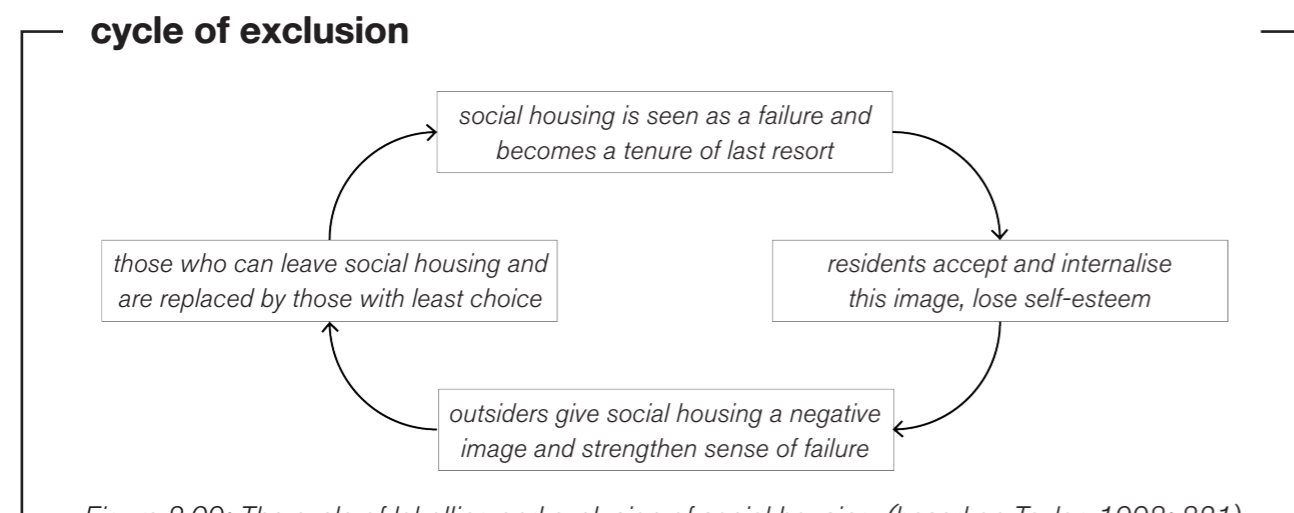
Neoliberal planning aimed to regenerate the urban environment, removing crime and disorder. It was assumed that quality of life and income levels of the local population would rise through regeneration, but in practice it increased inequality and reduced the amount of social housing (Campkin, 2013). In Western European cities, social housing became a symbol of failure. It was seen as a tenure of 'last resort', creating a problem image on the areas (Power, 1998). Most social housing in the United Kingdom was built after WWII, when there was a high demand. They were mainly concentrated in large, modernistic, estates. These well thought-out areas currently have the worst image, which lead to a stigma. Stigma plays a distinct role in a spiral of decay, intensifying the already existing problems (Wassenberg, 2004).

Stigmatisation defined as "The action of describing or regarding someone or something as worthy of disgrace or great disapproval". In the subject

of social housing stigma two types are recognized. Socio-spatial stigma is the stigma that the residents and the community obtain for living in social housing, as well as stigma on an estate. Political stigma is understood as structural stigmatisation by authorities.

Housing stigma is a severe problem in cities. Social housing is seen as a cause of crime, social disorder, and welfare dependency due to its characteristics and its residents (Jacobs & Flanagan, 2013). Problem images on social housing estates originated in the 1930s when they were created as a slum clearance. These images deteriorated through crime, drug problems, and social disorder (Dean & Hastings, 2003). Even though the internal image of the area is improving through regeneration, the external image is still based on simple, outdated stereotypes (Wassenberg, 2004).

Hastings (2004) recognized three steps in the creation of stigma on social housing. First, actors respond to images, which can be simple reactions to an estate's image such as not visiting the area. Second, actors shape images, placing certain people or areas in a positive or negative light. Third, actors challenge images, being involved in activities to tackle a negative image. The majority of the actors respond to and shape images, rather than challenging them. There is a major stigmatic ignorance on social housing by external actors, stigmatising the estates and its residents based on out-dated stereotypes and generalisations, and unwilling to gain knowledge or insight on the actual situation.



The negative image on social housing is causing an increasing polarisation between good and bad areas, with a spatial concentration of a 'poor underclass' (Wassenberg, 2004). This is affecting the educational, economic, and social opportunities of the residents (Hastings, 2004). Residents of these estates are being seen as scum or dross, as soon as they explain where they come from (Hastings, 2004). They are being stigmatized, just for living in a stigmatized neighbourhood. Stigma increases inequality and exclusion from services and opportunities, displayed in Figure 5.4. It is difficult to get rid of a stigma, and only regeneration of the neighbourhood is not sufficient to shift the negative reputation. Regeneration investment mainly consists of gentrification, leading to displacement and social polarisation (Dean & Hastings, 2003). An important step in getting rid of a negative image is the development of confidence and capacity of the estate and residents themselves. The estates need to generate momentum (Taylor, 1998). Although this step can be done from bottom-up, the help of authorities is still crucial in this process.

The help that social housing residents and estates need is not always given by authorities. Stigmatisation is not only performed by individuals, also by the state. Tyler & Slater (2018) claim that stigma should be revised as a bureaucratized form of violence, regularly stimulated from above. Neoliberal governance attempted to manage the behaviour of society through stigma strategies which indoctrinate humiliation and shame (Tyler & Slater, 2018). Stigmatisation by authorities also takes place in London. London estates suffer from disinvestment and increased ignorance as they await demolition in regeneration processes (Watt, 2020). The state, GLA and local boroughs show a support for private investors and a withdrawal of social welfare support (Tyler & Slater, 2018). Stigma on the so-called 'sink estates' have caused a major reduction in subsidies for social housing and policies prioritising disadvantaged groups. The underinvestment created a large reduction in the social housing stock (Jacobs & Flanagan, 2013).

There is a mismatch between the image on the estate and the real situation. The stigma of a 'large underclass' of people 'trapped' in social housing estates with dreadful conditions has caused a vast

reduction of funds (Tyler & Slater, 2018). Stigma needs to be made explicit to generate discussions, but paradoxically, by making it explicit, the negative images can be reinforced and internalised (Jacobs & Flanagan, 2013).

Challenging negative images and stereotypes is essential in any solution. It would require significant change to the status quo from the top to the bottom line (Jacobs & Flanagan, 2013). First, stigma has to be made explicit, without creating a negative spiral of increasing stigma. Second, the quality of the buildings and its surroundings should increase, to attract people and services to the area (Jacobs & Flanagan, 2013). An increase of services and diversity would make an area more attractive for outsiders to visit, and these outsiders are the ones with the most severe stigma on social housing areas. However, with an increase of quality there is always the danger of an increase of value and competition. Therefore, it needs to be assured that a sufficient amount of social housing will remain, a process authorities should control.

The main issues of social housing stigma are the ignorance of authorities and lack of knowledge on the estates of outsiders. It would be desirable if authorities acknowledge the benefits of social housing as a tenure delivering shelter and security for the lower income class population, which could lead to an increase of funding. This funding can be used to enhance the buildings and its surroundings. On top of that, social housing estates should build confidence and social capital; should build new relationships with outsiders; and jobs and assets should be developed that bring money and people to the estates. Through campaigns, funding, and a strong community the relationship with outsiders and the media can be enhanced, creating opportunities and tackling stigma. The creation of community developments trusts and community regenerations organisations has been a good start in tackling stigma. A strong community creates responsibility for the residents, and the self-awareness they are able to be independent. Together with an improvement of the buildings and surroundings of social housing estates, stigma could be brought to a hold.

Inequality

Poverty and inequality in London remain severe (Trust for London, 2020). Cities seem to have a tendency towards inequality. Large cities, like London, produce disparities from neighbourhood to neighbourhood (Travers et al., 2016). The housing crisis is increasing inequality and social polarization (King, 1990). Central in this divergence is that cities tend to only extend several components of the city, mainly successful areas of corporate city life (Higgins et al., 2014). Economic factors seem to have to most influence in decision making, bringing the rich to the inner city and the urban poor to the outskirts, a process called suburbanization of poverty (Edwards, 2016). Spatial inequality and polarization are key economic and social problems whose multidisciplinary impacts consolidate on the themes of health, education, and community safety (Higgins et al., 2014).

Inequality between homeowners and non-homeowners is higher when taking into account housing costs, especially in London. The housing crisis is enhancing wealth at the top of the ladder by the inflation of value, while blocking people to get on the ladder at the bottom end (Travers et al., 2016). London is more and more characterized as a city where wealthy people and firms locate, and less as a successful city. The city has a relatively low score on Quality of Life (Higgins et al., 2014). Every London borough obtained a QOL score, which demonstrates the inequality in the city. Barking and Dagenham score 0.17 out of 1, whereas Richmond scores 0.84.

London Plans (GLA, 2011; GLA, 2016; GLA, 2021) set goals to bridge the gap between rich and poor and to tackle illiteracy and youthful poverty, because they are harmful on itself, but also because they lead to criminal disorder. These goals are not particularly supported with policies to address inequity, rather with policies for regeneration and gentrification (Higgins et al., 2014). Regeneration has become an important symbol for urban development in London. It was assumed quality of life and income levels will rise through regeneration. In practice, it increased inequality and reduced the amount of social housing (Campkin, 2013). Regeneration often increased disruption and even dispersal of local communities (Edwards,

2016). In transformations towards a cleaner and more orderly city, London has gone through processes akin to abjection. These processes often result in displacement those who are intended to benefit (Campkin, 2013).

Regeneration and gentrification often accompany dispossession and displacement of the local population with significant social costs (Hamnett, 2004). Across the world economy accumulation provokes dispossession (Harvey, 2003). The financialisation of housing reinforced the marginalization, exclusion, displacement, disempowerment, and oppression of the population (Brenner et al., 2011). Market-led regeneration rather fragments the city it sets out to cohere, causing high tensions (Hamnett, 2004). Development strategies strive towards an utopian city of steel, glass and granite, denying the need for the ordinary, and therefore displacing degradation to the periphery (Campkin, 2013).

Right to the City

London's neoliberal system is inconsistent in its production of the goods, mainly through financialising certain goods (Rolnik, 2019). Residents are unable to make use of their *right to the city*, which is a right for people to co-create the city (Lefebvre, 1968), an unitary right to necessities for a decent life, such as right to housing, mobility, democratic participation, etc. (Brenner et al., 2011). The right to the city is concerned with those who do not have it (Marcuse, 2009a). A moral claim, based on principles of justice, ethics, morality, virtue - principles of the good. Needs of the disadvantaged should be considered and human differences be recognised (Marcuse, 2009a).

The neoliberal commodification of the urban environment should be reduced, searching for democratic, socially just and sustainable forms of urbanism (Brenner et al., 2011). An alternative for capitalism is complex, given the proven power of the established system. Marcuse (2009a) suggests finding sectors that are not motivated by economic growth but rely on solidarity and humanity, tightening the noose around the housing system, squeezing the profit out of it, sector by sector.

Figure 2.10: Deprivation Index

image by author, based on:
Higgins et al., 2014
London Datastore, 2020

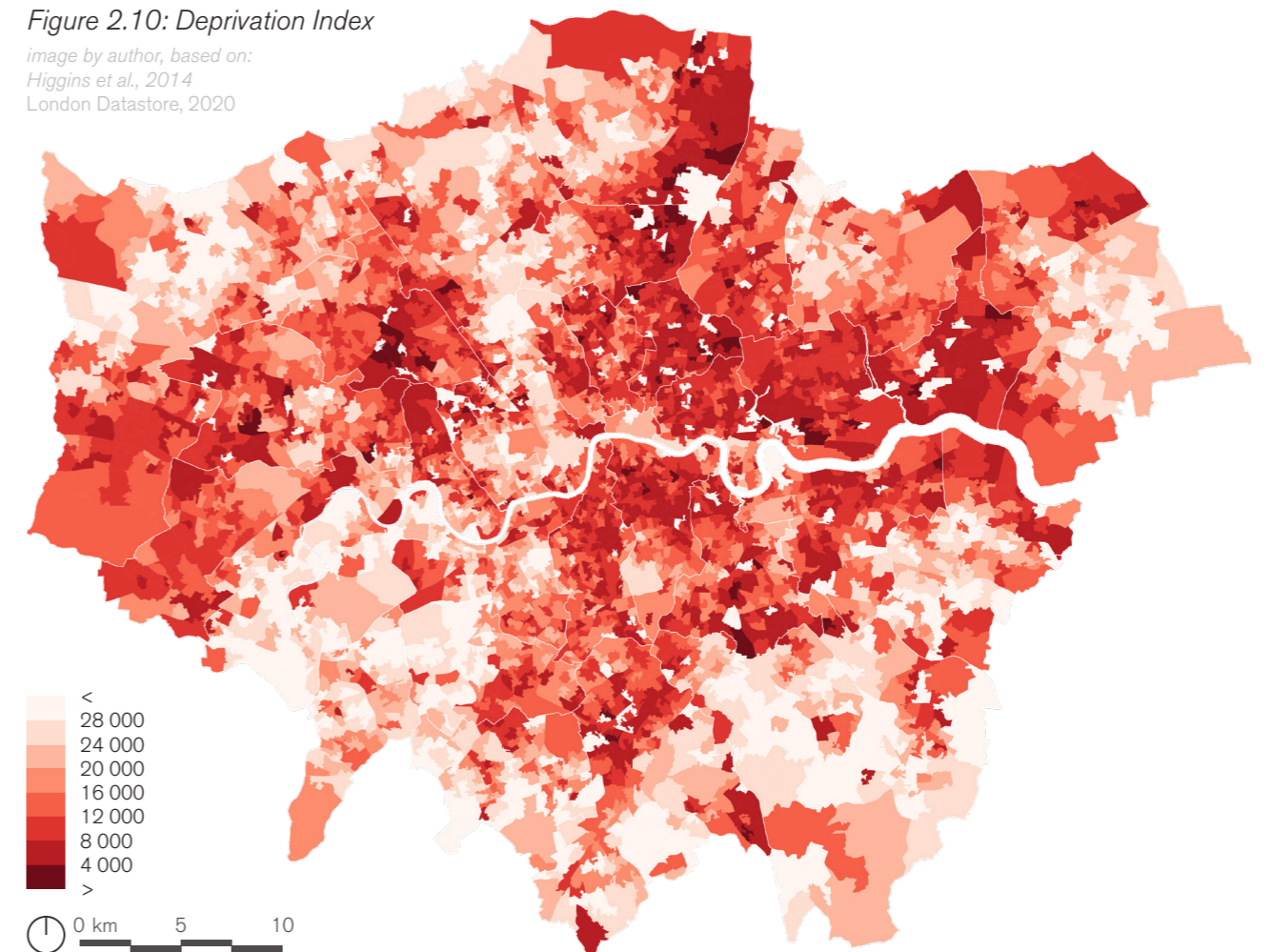
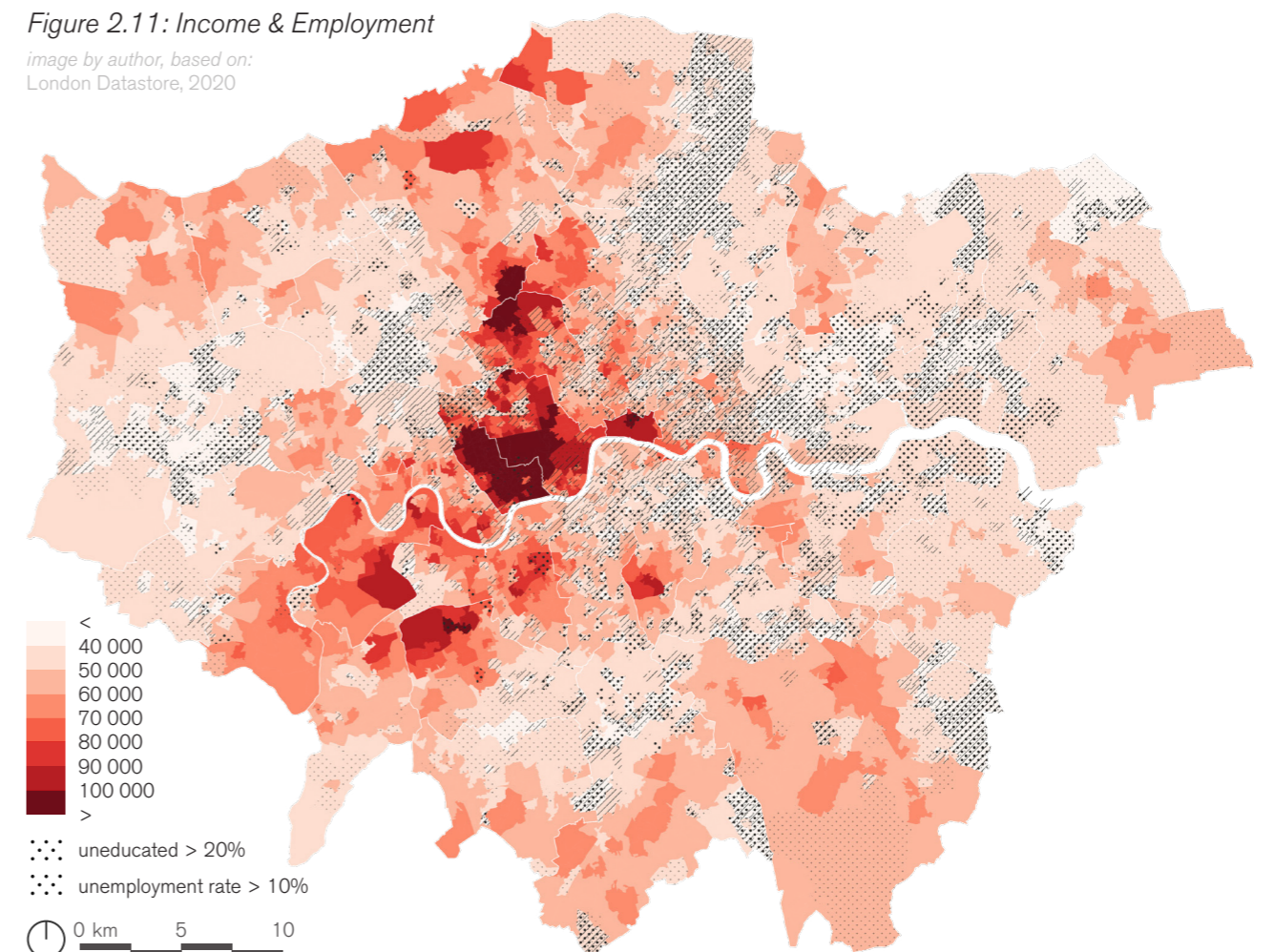


Figure 2.11: Income & Employment

image by author, based on:
London Datastore, 2020



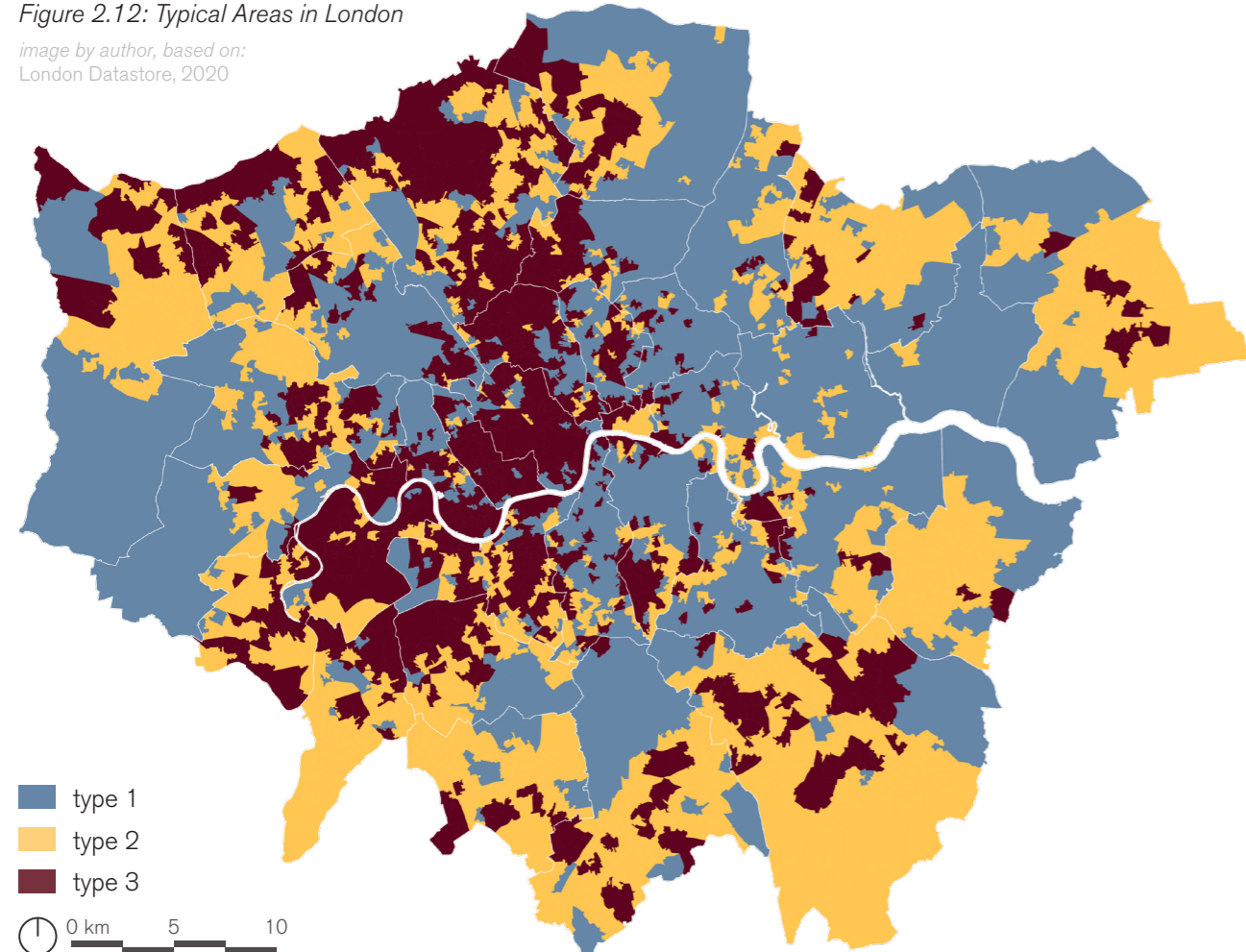
A Scattered City

London is a fragmented city due to its scattered settlements and unequal development. The maps in this chapter demonstrate this scattered image. High and low incomes, housing prices, deprivation, and qualities of life are intertwined in the city. The neighbourhoods with the best quality of life are located next to the most deprived ones. The same goes for household, tenure and dwelling types. However, within this scatteredness there are patterns to be found.

The MHCLG (2020) created data on Indices of Multiple Deprivation. The map seems to be opposite of the house prices: the lower the house prices, the higher the deprivation. The most deprived areas have the lowest quality of life scores (Higgins et al., 2014). The most deprived areas are also the areas with the lowest well-being score, lowest incomes, highest BAME percentage, most unemployed and uneducated people. With this data, London can be divided into three typical areas, displayed in figure 2.12.

Figure 2.12: Typical Areas in London

image by author, based on:
London Datastore, 2020



type 1 - high deprivation; low incomes; low house prices; negative well-being score; high unemployment rate; most uneducated people; high ethnic diversity; mainly flats in inner London and terraced housing in outer London ; social rented or owned with mortgage via Right to Buy.

type 2 - low deprivation; average incomes; average house prices; positive well-being score; low unemployment rate; middle class couples with or without dependant children; mainly flats in inner London and semi-detached houses in outer London; privately rented or owned with mortgage.

type 3 - low deprivation; high incomes; average house prices; positive well-being score; low unemployment rate; low ethnic diversity; privately rented flats in inner London and detached houses that are owned with outright in outer London.

Conclusion

This chapter recognizes the drivers and effects of the problems that are occurring in London. London has been an open city since medieval times, which is now captured by international capital. Neoliberalism and internationalization reinforced the free market. The free market created a competition for land and skyrocketing land values and housing prices. Housing transformed from a social good to a financial asset, neoliberal policies saw homeownership as the solution. The financialisation of housing and privatisation of property brought London into a severe housing crisis. Social housing is persecuted in this crisis, the security and shelter of the tenancy is firmly pressured. Economic factors seem to have the most influence in decision making, bringing the rich to the inner city and the urban poor to the outskirts, a process called suburbanization of poverty.

Regeneration has become an important symbol for urban development in London. It was assumed quality of life and income levels will rise through regeneration. In practice, it increased inequality and reduced the amount of social housing. Social housing estates are demolished for regeneration and gentrification, with dispossession and displacement lurking for the urban poor. This process is supported by the stigmatisation of the estates and its population. There is a major stigmatic ignorance on social housing by external actors, stigmatising the estates and its residents based on out-dated stereotypes and generalisations, and unwilling to gain knowledge or insight on the actual situation.

The actual situation of social housing is worrying. Regeneration is fragmenting the city it sets out to cohere, and market-led developments are striving towards an utopian city of steel, glass and granite, displacing the ordinary to the periphery. London has become a theatre for international capital, its fortunes decided by forces over which it has little control. A continuation in the same direction would create a survival of the financially fittest, degrading the city as a right is transforming into a city of opportunity and possibility. The following chapter will define the project focus within this complex and devastating problem field.



Figure 2.14:
It WAS a lovely community
Barrington-Bush, 2014

3 Project Definition

Introduction

The project definition works as a guiding tool for this graduation project. It forms a framework for making decisions and justifying the steps that are taken. This framework is set up through the research canvas by Latham (2014). This framework first gets the 'T' in the canvas right, which means setting up the problem, research purpose, research question, and conceptual framework. Afterwards, it finalizes the canvas by developing the 'U', which consists of a literature review, an overall approach, data collection, data analysis and drawing conclusions. This canvas guides the writer to create his methodology, and this methodology thereafter works as a guiding tool for the writer through the graduation project.

Stephen Covey (1989) wrote a book on seven habits of highly effective people:

- 1 *be proactive* - take responsibility for your reaction to your experiences
- 2 *begin with the end in mind* - envision what you want in the future so you can work and plan towards it
- 3 *first things first* - seek what is important and what is urgent, prioritise
- 4 *think win-win* - seek for mutually beneficial solutions or agreements in your relationships
- 5 *seek first to understand, then to be understood* - use empathetic listening to genuinely understand a person, which compels them to reciprocate the listening and take an open mind to be influenced by you
- 6 *synergize* - combine the strengths of people through positive teamwork
- 7 *sharpen the saw* - balance and renew your resources, energy, and health to create a sustainable, long-term, effective lifestyle

The methodology shows convention with these rules. The chapter contains an aim and intended outcome, what connects to habit 2, begin with the end in mind. Habit 5, seek first to understand, then to be understood, emphasizes the importance to first understand the problem and who and what is involved, before suggesting concepts and solutions. Just as these two habits, the other five are relatable as well. The seven habits resemble what the methodology is for. All in all, the methodology chapter should give an understanding of the process of the graduation project. It explains the taken steps and supports the writer to keep track and focus.

First, the focus of the thesis is set up in the problem statement, which is constructed out of a broader problem field. This is followed by the research questions and research aim. These three elements reason the intended output. All theories and concepts are put together in a conceptual framework, showing how they relate. Afterwards, the proposed research approach is explained. The chapter concludes with a summary, research limitations, ethical considerations, and relevance.

Problem Statement

“ **Neoliberalism** reinforced a process of **financialisation** of housing and **privatisation** of property, which transformed housing from a **social good** to a **financial asset**. Land values and housing prices skyrocketed, resulting in a severe housing crisis. Social housing is **neglected** by authorities and **stigmatised** by society. Local, low-income residents are dispossessed and **displaced**, and social housing is close to **disappearance**. London has become a **fragmented** and **unequal** city, with an **unbalanced governance**. The power of the private investors induces that residents cannot make use of their **right to the city**. To recover the right to the city for all residents and to counteract the displacement and dispossession, a shift has to be made towards **a revival of the social housing community**, providing **secure tenure** and **quality housing** for the entire population.

“ How could
Planning
be used to
Revive
the
Social Housing Community
of the
Gascoigne Estate?

Research Questions

This project is done from an urbanism perspective. To investigate what role planning can play in the revival of social housing, the following research question is composed: *How can planning can be used to revive a social housing community of the Gascoigne Estate?* The research will be done through three steps of critical planning by Marcuse (2009b): expose, propose, politicize. Expose, the first step, reveals the problems that occur in a certain situation and which actors are affected. Propose means with the affected actors to create a proposal to achieve the desired results. Politicize is clarifying the political implication of step one and two and its reasoning. The research approach will elaborate on these steps. Seven sub-questions are subdivided under the three steps, supporting the main research question, displayed below.

Expose

What is the current state of social housing in London?

What is the current planning system and governance structure in London?

What is the current state of the Gascoigne Estate?

Propose

What are alternative, affordable housing concepts that empower the social housing community?

How could these alternative housing concepts be implemented in the Gascoigne Estate?

Politicize

How could design empower the social housing community?

How could design empower the implementation of the alternative housing concepts?

Research Aim

Social housing has served as a construction that delivers security and shelter for those who cannot afford to buy a house or privately rent themselves (Jacobs & Flanagan, 2013). The current housing crisis and pressure on social housing in London are causing severe inequalities and danger that the city is not able to provide adequate housing for the urban poor. Therefore, this project aims to revive social housing. Its most important goals are improving the quality of social housing and provide tenure security.

The project investigates alternative housing concepts that deliver social housing in a more empowering way, giving residents a seat at the table in decision making. Through planning the

project attempts to mediate decision makers to revise their policies and regulations towards social housing, separating the tenancy from the affordable housing policies. Furthermore, the project introduces bottom-up planning tools for the local community, giving them more responsibility.

Besides the major goals, the project attempts to contribute to a balanced governance triangle, battling stigmatisation on social housing estates and raising awareness to their actual needs and demands. Moreover, it aims to contribute to recovering the right to the city for all residents and reducing inequality in the city of London, transforming it from a fragmented to an inclusive city.

aim



goals



contributing to



Figure 3.01: aim, goals & contributions

Intended Outcome

The intended outcome of this project is a roadmap towards revival for the social housing community, with interventions on the social, spatial and governance domain. The roadmap will contain an implementation of an alternative housing concept with an accessory toolbox for the community for reclaiming control. A process timeline places the actions and tools in time, with a focus on the spatial domain.

The roadmap is supported by a People's Plan and a Vision. These two design elements represent the essential interventions that are needed to obtain quality housing and secure tenure. The designs must have formal and informal translations, to make it tangible for all actors, and making it possible to use the design as both an internal communicative tool towards the residents, as an external communicative tool towards decision makers, aiming to show alternative ways of dealing with existing social housing estates.

The Role of the Urbanist

The design proposal summarizes the role of the urbanist: working with various actors from decision makers to the local community, implementing planning tools and using design as a tool to create a public sphere and public goods. Urbanism has the ability to function as a tool for reasoning and public justification, with equal contributions by all members of society (Rocco, 2020b).

In this process, the urbanist is able to design spaces, mediate decision makers and give local communities a voice, as shown in figure 3.02. For this graduation project, it also works as a focus point. It is done from an urbanist perspective, not from the eye of an economist, a politician, or a local resident. The role of the urbanist shows what planning can do in the revival of social housing.

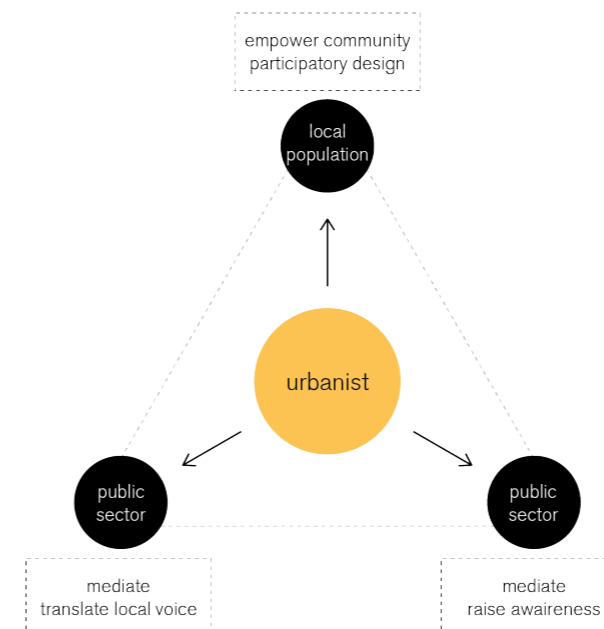


Figure 3.02: The Role of the Urbanist

Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework presents the key concepts of this graduation project. It contains the line of reasoning from the problem statement to the intended outcome.

Problem Statement - The problem statement summarizes the major issues from the problem field that are causing the pressure on social housing.

Triple Pressure - Social housing is pressured from all actors of the governance triangle: by the public sector through gentrification, by the private sector through financialisation and by the civil society by stigmatisation.

Alternative Housing Concepts - In order to challenge the pressures on social housing, this graduation project investigates alternative housing concepts in order to achieve tenure security and quality housing. The two concepts are a community land trust and a mutual homeownership society. From these two tenure models, a CLT growth model will be introduced to implement in the project location. The housing concepts and implementation are explained in chapter 7 and 8.

Right to the City - The housing concepts contribute to the right to the city paradigm (Lefebvre, 1968), that is explained in chapter 2.

Design proposal - Design is a tool to create public goods, justify decisions, and visualize conclusions and recommendations. The intended outcome of this project is both an internal and an external design proposal. A People's Plan uses a gradation of space and priority-difficulty matrix to implement the essential interventions on a modular and transparent way, functioning as an internal communicative tool. A Vision translates the interventions, based on goals and design principles, into a spatial framework that functions as an external communicative tool.

Revival of the Social Housing Community - The revival would be achieved when the residents reclaimed control over their lives, without being dispossessed and displaced by authorities or developers.

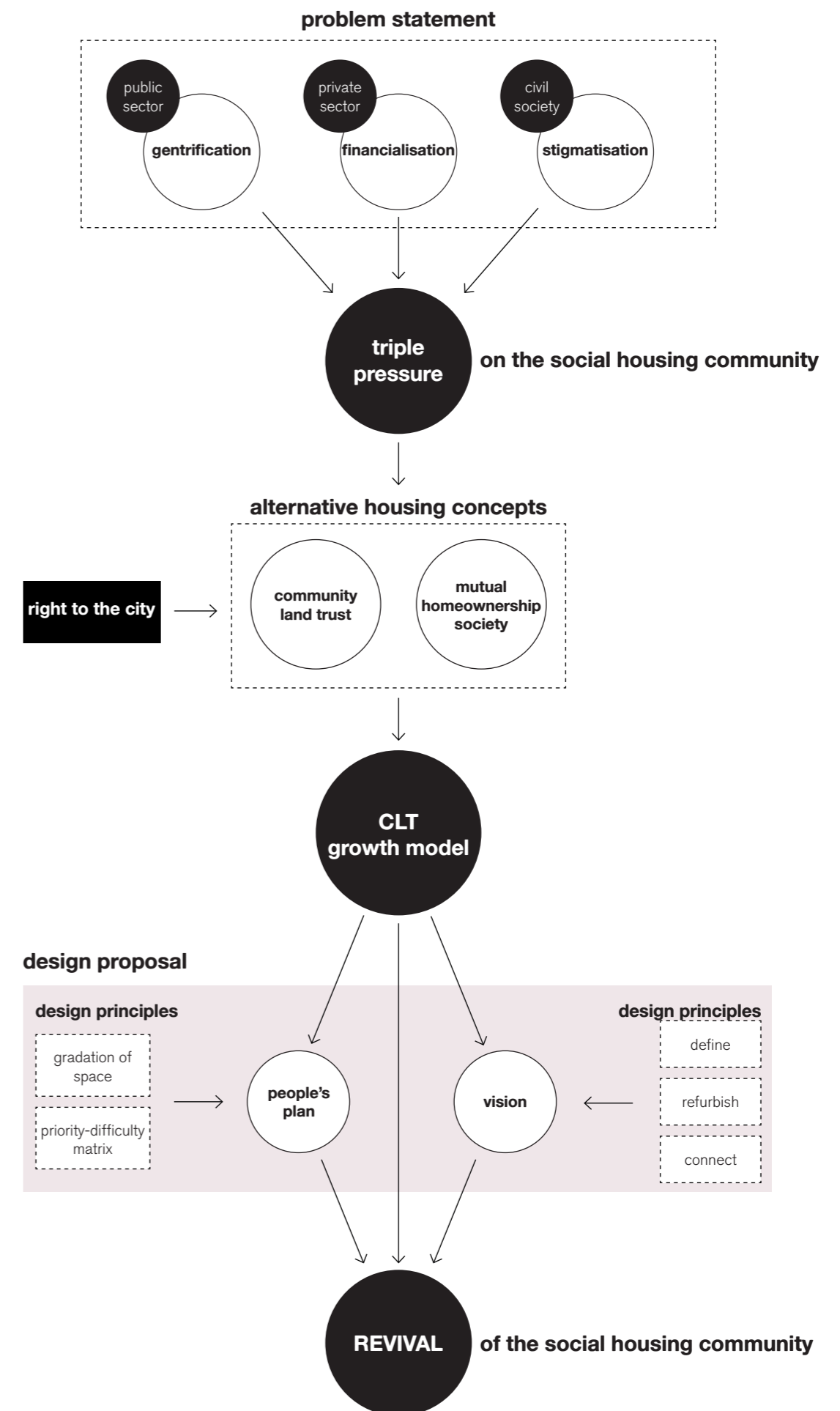


Figure 3.03
Conceptual Framework

Research Approach

Worldview

As mentioned in the introduction, this methodology chapter is related to the seven habits of highly effective people by Covey (1989). One of these habits is to begin with the end in mind. This is what will be done before choosing mixed methods, the research looks how to research based on the intended outcomes. The project is done with a pragmatic worldview, with elements of the transformative worldview (Calabrese, 2020a). It is not committed to one philosophy or reality and therefore uses a more pluralistic approach. When designing with real residents, it works best when it is real-world practice oriented, with the problem positioned centrally. The project focuses on injustice and unequal power-relationships, which follows the line of inquiry of urbanism.

General Approach

The project is approached using mixed methods, both quantitative as qualitative (Calabrese, 2020a). The research is considered as an applied research, since it will be carried out for a specific situation and location (Calabrese, 2020b). The research will therefore contain conclusions and solutions based on the situation and location. However, the conclusions will be strategic, and thus could be implemented at similar locations. In constructing the design proposal the project will contain deductive reasoning, using general theories and concepts on a specific situation. The majority of the analysis however, is based on inductive reasoning, aiming to create general concepts and theories based on the specific location (Calabrese, 2020b). The problem field and spatial analysis are mainly descriptive analysis, where problems will be exposed. The second step of the project aims to explore and experiment with planning tools and alternative concepts for social housing and governance. The exploratory phase follows up the descriptive phase.

Specific Approach

Next to the general approach, this project has a specific research approach. This project will be approached through three questions, which are combined with the three steps of critical planning by Marcuse (2009b). The three questions are explained in the following sections, the three steps at the research questions. It leads to the research approach in the figure 3.04, which forms the base for the methodology framework in figure 3.05

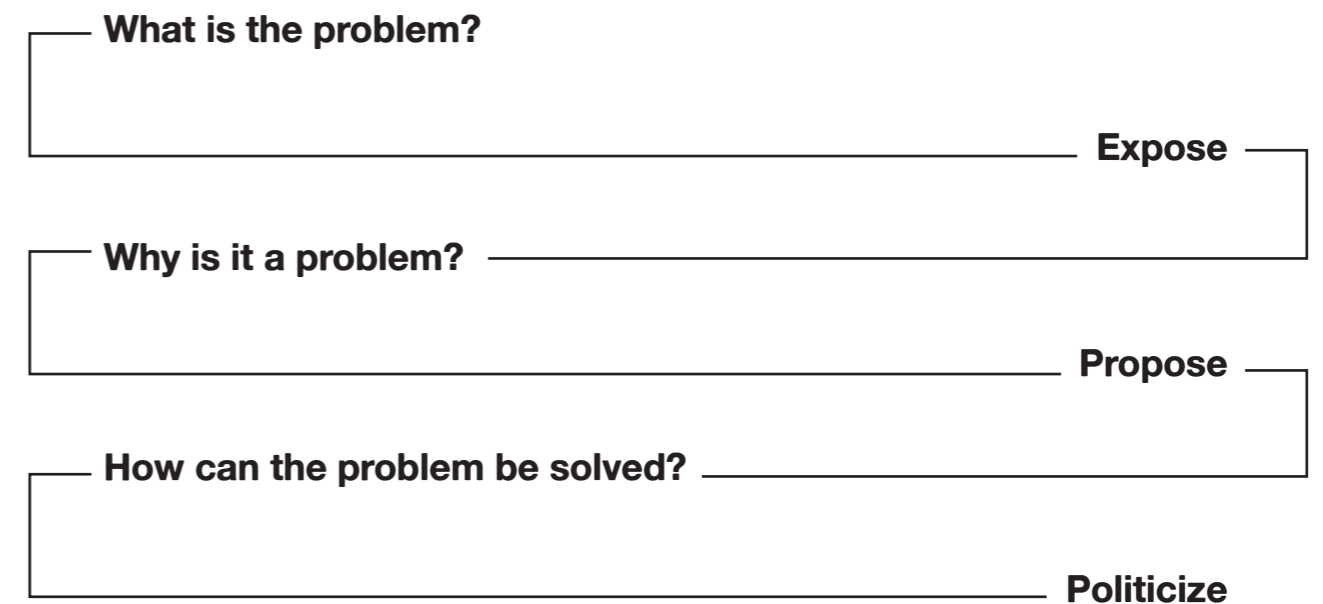


Figure 3.04
Research Approach

Methodological Framework

What is the problem?

The starting point for the project is an orientation, arising from personal interest and motivation, and cultural and educational background. The orientation functions to find a problem to tackle in this project. This problem is elaborated in a broad problem field. This problem field is set up by literature, mainly using deductive reasoning. It forms a body of knowledge with theories and principles. Within this problem field, the problem focus will be determined and illustrated in the problem statement. To tackle the problem statement, the research question and aim are set up, as well as an intended outcome.

Why is the problem happening?

When having determined the problem statement, it should be exposed why this problem is happening. The purpose of the second question is to unravel the current system to acknowledge the critical burdens that need to be solved towards composing a solution. The roots of the problem will be analyzed through various methods, which are displayed in the table. The methods are divided in three types: analytical, theoretical, and empirical. The analytical methods use existing data to extract trends and draw conclusions. Theoretical methods are used to review existing data to gain insight on the topic and project location and to justify decisions and solutions. Empirical research means generating new data, used to gain insight and obtain multiple perspectives (Romein, 2020). The methods aim to clarify the roots of the problem working towards a suitable solution, so that the affected groups can make use of it. Appendix 3 shows an elaborate scheme on the explanation of the methods and the relation to the research questions.

How can the problem be solved?

After exposing the problem and its drivers, the project works with the affected actors to create a proposal to achieve a desired alternative (Marcuse, 2009b). The proposal mainly based on design. Design methods aim to explore and experiment, generating new insights (Van Dooren et al., 2013). The designs produces final products that work as a communicative tool towards the actors, which is the third step of critical planning: politicize. Politicizing is about clarifying the political implication of step one and two and its reasoning (Marcuse, 2009b).

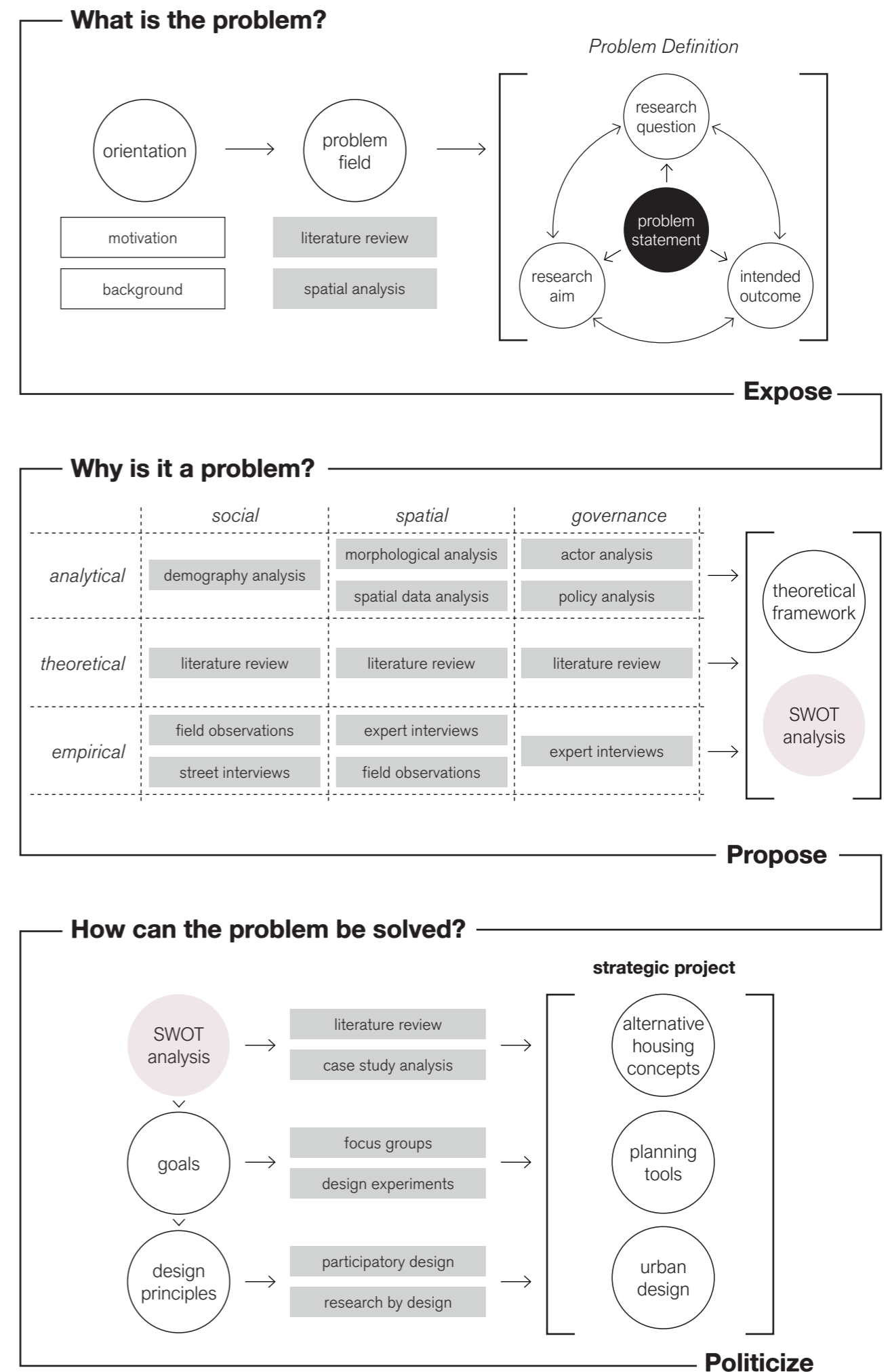
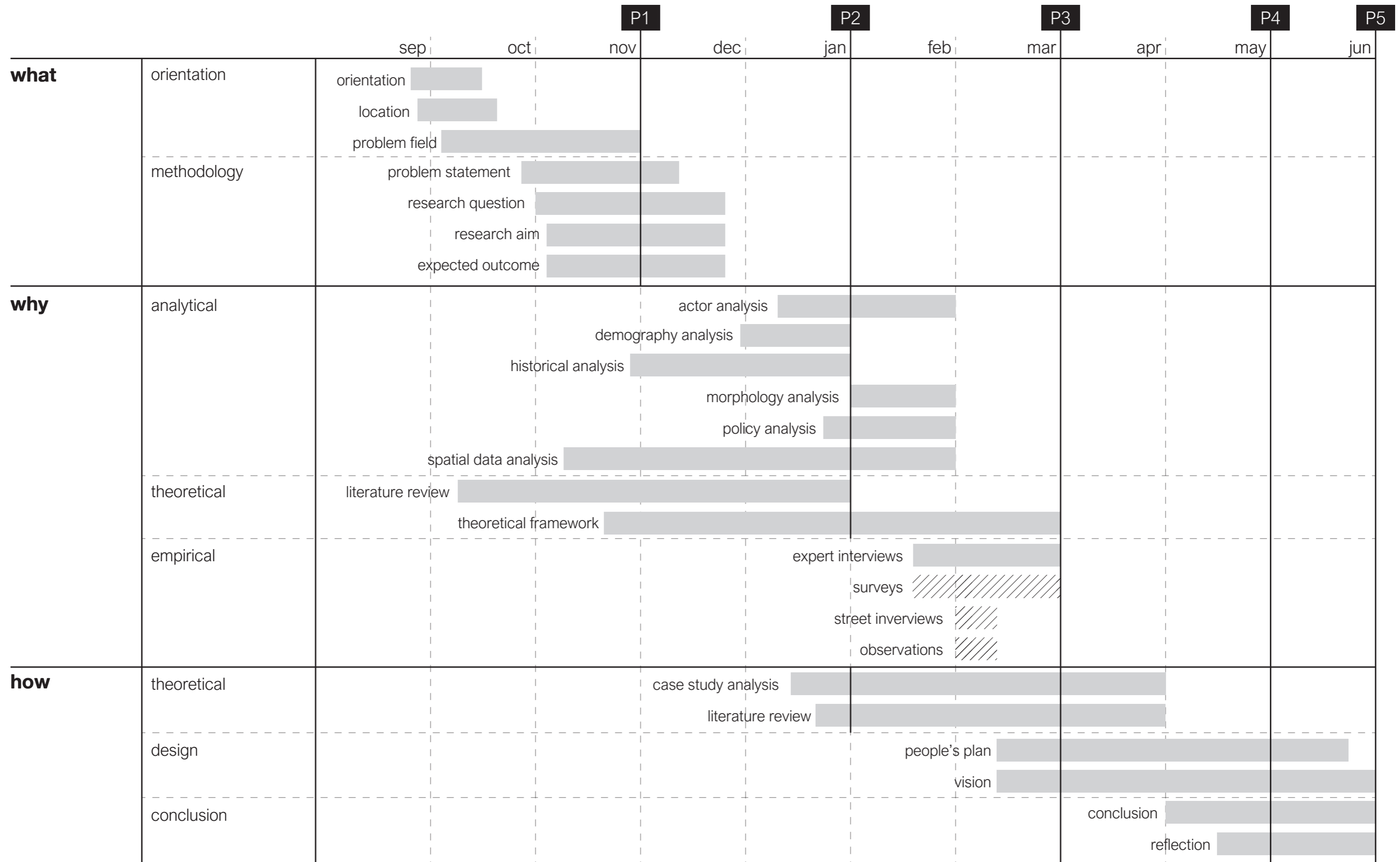


Figure 3.05
Methodological Framework

Timeline



4 Social Housing in London

Derelict London, 2018

Introduction

Social housing is a type of tenure that gives security and shelter to households who are unable to access the private sector. Historically, the UK provided social rents through council housing: local authorities built and managed the homes. More recently, the responsibility is shifting to Registered Social Landlords (RSLs), which are semi-independent and not-for-profit housing associations (UWE, 2008). Council housing came into existence because the private sector was unable to ensure good quality housing for all, and state intervention was required. Social housing was part of two major objectives: the need for more houses and the need to replace slum areas of cities. Both objectives were prioritized by the government at different moments in time, their policies and regulations have influenced the amount and quality of social housing (UWE 2008).

Chapter 2 explained the current situation of social housing in the Housing Crisis, analysing current trends and literature. This chapter dives into the history of social housing in the UK, unravelling important events and finding the roots of the problems. After that, it explains current trends in social housing in policy documents, literature and newspapers. The difference between social housing and affordable housing will be explained. Lastly, the situation of social housing is made spatial in maps, exposing critical elements to take into consideration in the proposal.



*Figure 4.01
These People Need Homes,
These Homes Need People
Brown, 2015*

History of Social Housing in the UK

Low-income households and starters have problems entering the housing ladder (Travers et al., 2016). However, the process of exclusion from the housing ladder does not only happen nowadays. It was actually this process which created social housing in the first place. On the end of the 19th century, only the richest people could afford to buy a home in London (UWE, 2008). Low-income households lived in poor housing conditions. An increasing population caused overcrowding in high density unorganised neighbourhoods, which were large issues for public health. Furthermore, private housing was too expensive and homes in suburbs too far away for working class families.

The government created multiple Housing Acts to increase the quality and affordability of homes. The Housing for the Working Classes Act in 1890 attempted to build and regulate common homes that catered for those in most need (UWE, 2008). Since this act, local authorities began to build housing estates for the working class. However, the priority of the councils was to clear slum areas, which on balance decreased the amount of affordable housing. After the First World War, housing became the first priority of the councils. It was necessary, the country faced an acute shortage of housing. The government felt responsibility in providing these homes, with a promise of homes fit for heroes for the returning soldiers.

The Housing and Town Planning Act of 1919 was the basis for the provision of council housing. The government gave subsidies to councils

to build and manage housing. Planners promoted suburban garden estates, with a low density and own services and amenities. The creation of these estates went on through the 1920s and 1930s. Most of these estates provided good quality housing for the working classes, but did not provide housing for the poorer people. Therefore, in the Housing Act of 1930, the priority shifted back to slum clearance of inner city slums, to replace them with new council housing, with a lower quality standard than the garden estate. Slums were mainly replaced by flats (UWE, 2008).

The housing shortage after WWII was even more severe than after WWI, mainly due to the heavy bombing of cities. About 150,000 prefab houses were built in a short time, but still there was a shortage and a soaring waiting list. Just as before the war, local authorities took the lead in creating social housing, which doubled the amount of council housing, with a quarter of the population living in council homes in 1960. At the same time, London still had large slum areas with poor living conditions. The clearance of slums restarted after the war, and were replaced by new peripheral estates. These estates consisted of mid storey tower blocks. It seemed the ideal solution at the time, but the concept was largely criticised due to its poor quality. Most of the estates became hard to let and hard to live in only a decade after they were constructed. This is where the negative image on social housing started to rise, creating a stigma on the estates.

In the 1970s the local authorities focussed on repairing the current stock rather than building new homes. A hard pill for councils was the introduction of the Right to Buy in the Housing Act of 1980. The Right to Buy gave tenants the option to buy their property with a discount of over 50% (MHCLG, 2018). Councils were forced to sell their homes to the tenants and the amount of council homes shrunk from 840,000 in 1984 to 500,000 in 2000 (MHCLG, 2018). The majority of the homes bought by Right to Buy were houses rather than flats. Since the turn of the century policies changes and Right to Buy schemes were tightened. However, it does still exist. In 2018, still 16,000 council homes were sold, which is around 10% of the amount on the peak in 1983 (MHCLG, 2018). The government committed to a one-to-one replacement of all homes sold by Right to Buy, but this target is not being met. The failure of this replacement is a key contributor to the loss of social rented homes in London.

The problems pile up for the local authorities. As mentioned, most houses sold through Right to Buy are low rise houses. These houses had a higher quality than flats, and its tenants have higher income levels than the ones living in flats. This has caused a polarization between successful public housing estates, now often owned by former tenants through Right to Buy, and deprived public housing estates with poor living standards. The polarization enhanced the negative image on the estates. The local authorities are occupied with improving the poor quality of the flats, let al-

one building new homes. The national government have created new funds for the improvement and regeneration programmes, but often they lead to a transfer of the management of the stock to RSLs. Stock transfers from the council to a housing association or RSL were introduced in the Housing and Planning Act of 1986 (UWE, 2008). It occurred since the aging of the social housing stock and the rising maintenance costs. Currently, more than half of the social housing stock is managed by RSLs (GLA, 2020). Although the amount of RSLs are increasing, the total amount of social rent is still decreasing. London's average is higher than the UK, but still there is a shortage in social rented housing and in the current housing crisis this will probably not improve.

The rise of RSLs has not solved the social housing crisis, since there is still a large shortage and the living conditions of the housing estates are still among the most deprived in the country (GLA, 2020). The GLA and The Mayor of London set up goals in the creation of affordable homes, which are rarely met. On top of that, the term affordable does not apply for London. The next section will elaborate on current trends in social housing, and explain the difference between 'affordable' and 'social' housing.

Figure 4.02: New Dwellings in the UK

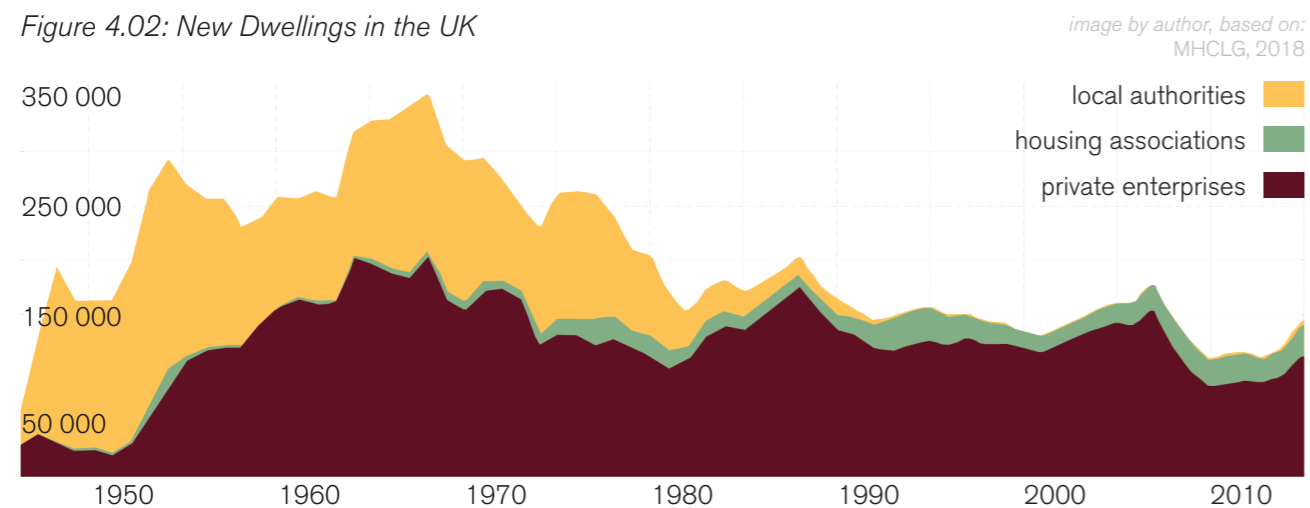
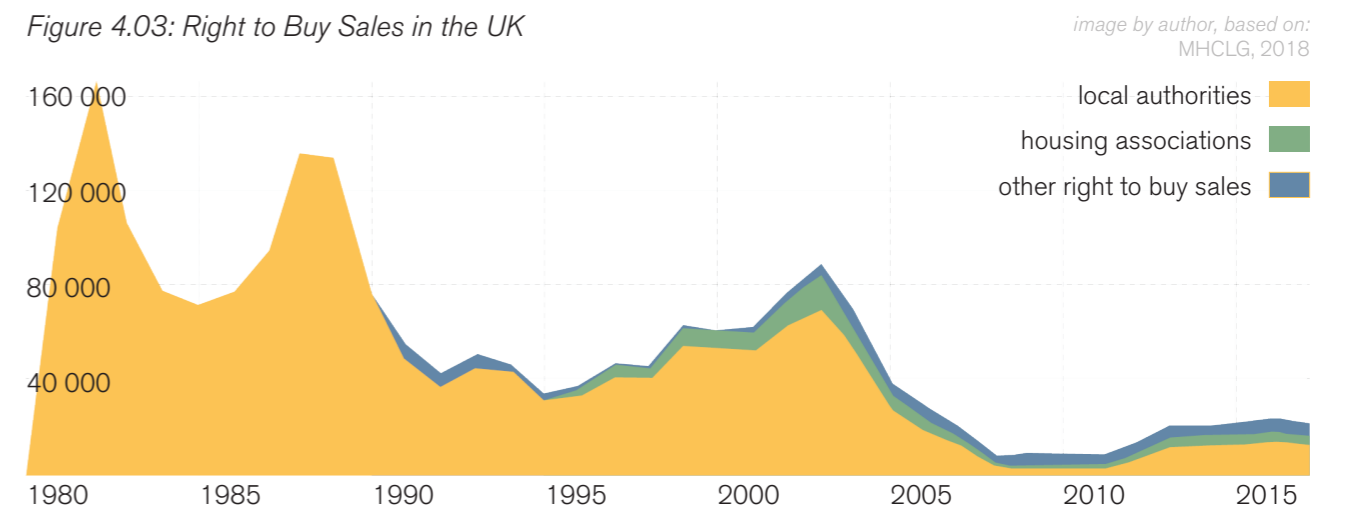


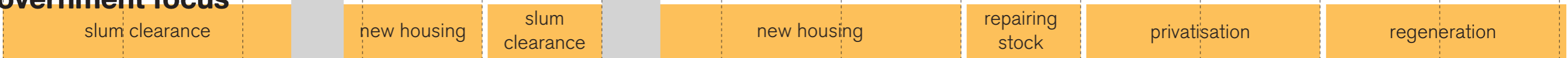
Figure 4.03: Right to Buy Sales in the UK



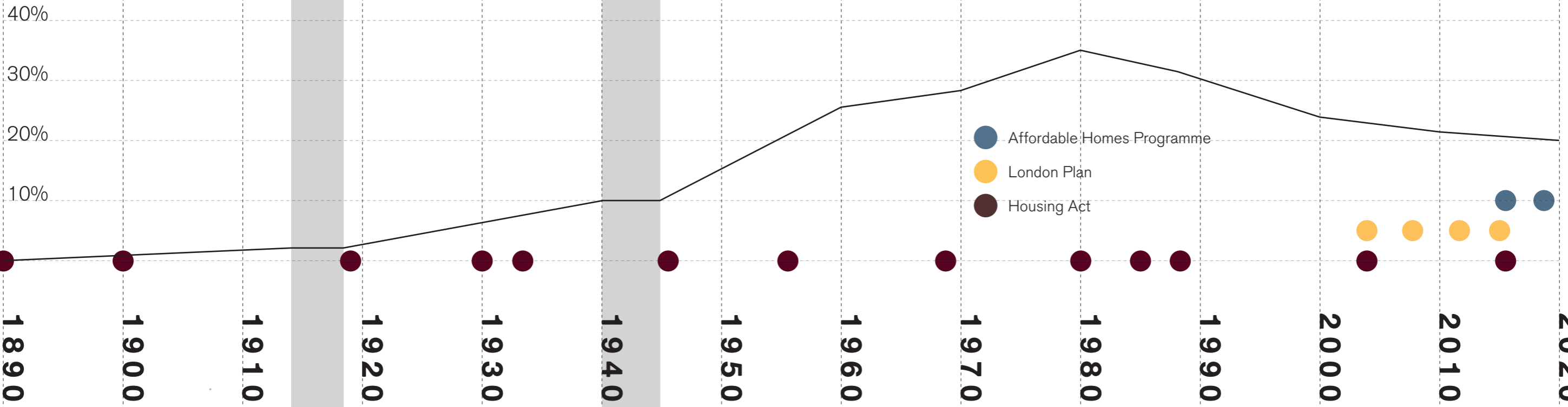
building typology



government focus



% social housing



Newspaper Articles on Social Housing

Planning reforms giving private investors more freedom

Boris Johnson proposed planning reforms which will give private investors the freedom to build what they want, where they want and for the most part when they want. The reforms would take control away from the local population (Booth, 2020b).

Towards a new housing crash?

Boris Johnson wants to transform the generation-rent to generation-buy through giving easier credit to help more people buying a house. This looks in many ways at how was dealt with mortgages before the crisis in 2007 (Ryan-Collins, 2020).

Private investors fund councils for planning guidelines

London boroughs claim to obtain not enough funds from the state and the Greater London Authority, and therefore are not able to pay for their planning guidelines. Private investors anticipate to it by funding the local councils. As compensation the private investors are prioritised in these planning guidelines, giving them freedom to invest and develop land in the boroughs (Booth, 2020c).

Mayor Sadiq Kahn urges to freeze rents

Due to Covid-19, Mayor Sadiq Kahn urges to freeze rents in order to avert large scale evictions (Booth, 2020a).

The Renaissance of Council Housing?

Local authorities are building their own housing again, and the quality is much higher than is expected from social housing. They make plans and visions on developing new council housing. They act like a developer and spend a high amount of money on it (Wainwright, 2019). However, the council housing that is being built is not on social rent levels, which has been the case in postwar council housing. The 'social' housing displayed in the exhibition turned out to not be social housing at all (Nowicki & Harris, 2019).

Affordable Housing

The term 'affordable housing' has occurred in many articles. Nowicki & Harris (2019) mention how hollow the term has become, since the stamp for affordable is applied to houses which are for sale or rent at 80% of the market rates. Especially in London, these homes are still unaffordable for most people. Booth (2019) elaborates on the amount of homes that are genuinely affordable for social housing residents, which has dropped to around 1% of the available homes in London. The lack of social housing have been caused by selling social housing to private developers, whose goal always will be profit (Nowicki & Harris, 2019). This paragraph explained news articles on the term, in the next chapter the Affordable Homes Programme will be explained and analyzed more thoroughly.

The final straw? Tory heartlands in revolt over planning reforms

Boris Johnson's 95% mortgages will put Britain back on course for a house price crash

Revealed: London councils take funds from developers to pay for planning guidelines

Freeze rents in London to avert mass evictions, urges Sadiq Khan

Council housing: it's back, it's booming - and this time it's beautiful

Talk of a public housing renaissance in London is fake news

UK housing crisis deepens as benefit claimants priced out by high rents

What are London 'affordable' homes and who can afford them?

Figure 4.05
Headlines on Social Housing

Building Age & Housing Price

The most densely populated areas in London are social housing areas. The majority of these dense areas are built between 1950 and 1980, the post-war housing estates. The pattern of dense, postwar housing estates fades away further out of the city. Not only there is less social housing, but they are also less dense. In the city most social housing are flats, whereas in the suburbs there is more terraced social housing, built in the interwar period. A large amount of them is bought via RtB, but there are still terraced social housing areas in the suburbs, which are clearly less densely populated. Moreover, the majority of social housing are flats in dense, postwar social housing estates, and in the suburbs there are several terraced, interwar social housing areas.

Figure 4.07 overlaid social rent percentages with house prices. In London, about half of the LSOAs have an average house price above £500,000. These are mainly the areas with lower percentage of social rent. In inner London, however, there are areas with an average house price above £500,000, but also have more than 40% social rented housing. This shows that there can be large differences in housing, even on the neighbourhood scale. Apart from the LSOAs in the city centre, most areas with a high percentage of social housing have a lower average house price.

Figure 4.06
Postwar Housing
image by author, based on:
London Datastore, 2020

postwar housing ····
social housing area ■

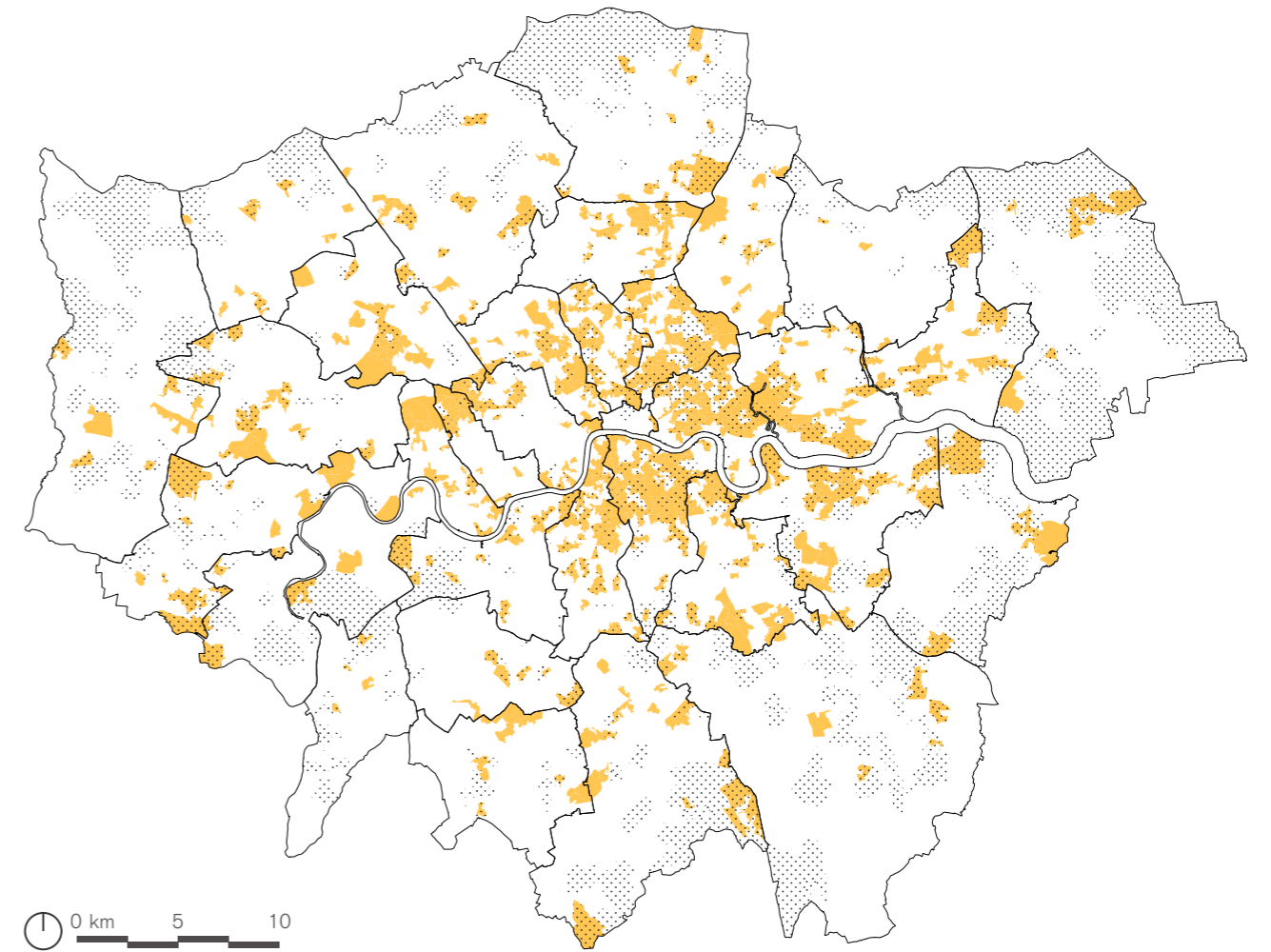
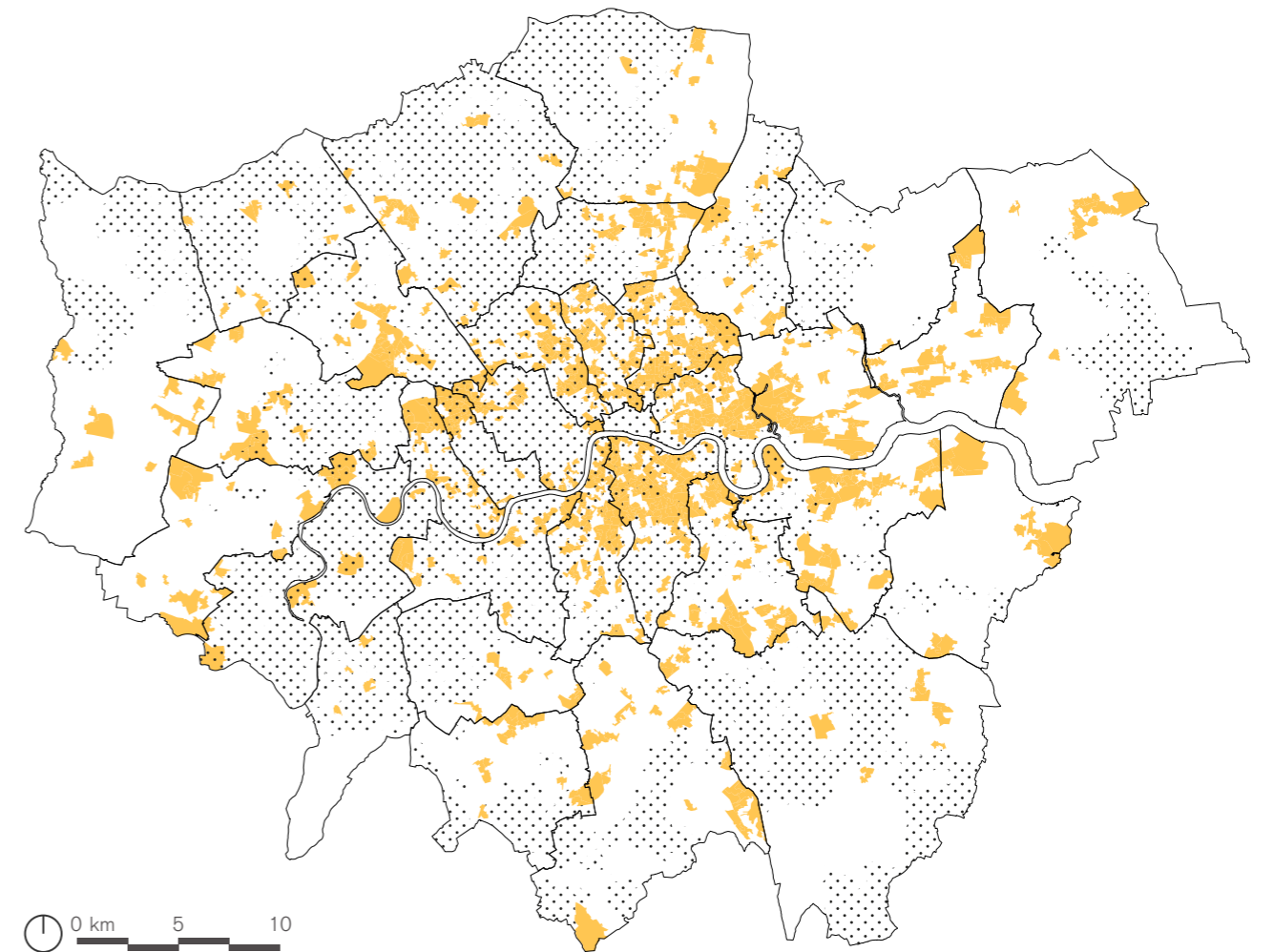


Figure 4.07
House Prices
image by author, based on:
London Datastore, 2020

house price > 500 000 + * +
social housing area ■



Welfare & Wellbeing

Figure 4.08 shows social housing areas with health and well-being overlaid. Almost all social housing areas have a negative well-being score. Moreover, the financial situation of people living in social housing is bad, but also the general well-being is lower than in other parts of London and the UK.

Figure 4.09 compares social housing areas with income levels, employment and education. It shows the areas where the average household income is higher than £50,000, which covers the majority of London, except for social housing areas. Especially in inner London the social housing areas form enclaves of areas with an income lower than £50,000. On top of that, most social housing areas have the highest unemployment and uneducated rate. A possible explanation could be that the areas with the highest percentage of uneducated people have the most deprived education. Thus, social housing areas have a low average income, high unemployment rate and large amount of uneducated people. Considering the deprived education, its younger residents are already lagging behind.

Figure 4.08
Health & Wellbeing

image by author, based on:
London Datastore, 2020

well-being score < 0 + + +
hospital ■■■
bad health > 8% // // //
social housing area ■■■

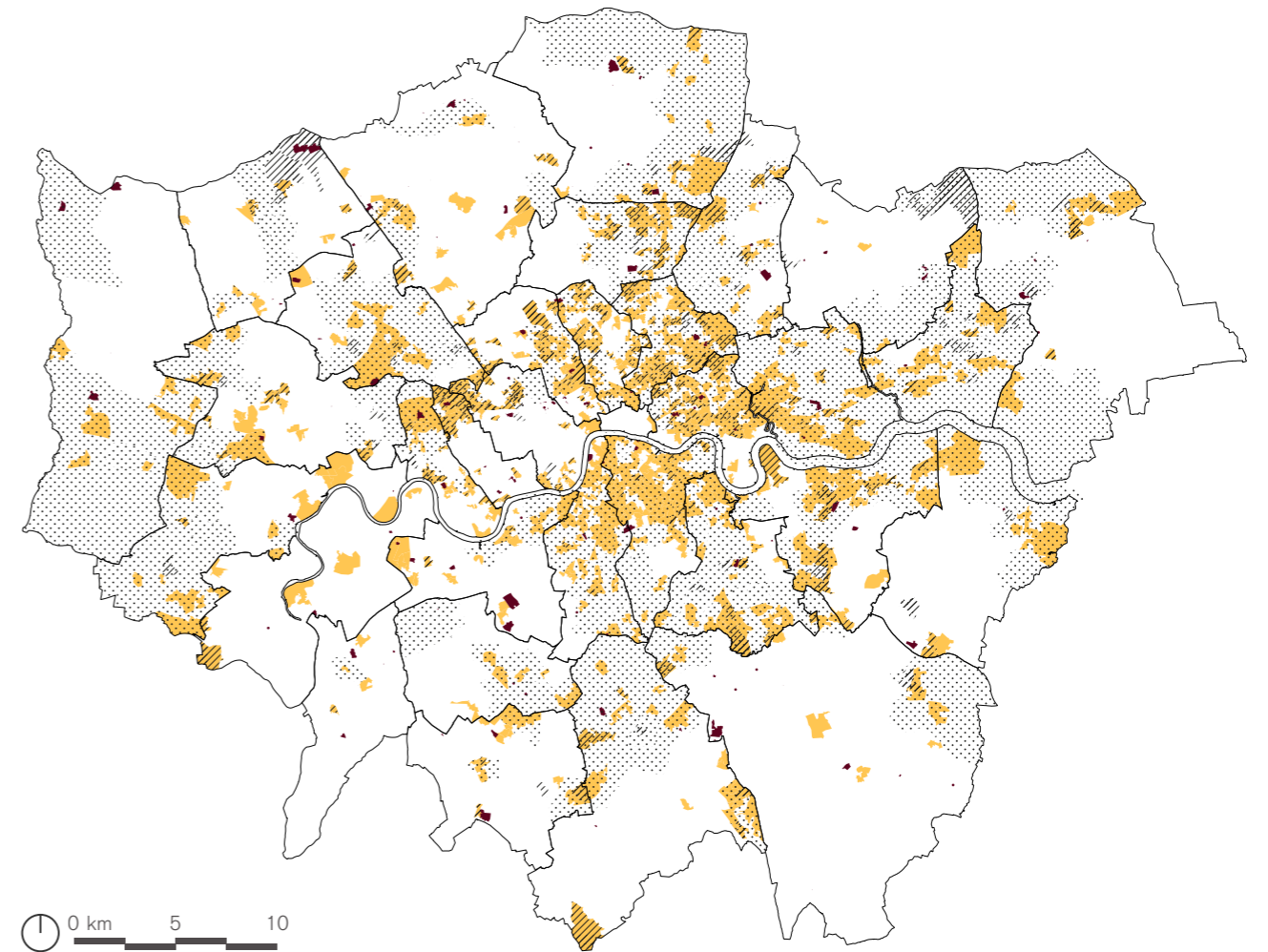
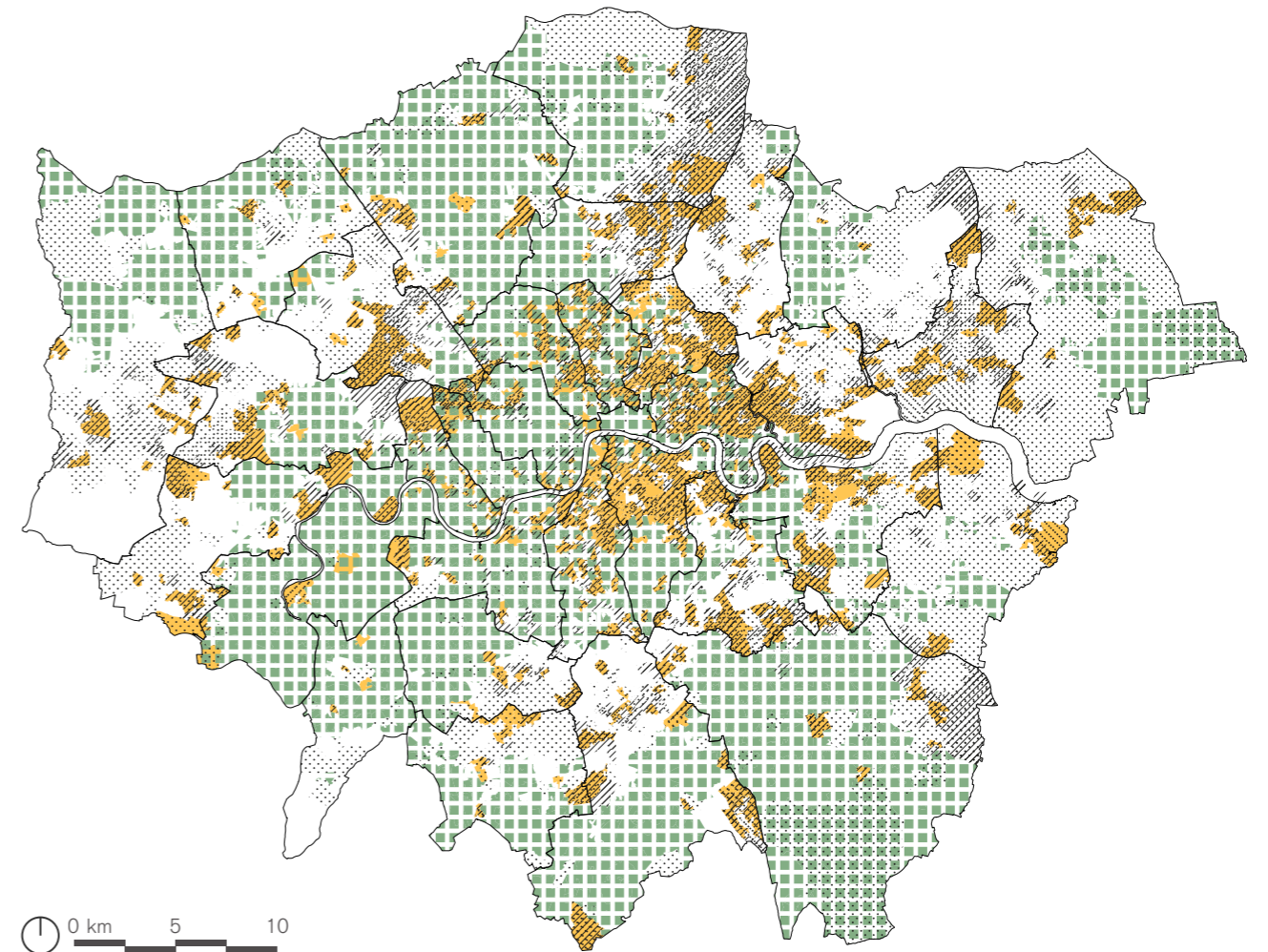


Figure 4.09
Income & Employment

image by author, based on:
London Datastore, 2020

income > 50 000 ■■■
unemployed > 10% // // //
uneducated > 20% + + +
deprived education ::::
social housing area ■■■



Conclusion

The UK has been a pioneer in the provision of social housing. In 1980, about a third of the housing stock was social housing. However, the RTB policy was a start of its decline. At the time the policy started, councils were occupied repairing their current stock and they were forced to sell their houses to the tenants. Deprived council housing estates with worsening living environments were harshly stigmatised, a process that expanded to the complete tenancy of social housing.

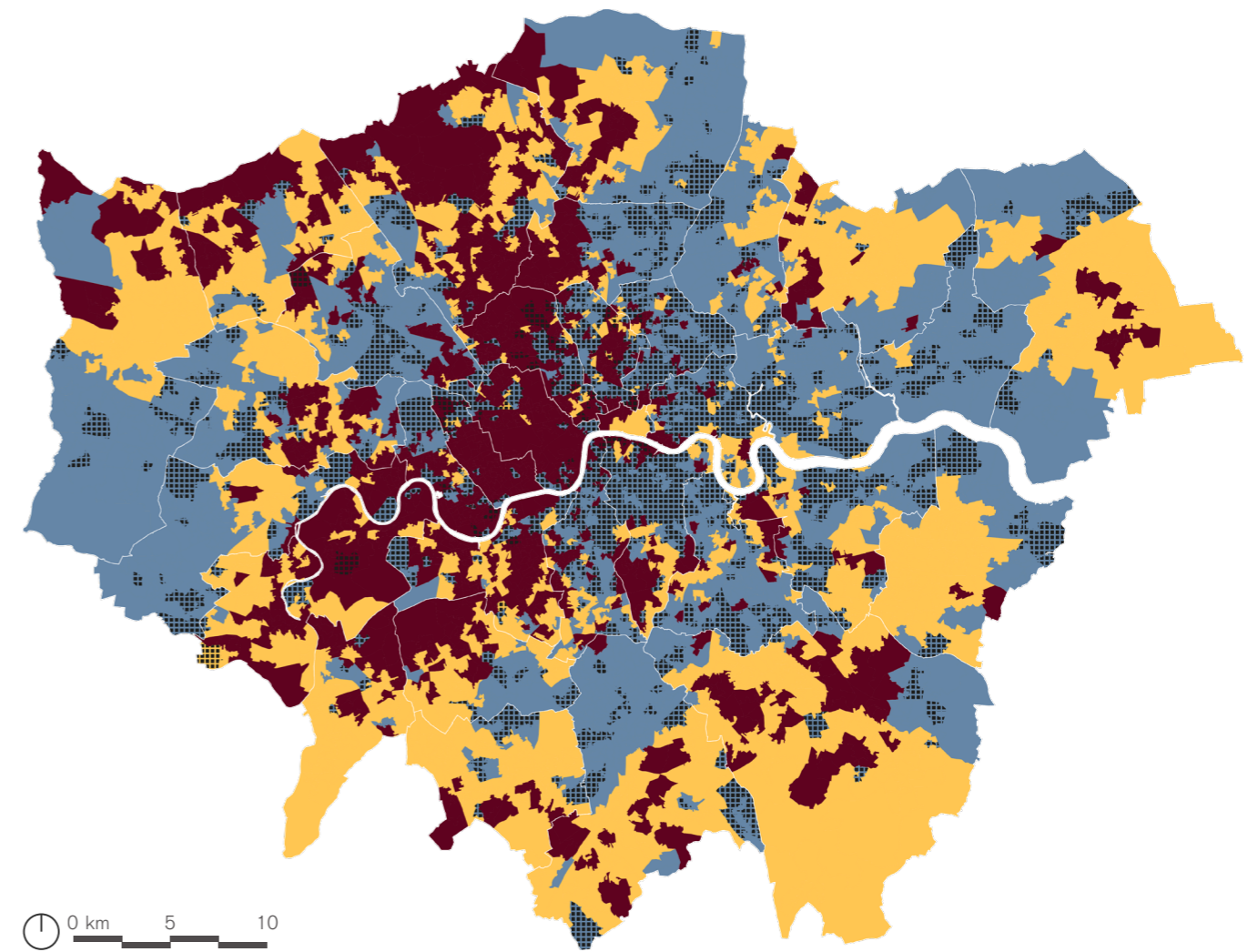
Social housing areas are clustered in central east, central south, east and north London. The areas are among the most densely populated areas in the city, mostly due to the density of the postwar housing estates. The areas have the lowest house prices, incomes and well-being scores in London, and have the highest amount of unemployed and uneducated people.

The UK tends to be moving towards a new housing crash. Policies of the GLA have influenced social housing through history and will be doing in the future, and social housing keeps declining. The following chapter will analyse the planning and governance structure in London, to investigate reasons for this decline.

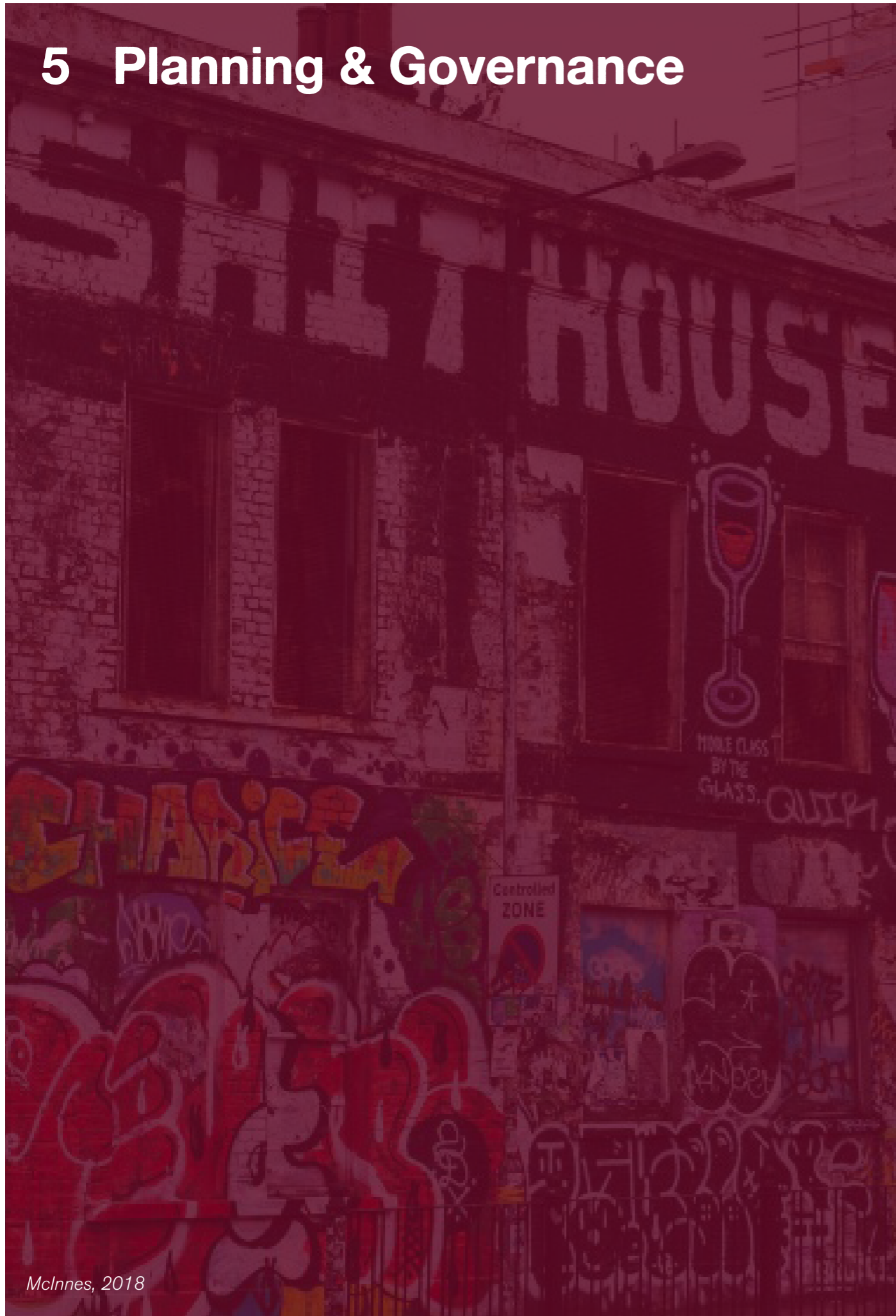
Figure 4.10
Typical areas in London

image by author, based on:
London Datastore, 2020

type 1 ■ blue
type 2 ■ yellow
type 3 ■ dark red



5 Planning & Governance



McInnes, 2018

Introduction

This graduation project investigates the how planning can support a revival of the social housing community. Therefore, the current planning and governance structure needs to be analysed. The previous chapter explained the current, worrying situation of social housing in London. This chapter will explain the roles and instruments of different actors in the planning process, and how they played a role in the decline of social housing. The chapter will walk through the history of planning in the UK with a timeline, and it will explain the current planning system.

Within the main planning document, the London Plan, the elements that are causing the lack of social housing and the lack of influence of the social housing community will be exposed. Lastly, the chapter analyses the opportunity and development areas the GLA proposed, and how they are related to social housing areas. The chapter concludes with a map of the most pressured social housing areas, which forms a base for the case selection.



Figure 5.01
Now that the neighbourhood is nice, why do I have to move?
Lariviere, 2016

Urban Planning in the UK

The United Kingdom has a policy planning structure. This means that planning decisions are made through policy. There are four layers of planning documents, three levels of authority and the community. The national planning framework functions as an overarching documentation that has a managing role. The regional document, which for London is the London Plan made by the GLA, plays an advisory role. This document is mainly a strategy and vision. The local authorities play an executive role, they have the most influence in developing plans and the city.

In the current planning system, the national and local plan have the most influence in decision making and developments. A lower authority always has to work conform a higher authority level, although the regional authority seems to be floating in the middle, they still do not have direct influence on developments.

The three authorities form the public sector in the UK. The governance in the UK is complemented by the private sector and civil society (see figure 5.04).

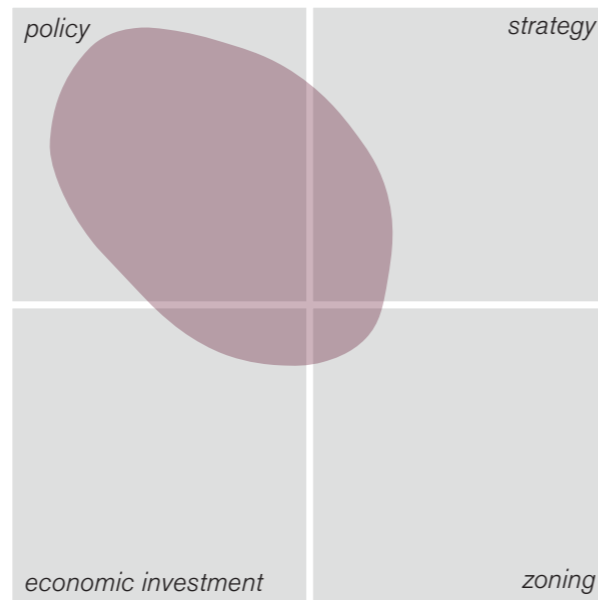


Figure 5.02
Planning structure in the UK

Figure 5.04
Planning Documents in the UK

image by author, based on:
De Bode, 2020

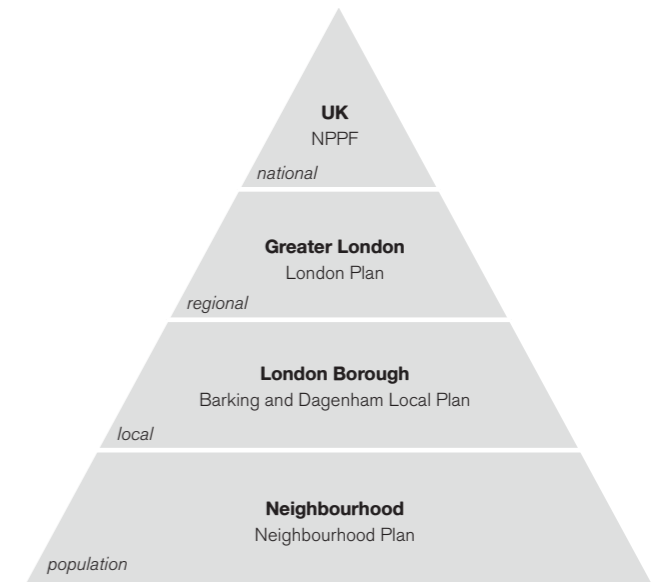


Figure 5.03
Planning Timeline in the UK

image by author, based on:
De Bode, 2020

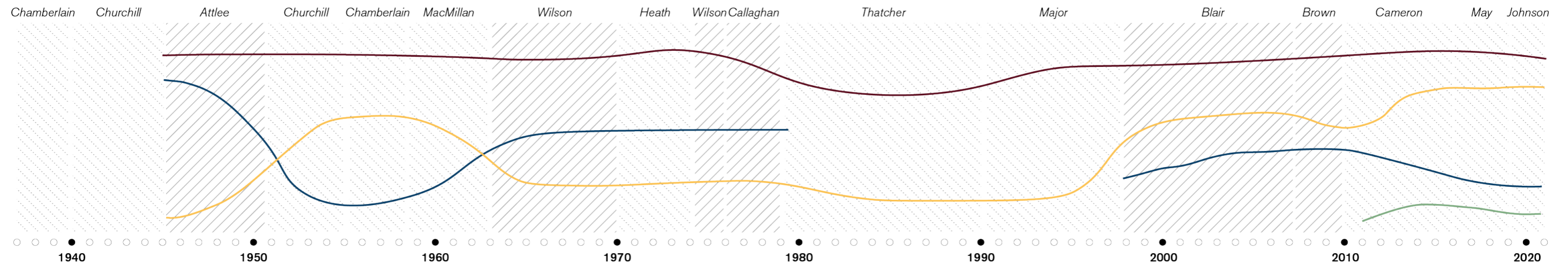
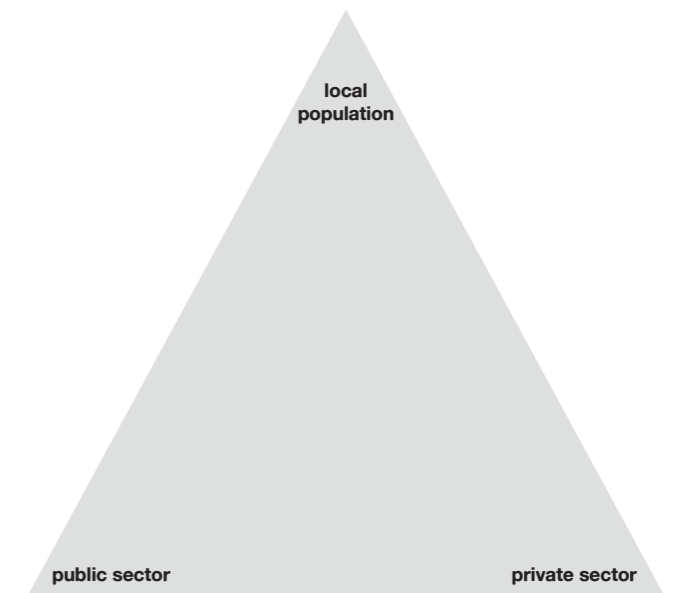


Figure 5.05
Governance Triangle

image by author, based on:
Rocco, 2020b



Planning Structure

Since the Localism Act in 2011 local residents can influence decisions and developments through the Neighbourhood Plan. Residents can make a plan on how to improve their neighbourhood. This plan can be approved by the local authority and implemented in the local plan. This plan, however, is a rather bureaucratic process that is currently only executed by residents that have the time and resources to do it. Therefore, the Neighbourhood Plan is not used in deprived areas. On top of that, the plan has to conform the Local Plan, and thus cannot counter and make opposite plans. When a local authority decides an area should be demolished, the community cannot counter that with a Neighbourhood Plan.

The public sector in the UK is reactive to an active private sector. The private sector initiates development and they even fund public sector to pay for their planning guidelines, which give them priority in decision making (Booth, 2020c). This has created an unbalanced governance triangle, where the largely influential private sector is supported by the public sector, and the local population is left out.

Participation of the local has been increasingly promoted the last decades. In principle, there are no actors against the participation of the local population. The flexibility of the policy planning structure in the UK makes every development a negotiation, that goes beyond design. The flexibility makes it time and money consuming, causing small developers to be ran out. The UK government secured public consultation by law in this negotiation process, consisting of a minimal of two sessions. However, there is a significant difference between the empty ritual of citizen participation and having actual control to affect the outcome of the process (Arnstein, 1969).

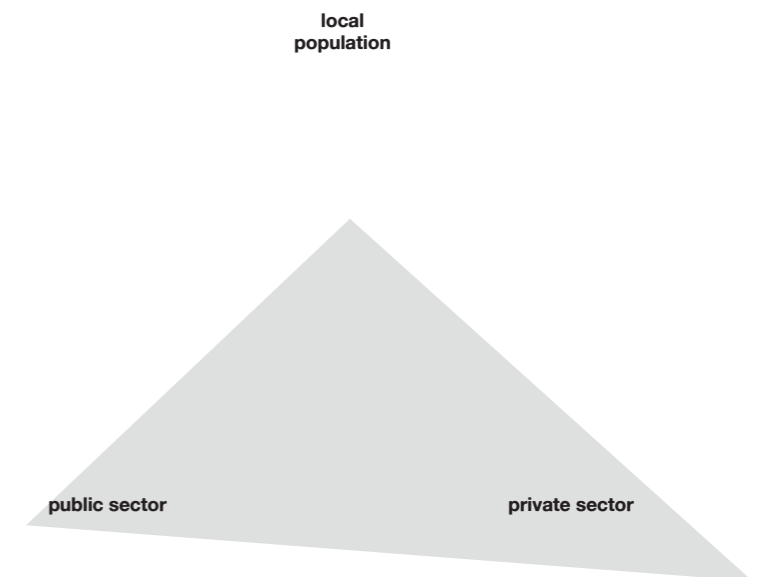
Figure 5.06
Influence of Planning Documents

image by author, based on:
De Bode, 2020



Figure 5.07
An Unbalanced Governance

image by author, based on:
Rocco, 2020b



Affordable Homes in London

The London Plan is a planning document with goals and policies on various domains, but housing and living environment take an important share. It shows the importance of good tenure, and that there is room for improvement. The Mayor of London set up Affordable Homes Programmes, a vision for 2016 to 2023 and a vision for 2021 to 2026 (GLA, 2016a; GLA, 2020a). The government made £8.8bn available to deliver affordable homes. The types of homes the Mayor is funding are displayed in figure 5.08.

National funding is created for Affordable Rent, a rent which is 80% of local market rates. However, this is still unaffordable for most Londoners. On top of that, the programme makes a shift towards a focus on supporting home ownership by supporting the creation of Shared Ownership and London Living Rent homes (GLA, 2016a).

What is striking, is that a programme for affordable housing does not contain the most affordable type of tenure: social rent. As mentioned earlier, affordable rent means a rent which is 80% of market rates, which is still unaffordable for a large part of the population. On top of that, the regulations for shared ownership are not always fair. To be eligible for shared ownership, the household's annual income should not be higher than £90,000. Considering the London average around £35,000, should they be eligible for affordable dwellings when there are 55,000 homeless households and endless waiting lists for social rent in London? A study by Chartered Institute of Housing found that through tax relief, homeowners receive more financial help from the state than social rent tenants (Hill, 2018).

Thus, funding for social rent is ruled out and is now made available for affordable rent. Where social rent averages on 45% of market rates, can affordable rent go up to 80%. The Mayor of London therefore made funding free to create new social rented homes (Hill, 2018). Therefore, the Building Council Homes for Londoners programme is set up. It is aimed to give councils the confidence and ambition to follow the same path as in the 1960s

and 1970s. The Mayor invites the council to develop proposals for creating new council homes. In return, they obtain substantial levels of new funding. The aim is to build new council and Right to Buy replacement homes (GLA, 2018a).

The programme forms a solid basement for the creation of social housing in the future. However, it has some ifs, ands, and buts. It is a policy document by the GLA, and not by the councils, which are the executives of the policies. The councils have the responsibility to build the new social rented homes. They can, however, choose to not focus on social rent, but on affordable rent, since the GLA also funds them for this type of tenancy. On top of that, the private sector is not effected by this document, and the competition for land and financialisation of housing are set to increase even more, especially when the focus of the Affordable Homes Programme is on home ownership.

An increase in competition would lead to an increase of value, and an increase of the market rate. This means affordable and social housing rates will also increase, since they are based on market rates. On top of that, the documents are focussed on building new social and affordable housing, and does not have implications on the existing stock. The existing social housing stock is deprived and the population is pressured. Demolition of the existing stock can lead to displacement and inequality. The tenure of the existing housing stock needs to be secured before the local population will be pushed further out of the city. The following pages will explain which areas the GLA selected for development, to afterwards determine which social housing areas are pressured.

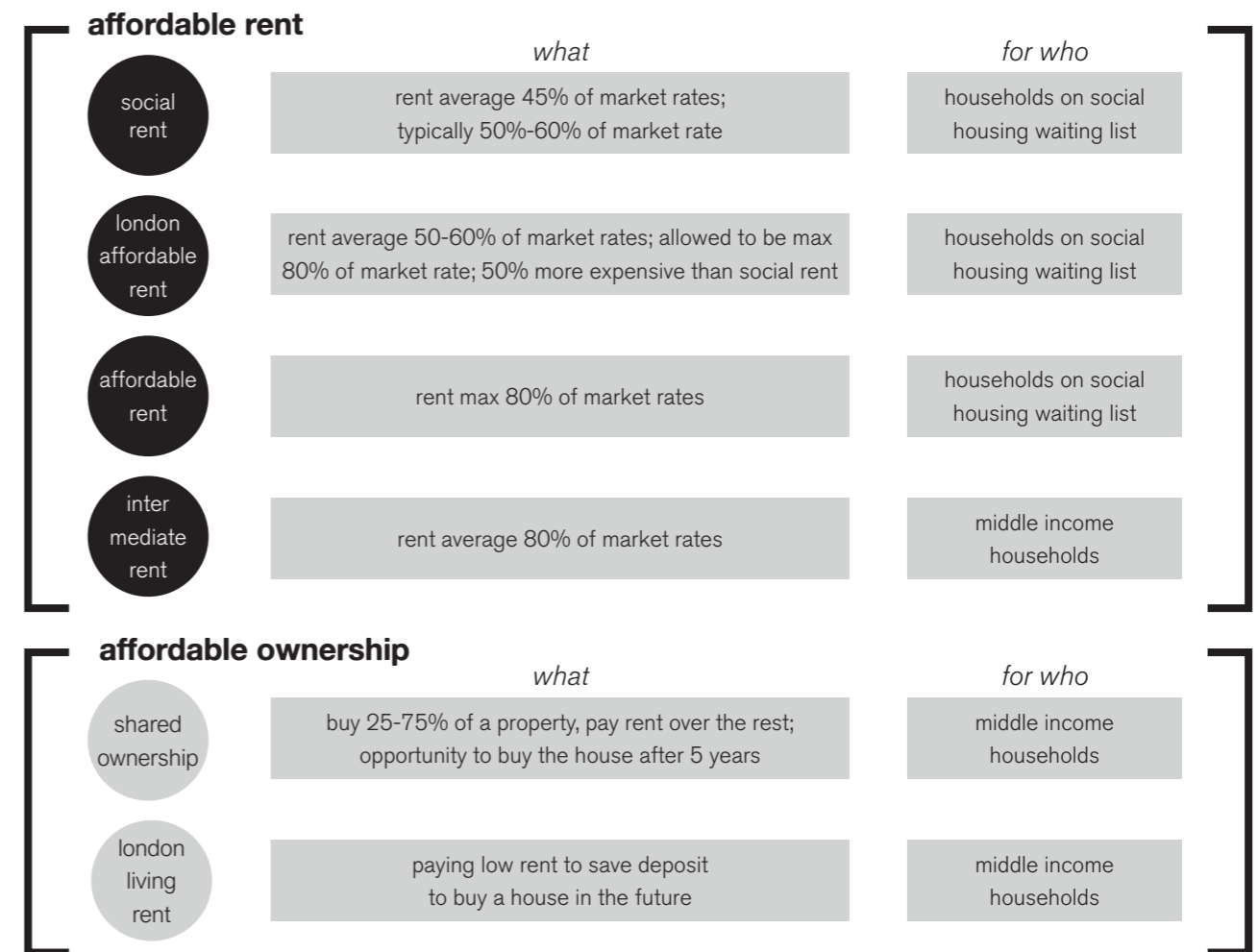


Figure 5.08
Different Types of Affordable Homes in London

image by author, based on:
GLA, 2016a

Opportunity & Development Areas

The London Plan of 2015 recognized 38 opportunity areas for accommodating large scale development (GLA, 2015). The majority of London's former industrial areas and harbours are currently brownfields, which form the base for the opportunity areas, as well as areas around railways and the land around Heathrow Airport. The opportunity areas should accommodate housing and commercial functions. The GLA works together with the boroughs where the opportunity area is located on a development plan.

Next to the opportunity areas, the GLA recognized other development areas, based on their characteristics. Conservation areas have historical value, and therefore should be preserved. Regeneration, intensification, housing and business improvement areas are located at existing deprived areas (GLA, 2015). On the following page, these development areas are compared to social housing areas, to determine which social areas are pressured by the plans of the GLA.

Figure 5.09
Opportunity Areas

image by author, based on:
London Development Database, 2020

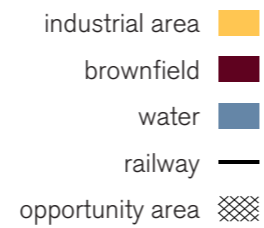
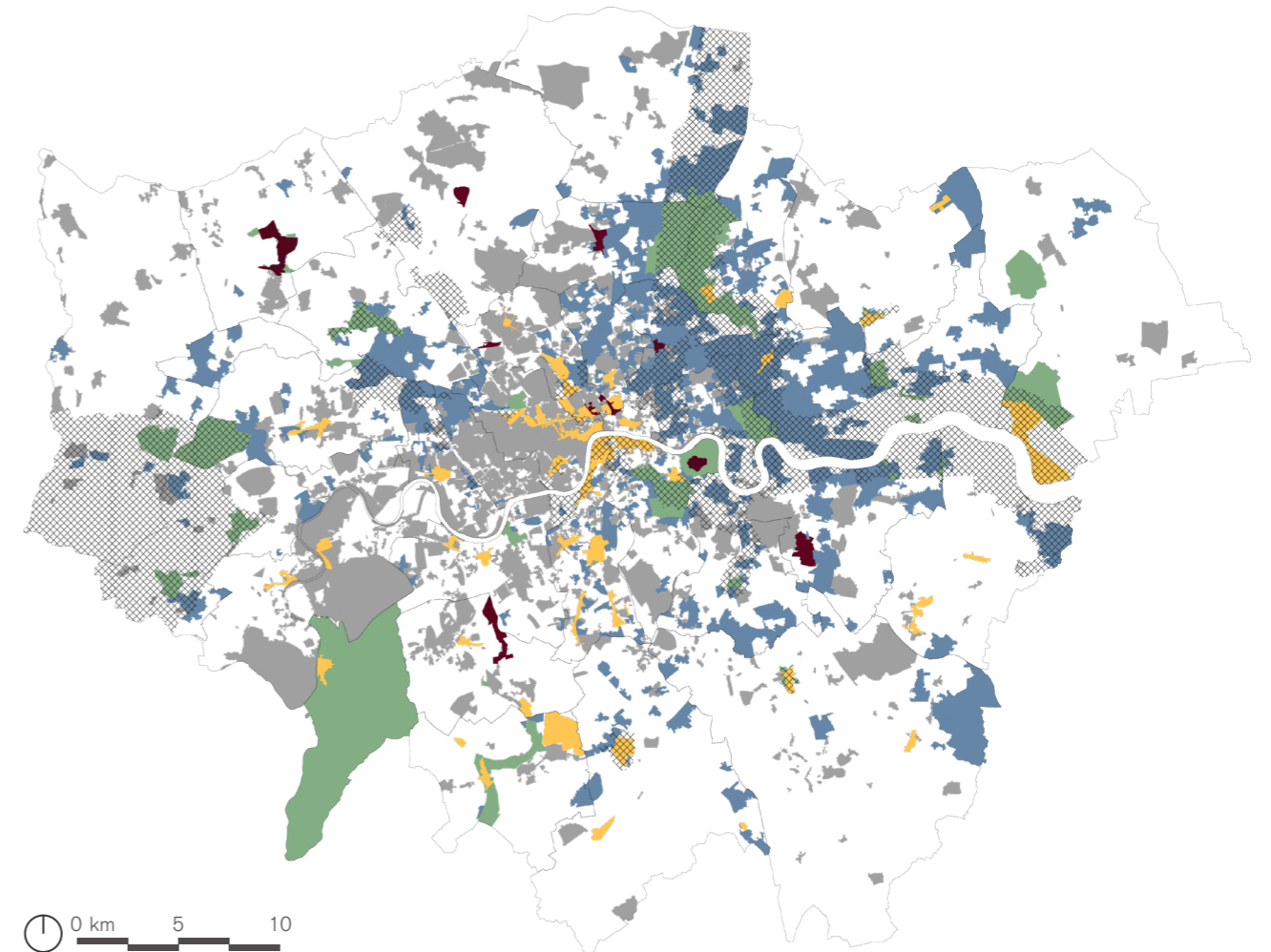
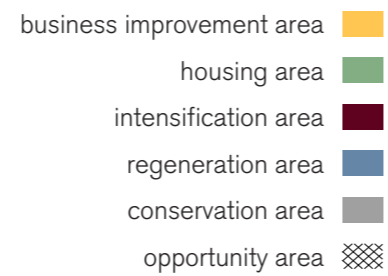


Figure 5.10
Development Areas

image by author, based on:
London Development Database, 2020



Conclusion

The plans of the GLA have consequences for the existing areas. Regeneration and transformation can lead to dispossession, demolition and displacement. Most social housing areas are deprived, and located in opportunity areas and regeneration areas, as displayed in figure 5.11.

The government and its policies have had a major influence on social housing. When the government took control over housing and funded councils, social housing grew exponentially, until the neoliberalism government of Thatcher in the 1980s. The free market and privatisation caused a decline in social housing, a decline which is still going. Recent London Plans set up policies and strategies to build more affordable housing. These affordable homes are often not affordable for people with the lowest incomes, they need homes at the rate of social rent.

On top of that, the GLA recognized opportunity and development areas where London can regenerate, upgrade, and intensify. Many existing social housing areas are located in these development areas. Moreover, these areas are keen to be redeveloped, leading to dispossession and displacement, pushing the local population out. Social housing areas are dealing with a dual pressure: pressured by its deprivation and worsening living environment, and pressured by the development plans of the GLA. Figure 5.12 recognized the most pressured social housing areas. Out of these pressured areas, the project location will be chosen in the following chapter.

Figure 5.11
Social Housing Areas & Development Areas

image by author, based on:
London Datastore, 2020
London Development Database, 2020

- social housing area
- deprived area
- regeneration area
- opportunity area

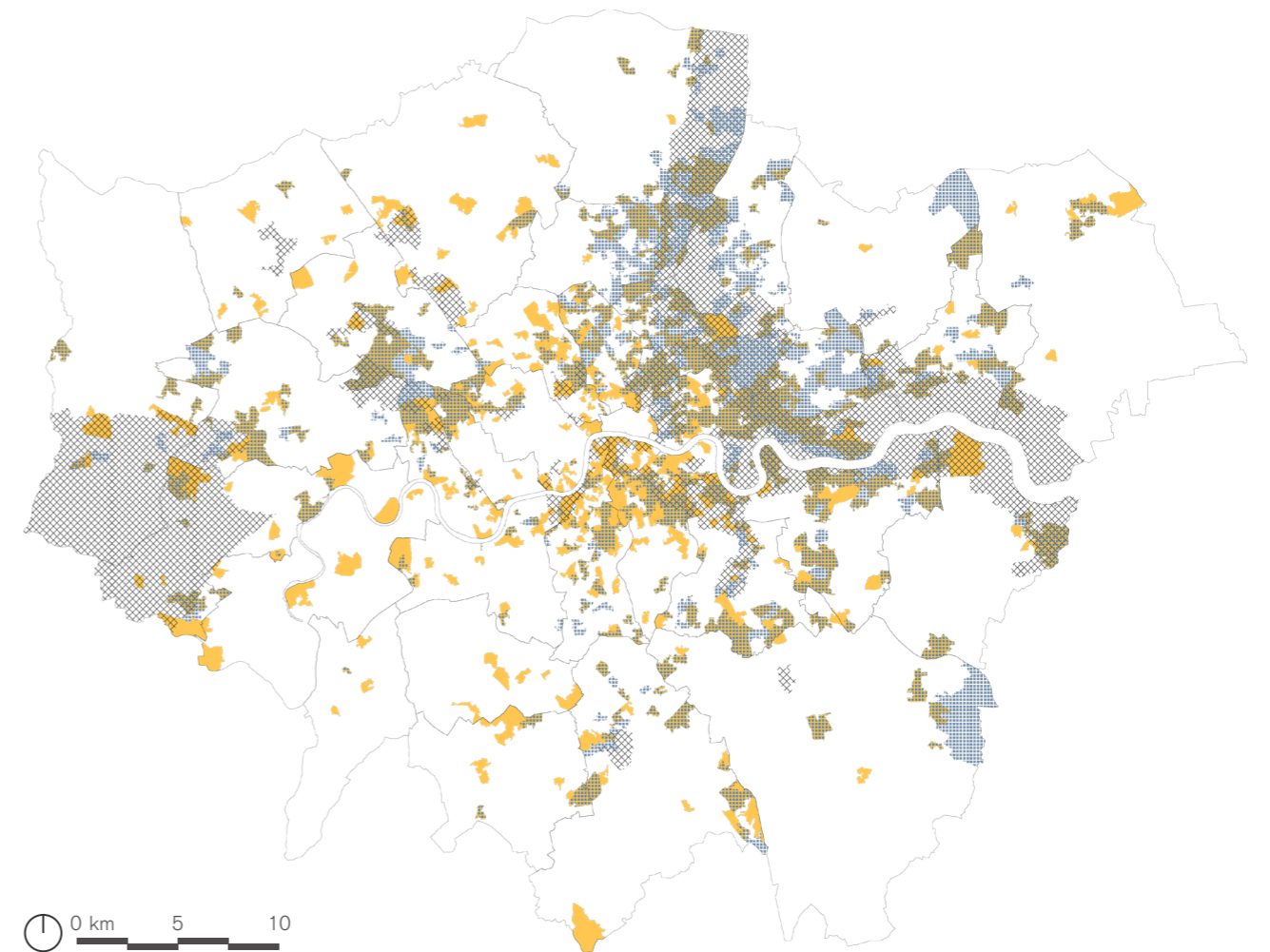
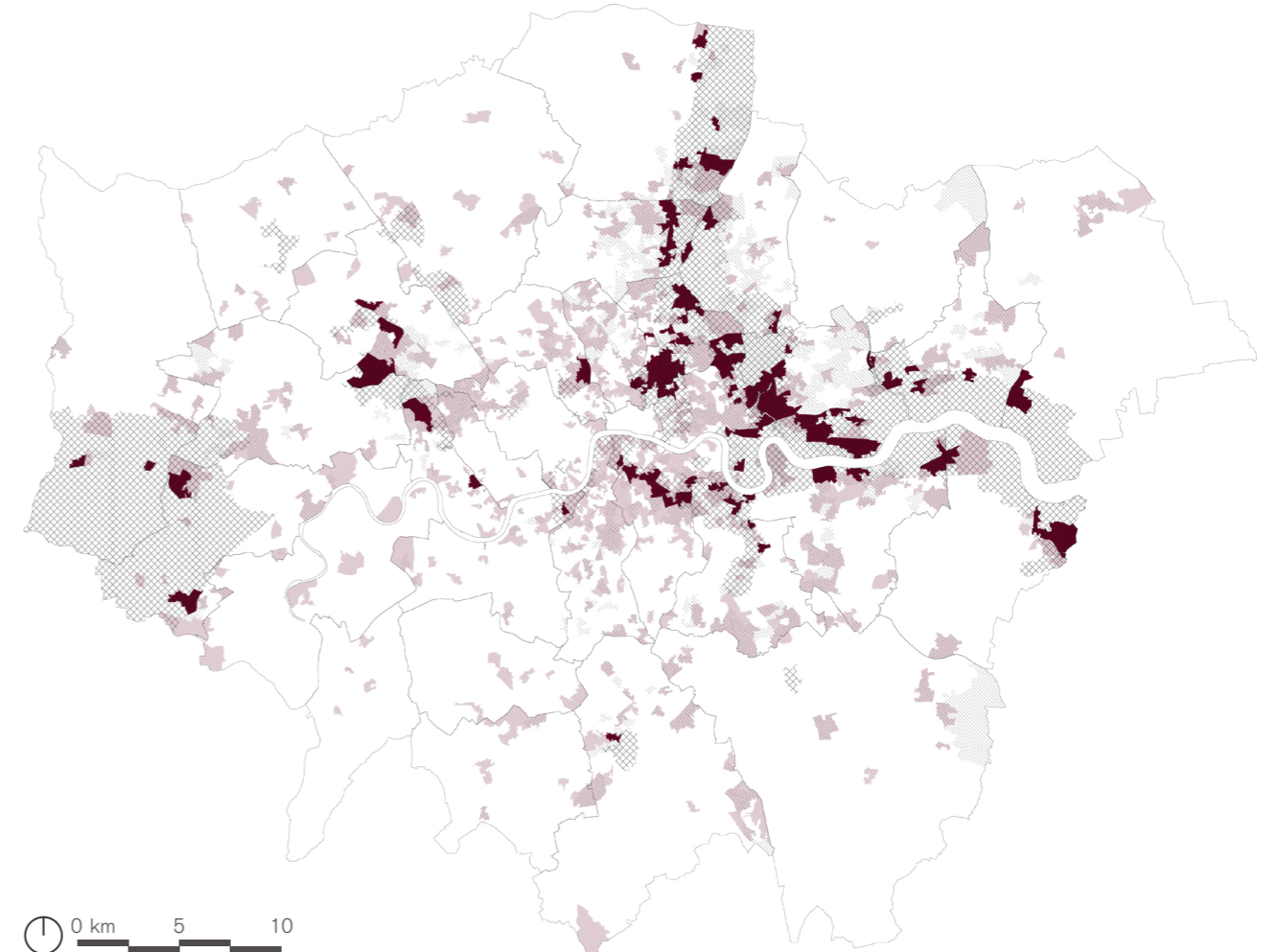


Figure 5.12
Pressured Social Housing

image by author, based on:
London Datastore, 2020

- pressured social housing
- other social housing



6 Project Location



Estate Watch, 2020

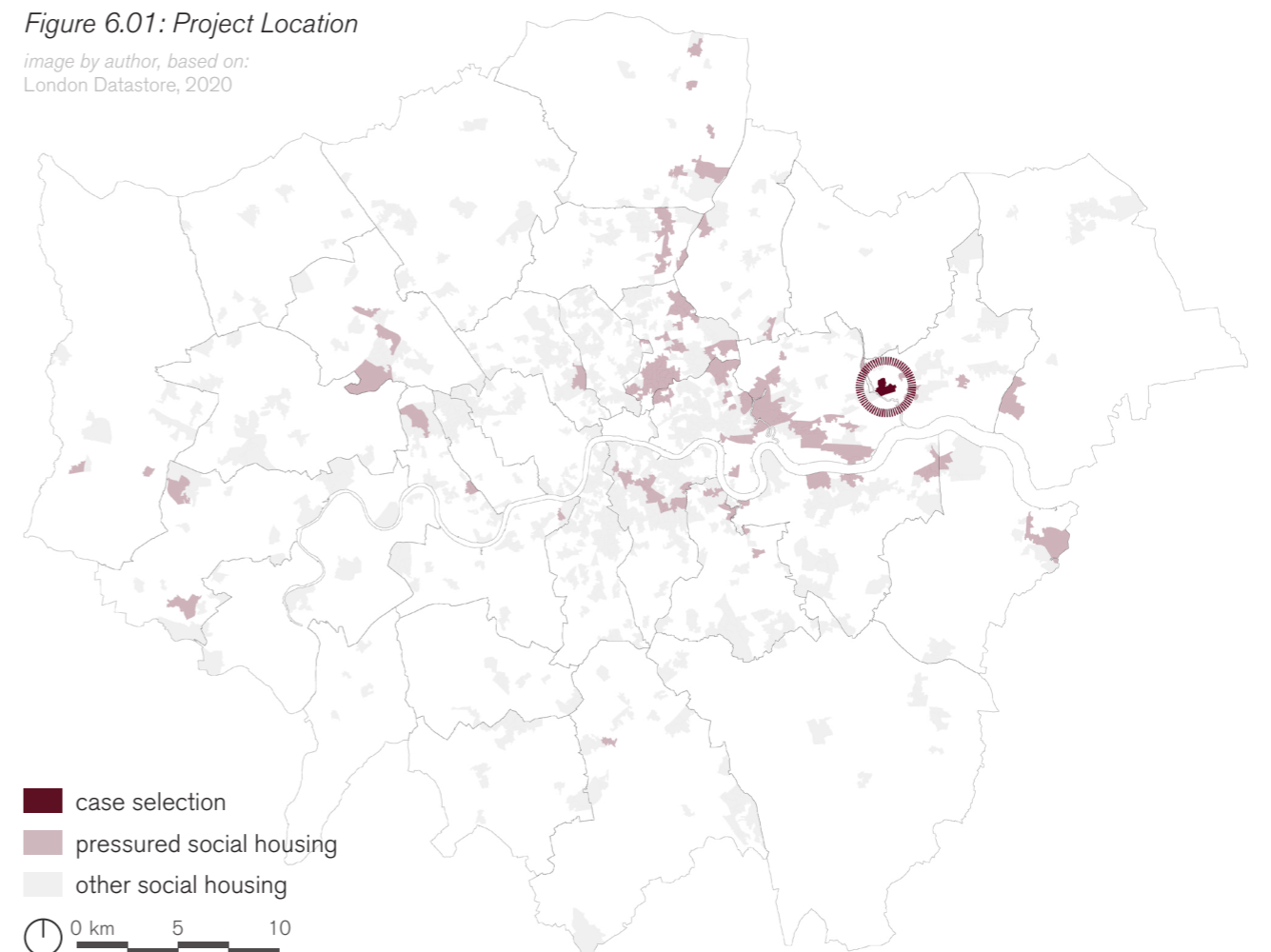
Case Selection

Out of the pressured social housing areas a housing estate will be selected for the implementation of the project. The location of this project is the Gascoigne Estate in the borough of Barking & Dagenham in East London. London is moving east: more and more business and leisure amenities are moving the the east of the city (London Assembly Labour, 2018). Two important factors of this shift are the Olympic Park in Stratford and the business district in Canary Wharf. On top of that, East London has large amounts of space to develop, since most harbours and industrial areas are dilapidated.

The Gascoigne Estate is a postwar social housing estate close to the town centre of Barking. Barking & Dagenham is the most deprived borough with the lowest quality of life (Higgins et al., 2014). The Gascoigne Estate is still almost intact, however regeneration is around the corner. The city centre and waterfront of Barking are being regenerated and on the boundary of the estate some of the buildings are already demolished. The current residents are on the edge of being displaced.

Figure 6.01: Project Location

image by author, based on:
London Datastore, 2020



Barking & Dagenham

The location of Barking & Dagenham on the Thames made it attractive for large industries and harbours. The borough contained factories and accessory workers homes. The largest share of the working class worked in the manufacturing sector (Powell, 1966).

London's shift to the finance and business centre caused a large increase of unemployment, leading to homelessness. Barking & Dagenham fell into decline, with decreasing safety and health conditions, and dilapidating industries and housing. The area was thoroughly stigmatised and became intertwined with negative assumptions, strengthening its downward spiral (Campkin, 2013).

Data from Trust for London (2020) shows that the borough has not recovered from its decline. The borough scores among the highest in the UK in poverty rate, unemployment rate, and mortality rate, but the lowest in education and well-being. Current governance trends escalate the pressure on the local population of Barking & Dagenham, with plans of gentrifying the dilapidated areas.



Figure 6.02
Barking in 1964
Powell, 1996

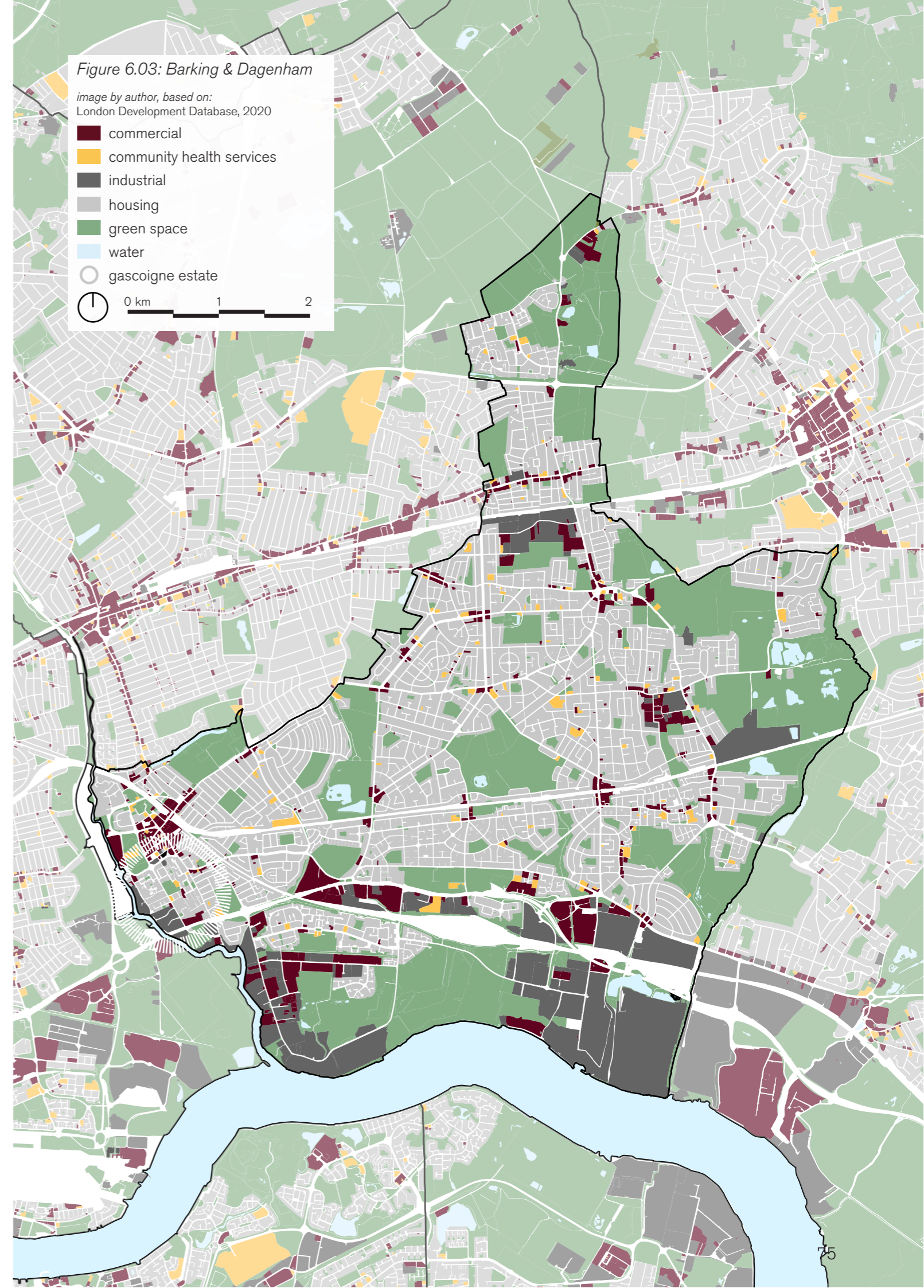


Image of Barking & Dagenham

As mentioned, Barking & Dagenham is among the most deprived areas in London. The waterfront and town centre of Barking are recognized by the GLA as opportunity and regeneration areas, which also covers the Gascoigne Estate. The borough is mainly built up out of terraced housing, and has several monuments and landmarks in its town centres and at the waterfront.



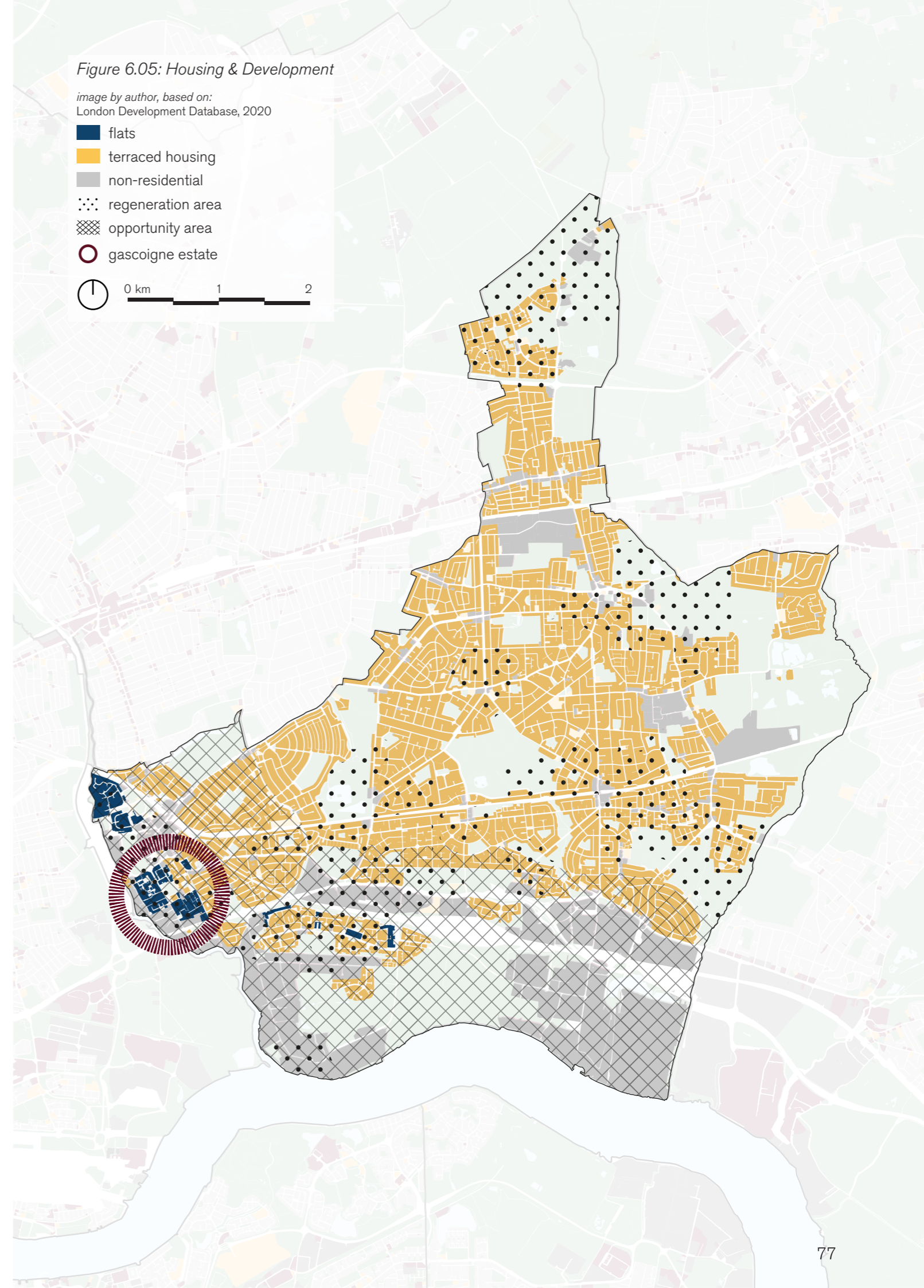
Figure 6.04
Image of Barking & Dagenham
clockwise, starting top left:
GLA, 2020
Barratt London, 2020
Hidden London, 2020
Hawkings, 2019
lanvisits, 2020
Corner, 2020

Figure 6.05: Housing & Development

image by author, based on:
London Development Database, 2020

- flats
- terraced housing
- non-residential
- regeneration area
- opportunity area
- gascoigne estate

0 km 1 2



Gascoigne Estate

The Gascoigne Estate is a postwar housing estate, built in the 1970s. Most of the housing estate is still intact, although there are developments on the boundary of the estate.



Figure 6.06
Gascoigne Estate in construction
London Councils, 1970



Figure 6.07
Highrise flats in the 1960s
Richards, 2013

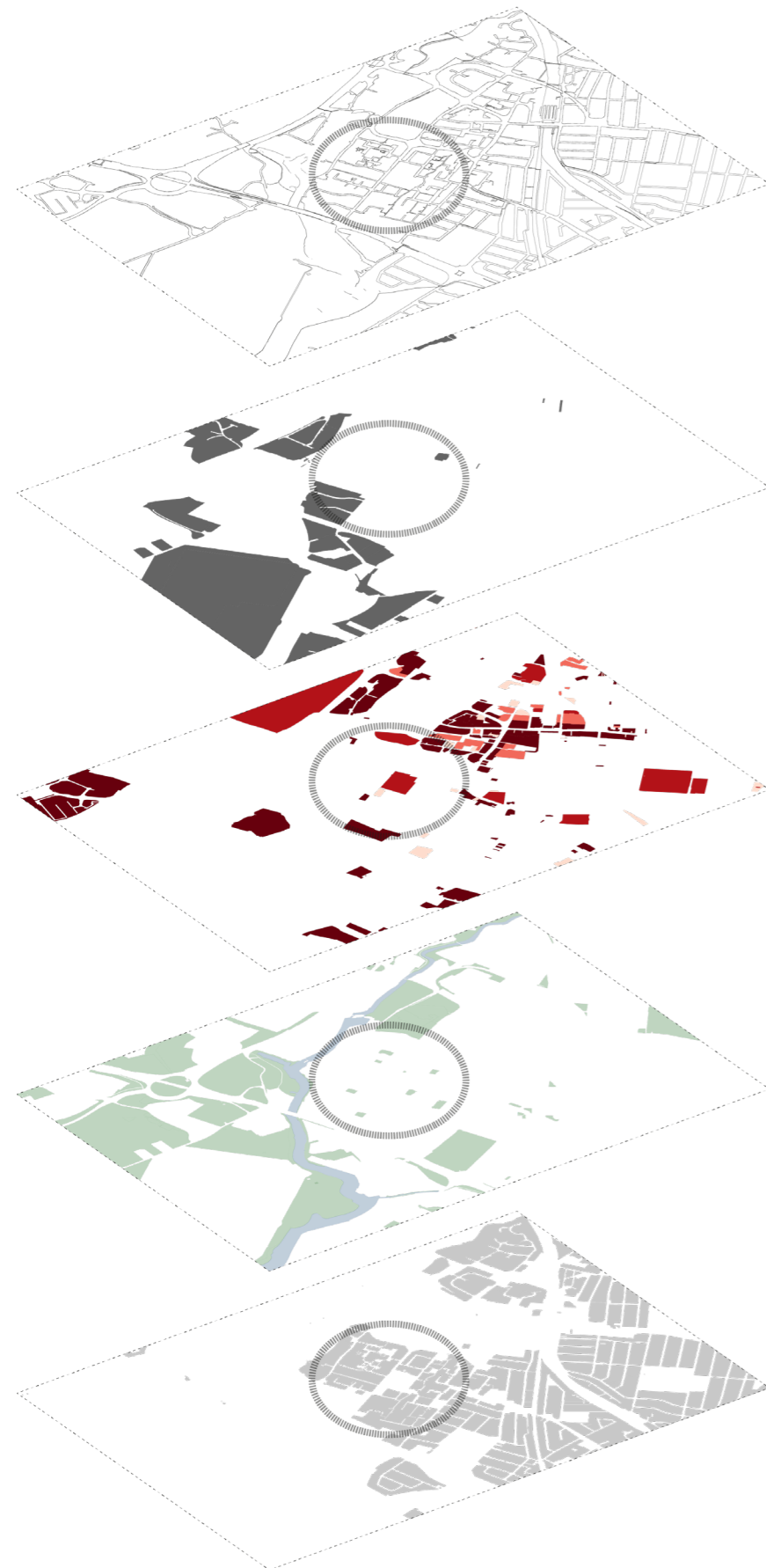
Figure 6.08
Gascoigne Estate

edited by author from:
Google Satellite, 2020,



Land Use

There are diverse types of land use around the estate, such as two parks, the Barking Town Centre, a waterfront and a water treatment plant. However, the area itself is purely residential.



Transport

Industrial

Commercial & Public Buildings

Green & Water

Residential



Figure 6.09: Land Use

*image by author, based on:
London Development Database, 2020*

- community health services
- offices
- education
- retail
- residential
- industry
- green
- water
- transport
- gascoigne estate

0m 100 200

Surrounding Qualities & Boundaries

The estate is enclosed by several boundaries, and cannot make use of the qualities mentioned on the page above. Figure 6.10 to 6.15 show the different boundaries around the estate. Figure 6.16 displays the inaccessible qualities.



Figure 6.10: Sports field
Google Streetview, 2021



Figure 6.11: Main Road
Google Streetview, 2021



Figure 6.12: Other neighbourhood
Google Streetview, 2021

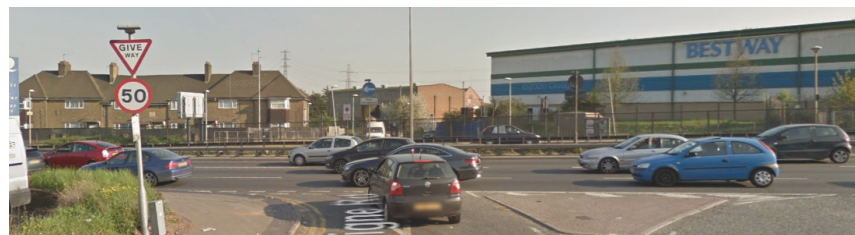


Figure 6.13: Motorway
Google Streetview, 2021



Figure 6.14: Uninviting stairs
Google Streetview, 2021



Figure 6.15: New developments
Google Streetview, 2021

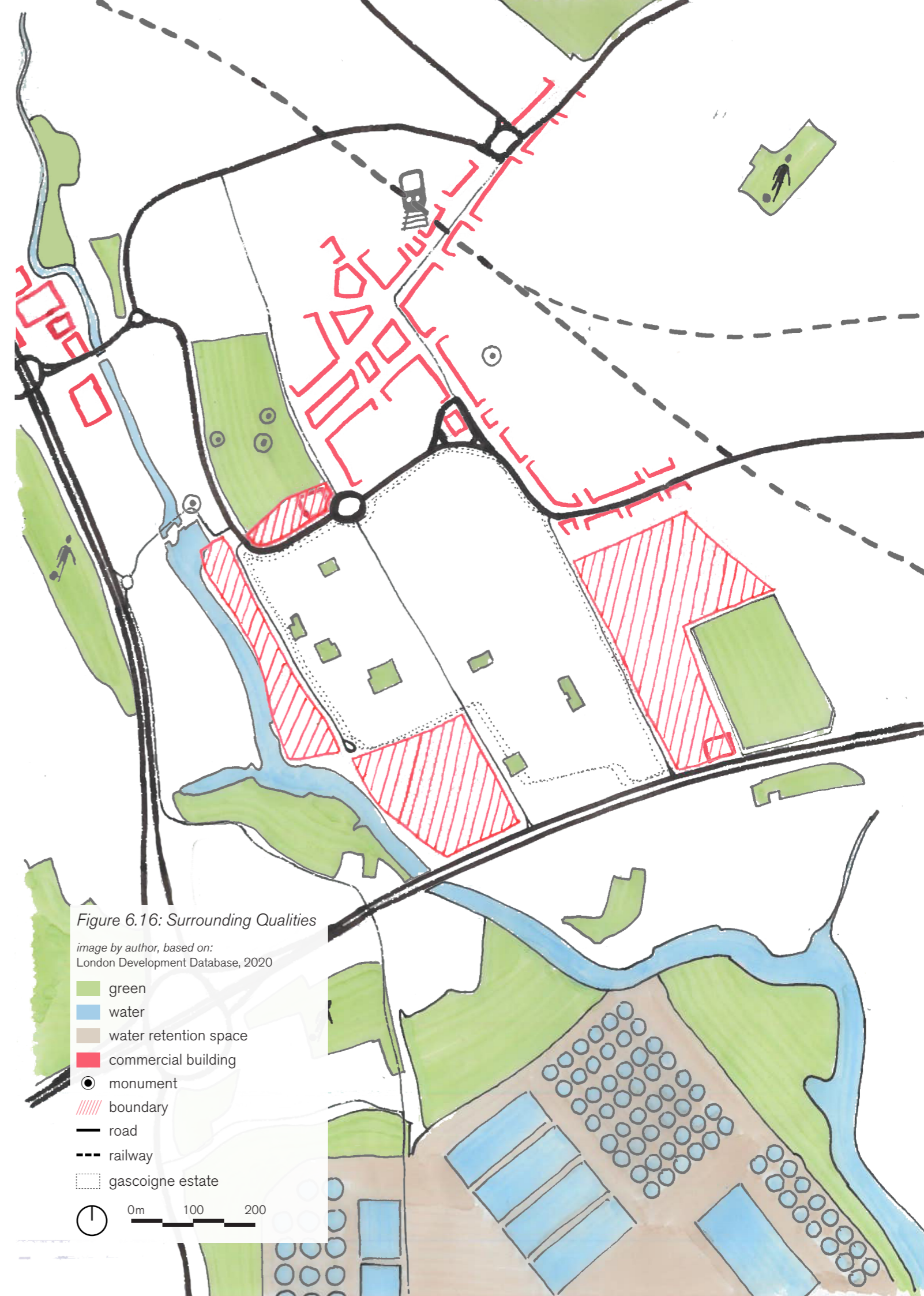


Image of the Gascoigne Estate



Google Streetview, 2021

Figure 6.17
Green space

The estate is very green.
However, the green spaces
are fenced and unusable for
residents.



Estate Watch, 2020

Figure 6.20
Replicate building blocks

The area is monofunctional
and mono aesthetic. It has
replicated lowrise and highrise
blocks.



Estate Watch, 2020

Figure 6.18
Playground

Spaces are replicated
throughout the estate, such
as these playgrounds.



Google Streetview, 2021

Figure 6.21
Parking along the road

Roads are enclosed by parking
lots, which is blocking views
and routes through the
area.



Estate Watch, 2020

Figure 6.19
Dilapidation

The estate is dilapidated
by bad maintenance and
anti-social behaviour. This is
strengthening the stigmatisation
on the estate.



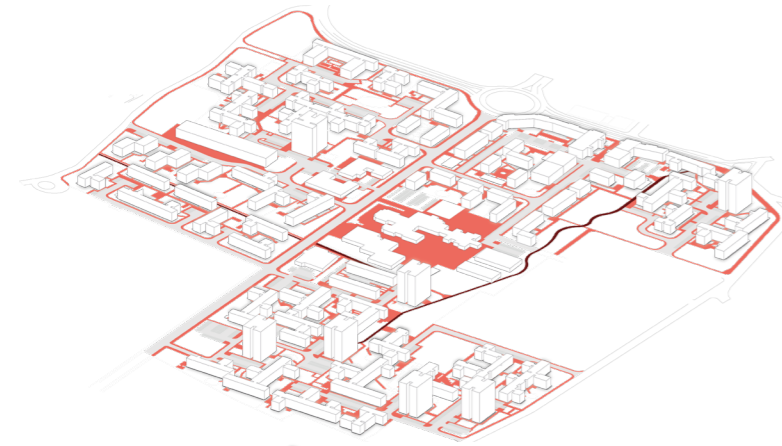
Google Streetview, 2021

Figure 6.22
Anonymous homes

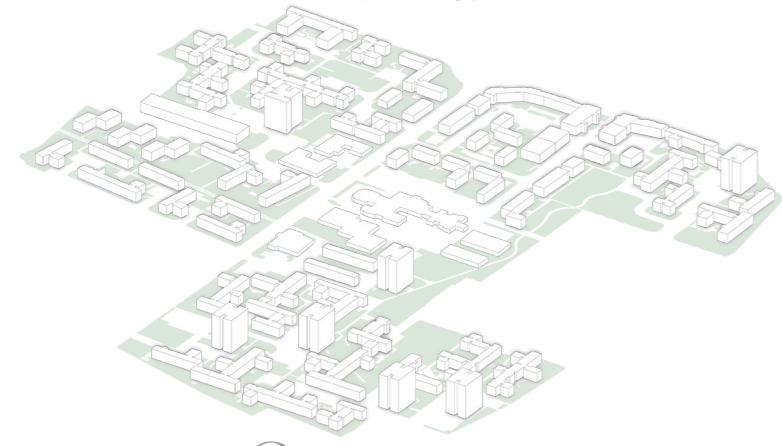
The replicate blocks with
blind plinths are making the
estate anonymous, causing a
sense of unsafety.

Territories

The roads, parking and fences are creating territories in the estate, dividing public, communal, and private space, and paved and green space.



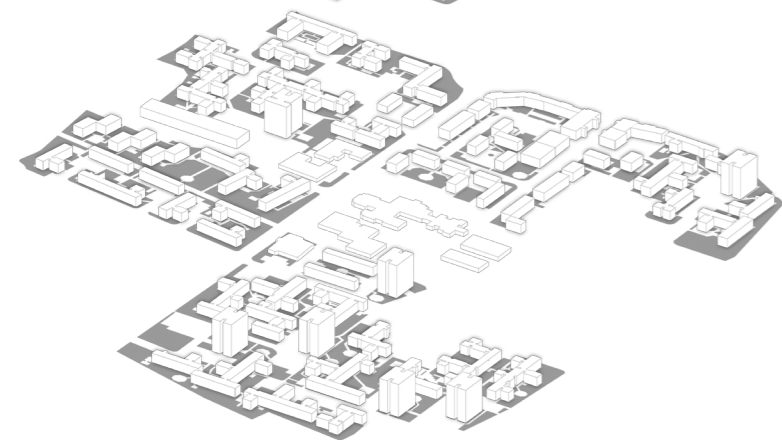
paved



green



public space



communal space

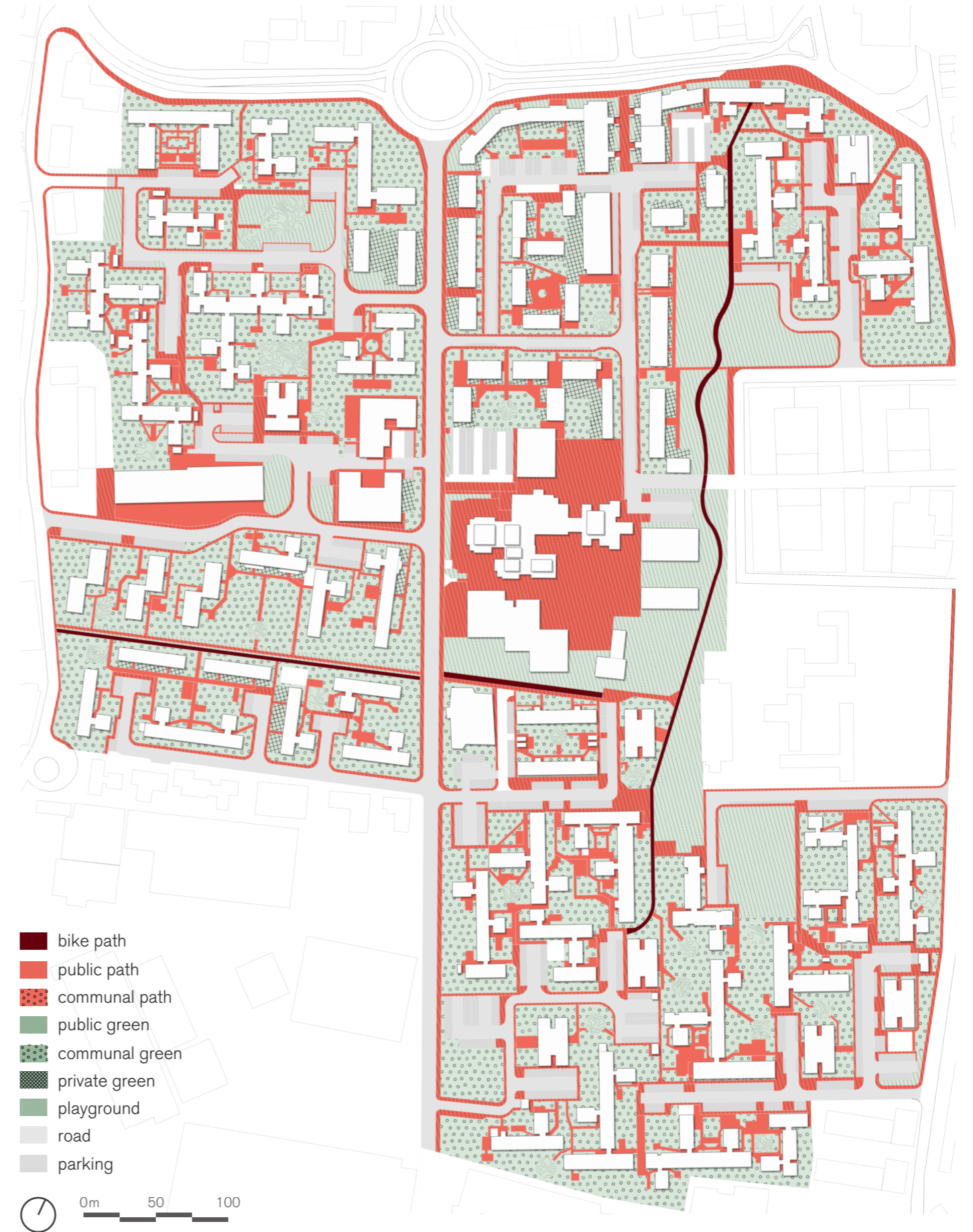


Figure 6.23: Fences in the Gascoigne Estate

Fences

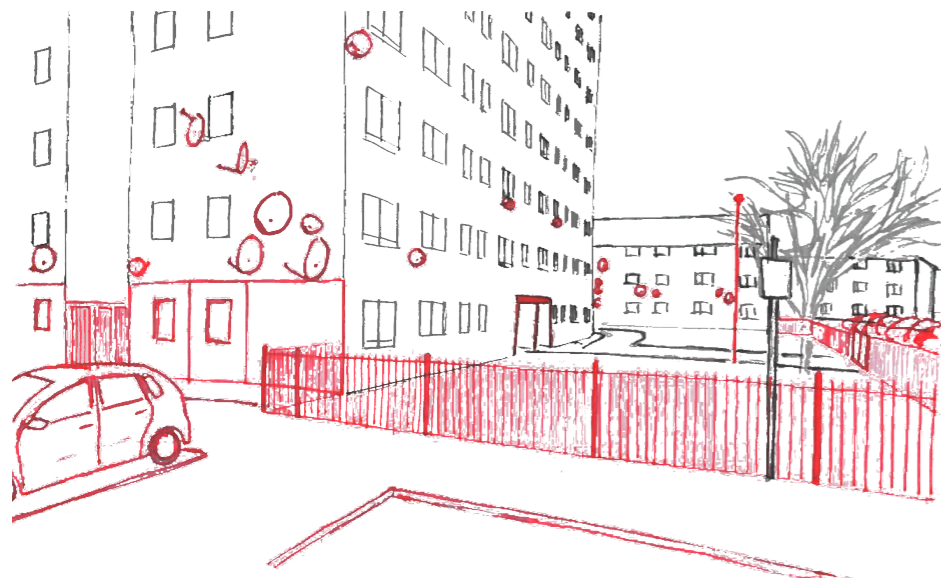


Figure 6.24:
Fences around communal spaces

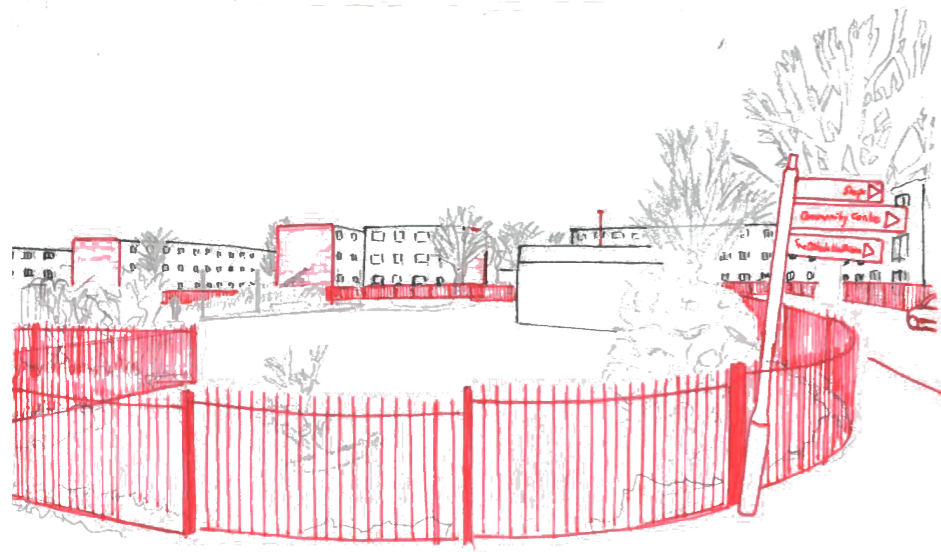


Figure 6.25:
Fences around public spaces

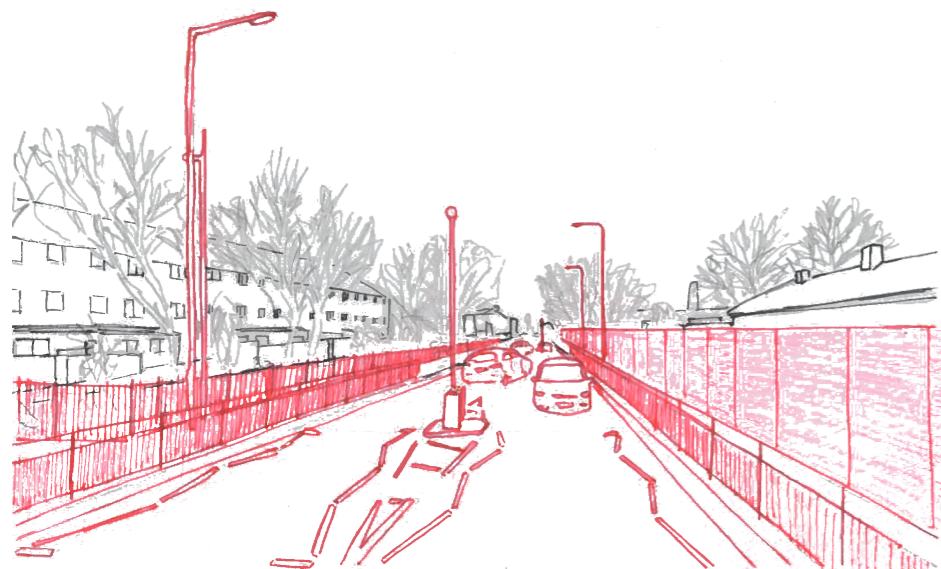


Figure 6.26:
Fences around main roads



Figure 6.27: Fences in the Gascoigne Estate

Parking

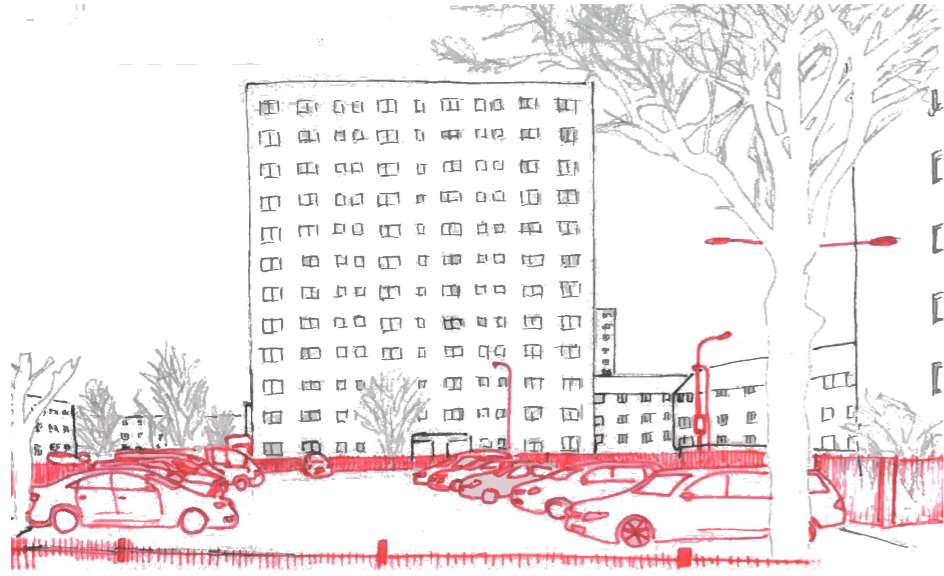


Figure 6.28:
Parking around communal spaces



Figure 6.29:
Parking around public spaces

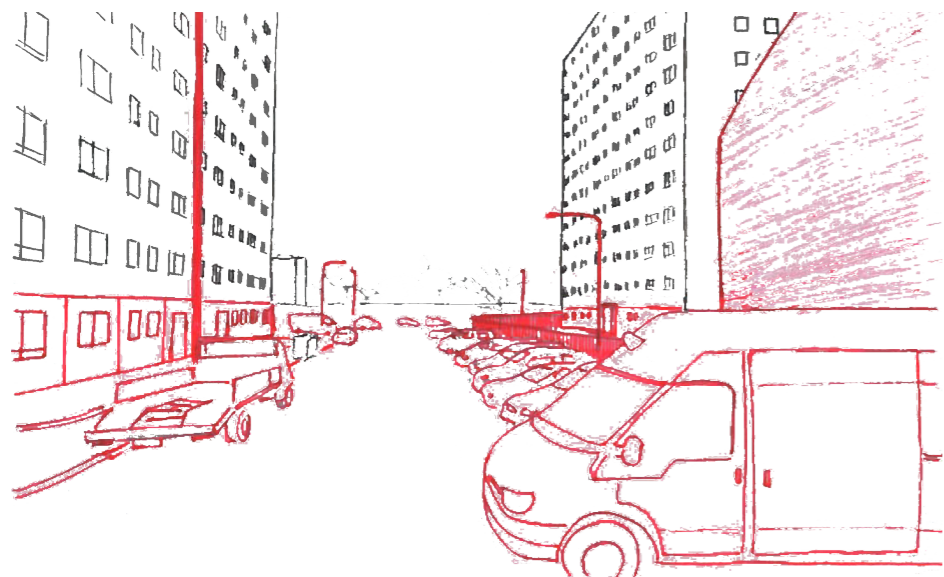


Figure 6.30:
Parking around main roads



0m 50 100

Figure 6.31: Parking in the Gascoigne Estate

Hidden Qualities

When filtering the fences and parking lots out of the picture, the public and communal spaces show their hidden quality. The principle of post-war housing blocks, such as the Gascoigne Estate, was living in green. This green is still there, but it is not used as it should be, mainly due to the blockages of parking lots and fences.

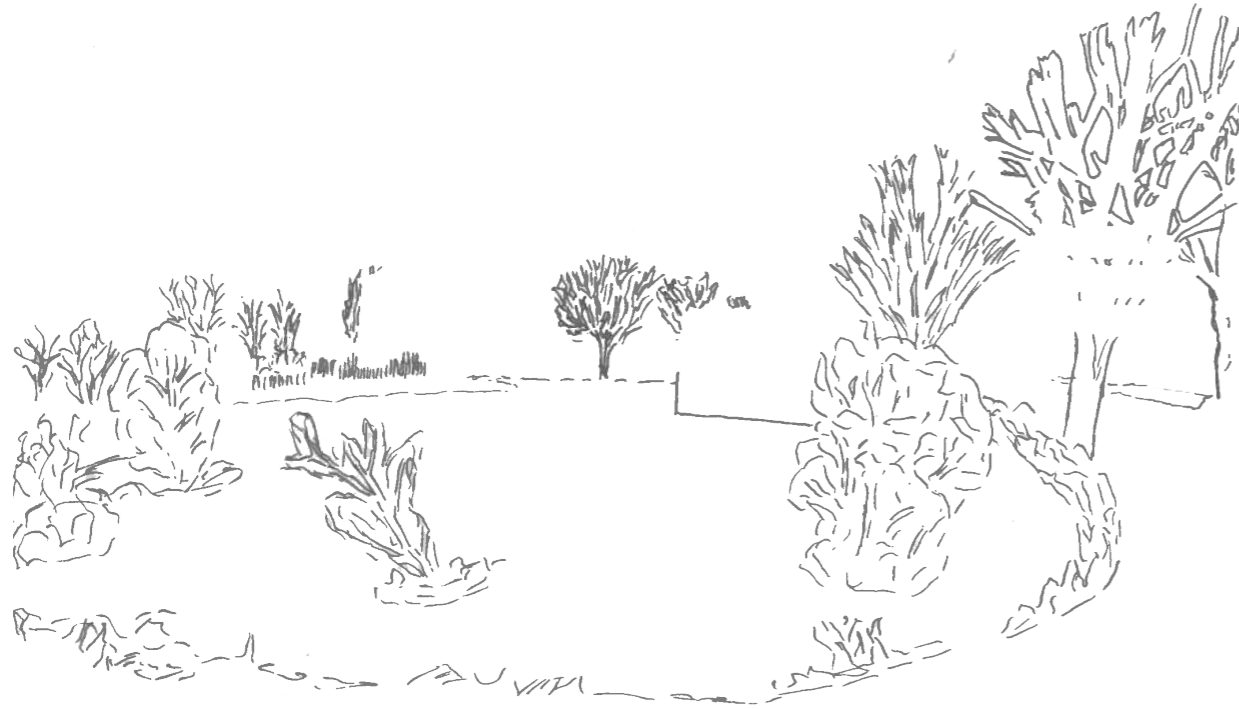


Figure 6.32: Greenery around public spaces



Figure 6.34: Greenery in public spaces



Figure 6.33: Greenery around a main road



Figure 6.35: Greenery around communal spaces

Conclusion

The analysis of the area is summarized in a SWOT analysis in figure 6.26. It forms the base for the design proposal. The dual pressure on social housing areas is visible in the Gascoigne Estate. The area was designed in the 1960s as a housing estate where residents can live surrounded by green. Nowadays, residents live surrounded by boundaries that enclose the estate from qualities around the area. The boundaries extend inwards, where fences are enclosing the buildings and parking lots blocking views and routes. The green space has become unusable and deprived. It has become a monofunctional, mono aesthetic, stigmatised estate in dilapidation. A shift has to be made to counter the dual pressure on the Gascoigne Estate.

Figure 6.36
SWOT analysis Gascoigne Estate

top left to bottom right:

- Towerblock (1987)
- Google Streetview (2021)
- Google Streetview (2021)
- Cornor (2020)
- Google Streetview (2021)
- Google Streetview (2021)
- Google Streetview (2021)
- Burford (2018)
- Estate Watch (2020)
- Towerblock (1987)
- Austin (2018)
- Uknip247 (2020)
- Google Streetview (2021)
- Google Streetview (2021)
- Google Streetview (2021)
- Barking & Dagenham Police (2018)
- Google Streetview (2021)
- Hogg (2009)
- Google Streetview (2021)
- Google Streetview (2021)
- Hogg (2012)
- Google Streetview (2021)
- Google Streetview (2021)
- Faichney (2013)
- Google Streetview (2021)
- Townsend (2019)
- Doilum (2019)
- Estate Watch (2020)
- Uknip247 (2020)



7 Alternative Housing Concepts



LILAC, 2015

Reclaiming Control

The financialisation of housing made access to adequate housing, especially in cities such as London, very limited. In the current housing system, new homes are likely to disappear into a black hole of speculative demand (Stears, 2016). To reclaim homes for the community, these homes need to be removed from the speculative market. Martin & Ryan-Collins (2016) listed a set of proposals to reclaim homes, such as 'boost the stock of non-market housing including homes with social rents and community-led schemes, and develop new models of no-debt or low-ownership'; and 'support schemes where land is held by either a public body or community, separating the cost of land from the cost of homes'. It is worth asking why the community would want to have control over their homes. This is because residents want control over their lives and their own space, and have the right to decorate it how they want. On top of that, residents want to have both financial and tenure security by being a homeowner (Stears, 2016). Moreover, the community wants to reclaim their right to the city.

Reclaiming the right to the city means that the residents can democratically co-create the city. The current housing construction by private developers is not fulfilling this right. Therefore, community-led housing concepts must be found, where thus the community is at the heart of the process and not an afterthought (Lyall et al., 2015). To be at the heart of the process, control is vital. Residents themselves should be the ones to say what their needs and demands are, instead of outsiders deciding that for them. Sherry Arnstein (1969) created a 'Ladder of Participation', defining eight degrees of citizen participation. The top three steps, 'degrees of citizen power', should be the aspiration for every community-led regeneration scheme (Sendra & Fitzpatrick, 2020).

Around the world there are already many co-operative housing initiatives where citizens have the highest form of control and participation. Many of these projects, however, have been held back by lack of access to finance, land, and expertise. Community-housing should not be seen as a substitute for council housing, but as a more empowering way of delivering it (Stears, 2016). Permanent

affordability is a pitfall for many of these co-operative projects. Often, it is only affordable for the first generation of residents since they were funded or had discounts in acquiring land. After this affordable first generation, the homes are taken again by the market which makes the homes unaffordable. To make co-operative housing an alternative for social housing, permanent affordability must be assured. This thesis aims to find an answer to that question by using a Community Land Trust and a Mutual Home Ownership Society.

Communities using these formal organisations in combination with informal organisations and campaigns have a strong capacity to oppose demolition and propose an alternative plan, since they have the capability to engage in top-down planning strategies as well as bottom-up strategies (Sendra & Fitzpatrick, 2020). Creating networks and exchanging knowledge between organisations and campaigns in similar situations can strengthen each other. Communities learn from each other and professionalize from this knowledge. This process towards professionalisation is strengthened by support from professionals (community organiser, urban planners, architects, financial advisors), together with exterior informal support such as exhibitions and media attention.

This chapter elaborates on the concepts of a CLT and MHOS, using four case studies as examples for the implementation in the Gascoigne Estate.

Community Land Trust

In 1972, the International Independence Institute wrote a guide for a new model for land tenure in America: the Community Land Trust. It was defined as a tenure of community ownership of land by a non-profit, nongovernmental organization, combined with individual ownership of the houses. Their mission is to withdraw and retain land from the speculative market, preserving affordability over time for the benefit of its current and future residents (Davis, 2010). It offered lower-income households the opportunity to become homeowners. CLT's focused on preventing displacement in gentrifying neighbourhoods, and developing various types and tenures of permanently affordable housing (Davis et al., 2020).

A CLT is, however, not only about maintaining affordability, it also includes housing quality and security (King, 2020). The regeneration of empty sites or deprived neighbourhoods through affordable and sustainable housing is seen as a means to achieve a better quality of life. This echoes the aim of CLT's in the UK to improve general well-being. The holistic approach explains why a CLT not only creates new housing, but also develops public buildings such as schools and community hubs (Pialucha, 2018).

The New Urban Agenda named community land trusts among the 'policies, tools, mechanisms, and financing models' (Davis et al., 2020). The CLT movement is at an intersection of two world-wide movements for social change, especially at locations where lower income residents have high tenure insecurities in deprived living conditions. In cities grabbed by international capital the movement is also being championed by the movement for a right to the city (Lefebvre, 1968).

One of the most powerful attributes of the CLT is its versatility, it can be adapted to the land uses and societal needs (King, 2020). Community land trusts exist in numerous variations in how the organization is structured, the land is utilized, and how the development is done. The mixed ownership of the CLT resembles the garden city scheme by Ebenezer Howard: the properties would be privately owned by individuals or businesses, but the land would be owned by a nongovernmental

organization. The foundation of the CLT is community owned land, with a non-profit organization managing the parcels with privately owned homes. Ownership and empowerment went hand-in-hand. The 'classic CLT' is built up out of community (organization); land (ownership); and trust (operation), overlapping and interacting in a dynamic model, as displayed in figure 7.01 (Davis et al., 2020).

community - CLT's incorporate a participatory ethos, involving the place-based population in their activities. Development is community-led.

land - the typical CLT removes land permanently from the market, managing it on behalf of the community. The buildings are owned individually by residents, businesses, etc, the underlying land is leased from the CLT. The concept is balanced between individual property for private interest and collective property for common interest.

trust - CLT's are seldom established as real estate trusts, but rather as NGO's, which are private, non-profit organizations. Their purpose is to meet the needs of the population who are underserved by the market and the state.

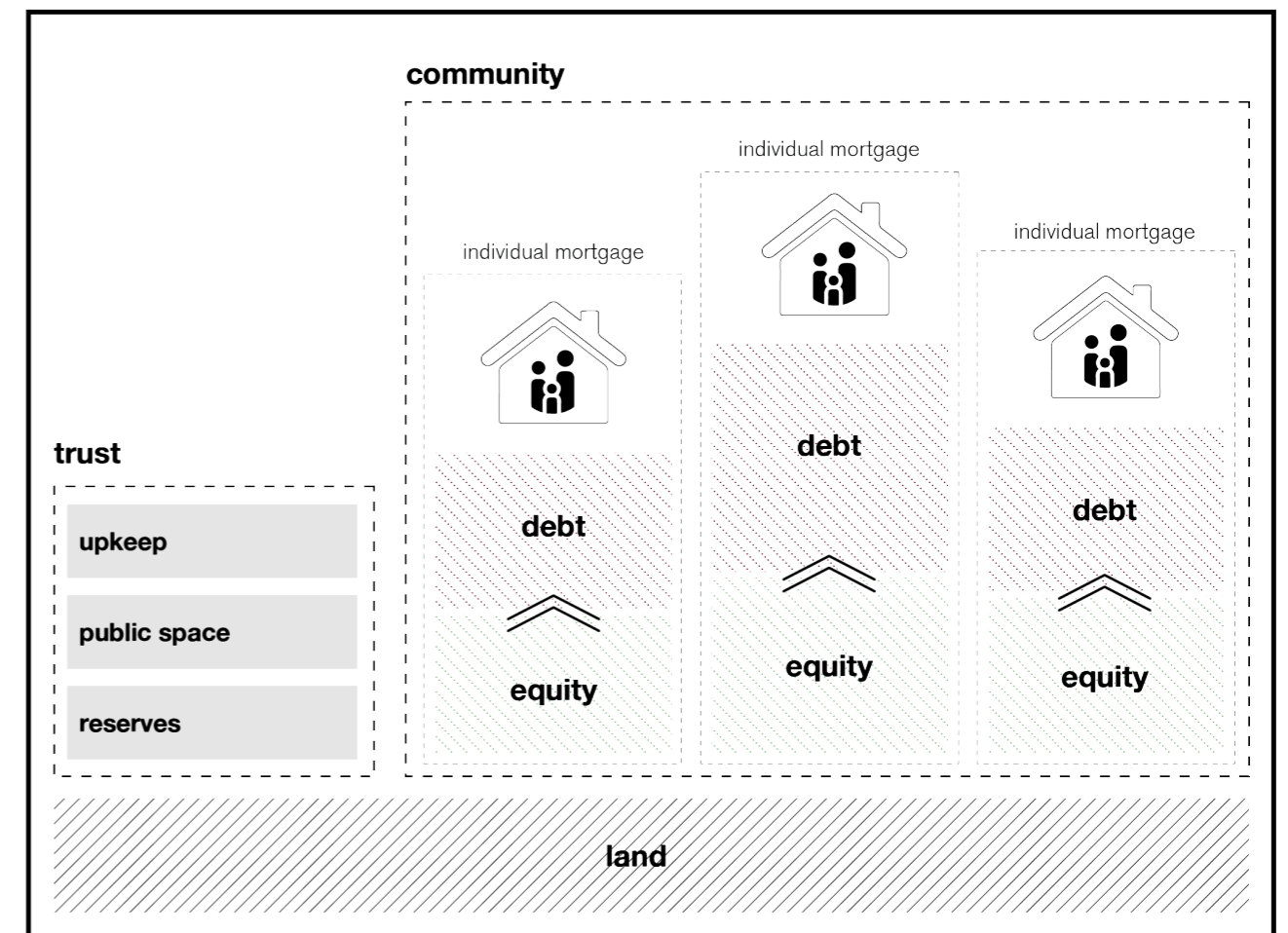
Although there are almost as many variations on the model as there are actual CLT's, it is more important what unites them than what separates them. CLT's have a shared commitment to create real estate for the common good and there is a shared conviction that community-owned land tends to do a better job in creating equitable and sustainable environments, especially for the disadvantaged and disempowered population. A community land trust can serve as a hub to assess, analyse, and advance the needs of those struggling in the current market. The assessment can be used to advocate for better public policies and services to prevent displacement (King, 2020).

Local residents are often excluded from participation in decision making, and they deserve a seat at the table. CLT's enable people to feel like they are participating in local political life, members are actually making decisions (Pialucha, 2018). Community-owned land or community-led development by themselves are not enough, it is their combination that gives CLT's a distinctive identity and metamorphic potential (Davis et al., 2020).



Figure 7.01
The classic CLT model

Figure 7.02
CLT concept



Mutual Home Ownership Society

A Mutual Home Ownership Society (MHOS) is an innovative housing co-operative controlled by its residents. The model was originally developed by the New Economics Foundation and CDS Co-operatives (Birchall et al., 2003). The MHOS is designed as an alternative to traditional homeownership. It is a form of shared ownership where residents own an equity share in a mutual property trust (Stears, 2016). The homes are owned by the co-operative trust and residents are able to own and accumulate equity shares. They build up equity by paying a monthly charge to the society, giving residents an economic interest in the value of the assets (Moss et al., 2019).

The homes remain permanently affordable: by disconnecting the occupation of the property from the underlying value of the land, it protects the scheme from fluctuation in the housing market. Through the single mortgage held by the co-operative, the overall cost is cheaper, which makes it possible to build up equity for those who cannot afford a regular mortgage (Moss et al., 2019). Being a member of the MHOS will give residents the right to involve in the build and design of their homes and to democratically control the community (LILAC, 2009). The MHOS is fully mutual, which means that every resident is an equal member of the society and has an equal say in how it is run (CLH, 2020).

Setting up the MHOS does not happen in a bubble. The members are in control of setting the monthly chargers and equity shares, but costs such as purchasing land or building homes are still subject to the same economic forces as any other housing development. Therefore, grants and mortgage loans are needed. Even with grant funding available, it can be a challenge to achieve a viable and affordable scheme (CLH, 2020).

The MHOS allows members to buy equity shares in the society. Shares can be bought either up front or accumulated as part of a monthly charge (CLH, 2020). When joining the MHOS, members need to pay a minimum deposit equity to 10% of the equity shares they can afford to finance through their monthly charge (LILAC, 2009).

Each equity share is owned by a member and is financed by the monthly payment the members are charged. This payment is set on 35% of the income of the household. The more a member earns, the more equity shares they can afford to finance. When their income rises, they can acquire more equity shares. When their income falls the members do not lose their home, but they can sell equity shares to another member (CCMH, 2009). The amount of equity shares a member is allowed to own must not differ more that 10% of the build cost to ensure sustainability of the MHOS (LILAC, 2009). Once households have paid off their share of debt, they can either choose to purchase more equity shares and keep paying 35% of their income, or start paying 10% of their income for upkeep. (CLH, 2020)

When a member decides to leave the MHOS, they can take the equity they have build up with them. This capital can be used to buy a house or obtain a mortgage elsewhere. The payment is either done by the new residents taking over the equity shares or other residents buying more shares. If not, the co-operative pays off through the equity they build up (CLH, 2020).

The MHOS intends to protect homes from the speculative forces of the housing market, and the value of the homes are set on what they cost to build or purchase, together with the accessory land. This is likely to be financed by the MHOS through a mortgage debt. This debt will be paid off by the monthly payment by the residents for the equity shares (CLH, 2020). The MHOS needs the ability to move equity around to pay out departing members and to support members on hard times. This ability depends mainly on the scale of the co-operative and the number of members making monthly payments. The fewer the amount of members, the greater the risk of destabilization is when there are changes in circumstance. The more members the society has, the more the risk can be spread, making is easier to build up reserves (CLH, 2020). Figure 7.03 shows the ratio of debt to equity over a 30-year period, illustrating the slow buildup of equity and the high amount of depth in the early years.

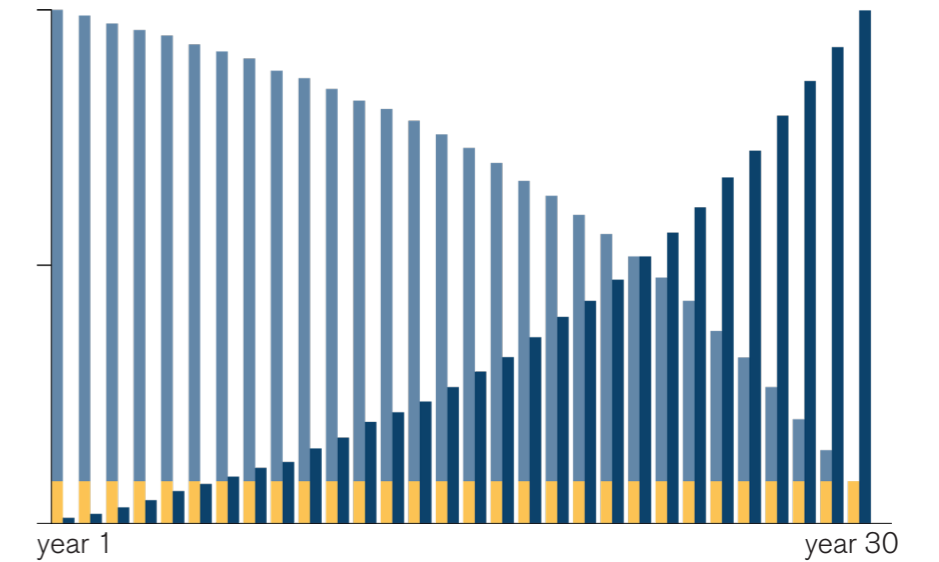
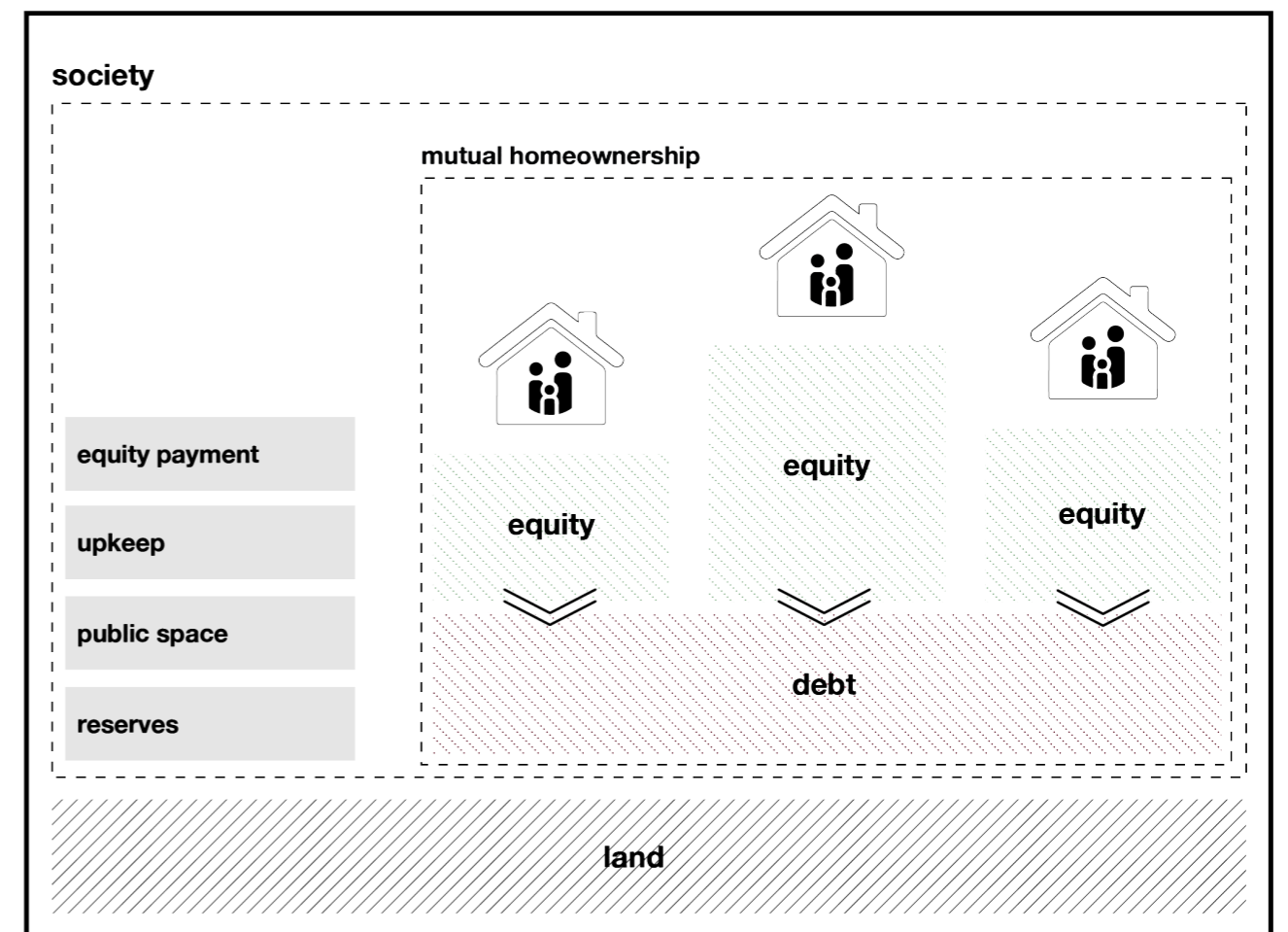


Figure 7.03
Mortgage pay-off phasing

■ debt
■ equity
■ monthly payment

Figure 7.04
MHOS concept



Case Study 1: WECH

Walterton and Elgin Community Homes is a resident controlled housing association, emerged from a long-running campaign against the sale of their homes to developers in the 1980s. It has become an exemplar project of a bottom up approach to revitalize the physical environment which also stimulates a sustainable and inclusive community (WECH, 2021). Campaigns were regulated by the Westminster & Elgin Action Group. They organised a trip by bus to the developers' offices to explain the situation, and what would happen if the developer takes the offer of the council. This approach worked efficiently, mainly because the developers saw the resistance and possible bad publicity (WAEG, 1988).

After the successful campaign, WECH proposed to take over the management of the state through the Tenant's Choice legislation in 1988. Support among the residents was solidified through meetings and visits, explaining the ideas and gathering concerns. A manifesto and ballot favoured for a transfer to a cooperative. WECH is now completely run by the community and it is developing its own regeneration programme, implementing a form of the People's Plan. The study of Sandra & Fitzpatrick (2020) concluded that WECH residents were happier and more engaged in community ownership than under their council landlord. They feel a stronger sense of belonging and responsibility and are more satisfied with their homes.



construction date
1865 - 1885

homes
921

length process
25 years

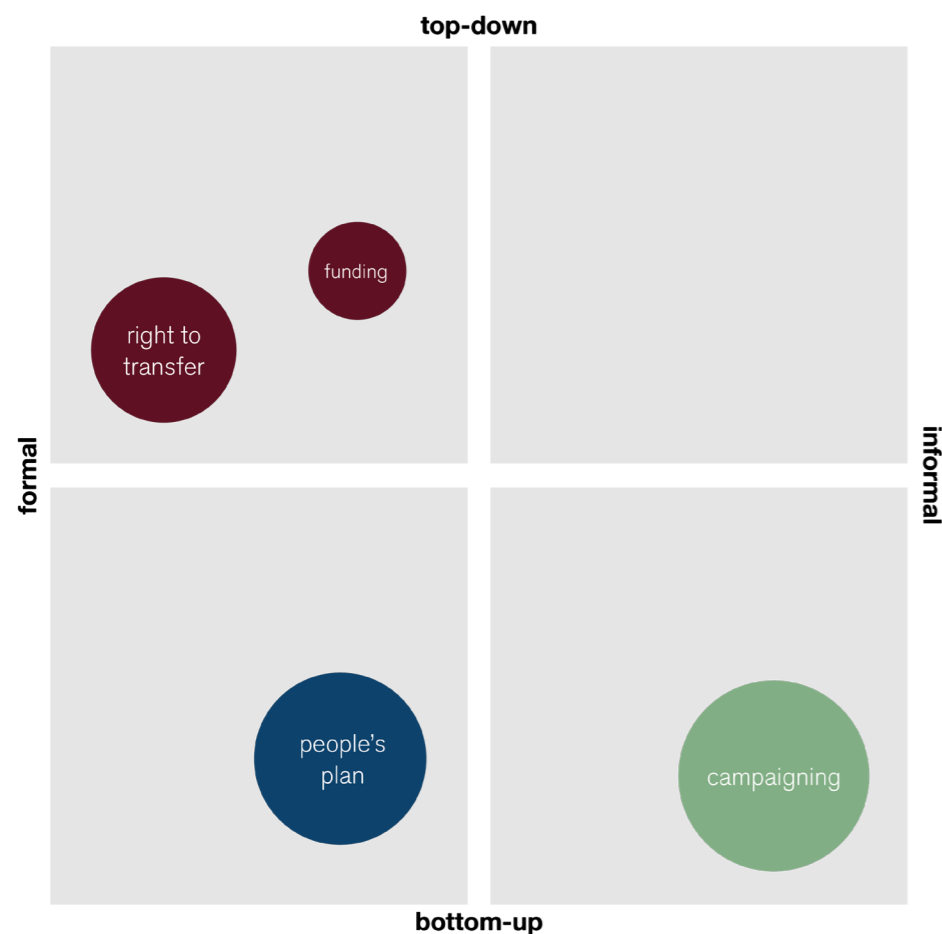


Figure 7.05
Tools used by the WECH community

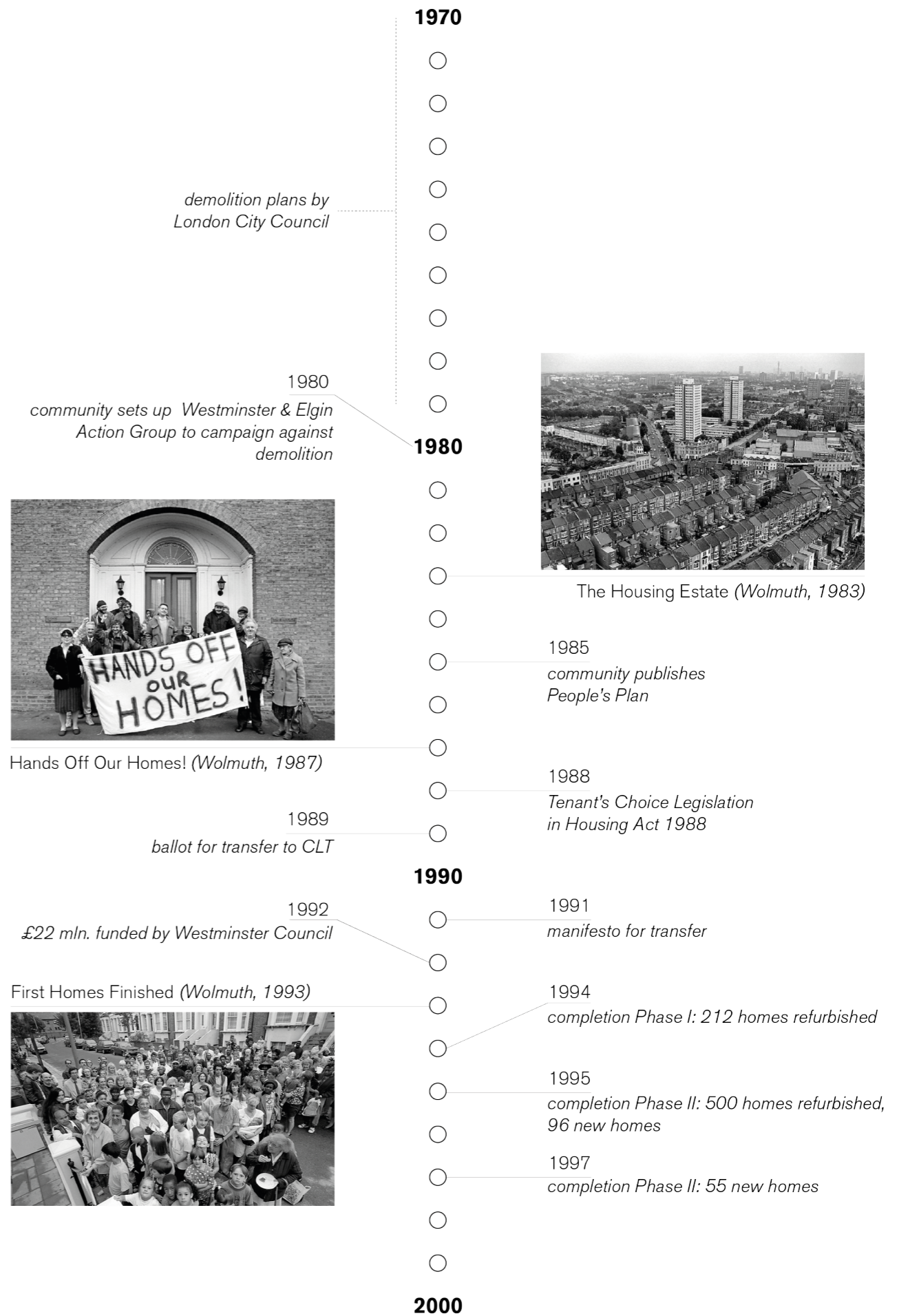


Figure 7.06
Timeline WECH

Case Study 2: Cressingham Gardens

Cressingham Gardens was constructed in the 1970s, but has been in demolition thread since the 2000s. The residents have set up a Save Cressingham campaign in order to keep their homes, but also against the demolition of a unique design by Edward Hollamby and Roger Westman.

Through the campaigns, the residents obtained an opportunity for consultation. The council gave five opportunities for the future of Cressingham, three of them were refurbishment plans. However, even with consultation, the council decided to demolish the estate. The action group ran two Judicial Reviews, and after the second they were proven that the council did not handle rightly. At that moment the group started a process for a cooperative land ownership and management. In 2020 they obtained a Right to Manage and a Right to Transfer, which means they are able to take over the estate and create a CLT. Currently, the business plan is set up and there is a ballot for a transfer. The Save Cressingham action demonstrates the effectiveness of campaigning, and the importance of persistence.



construction date
1968 - 1978

homes
306

length process
10 years (and going)

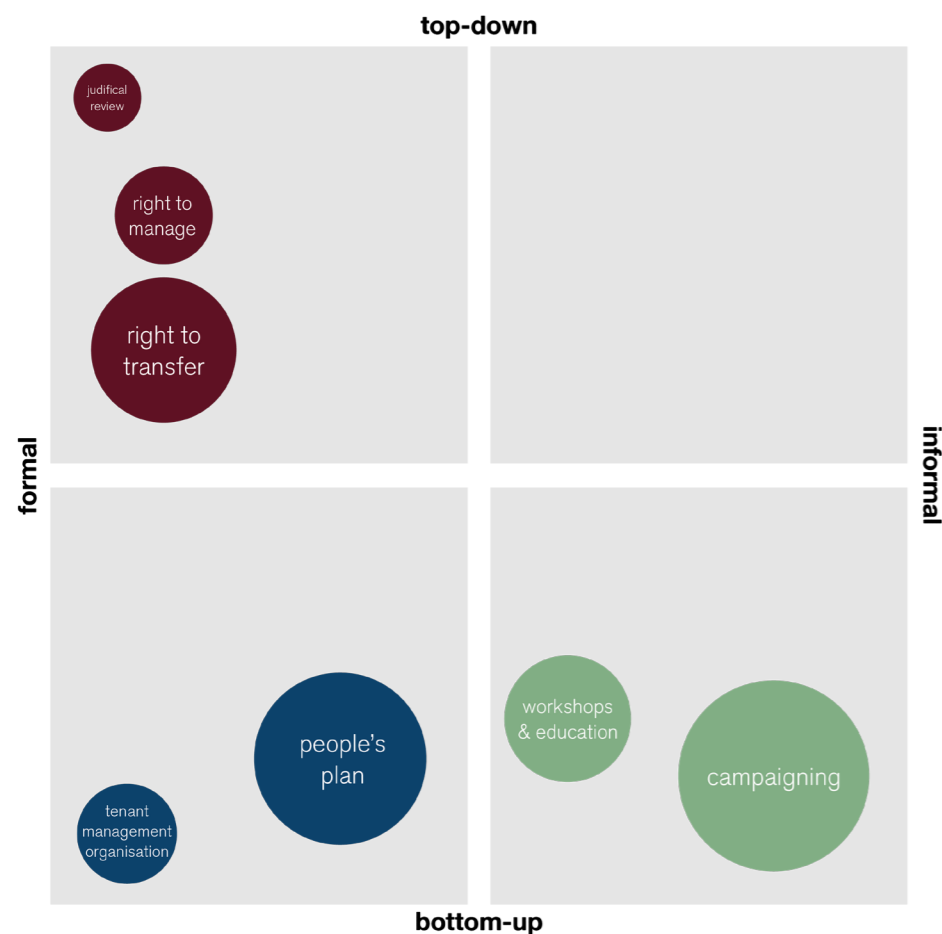


Figure 7.07
Tools used by the Cressingham Gardens community

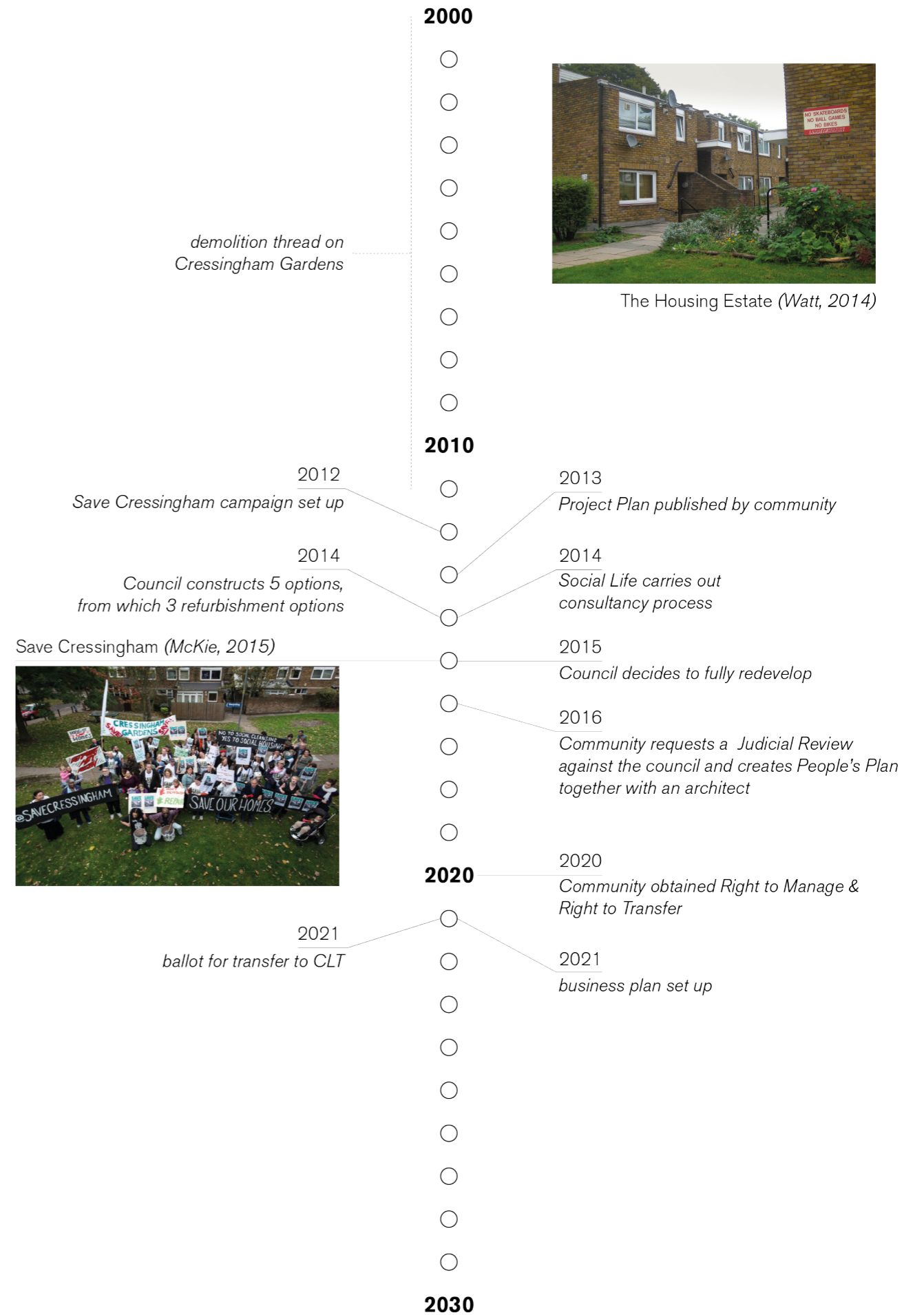


Figure 7.08
Tools used by the Cressingham Gardens community

Case Study 3: St. Clements Hospital / London CLT

The London CLT established in 2007 out of community organising in response to the scarcity of affordable homes in London (CLH, 2021). The motto of London CLT in the negotiations was 'compromise on everything except your principles and winning'. These principles were delivering permanent affordability, base the project on community-led designs and the CLT homes must not be controlled by any other party. The project at St. Clements had a major focus in delivering permanently affordable homes, but above that it was about community, social justice and well-being (Smith, 2020). To assist the local communities setting up their organization, the London CLT created a deconcentrated governance working as an umbrella organization to support all projects (Pialucha, 2018).

The challenge when setting up a CLT is finding the right balance between adapting the classic CLT model to the context and maintaining a worldwide movement. Then, it is important to keep the C in the CLT, in other words that in the establishment, design, and development process the resident must be placed central. Planning, designing, financing, and finally completing a housing development takes a very long time, thus it is important to keep people interested and involved. Building and organising the community is as important in this process as building the homes themselves (Smith, 2020). The organization was able to take the campaign and ideals out of the abstract and create a place for residents who needed somewhere to call home (Smith, 2020).



construction date
1848 - 1849

homes
23

length process
12 years

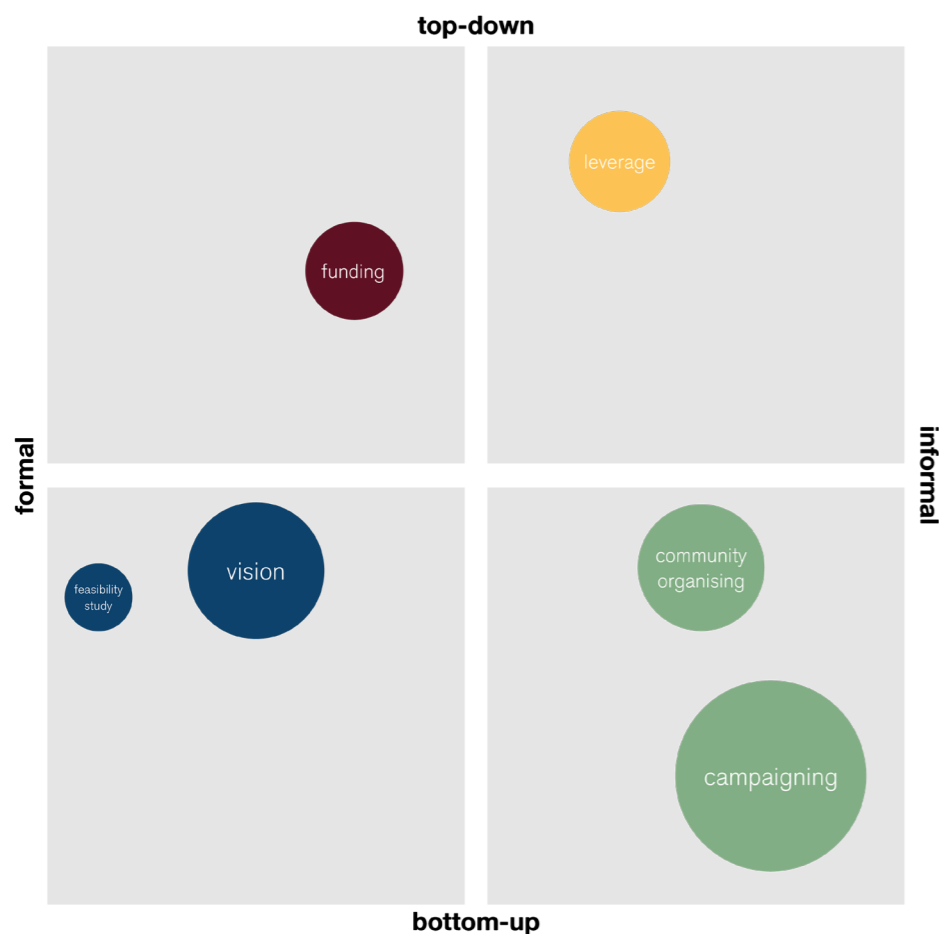


Figure 7.09
Tools used by the London CLT for St. Clements

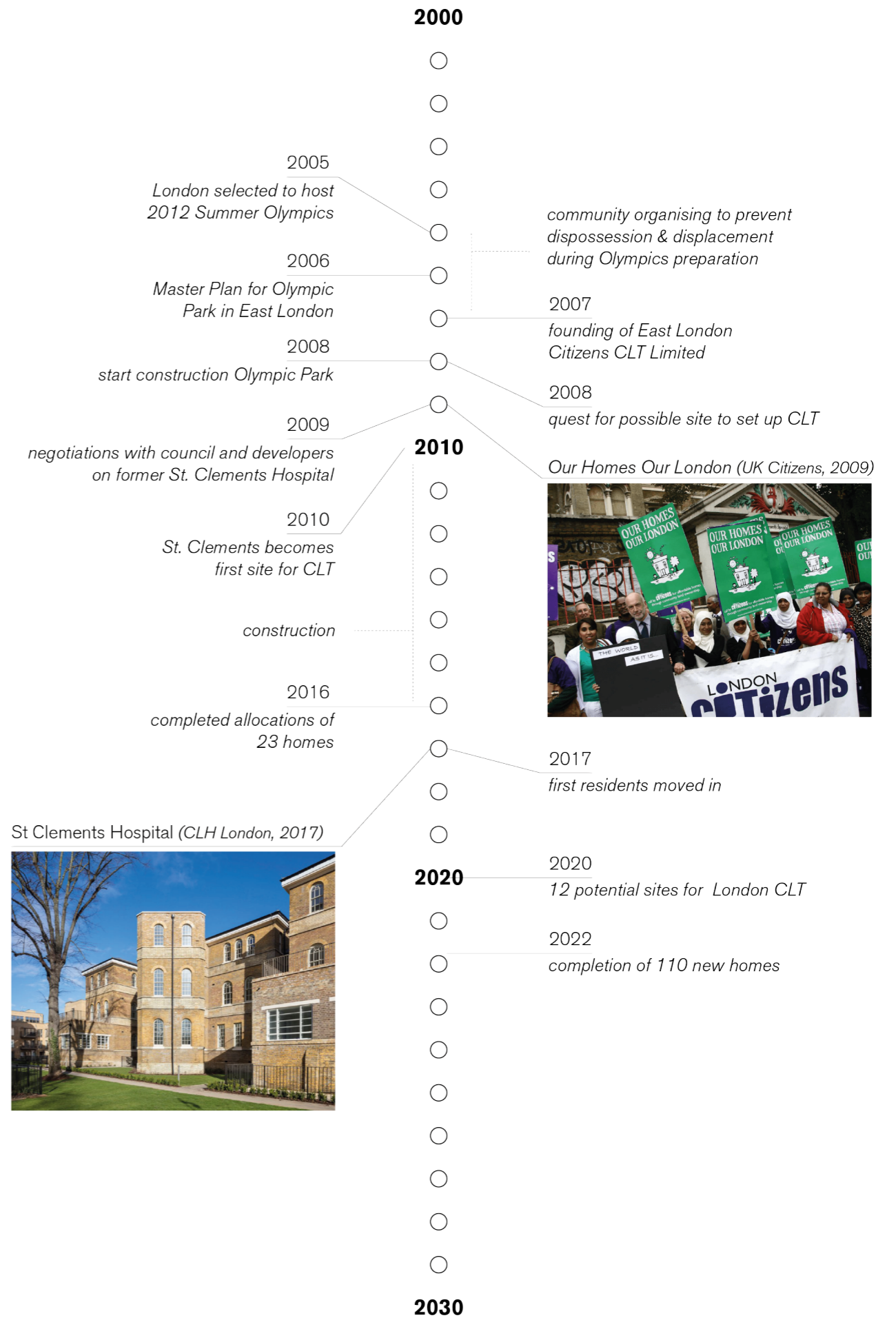


Figure 7.10
Timeline London CLT

Case Study 4: LILAC

Lilac, meaning Low Impact Living Affordable Community, is one of the first Mutual Home Ownership Societies in practice. The project puts residents back in charge. It is a case study of how to create affordable low impact community living, tackling the climate crisis, social isolation, and tenure insecurity (Lilac Learning Team, 2020). Residents mention the increased control they have over their housing through the MHOS and that they are at the heart of decision making. On top of the personal satisfactions, the residents also have an increased sense of belonging and community. This is the result of the cohousing design approach, encouraging social interaction by facing homes towards each other and placing the community centre in the heart of the project. This stimulates meeting, conversations and social control (Lilac, 2009).

The co-housing project is a pioneering addition to the city of Leeds by its permanently affordable homes and the high ecological standard. The membership and outreach policy is democratic, open, and inclusive, all members are treated equally and have their own say in the process. There is an recognized demand for co-housing projects in the UK. Throughout the UK there are already several prospective projects, build upon the well-established international co-housing community, predominantly with projects in North America (Lilac, 2009).



construction date
2012 - 2013

homes
20

length process
7 years

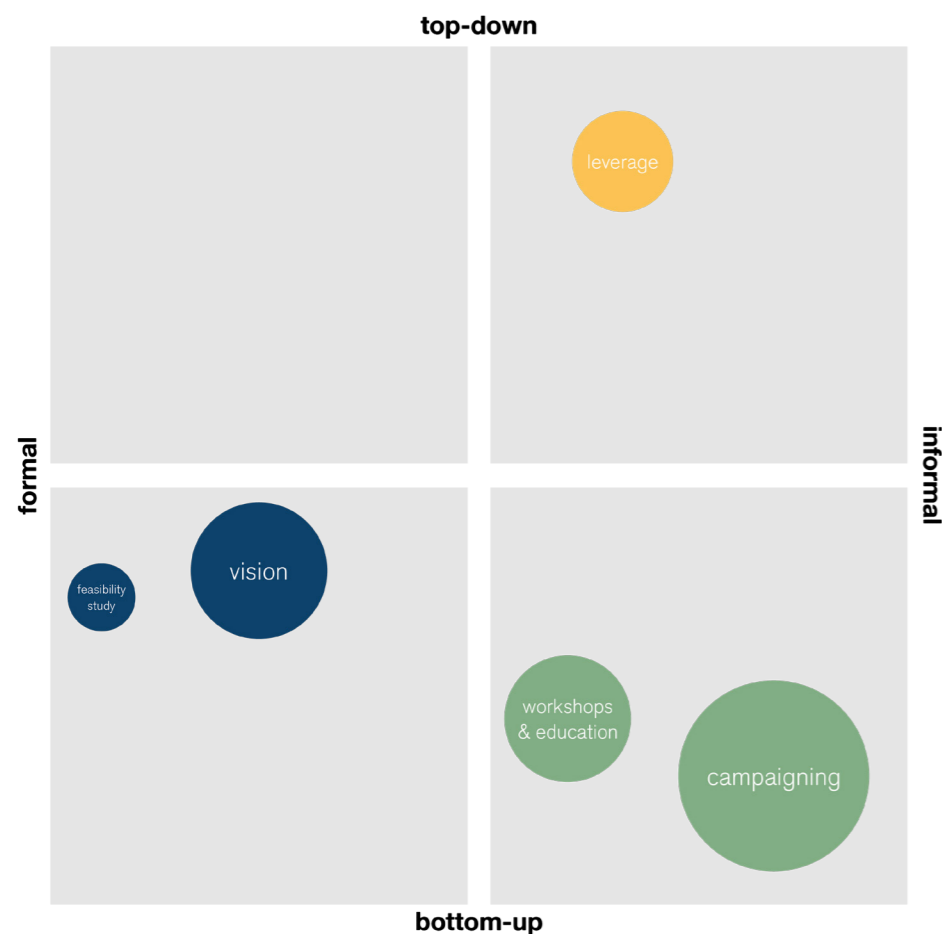


Figure 7.11
Tools used by the LILAC
MHOS



Figure 7.12
Timeline Lilac

8 Roadmap Towards Revival



LILAC, 2015

Introduction

Community land trusts and mutual homeownership societies are able to provide quality housing and secure tenure for disadvantaged citizens. It gives a community the opportunity to reclaim control over their own lives and recover their right to the city. The phasing and tools of the case studies in the previous chapter provide an outline for this project on setting up a CLT or MHOS. These tools, supported by literature, are put together in a Community Toolbox. The toolbox sets out the different tools that are available for the community in the process.

These tools will be used for the implementation of the CLT in the Gascoigne Estate. First, the reasoning behind the implementation is explained. It elaborates on the actors and their activities in the process. The relations between the actors and activities are explained in a scheme, with a focus on the role of the urbanist. The actions of the urbanist will be elaborated further. Lastly, the complete process of setting up the CLT will be placed in time: the Roadmap Towards Revival.

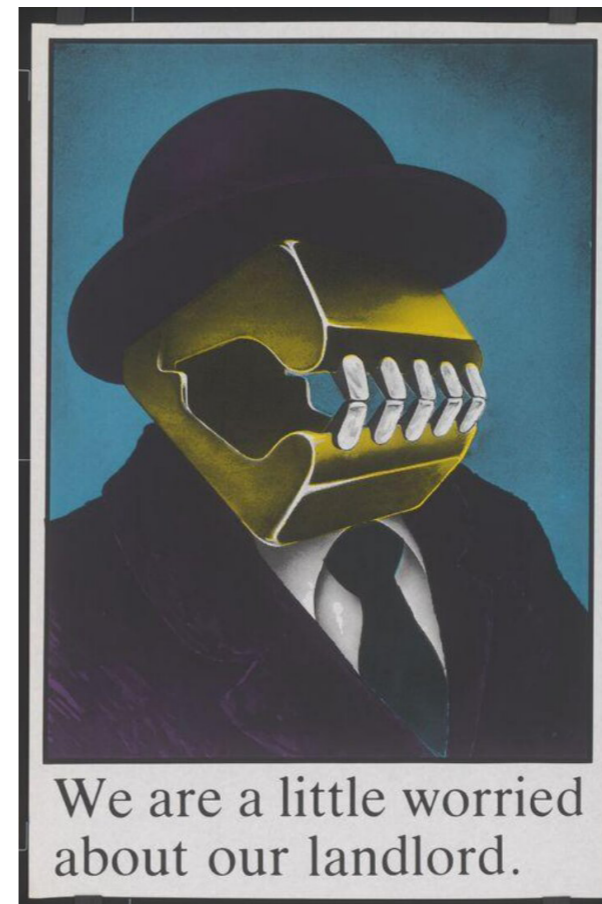


Figure 8.01
Campaigning Poster for WECH
(Phillips, 1986)

Community Toolbox

The community toolbox as displayed in Figure 9.02 is a matrix from informal to formal and from bottom-up to top-down tools that come forward from the case studies and literature. The tools fit in the four boxes and will be explained tool by tool below.

Informal Bottom-Up Tools

Community Organising

A community organisation is a group of people living in proximity to each other which acts on behalf of shared self-interest. It is used to generate collective power for the powerless, assuming social change is necessary. The core aim is to make this power durable, giving the community a chance to influence decision-makers and give them a seat at the table in negotiations (Bobo et al., 2001). An important actor in this process is a community organiser. They dedicate time to bring residents together by organising meetings and events, supporting them in the establishment of structures of governance. They act as a central contact person who organises meetings and events (Sendra & Fitzpatrick, 2020).

Residents themselves often do not have the time or resources to act as community organiser and therefore hire a professional community organiser. The People's Empowerment Alliance for Custom House decided to spend the majority of their funding on community organising, stressing the importance of a strong and powerful community before setting up plans (Sendra & Fitzpatrick, 2020).

An example of a community organizer is Jonathan Rosenberg, who was the community organiser at WECH. He had experience of community ownership and the residents got carried away by his enthusiasm and energy. This gave the residents a sense of community by battling together for their homes. However, these events must come with regular meetings and visits. It is considered by both organisers and residents that visiting people in their homes and maintaining close relationships is the most effective strategy to build up trust (Sendra & Fitzpatrick, 2020). The presence of a community organiser keeps residents motivated and supported.

Campaigning

Community organizing and campaigning go hand in hand. Campaigning is used to obtain political, financial, and media support and attention, and therefore assists the aim of community organizing to give power to the powerless. Campaigning can be done through various techniques, such as publications, presentations, reports, exhibitions, films, but is mainly done through protests. Protests require less time, money, and resources and is therefore simpler to get together.

An example of campaigning through art is the documentary film 'Estate, a Reverie' by Zimmerman (2015), which followed several residents of the Haggerston Estate in London. It showed the lives of pressured residents in an estate awaiting its demolition. The film, with accessory art projects, drew media attention. The estate was demolished in the end, but all residents got the opportunity to get a house in the new development. Moreover, even though the estate was demolished, it had a large impact on future developments.

The study of Sendra & Fitzpatrick (2020) shows that many cases are succeeding in stopping the demolition after years of campaigning, as well as being able to participate in the discussion about the future of their neighbourhood. For the London CLT, community organising and campaigning were crucial in placing the project at the top of the agenda of the GLA. The Head of London CLT states that the GLA would not have given priority to them if it was not for the campaign (Pialucha, 2018). The increasing politicisation and activism of communities and the prominent denouncing of unjust situations can play an important role in influencing, reversing or finding alternative policies and regulations to the politics of severity (Sendra & Fitzpatrick, 2020).

Workshops & Education

A major issue in setting up a community-led housing project is the lack of resources and knowledge of the community. This can also be seen in the use of the Neighbourhood Plan. Even though it is available for all residents, it is only used in areas where residents have the skills to produce

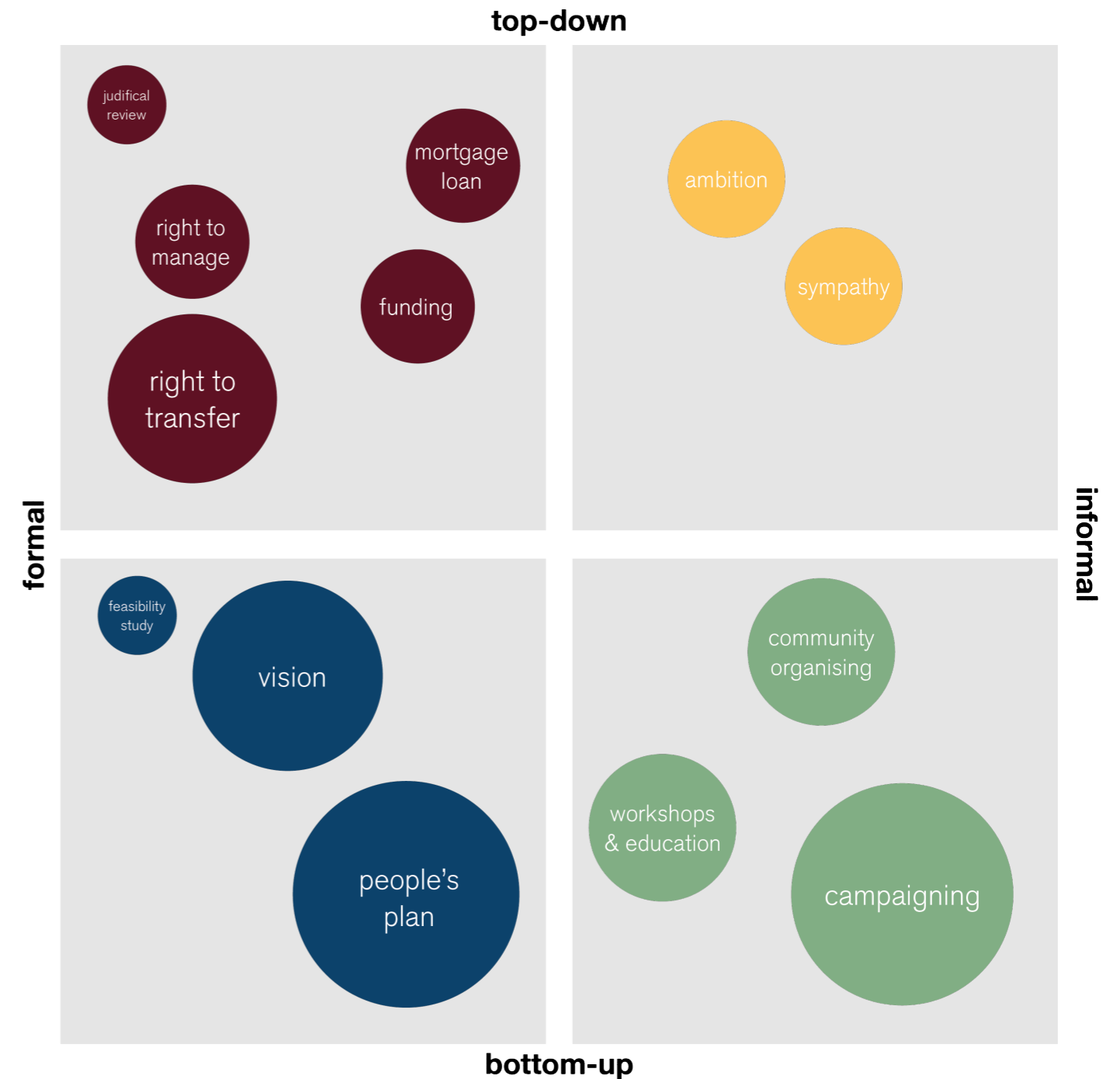


Figure 9.02
Community Toolbox

it (De Bode, 2020). Therefore, it is important for the community to obtain this knowledge. The Rural Urban Synthesis Society, a self-build project in Lewisham, provides courses and workshops to educate residents and communities (RUSS, 2021). These initiatives have made it possible for people to engage in bureaucratic processes and set up projects themselves, without getting swept from the table by authorities or developers.

Formal Bottom-Up Tools

People's Plan

The Neighbourhood Plan, the highest form of community participation in the UK, is on step 5 on the ladder of Arnstein (1969): placation. The residents are allowed to make their ideas, but it cannot oppose local authorities' plans. The bureaucratic process of setting up the Neighbourhood Plan requires time and knowledge. Instead, the community can set up a People's Plan. This is a vision of the neighbourhood that is put together by residents in collaboration with architects and planners. Unlike the Neighbourhood Plan, the People's Plan is not statutory and can therefore also be contradictory with the Local or London Plan.

Putting together a People's Plan can be a first step on putting together ideas, needs, and demands of the community, inspired by professionals such as an architect. The plan should always be in benefit of the community, but there are questions on the implementation of the plan and the funding for it (Sendra & Fitzpatrick, 2020). It can be used as a tool for opposing demolition and proposing an alternative plan. In combination with other strategies it has proven to be a very effective tool. For the WECH and Cressingham Gardens communities the People's Plan contributed to their success in obtaining power and influence in decision making, and finally continuing to the right to manage and transfer the land and homes (Sendra & Fitzpatrick, 2020).

Vision & Feasibility Study

A People's Plan gives residents the opportunity to make decisions of their homes and environment. The plan delivers ideas created by the community. The plan can be contradictory with a local plan or the London Plan. Therefore, it needs to have a professional translation done by an archi-

tect, urbanist, and financial advisor. The vision will work as a communicative tool towards decision makers. Where the people's Plan focuses mainly on direct and practical interventions, the Vision considers the connection to surrounding areas and is looking fast forward.

Informal Top-Down Tools

Ambition & Sympathy

External support and attention is needed for a community-led housing scheme to pay off the debt and set up the project. With also the wider economy slowing down, public authorities could use this time to embark on a programme of house construction that puts the community in control (Cheshire et al., 2020). Local authorities could buy up land if developments are not proceeded and planning policies could allow councils to invest more in housing by lifting the borrowing cap (Stears, 2016). The focus from authorities could work as leverage for community-led housing developments.

A similar leverage for community housing could be the sympathy or personal interest from actors at decisive positions, such as the Mayor of London or local boroughs. London's Mayor Sadiq Khan is determined to reach the housing targets, also the goals for genuinely affordable housing. He mentions that planning inspectors have failed to acknowledge the role of cooperative builders and that they are squeezed out by 'big boy developers' (Wright, 2019). The influence of actors at these positions could lead to prioritization and funding, or softer regulations.

Formal Top-Down Tools

Right to Manage

The UK Government created two rights for residents to gain control of their building: Right to Manage and the Right to Transfer. The tools have not been fully tested yet, but they allow the residents for a range of control, from involvement in making plans to full ownership and management (Sendra & Fitzpatrick, 2020). The RtM lets residents take over the management of the building, even without permission of the landlord (UK Government, 2021). Proof of mismanagement of the landlord is not necessary, the right is available for any resident (Lease, 2021). The transfer can be

done through setting up a Tenant Management Organization (TMO). TMOs have been used for managing council housing for 50 years. In the 1990s, the period that many council housing was transferred to housing associations, powers were introduced for TMOs to take over the responsibility of running their homes. To set up a TMO three steps need to be taken: development and feasibility; ballot of tenants; creating a management agreement. Authorities supported it by funding and training groups wishing to use the RtM. (Sendra & Fitzpatrick, 2020).

The RtM offers residents the means to move from a powerless position of having no influence on their homes to a powerful position where they have more power and agency over the proposed changes (Sendra & Fitzpatrick, 2020). The tool gives residents the responsibility over collecting and managing the service charge; the upkeep of communal areas; the upkeep of the structure of the building; and dealing with complaints about the building (UK Government, 2021). The RtM gives residents the chance to create a community-based, co-operatively run organisation that manages and maintains the quality of housing. The new position of the residents could lead, e.g. in combination with a People's Plan, lead to a community-led regeneration of their homes and public realm.

Right to Transfer

The Right to Transfer is a step further up the ladder of participation towards citizen control (Arnstein, 1969). It enables a right for residents to change their landlord through a transfer of ownership. The regulations compel authorities to co-operate with tenants who wish to change landlord (GLA, 2013). The new landlord will have to pay the value of the stock, thus the land and the homes, to the old landlord, named the Transfer Value (Sendra & Fitzpatrick, 2020).

Council-led regeneration often involves the demolition and displacement of the existing residents. When using the RtT, the community can additionally propose an alternative construction for ownership and management of their homes, such as creating a CLT or MHOS. The RtT could solve mismanagement by the local authority, but there are various pitfalls, such as arbitrary behaviour of the local authority, a lack of professional support

or a lack of financial resources. Furthermore, the local authority has multiple possibilities to block the progress of the transfer (Sendra & Fitzpatrick, 2020). The council is unlikely to approve the RtT to a newly formed organisation, unless they demonstrate that it is professionally managed or supported. Moreover, the transfer of council housing to a community-led organisation needs political and financial support, as well as professional support to set up their plans. The RtT is part of a longer process of residents gaining more control of their homes.

Judicial Review

The Judicial Review is an example of how the law can be used in advantage of the community. It is a type of court where a judge reviews the lawfulness of an action or decision made by the public sector. The review is able to challenge the way in which a decision has been made (Courts and Tribunals Judiciary, 2021). The Cressingham Gardens case study has used the Judicial Review to challenge the decision of the borough to demolish the estate. After two reviews, the court decided the borough acted unlawfully, and the community received the opportunity to transfer the homes to a CLT (Sendra & Fitzpatrick, 2020).

Fundings & Loans

As mentioned in Chapter 8, CLTs and MHOSs do not have a pot of cash ready, but need to build up its equity. Therefore, funding and pay regulations are needed to set up the CLT. The GLA the national government made progress in supporting community-led housing through policy and funding. On top of that, the GLA funds the local boroughs for the creation of affordable housing (GLA, 2016b). The borough can decide what to do with this, and thus can also use it to fund a CLT. However, this type of funding is meant for new housing, not for already existing housing. As a third option, there are organisations in the UK that fund housing projects, such as Funding Affordable Homes (2021), Big Society Capital (2021), and Property Funds World (2021). On top of funding, there can also be made regulations to pay off the debt through time to the borough with a mortgage loan.

A Community Land Trust Growth Model

The case study of WECH is one of the largest CLTs in the world. The organisation obtained the right to transfer 950 homes from the council to the CLT. They made it possible by strong campaigns and professional development plans. The Westminster Council funded the organisation £22 million to refurbish the homes (Sendra & Fitzpatrick, 2020). It is a unique example of a social housing estate transferring to a CLT, taking more than two decades to accomplish.

WECH and Cressingham Gardens did community organising for the whole community and worked towards a land sale agreement transferring all homes from the council to the newly formed CLT in one time. From the original 2260 homes in the Gascoigne Estate, around 1500 are left. A transfer of all homes to one CLT in one time would be a time and resource consuming job, time and resources that the residents lack in their powerless position of awaiting demolition.

Therefore, this project proposes to divide the estate into quadrants of 300 to 500 homes. The quadrants will be a sub-CLT of the overar-

ching CLT of the entire estate. In every quadrant a growth model will be implemented. This means that there will be a gradual transfer of the homes from the council to the CLT. Every quadrant starts with one building, with approximately 30 homes. Through time, homes will be transferred and will become part of the CLT. Figures 9.03 and 9.04 explain the concept spatially.

The major argument for starting with small CLTs is that it is much less time and resource consuming to set up. Decisions are made more quickly and it is more likely that there will be a closer community. Instead of needing decades to start, it can start much earlier and through the years grow larger. On top of that, many interventions that apply for the estate also need to be done on the building scale: refurbishment of interior (staircases, bathrooms, kitchen); refurbishment of the exterior (entrances, facade); redesign the public-private transition; redesign the public space around the buildings. By starting early, the community can build up momentum, and the results of the CLT can be tested by the boards and externals.

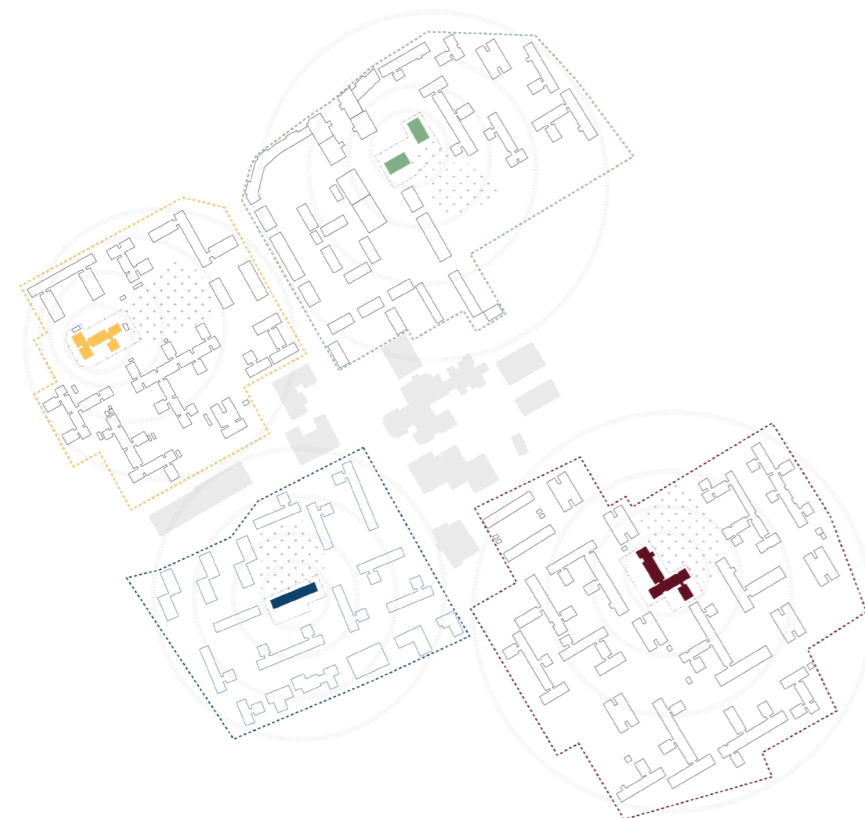


Figure 8.03
CLT Growth Model

- quadrant 1
- quadrant 2
- quadrant 3
- quadrant 4
- gradual growth
- starting point quadrant 1
- starting point quadrant 2
- starting point quadrant 3
- starting point quadrant 4
- public building

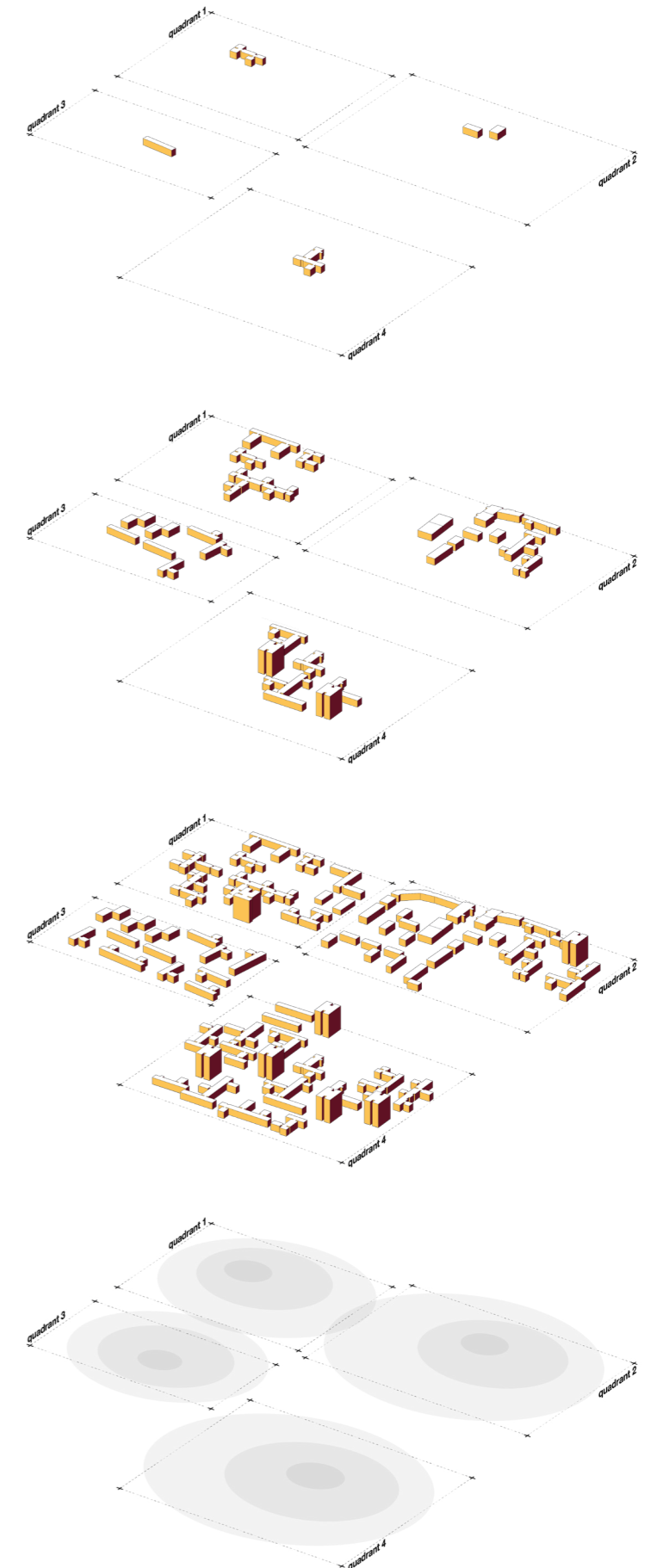


Figure 8.04
Growth Model Principle

The Gascoigne Estate has diverse building forms and spaces, but they are monofunctional and mono aesthetic. Refurbishing the whole estate in one time could deliver the same result. The small scale revitalization should bring diversity, especially because the people are in charge. They can decide themselves how the space around their homes will look like, which is likely to bring diversity of spaces in the neighbourhood. The urbanist and architect support the residents in designing their living environment.

The developments should be a trigger for residents to see the alternative that is given. It is a prospect of improvement for everybody, not just for the first CLT residents. By keeping it transparent and available for all residents, there will also not be friction between the 'first generation' and 'later generations' of the CLT.

It could be possible that it will take too long for the CLT to grow after its settlement. However, the processes that would be needed to counter demolition can still be done with the complete community. The board made for the estate is still setting up campaigns and a People's Plan for all residents. On top of that, by starting on a small scale, there is earlier movement in the process instead of years of bureaucratic negotiation. This movement is likely to lead to momentum among the community, believing a change is possible. In the meantime, larger campaigns and a People's Plan for the entire estate can be carried out.

Every quadrant will have a board with democratically chosen residents, supported by the professionals of the overarching CLT. This board handles the management of the land and organises focus groups and community meetings. The boards of the quadrants are managed by an overarching board for the CLT. It consists of elected residents, professionals and external actors. All actors in the CLT are displayed in Figure 8.05.

The overarching board works closely together with the quadrants. They make sure the goods are divided fairly and the development runs smoothly. They support the creation of a People's Plan for every quadrant, and translate these plans into an

integral Vision. The People's Plan works as an internal communicative tool to keep residents attached and concerned, the Vision works as an external communicative tool towards decision makers that demonstrates an alternative way of dealing with the estate.

The board contains diverse actors with different perspectives. They should be working from a mutual interest and benefit: a healthy, safe, and inclusive Gascoigne Estate. The benefits for the residents is clear. For surrounding amenities and commercial buildings it is attractive to be settled in a healthy living environment, and a stronger community will bring more lively streets and commercial activity. The image of the estate will improve through the CLT, which will be a great benefit for the local council. On top of that, they do not have to deal with the upkeep and finances of the estate anymore, and thus they can focus on other issues.

On a day-to-day basis, the quadrant board works as an informal board that makes sure the area is well maintained and the voice of the residents is heard. The overarching board is more formal, it is the official land owner, it manages the financial matters such as equity payments and keeping reserves. It negotiates with external actors such as the public bodies or funding organisations.

Within the CLT an action group needs to be formed. This action group will manage the campaigns, supported by a community organiser and activists, which can be residents but also externals. Campaigns will mainly be done through demonstrations, but can also be done through exhibitions, reports or presentations.

After all, the CLT must be mainly resident-led. This means that the professionals and other external support should not take the overhand. The multiscalarity of the organisation deals with the dilemma between choosing for either a large or a small CLT. A large CLT has more security and resources, whereas a small CLT is able to build a stronger community with active residents. The overarching CLT creates the size, whereas the sub-CLT creates the community.

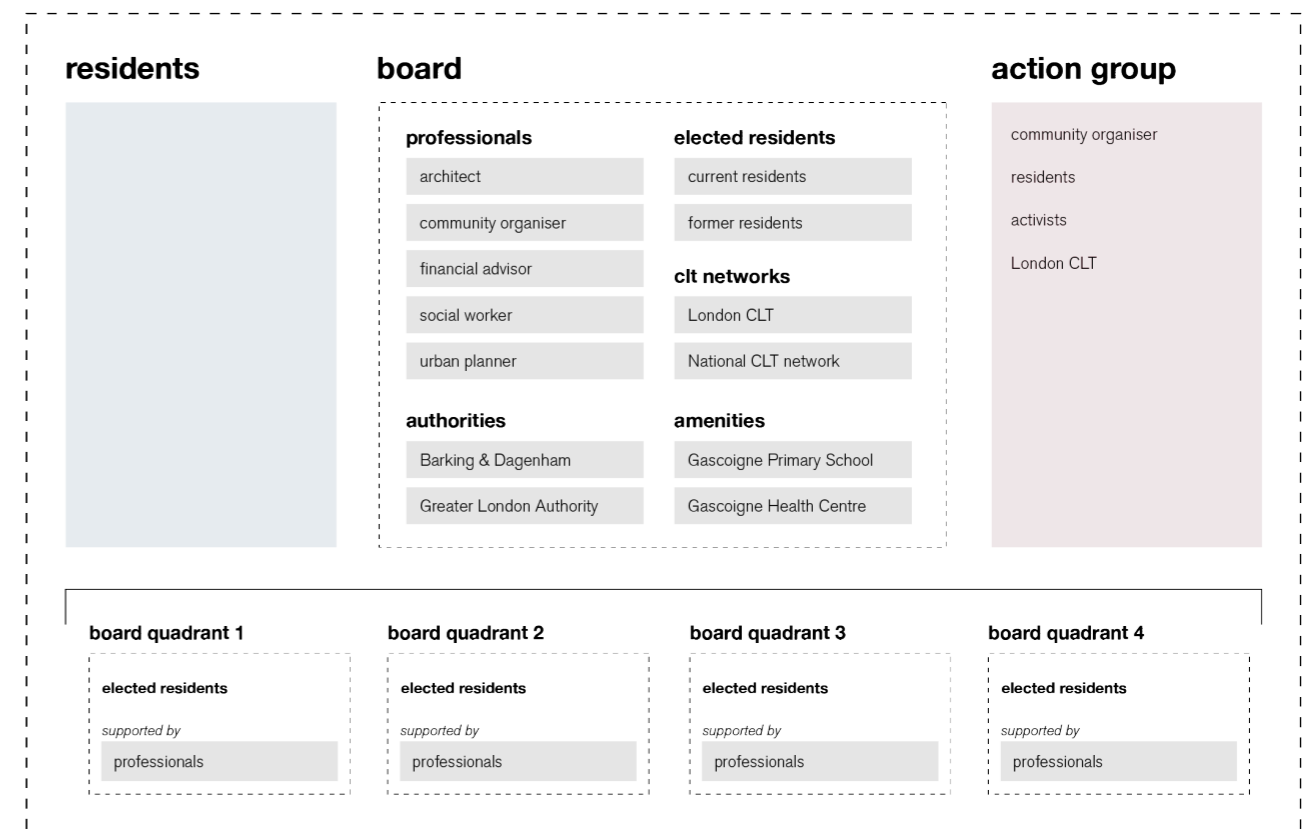


Figure 8.05
Actors in the CLT

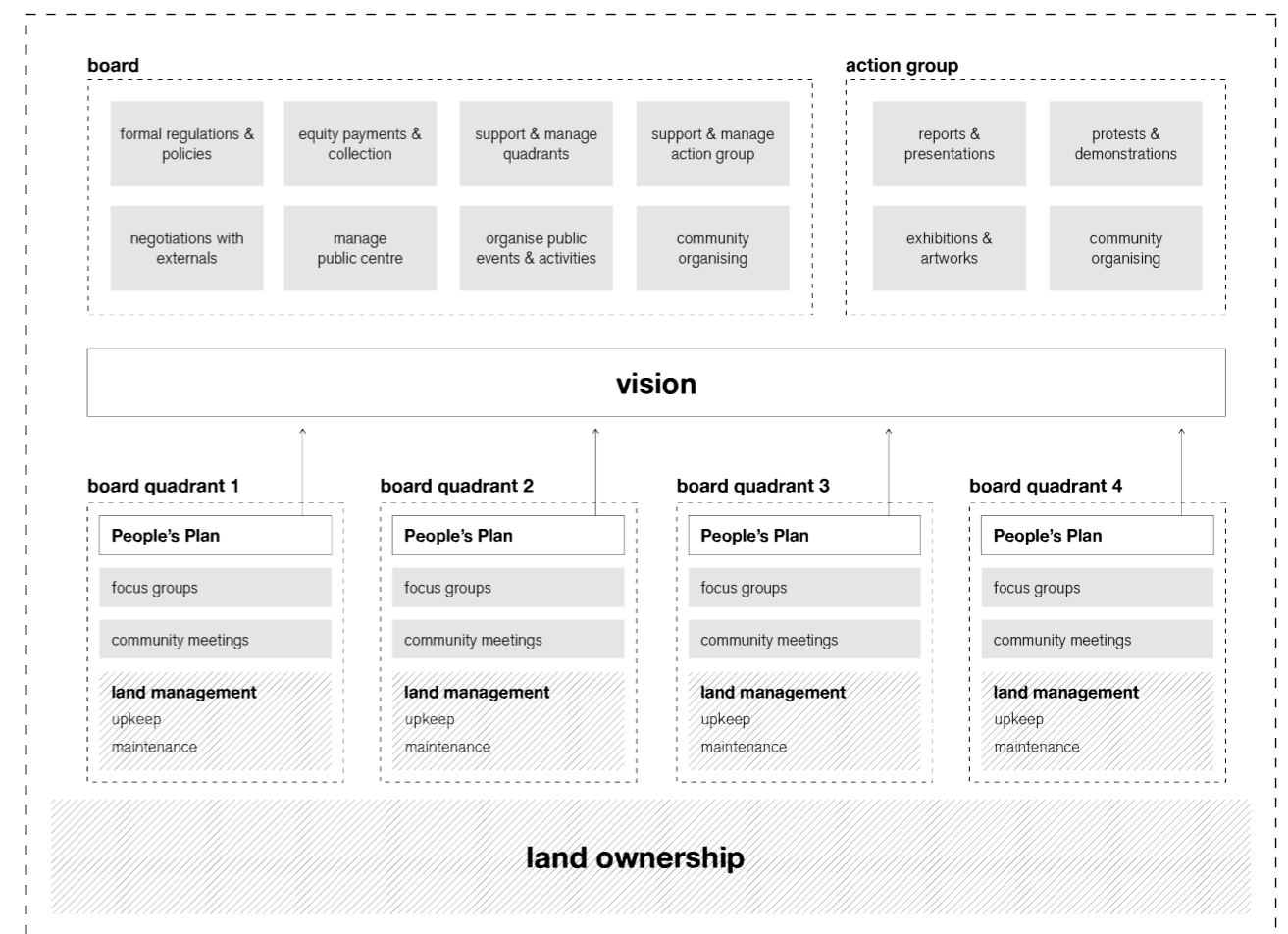


Figure 8.06
Activities of the actors

From Council to CLT

When implementing a CLT, the residents are dependent on external actors. Figure 8.07 shows the governance triangle and the actions they perform against the Gascoigne Estate and its residents. The civil society have a stigmatic ignorance on social housing estates, their images of the areas are often outdated stereotypes (Van den Broek, 2020). The private sector is financialising the housing market, pressuring social housing in the city. The public sector is supporting gentrification, which could lead to displacement and dispossession. The figure demonstrates the one-sided influence the external actors have on the estate.

the **Gascoigne Estate** when the **council** owns and manages the land and the homes

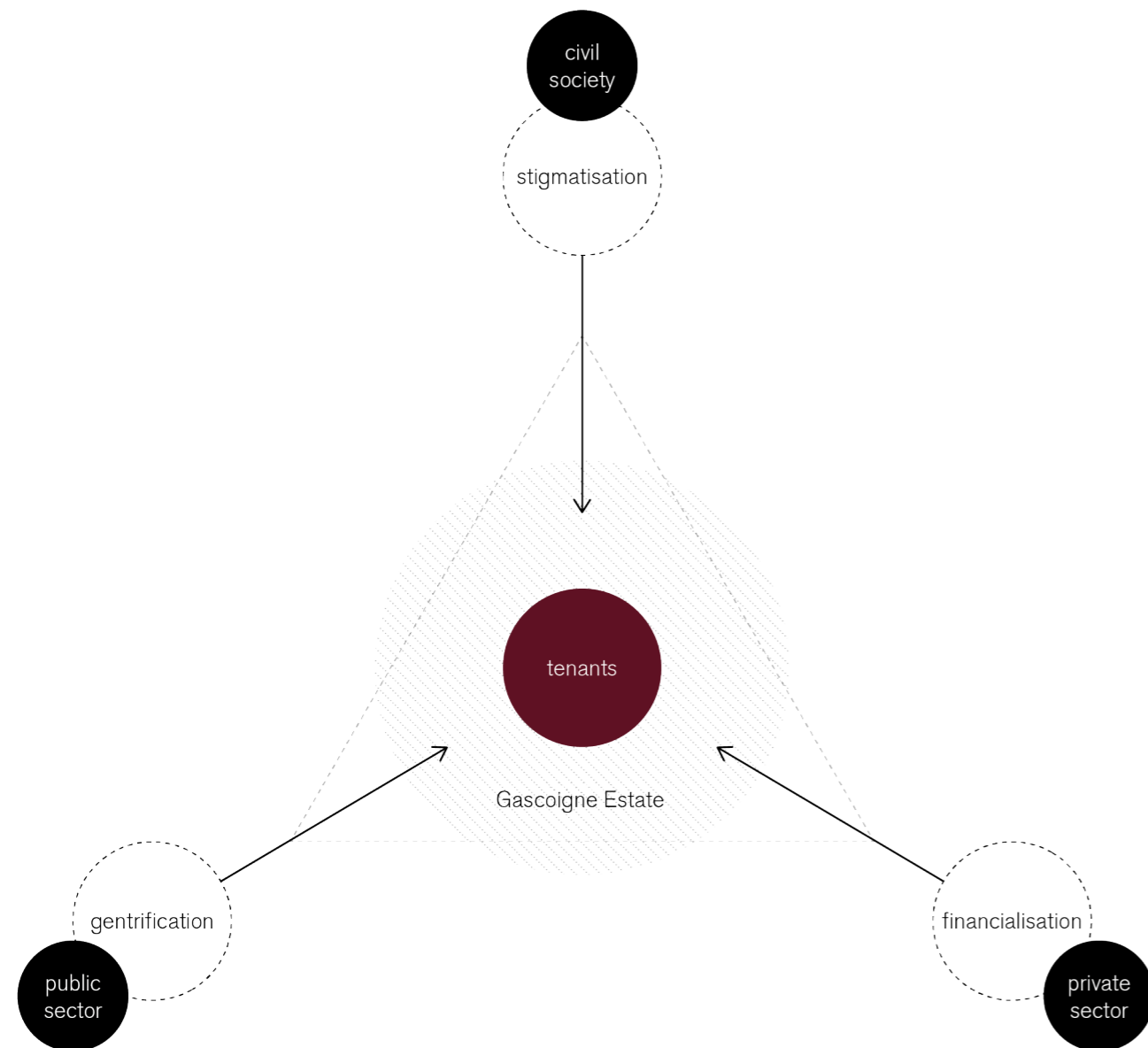


Figure 8.07
External actors: current situation

With the implementation of a CLT, this will be a two-sided influence. The residents obtained a seat at the table in decision making, they can negotiate with public bodies on the development of the area. The momentum and attention that the community receives will challenge stigmatisation. Because the land is taken out of the market, private developers do not stand a chance to commodify. The community is reclaiming control and they can make use of their right to the city.

the **Gascoigne Estate** when the **Gascoigne CLT** owns and manages the land and the homes

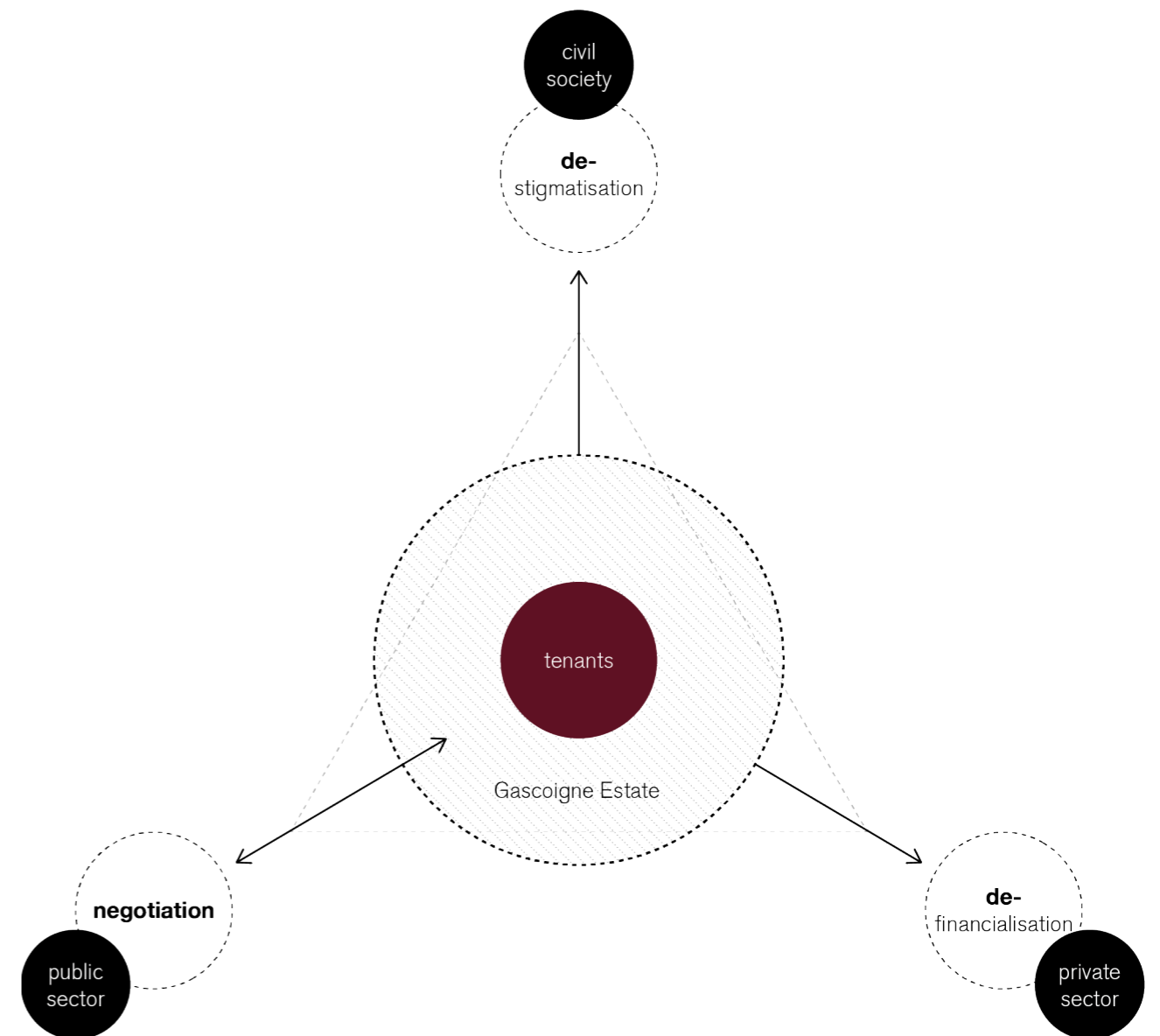
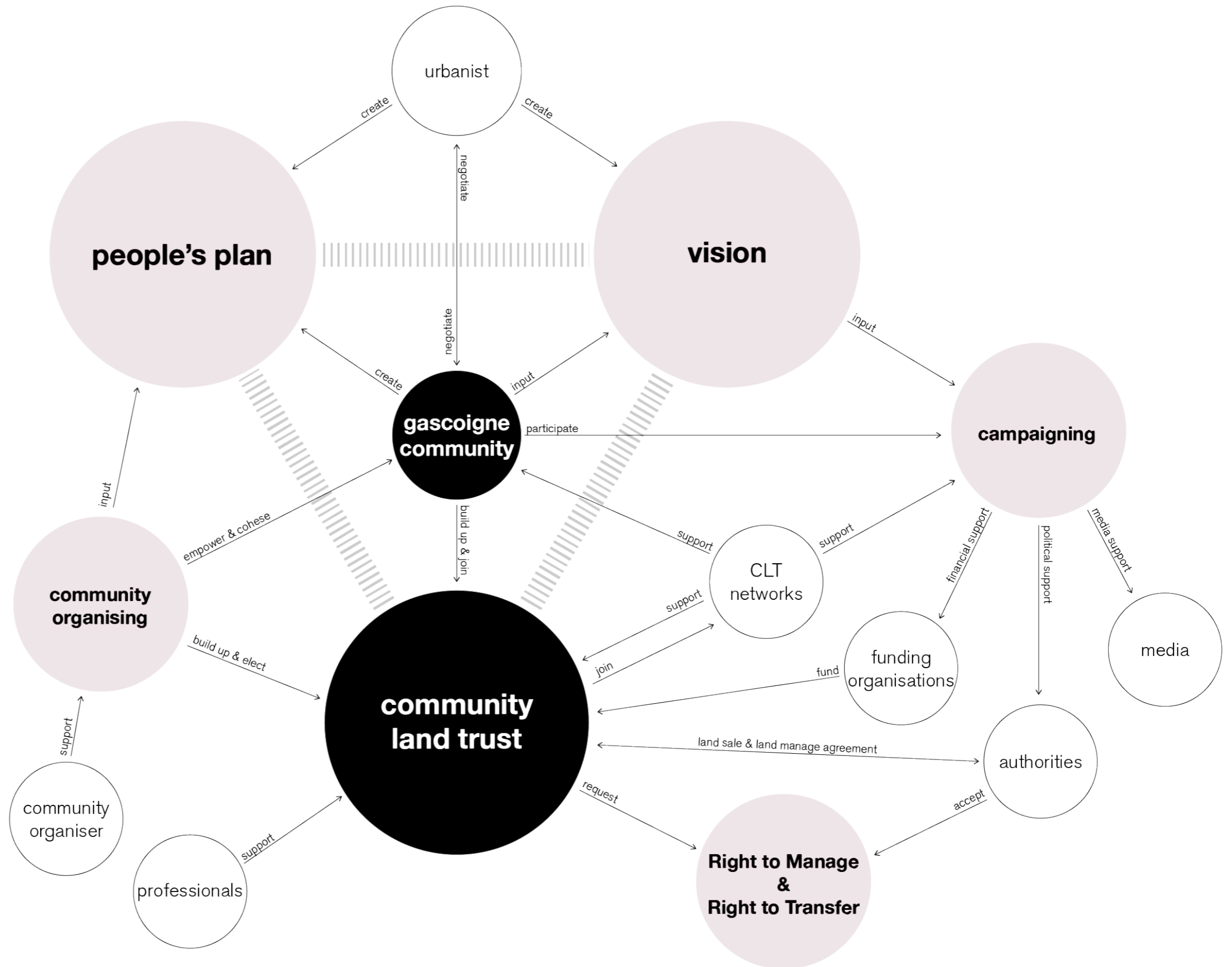


Figure 8.08
External actors: proposed situation

Relations between Tools, Actors & Actions

Figure 8.09 demonstrates the relations between the tools, actors and actions in the process of setting up a CLT. The community is placed central. The five most important tools from the community toolbox are linked to the community and the CLT. The scheme explains the present external actors that influence the tools. The arrow explains the role of that actor or the influence of the tool.



The Role of The Urbanist

This project is done from an urbanist perspective. Therefore, the role of the urbanist is explicitly defined. Its role is to move flexibly within the governance triangle and support the oppressed. This graduation project recognizes the unequal provision of adequate housing and the inability for people to make use of their right to the city, and therefore the role of the urbanist is to stand up for the oppressed local population.

The urbanist aims to empower the local population. The urbanist supports the community in creating a People's Plan and afterwards translates their needs and demands into a vision. This vision is used to mediate decision makers and to obtain external support, attention, and awareness for the situation of the local population, as well as proposing an alternative. The urbanist is also part of the managing board.

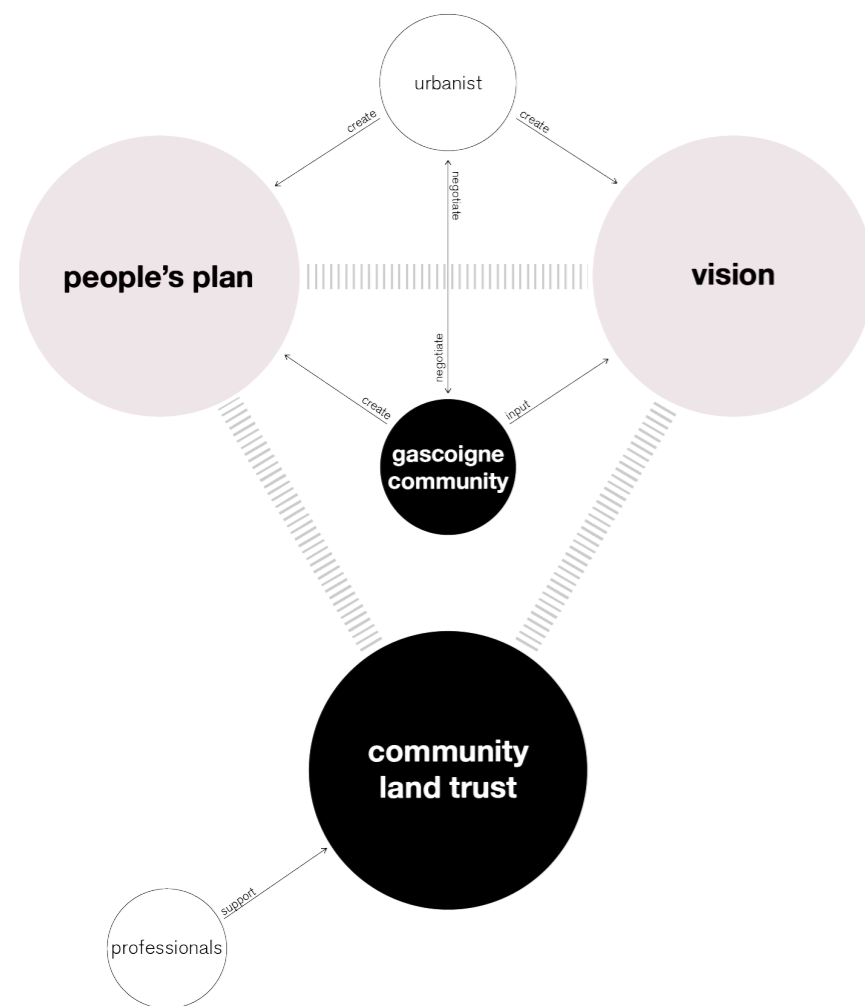


Figure 8.10
The Role of the Urbanist



the People's Plan is an **urban design** based on the focus group reports, theory, and spatial analysis. It sets out the **essential interventions** through the scales with a **gradation of space**. It functions as an **internal communicative tool** to keep the community **attached** and **concerned**.

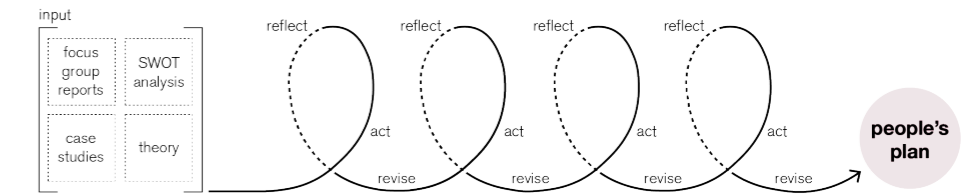
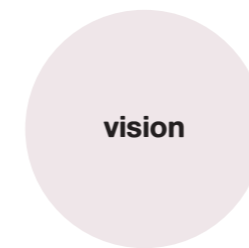


Figure 8.11
Input & Process People's Plan



the Vision is a **strategy** based on the People's Plan and follows three **design principles**. It visualizes a **safe, healthy, and inclusive future** of the Gascoigne Estate. It functions as an **external communicative tool** to obtain external **attention** and **support**.

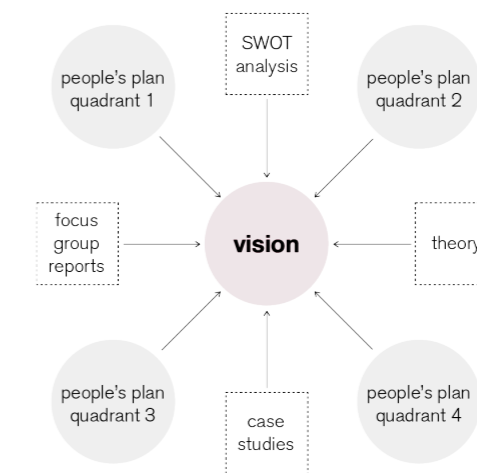


Figure 8.12
Input Vision



the Community Land Trust is a tenure model that keeps **housing permanently affordable**, increase the **quality of the homes** and their environment, and provide **tenure security**. It creates a **formal body** to **empower the community** and to reclaim their **right to the city**.

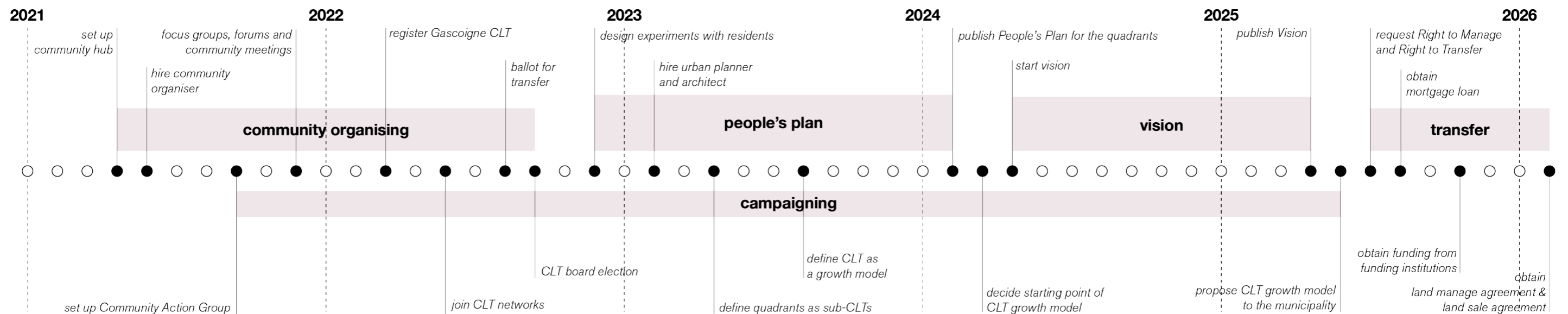
Organisational Timeline

The tools, actors, and actors from Figure 8.09 are placed in a timeline, considering the use of a CLT growth model. It is separated in an organisation timeline for the social construction of the CLT (figure 8.13) and a long-term development timeline for the physical construction of the CLT (figure 8.14). As mentioned earlier, the growth model is implemented to fasten the process and be able to make quicker decisions.

The organisation timeline demonstrates the first five years of the process, which starts with community organising. The CLT is set up and the board is elected, and the community will start setting up the People's Plan. To make sure decisions can be made earlier, this People's Plan is made by every quadrant. The plans are integrated into a holistic vision. In the mean time, the Action Group and CLT board work towards the transfer of the first generation of homes in the CLT, which will be one building in every quadrant.

The organisational timeline demonstrates the length of the processes, but also the intensity. Where campaigning is a long and continuous process, is community organising a more intensive process to build a stronger community and to make quick decisions.

Figure 8.13
Organisation Timeline



Development Timeline

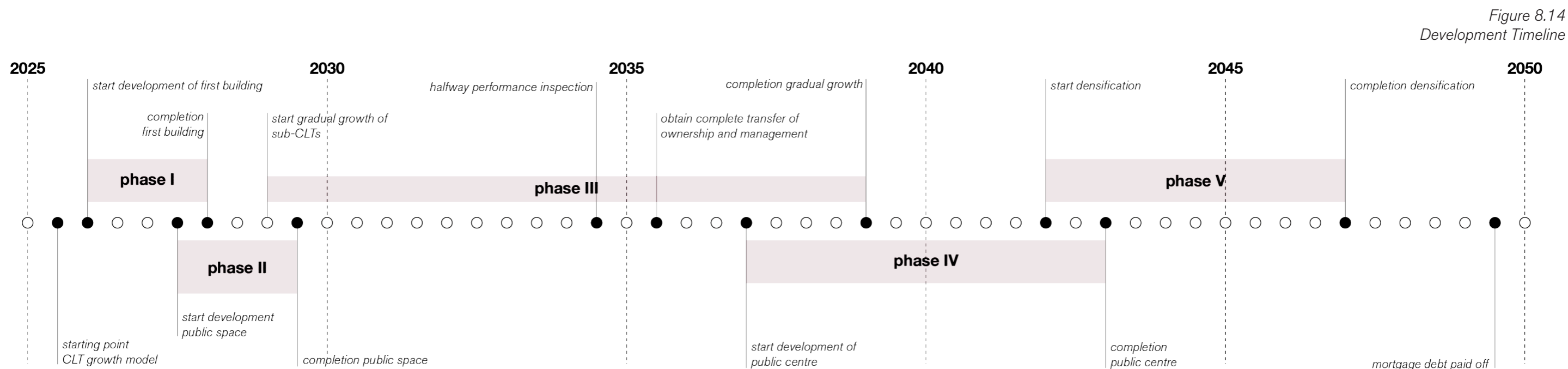
The development timeline shows the phasing of the creation of the entire CLT. The first phase is the construction of the first building of the growth model. Afterwards, the public space around the area will be developed. This is an important step in the process. By starting off with this public space, all residents will benefit from the creation of the CLT. Although residents have to wait to join the CLT and have their home developed, they will still be able to use the developed public space. After that, the growth model will gradually grow and fill the quadrant.

When the growth of the CLT is halfway the quadrant, there will be an examination by executives of the CLT, the borough and the GLA to check how it is going. When the decision is that the CLT growth model works, the borough can decide to sell all remaining homes and accessory land to the CLT, which will fasten the process of the last half.

When the CLT developed the quadrant, decisions can be made on the existing public centre of the estate. The area could become part of the CLT or remain the same. In both ways, the CLT can make agreements on using the buildings and space more intensively for community activities, and the centre can be expanded. At the same time, the CLT can decide to start densifying the estate by topping up the existing buildings or filling in empty spaces to create more homes.

Conclusion

The community toolbox forms an important fundament for every community that aims to set up a CLT. Every community lives in different conditions, thus the tools need to be placed in context. It has to be determined what the appropriate tools are, how they are used, and in what order it will be done. For social housing estates, using a growth model can be the perfect middle ground to implement a CLT. On the one hand, decision can be made very quickly and development can start quickly. On the other hand, because of its typology the size is not determined and thus can be as large as the entire estate. Moreover, a growth model is an appropriate tool in creating a CLT for areas where it usually would take decades to set up a community-led project.



9 People's Plan

From A Community Perspective

The People's Plan is an urban design based on the needs and demands of the community. It sets out the needed & desired interventions through the scales with a gradation of space, starting from an apartment and working up to the entire estate. It functions as an internal communicative tool to keep the community attached and concerned. The goal of the People's Plan is to give the community the opportunity to make their own decisions about their home and living environment. Moreover, the plan is created from a community perspective.

The input of the residents is crucial. Unfortunately, due to Covid-19 restrictions, it was not possible to visit the area and discuss with the community. Moreover, the needs and demands of the community are limited to focus group reports of Gascoigne East (2020a) and Gascoigne West (2020b) by Urban Symbiotics.

The interventions proposed in the People's Plan are based on the SWOT-analysis, literature and thus the focus group reports. The People's Plan would be a long process of negotiation between urbanist, architect and the residents, but this cannot be shown due to the inability to negotiate. Therefore, the Plan aims to be as transparent and modular as possible. It does not intend to form a blueprint, but rather a suggestion.

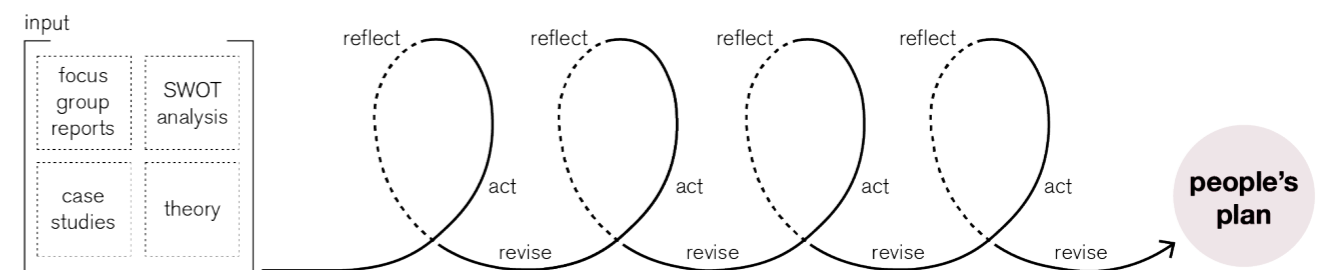


Figure 9.01
Input & Process People's Plan

Priority vs Difficulty

The SWOT-analysis in Chapter 7 exposed the most important elements in the Gascoigne Estate to consider when designing. The SWOT was built up out of three pillars: the estate is undefined, dilapidated, and excluded. Out of the analysis, nine goals are set for improving the quality of the area, as shown in figure 9.03. The goals justify the interventions that will be proposed in the People's Plan.

When implementing a CLT, it is important to stress that resources are limited. Therefore, it must be determined what the essential elements are that will improve the quality in the estate, and also how difficult they are to implement. Throughout the People's Plan, a priority-difficulty matrix will be filled in. This matrix explains the relation of the priority and the difficulty, and explains which interventions are needed, and which are desired.

On top of that, the People's Plan should be resident-led, and thus can the needs and demands vary. Therefore, the interventions are made as modular as possible to make them fit in every context.

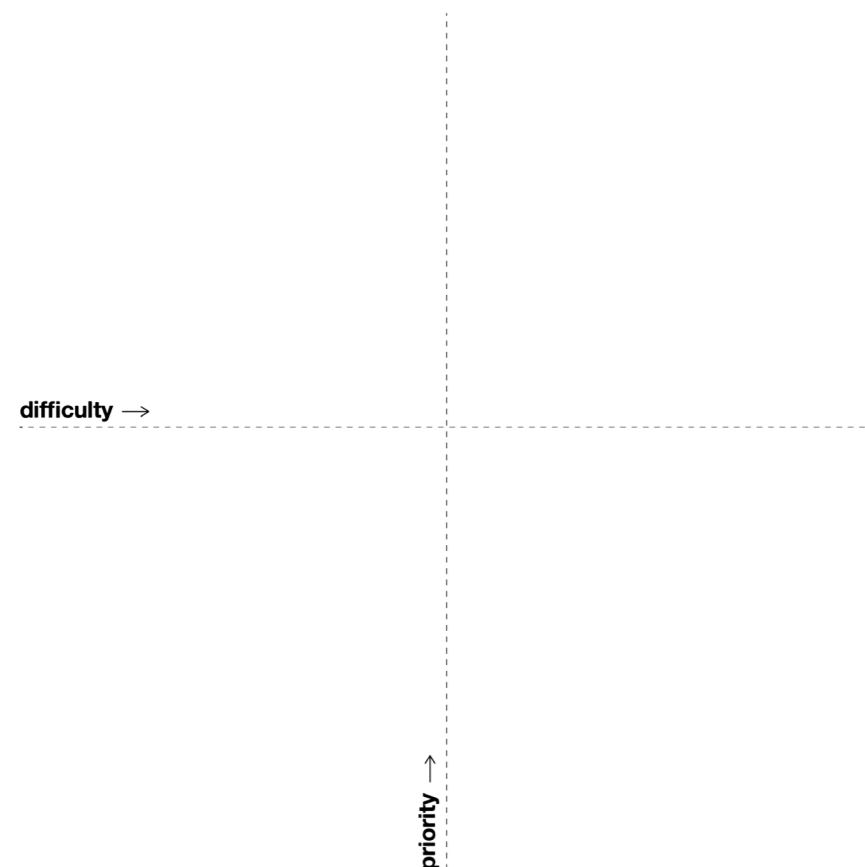


Figure 9.02
Priority-Difficulty Matrix










	undefined	dilapidated	excluded
S	very green diverse building orientations	unique postwar design	located near qualities many pedestrian areas car accessibility
W	monofunctional unusable / fenced spaces replicate spaces	mono-aesthetic dilapidated unsafe	car dominance connection with surroundings parking blocks views & routes
O	productive spaces recreational spaces active spaces	diverse building forms & orientations make use of large exterior spaces	connection with surroundings green routes pedestrian routes
T	segregation anonymity anti-social behaviour	demolition & displacement dilapidation stigma increase	exclusion
goals	diverse spaces  improved interior-exterior connection  improved public private transition 	diverse aesthetics  decent homes standard  safe 	embedded in surroundings  walkable  accessible 

Figure 9.03
SWOT & Goals

Gradation of Space

In an estate with around 1500 homes and 3200 residents, interventions have effects on different scales. Therefore, this People's Plan introduces a *gradation of space* consisting of five layers, from one home to the entire estate. The relation of a resident with fellow residents and with space is different in every layer. Therefore, interventions will be done at every gradation. The gradation of space gives an insight on what the residents want and need on every layer, providing information for the architect and urbanist to design with. The gradation of space is carried out on the building that is listed as the starting point of the CLT in quadrant 1, as displayed in figure 9.05. Finally, the interventions on all gradations of space are collected and integrated into a conclusion of the People's Plan. This will form the base for the Vision for the estate.

The story of the People's Plan will be build up from the smallest scale, because the plan is made from a community perspective. Starting with a large masterplan will give questions to the residents: 'What will this mean for me and my home?'. A large vision could be too overwhelming or lead to pretense improvement. Therefore, to make the story and plan tangible, it starts from the smallest scale and builds up towards to largest.

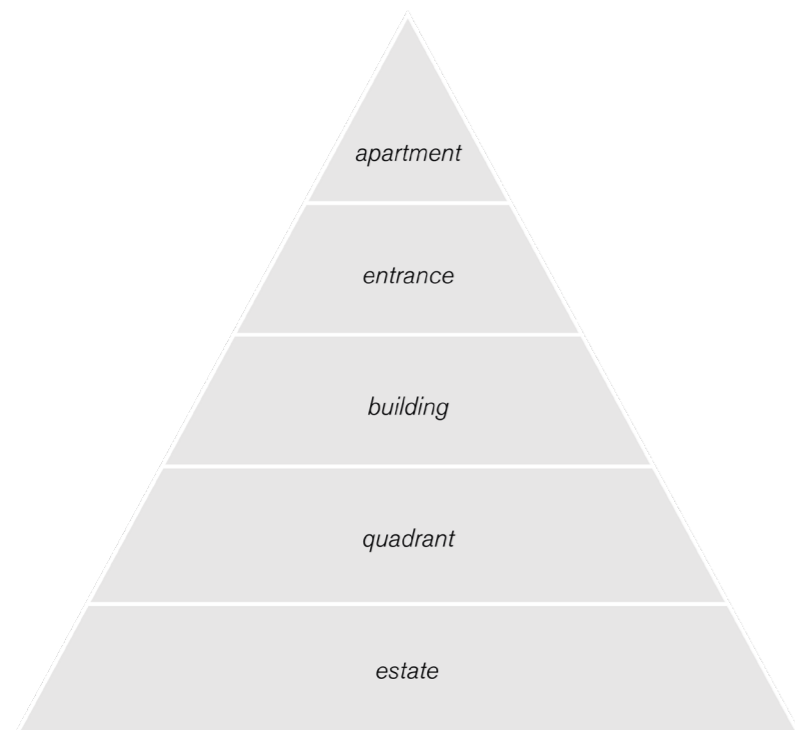


Figure 9.04
Gradation of Space

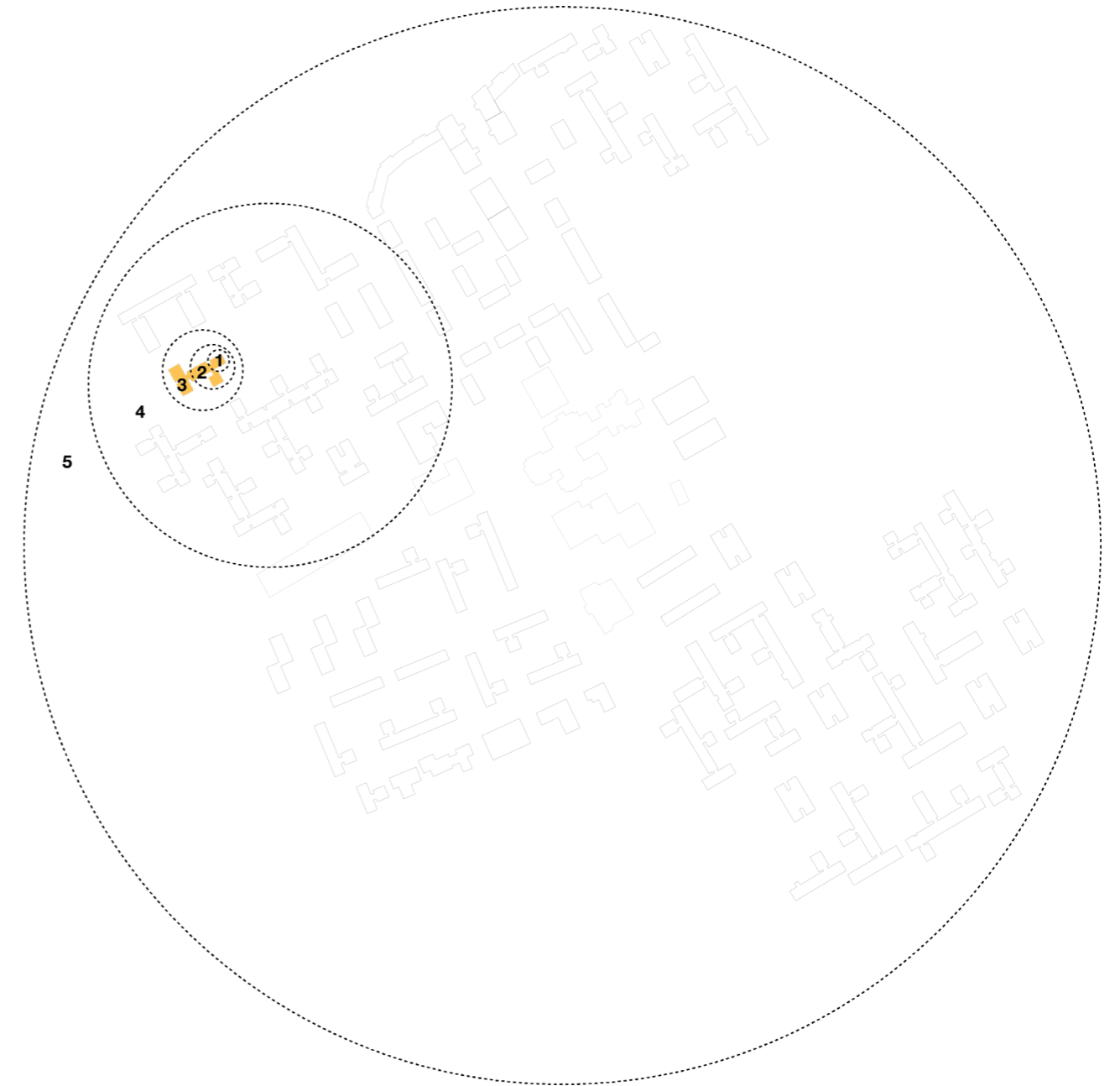


Figure 9.05
Location of the People's Plan
with the gradations of space

Apartment

The gradation of space starts with the smallest scale: the homes of the residents. This layer proposes interventions on the separate apartments. One of the main goals of this project is to create quality housing, and the current homes need adaptation to reach the 'Decent Homes Standard' that is set in the UK.

In Figure 9.07 the priority-difficulty matrix is filled for the apartment scale. One of the main goals for the estate is defining spaces by creating interior-exterior connections and improving the public-private transitions. Currently, there is no connection between in and out, which also makes the function of the fenced exterior space unclear. Creating private exterior spaces is an essential element in defining the spaces around the buildings, creating a gradual transition from private to communal to public space.

To create these exterior space, the window frames need to be refurbished. This intervention is also needed for reaching thermal insulation standards. A refurbishment of the bathroom and kitchen is necessary to reach the Decent Homes Standard. The quality of the apartments could be improved by opening up the floor plan by connecting kitchen and living room for a window-to-window space, but this is less essential.

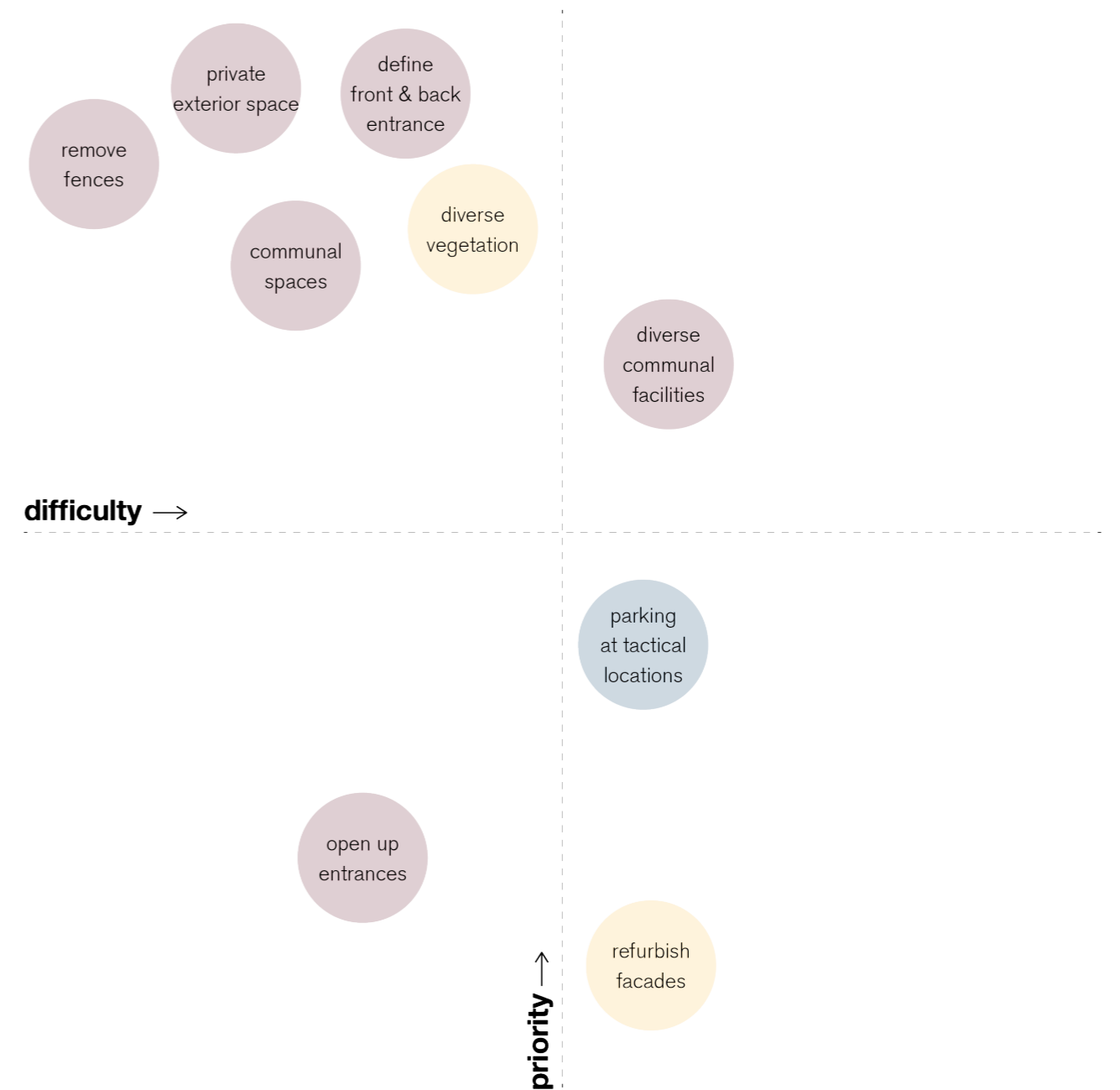


Figure 9.06
Priority-Difficulty Matrix

- define
- reurbish
- connect

Current Floor Plan

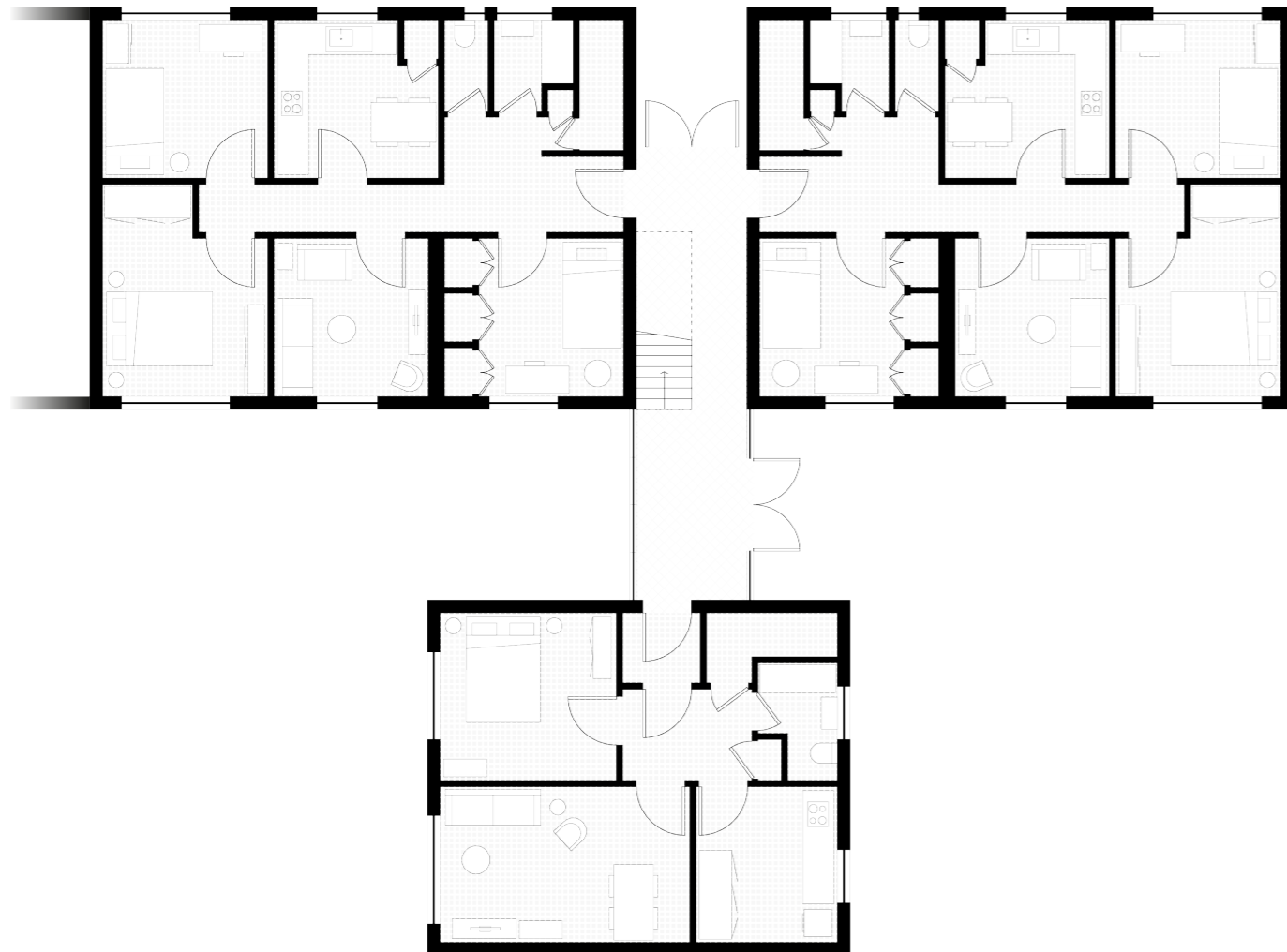


Figure 9.07
Current Floor Plan Apartments

Proposed Floor Plan



Figure 9.08
Proposed Floor Plan Apartments

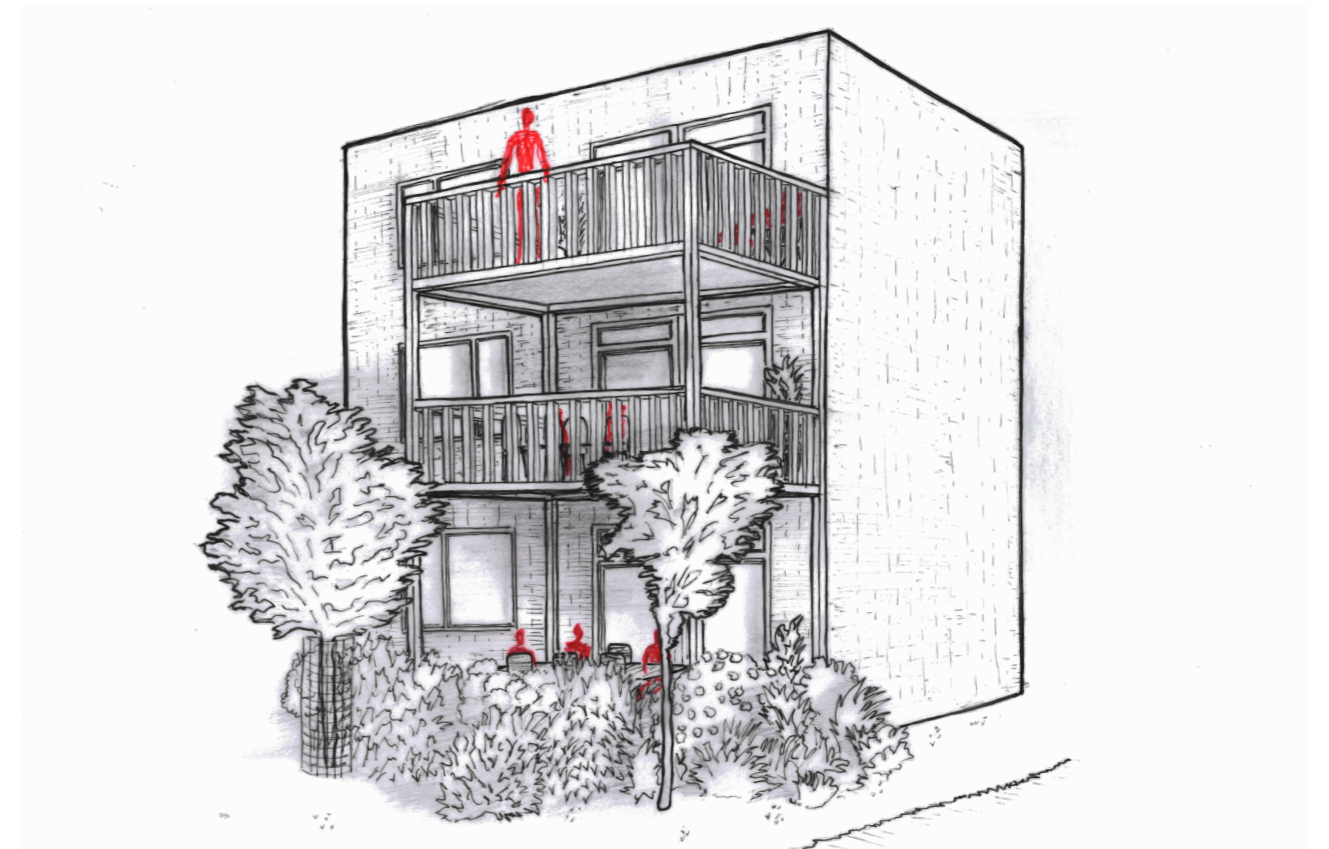
- changes in furniture
- changes in walls, facade & facade openings
- new private exterior space

Current Situation



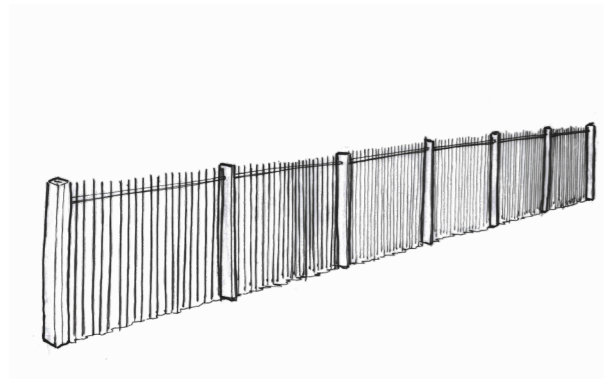
9.09 current situation

Proposed Situation

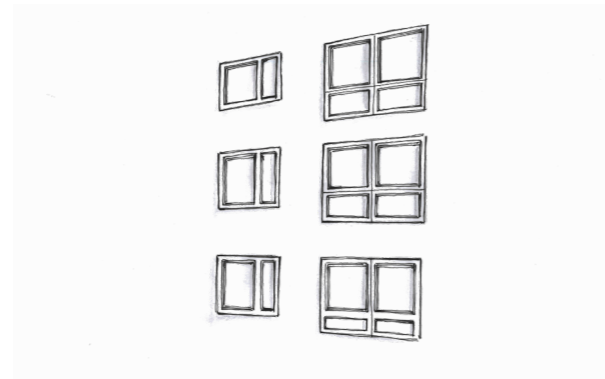


9.12 proposed situation

Interventions



9.10 remove fences

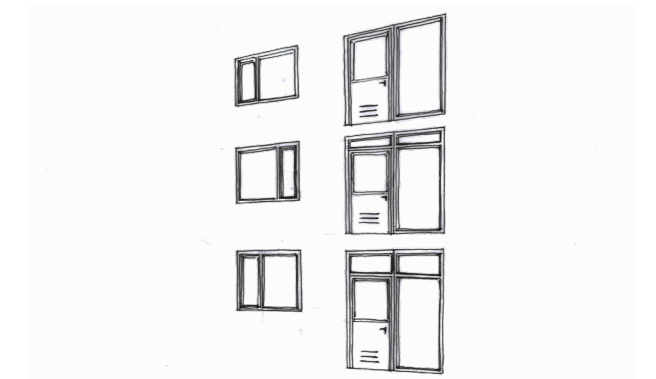


9.11 remove window frames

Interventions



9.13 place balconies



9.14 place new window frames



9.15 place diverse vegetation

Entrance

For reaching a decent homes standard, not only the homes need an upgrade, there are also interventions needed on the communal spaces. Currently, the entrances are dark and tucked away. On top of that, every staircase has two front doors with doorbell. This is an example of the undefined spaces: it is unclear what the main entrance of the building is, and thus there is also no clear communal exterior space.

The interventions aim to define a front and back entrance, to make the space around understandable and usable. The main entrances could be open up to the outside, but that does not have the highest priority. The communal entrances lead to exterior communal spaces that are enclosed by the building and diverse vegetation to secure social control and closeness.



Figure 9.16
Priority-Difficulty Matrix

- define
- rebuildish
- connect

Current Floor Plan

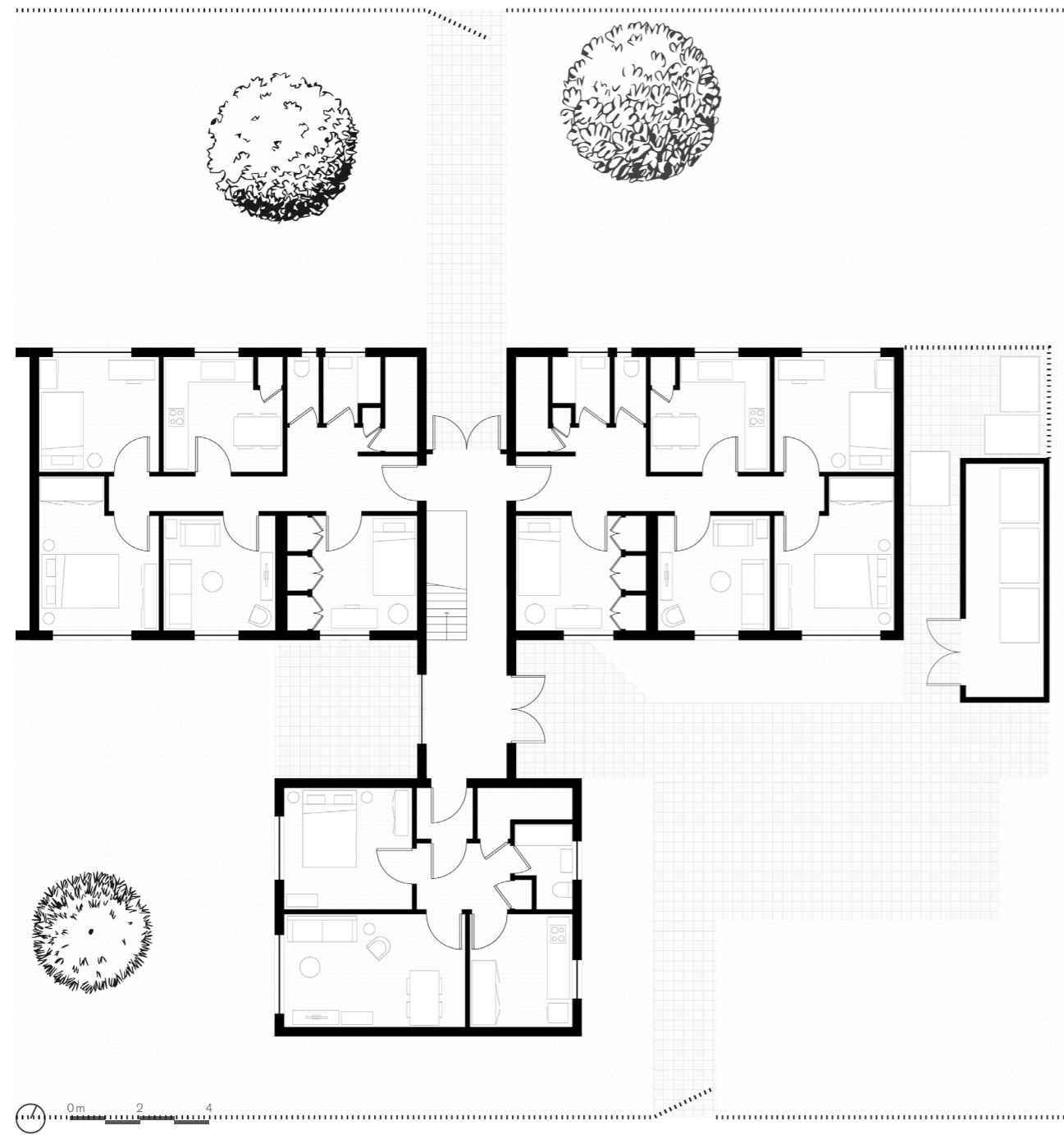






Figure 9.17
Current Floor Plan Entrances

-  existing building
-  pedestrian path
-  grass
-  fences

Proposed Floor Plan

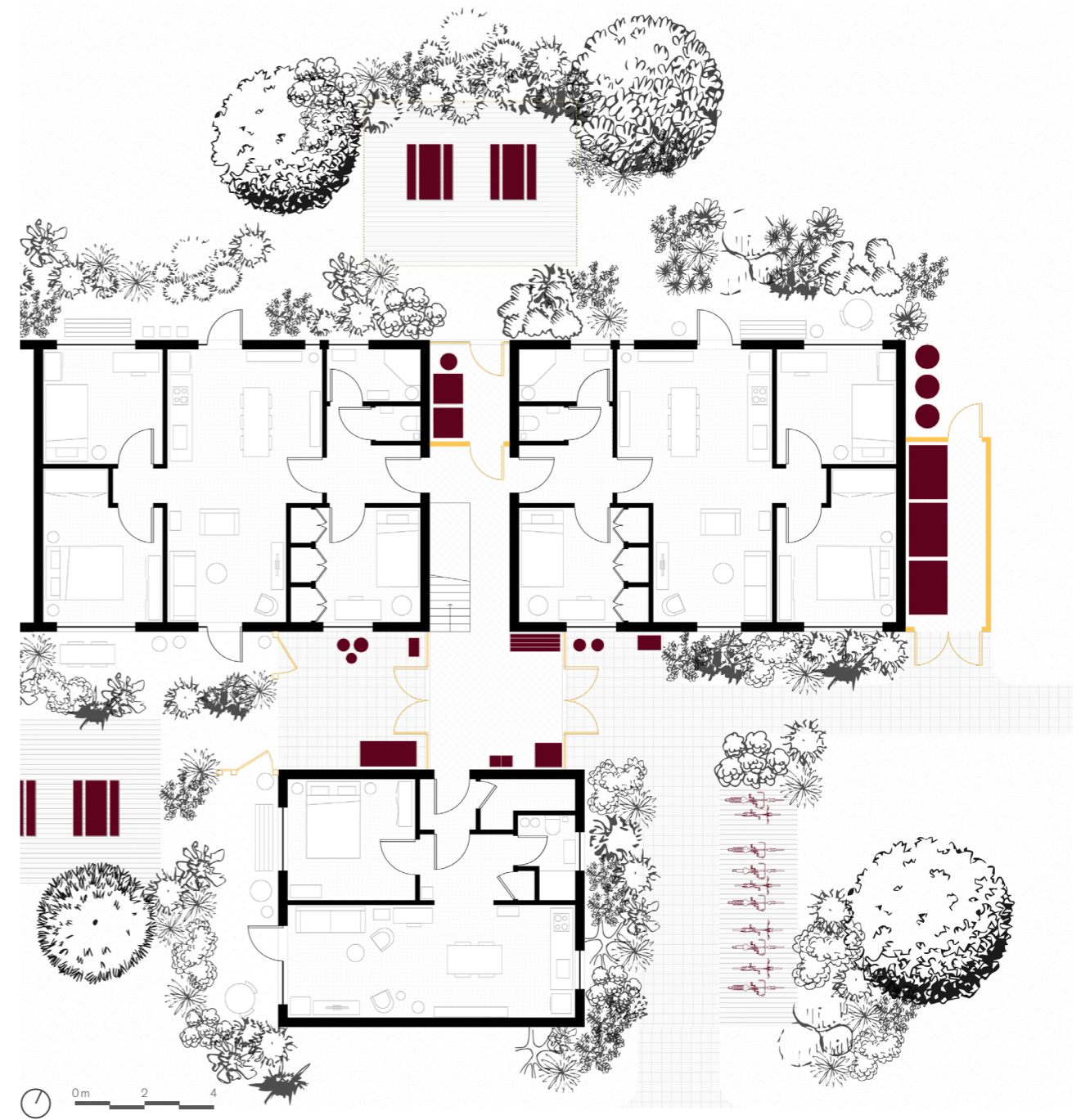








Figure 9.18
Proposed Floor Plan Entrances

-  existing building
-  pedestrian path
-  wood
-  grass
-  changes in furniture
-  changes in walls, facade & facade openings

Current Situation



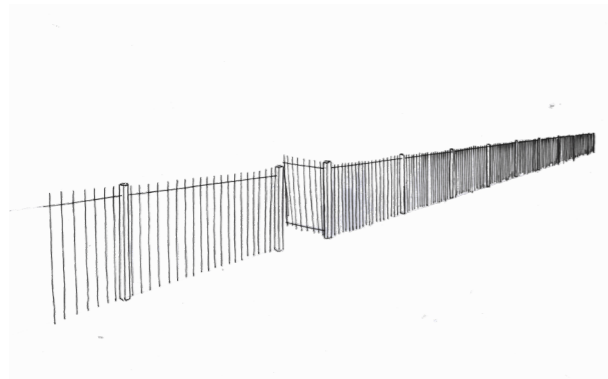
9.19 current situation

Proposed Situation

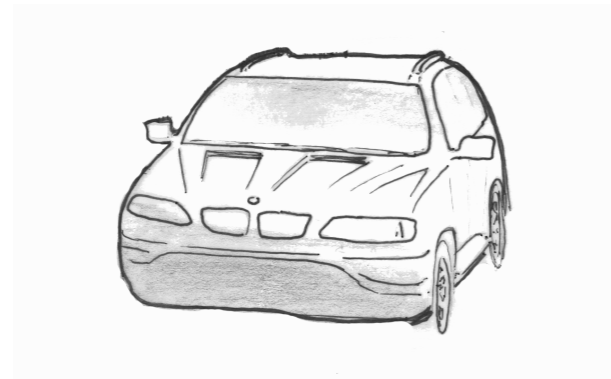


9.22 proposed situation

Interventions



9.20 remove fences

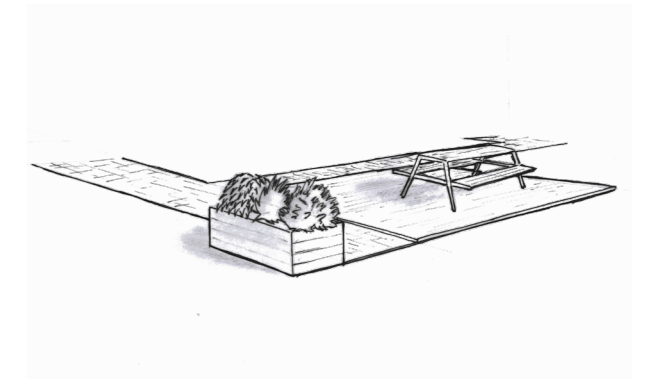


9.21 parking at tactical locations

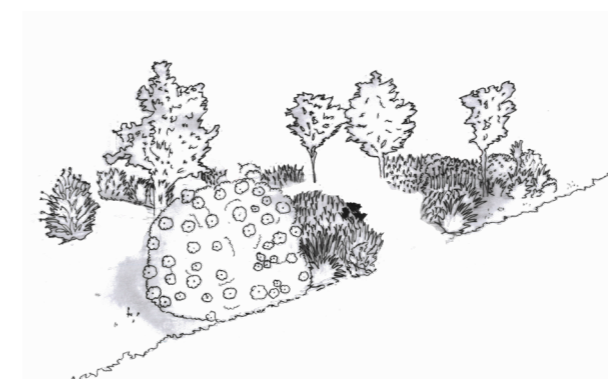
Interventions



9.23 place balconies around communal space



9.24 add communal spaces



9.25 place diverse vegetation

Building

The interventions on the apartment and entrance layer have an impact on the building layer. If all apartments get a garden or balcony, this has an influence on the space around, and the refurbishment of window frames and entrances have an influence on the building envelope.

The entrances will be more defined, with a publicly visible main entrance. The space around and towards the entrance needs to strengthen this. The communal entrance should be made more enclosed and the space and activities around the main entrance should be more visible. By creating a gradation from private to communal to public exterior spaces, the public-private transition will be smoother. Furthermore, the spaces will be more defined and exterior-interior connection will be improved.

Next to improved connections and transitions, the quality of the space also needs to be upgraded. The garbage collection, which is now chaotic and dilapidated, needs to be regulated, possibly combined with urban farming. The spaces need to be diversified with active and passive communal spaces with diverse vegetation that ensures enclosure. The space should be tailor made for the residents, and the vegetation and transition should make sure the fences are not necessary anymore.



Figure 9.26
Priority-Difficulty Matrix

- define
- reurbish
- connect

Current Plan

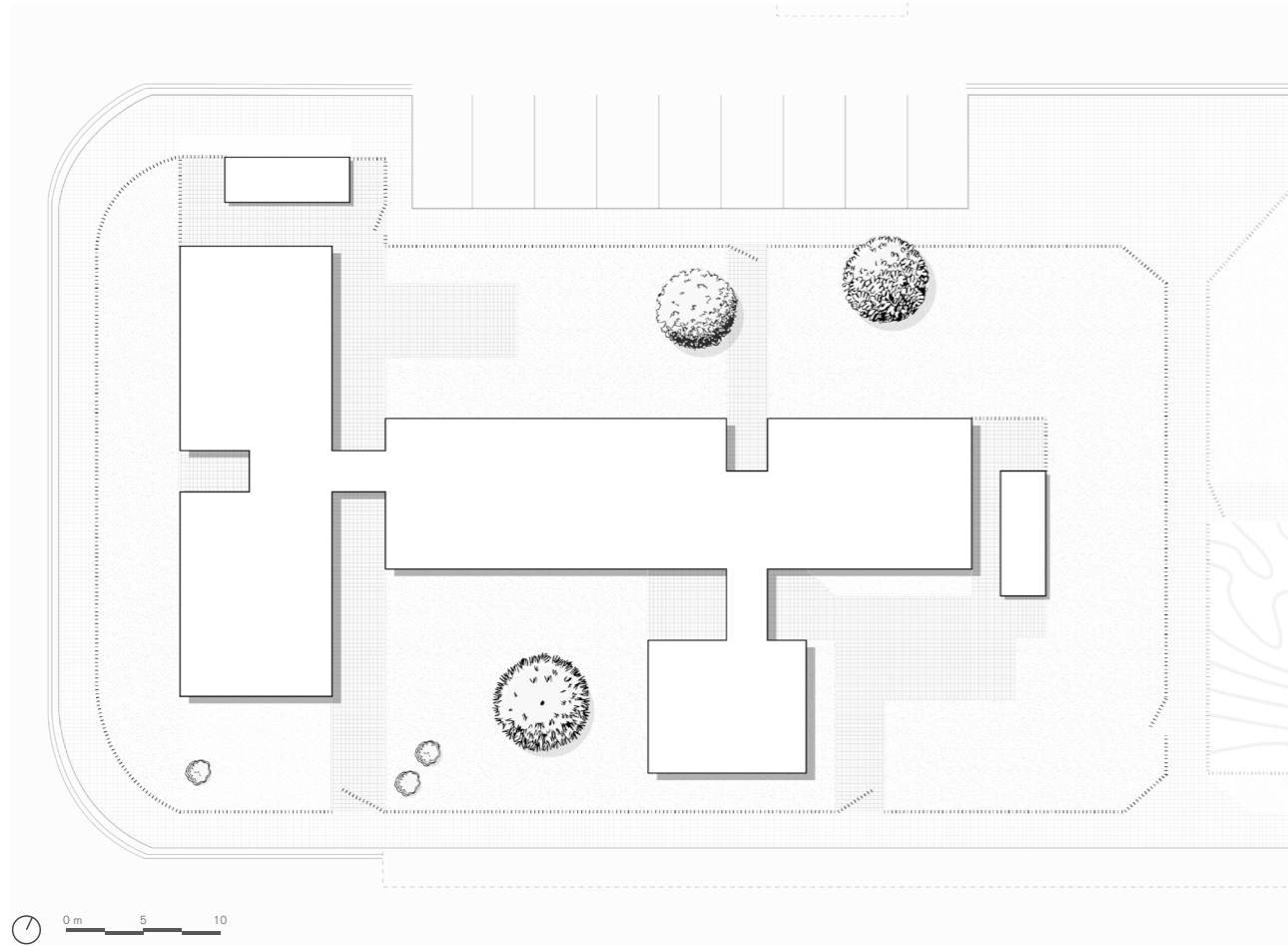






Figure 9.27
Current Plan Buildings

-  existing building
-  pedestrian path
-  grass
-  fences

Proposed Plan

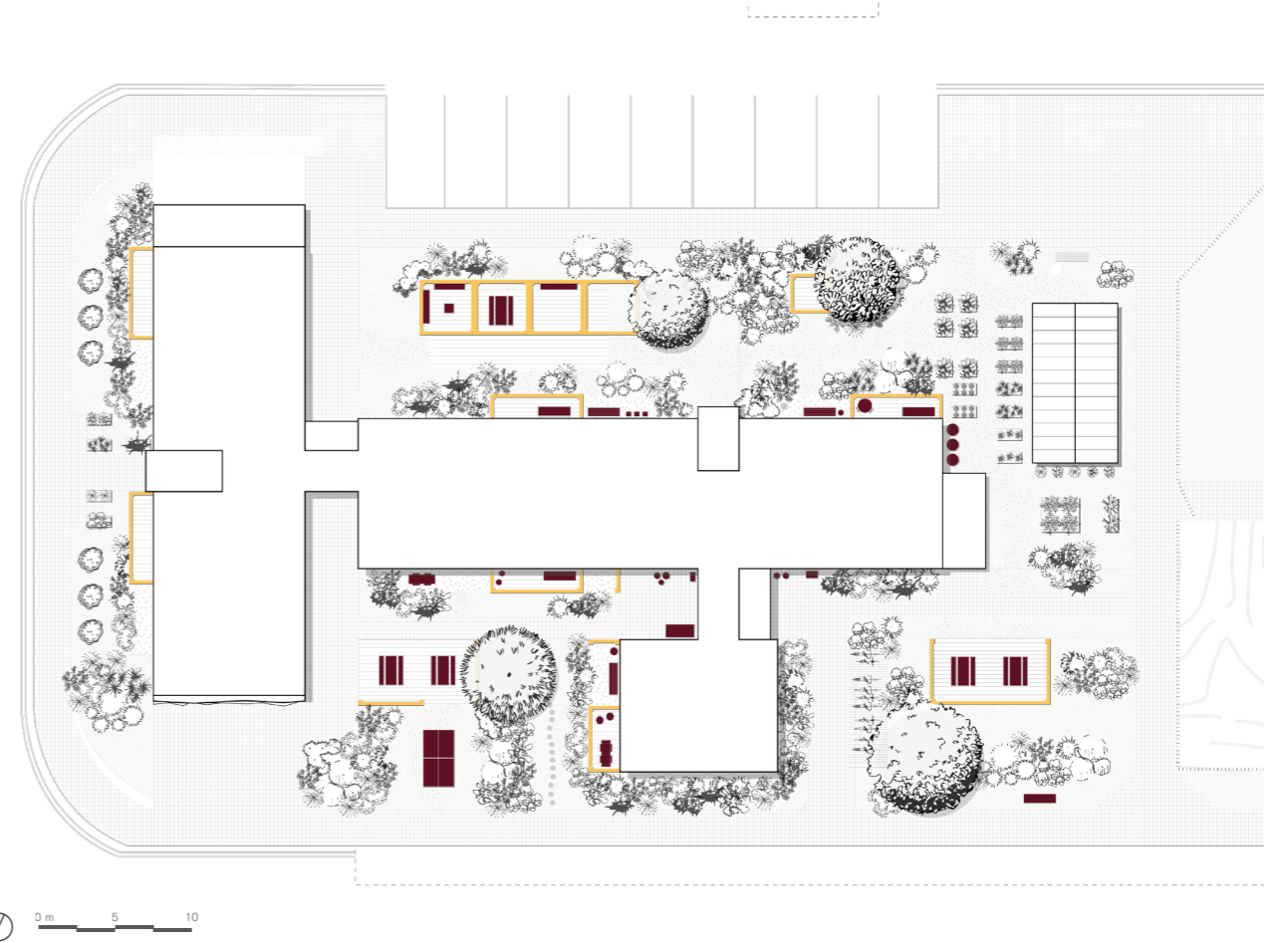






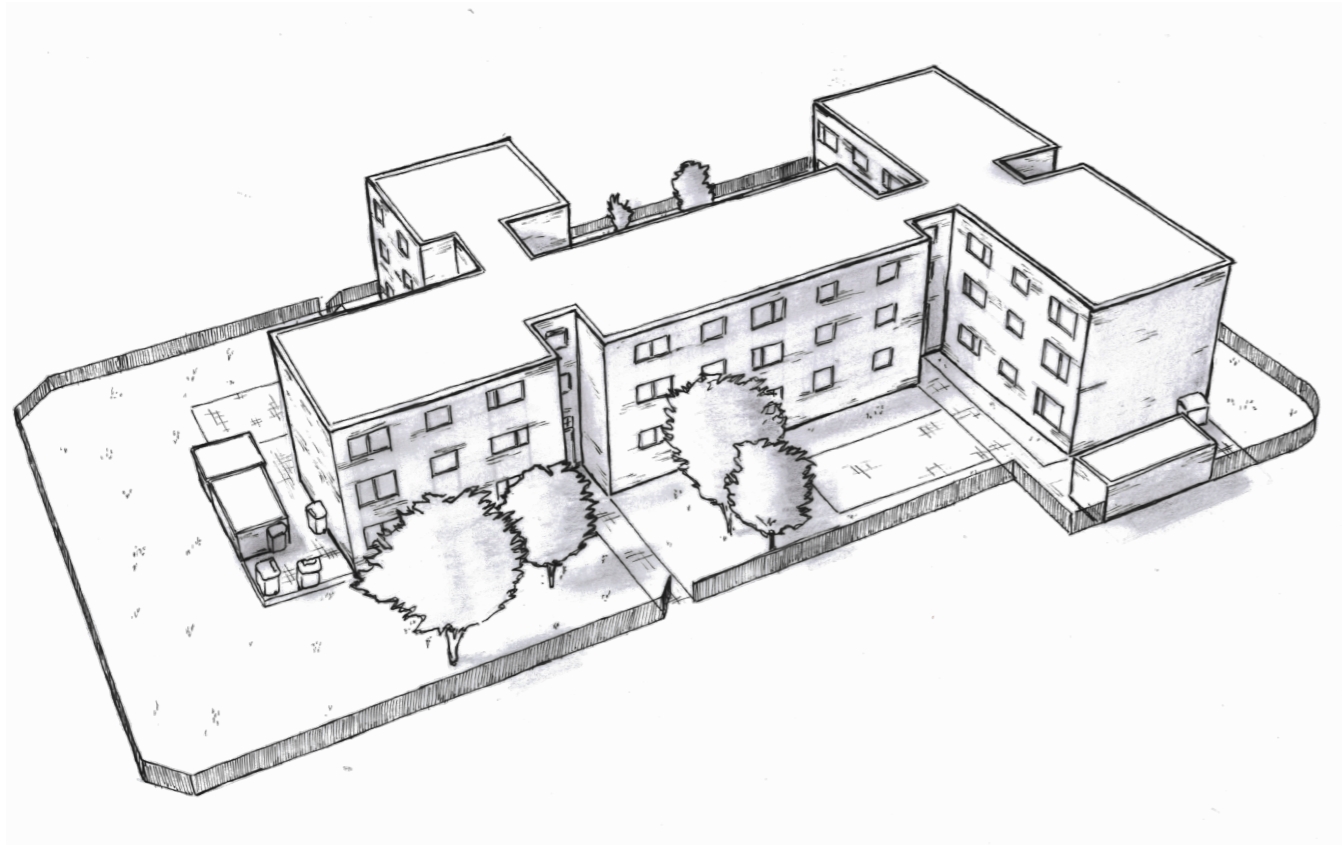


Figure 9.28
Proposed Plan Buildings

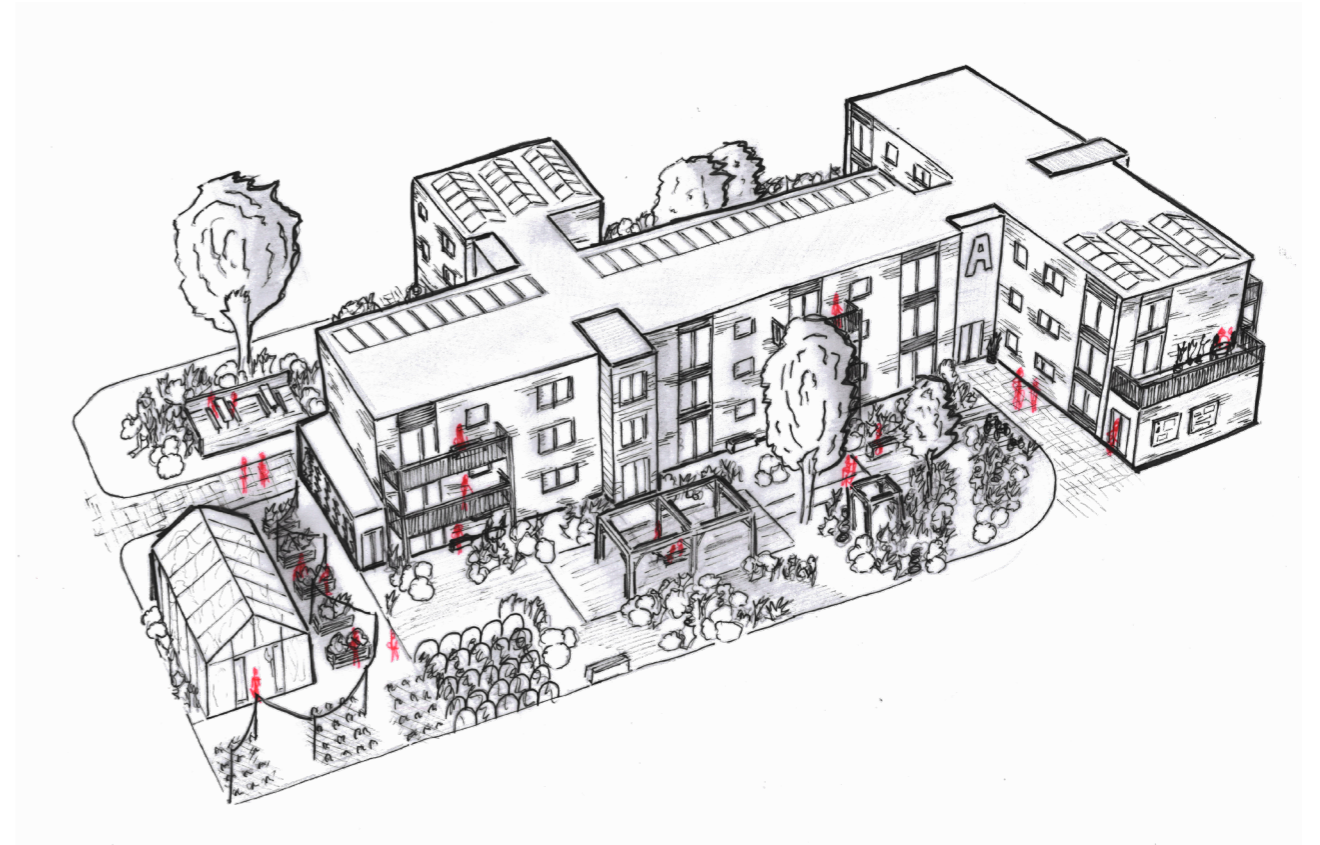
-  existing building
-  pedestrian path
-  wood
-  grass
-  changes in furniture
-  changes in walls, facade & facade openings

Current Situation



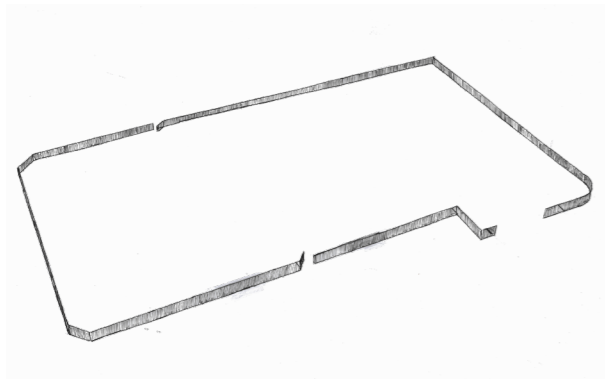
9.29 current situation

Proposed Situation



9.32 proposed situation

Interventions

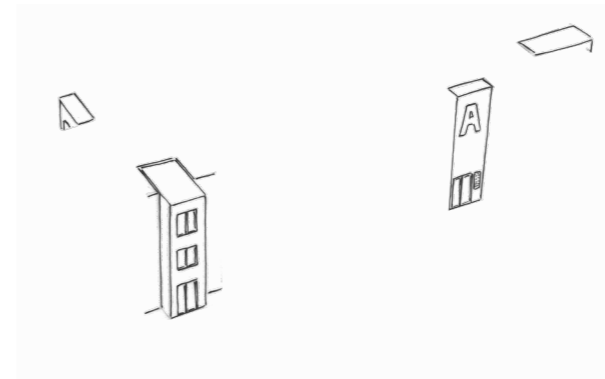


9.30 remove fences

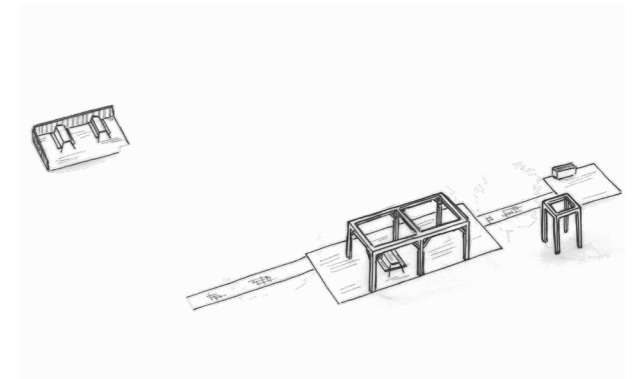


9.31 modify garbage collection

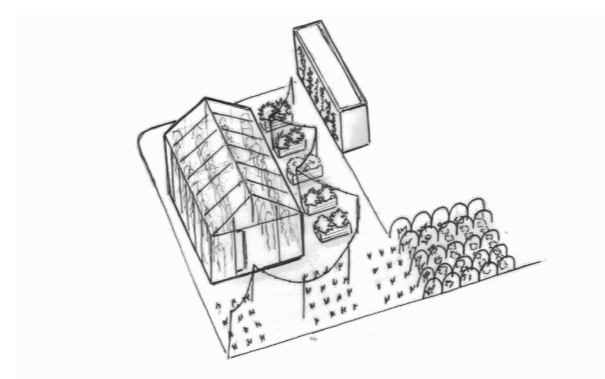
Interventions



9.33 define front & back entrances



9.34 add communal spaces



9.35 add urban farm with garbage collection

Quadrant

The design of the buildings and surrounding space needs to be over-viewed at the quadrant scale, to oversee the connection between the individual buildings and between the buildings and the public space around. The visibility of the main entrances of the buildings benefits from a good connection with the roads. Therefore, parking should be placed at tactical locations where it does not block the view, but still is as close to the buildings as possible.

The connection between the buildings and surroundings should be made possible by an improved slow traffic infrastructure, with a green pathway with bike route as showpiece. This bike route will flow through all quadrants. Around these slow traffic routes public and communal facilities should be implemented, which will be active and diverse spaces.



Figure 9.36
Priority-Difficulty Matrix

- define
- reurbish
- connect

Current Plan



Figure 9.37
Current Plan Quadrant

- existing building
- asphalt road
- pedestrian path
- wood
- grass
- playground
- fences

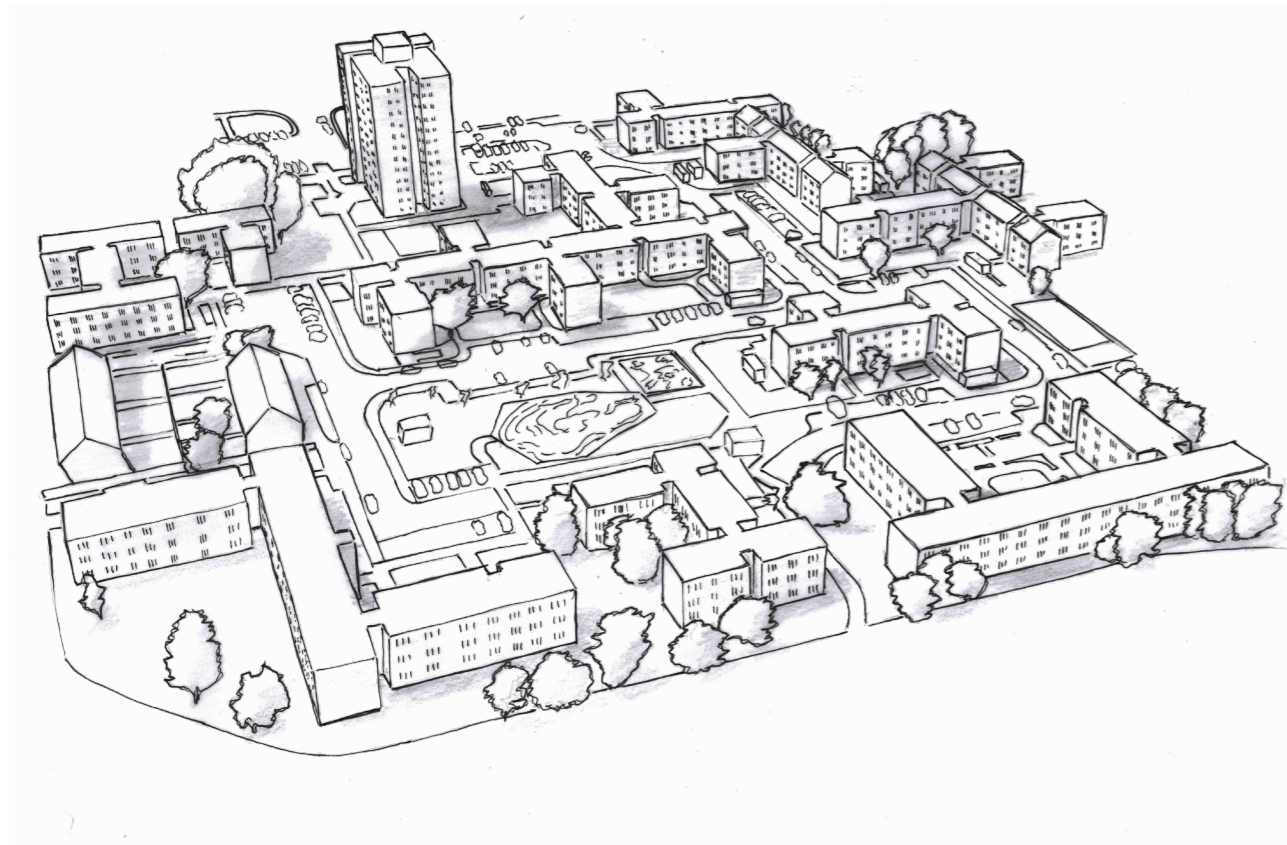
Proposed Plan



Figure 9.38
Proposed Plan Quadrant

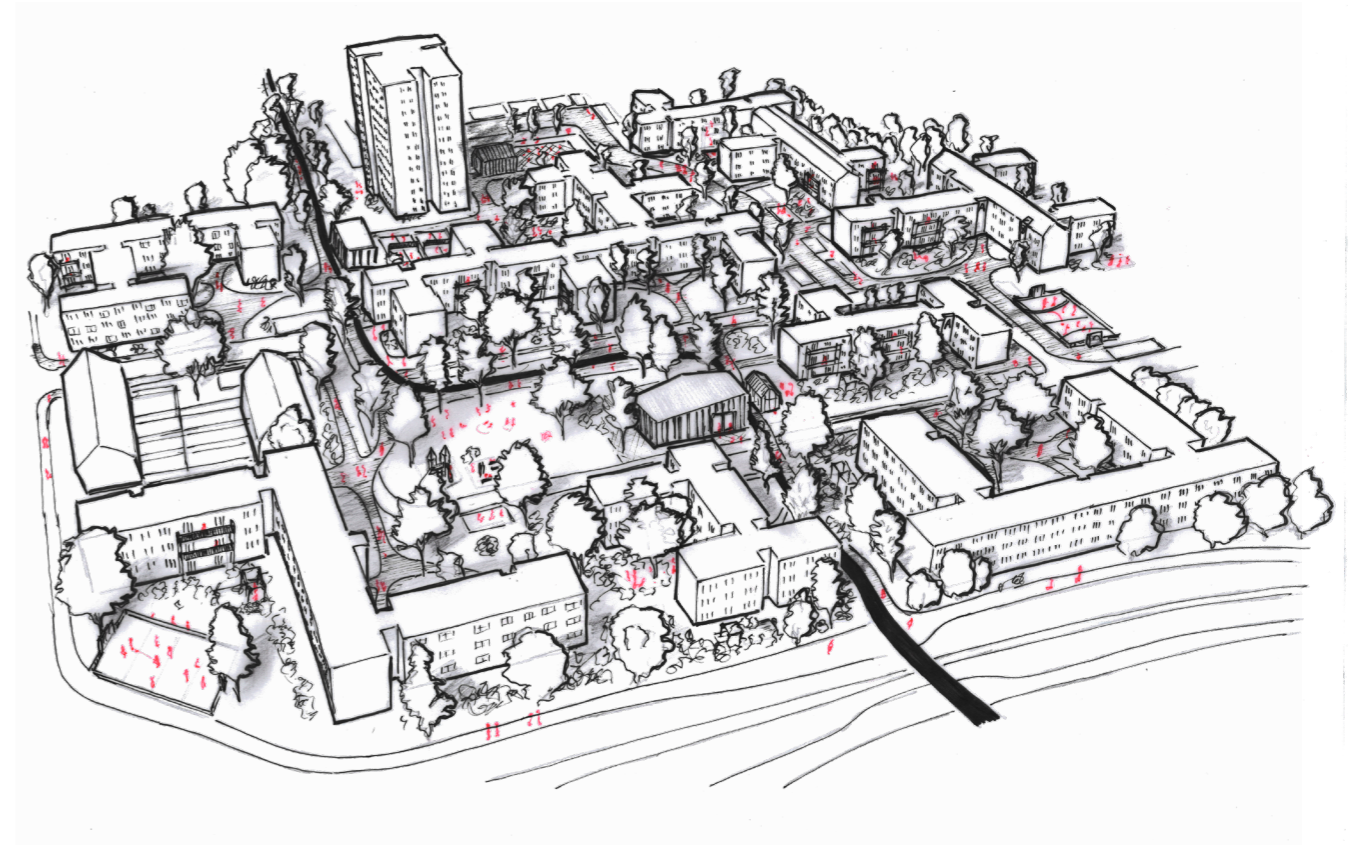
- existing building
- new building
- new space
- asphalt road
- bike path
- pedestrian path
- wood
- grass

Current Situation



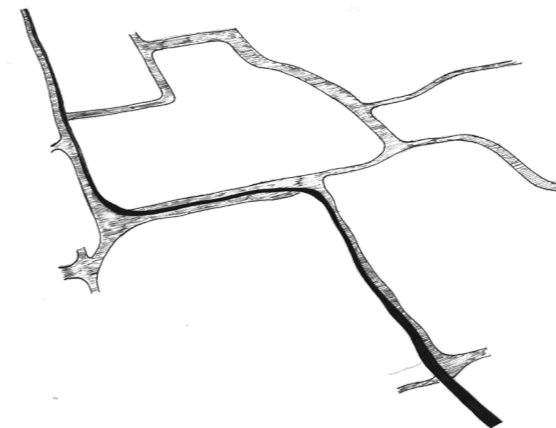
9.39 current situation

Proposed Situation

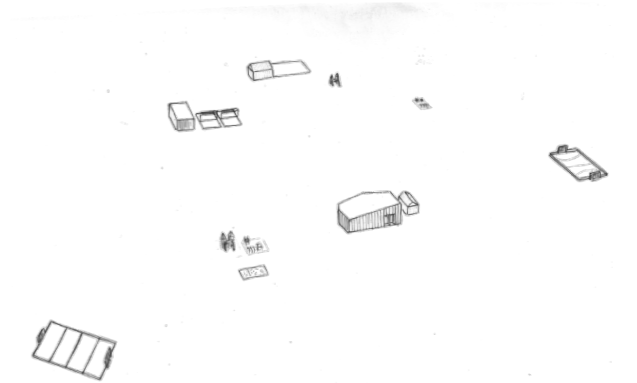


9.40 proposed situation

Interventions



9.41 add green bike & pedestrian pathways



9.42 add public & communal facilities

Estate

The interventions on the estate level overlap with many of the interventions for the quadrant. However, on this layer there are already existing public buildings that should be connected with the quadrants, and the green pathways need to be placed in such a way that they connect the quadrants with surrounding qualitative areas.

The slow traffic routes must lead to the two parks and the waterfront for recreation and the city centre and train station for movement. The public buildings can be used as community buildings where events and activities take place.

Since the People's Plans are made for the separate quadrants, there is no map included for the entire estate. The urbanist will still ask questions to the community on their needs and demands. These will be important in the creation of the vision, where the People's Plans of the four quadrants will be put together.



Figure 9.43
Priority-Difficulty Matrix

- define
- reurbish
- connect

Conclusion

The People's Plan gives insight in the needs and demands of the residents. It is the one of the first steps for the community in reclaiming control over their homes and living environment. By working with a gradation of space with the apartment as starting point, the community can first decide what they want with their home, then with their entrance area, and so forth. It works as a tool to keep the interventions tangible and reasonable. However, although the tool starts with the smallest scale, there can be made alternations when an intervention on a small scale is holding back the efficiency of an intervention on the larger scale. When there is friction, the urbanist should discuss this with the community to decide what is most important, also looking at larger structures.

This People's Plan proposes interventions based on the focus group reports, but these are limited. The drawing thus gives suggestions rather than creating a blueprint design. On top of that, this plan focuses on one building to create the gradation of space. This does not mean that the spaces around the building should be the same at every building, because it should be tailor made to the residents and their needs and demands. This will also support the diversity of spaces in the estate.

The People's Plan forms the base for the Vision. Therefore, the chapter concludes with an integration of all interventions into a diagram of needed & desired interventions, displayed in figure 9.25

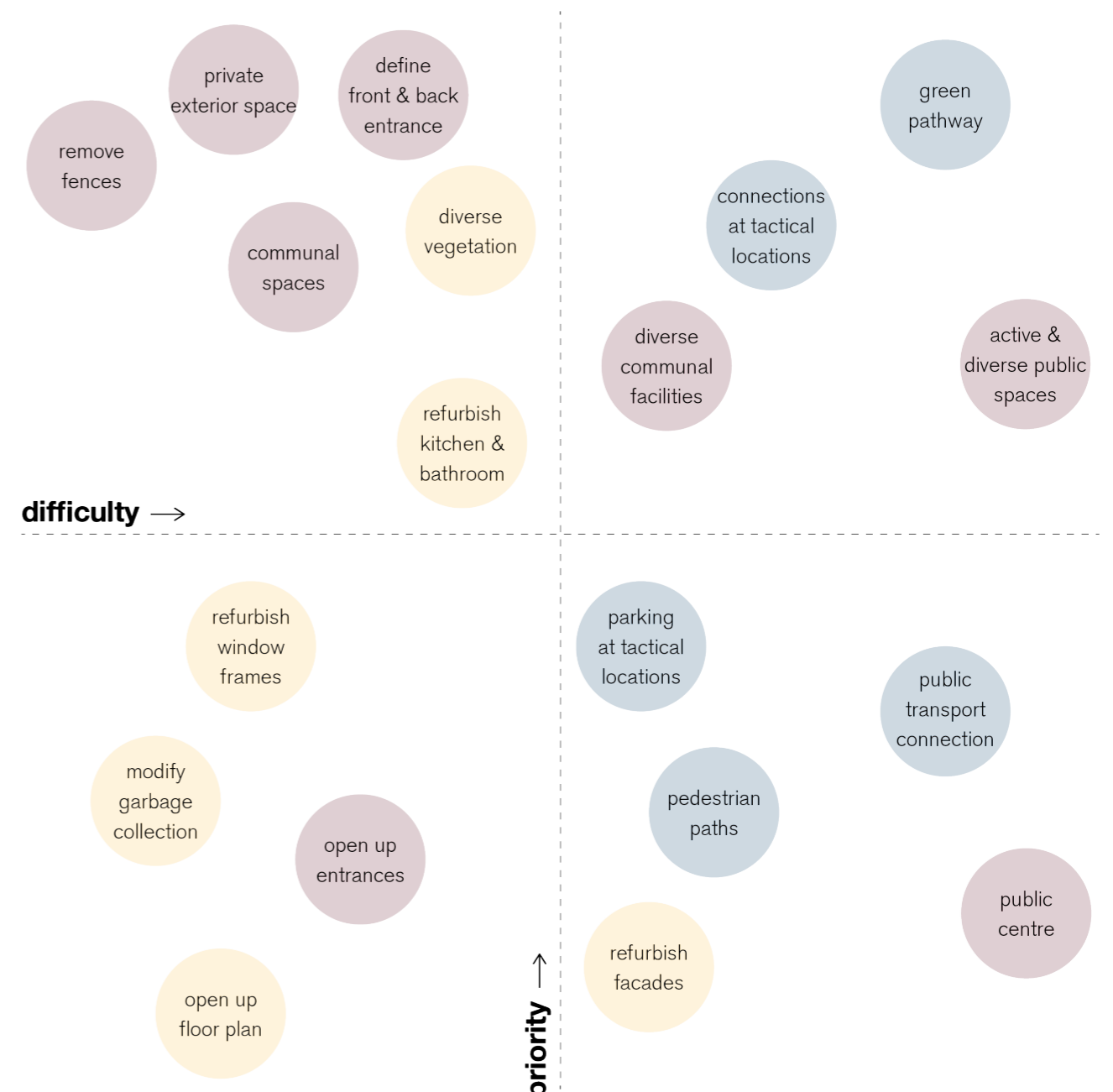


Figure 9.44
Priority-Difficulty Matrix

- define
- reurbish
- connect

10 Vision

Introduction

There seems to be no sense of responsibility to control and maintain the buildings and public spaces in the Gascoigne Estate. It is dilapidated, garbage bins roam around the area, and the public and communal spaces are not used. However, the community is not the one to charge. There is no sense of responsibility over the space, because there is no space to be responsible of. The estate is aesthetically monotone and anonymous. Communal spaces can better defined as fenced grass fields that are owned and used by nobody. The tool that should decline car movement (cul-de-sacs) has increased the car dominance in the area. Moreover, the lack of responsibility has emerged by virtue of the lack of space to be responsible of.

This project aims to counter further alienation and dilapidation with a community land trust. A Vision and a People's Plan are among the most important tools for the community for creating a CLT. The Vision is a formal translation of the People's Plan. The layers of the gradation of space are integrated in a holistic, multiscalar vision, based on the interventions of the People's Plan, the SWOT analysis, theory and the focus group reports. The vision forms a spatial framework of the entire estate that investigates structures and relations. It functions as an external communicative tool to obtain external attention and support.

The chapter connects the conclusions of the SWOT-analysis with the interventions of the People's Plan by creating three design principles. The design principles are the foundation of the vision, which contains a vision map, visualisations and diagrams. The vision concludes with a manifesto for a revival of the social housing community.

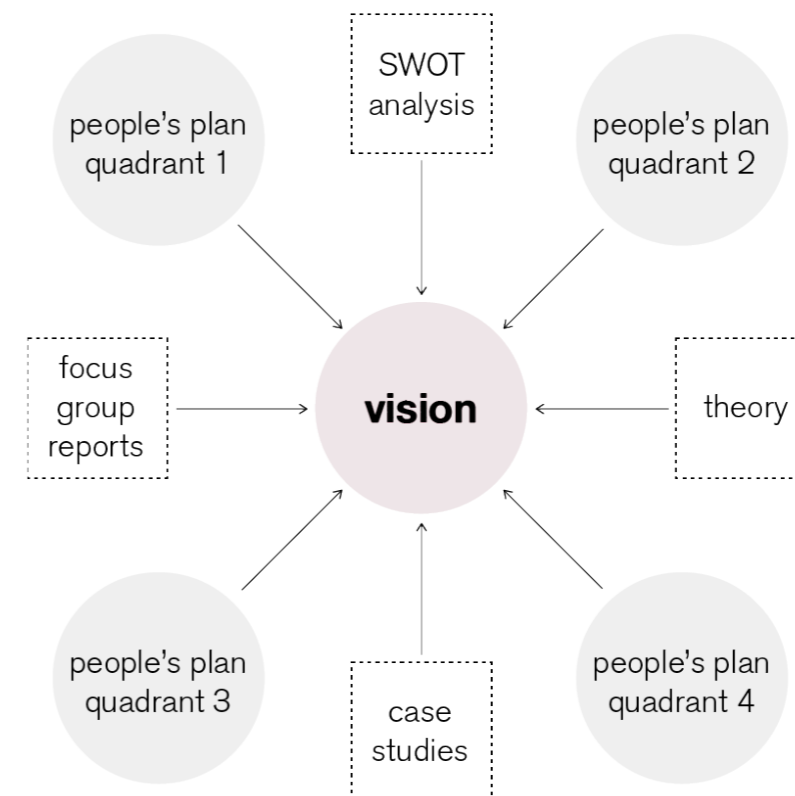


Figure 10.01
Input Vision

Design Principles

The SWOT analysis exposed the strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threads in the Gascoigne Estate. The People's Plan introduced goals based on the analysis. Three design principles with accessory interventions aim to achieve these goals. The define principle will come forward in a patchwork of defined spaces, the refurbish principle in the visualisations and the connect principle in the vision map.

define

One of the major issues in the Gascoigne Estate are the undefined spaces. Because spaces are undefined, fences are needed to define what is public, communal or private. On top of that, there seems no relation between the different spaces. The buildings are placed on a grass field with no exterior spaces. The grass fields are completely fenced, with sidewalks around it. Most buildings are not visible due to large parking lots in front. By defining the different spaces, they can be used in the right way and fences will not be needed anymore.

refurbish

The estate is increasingly dilapidated. A lack of responsibility is causing a lack of maintenance, and since the council decided to demolish the estate, there is a lack of upkeep. On top of top, homes are far away from the Decent Homes Standard, both sustainability-wise and comfort-wise. The homes and public spaces need an update in quality, which will be done through refurbishments. The reasoning behind that is that demolition affects the climate and existing communities, as well as that the estate has a unique design concept of living in green.

connect

The Gascoigne Estate is enclosed from its surroundings. It cannot make full use of the two parks, the waterfront, train station, and town centre. Therefore, the area has to be connected with and embedded in its context. The estate needs to be accessible with all transport modes, with a focus on walkability and public transport connection.

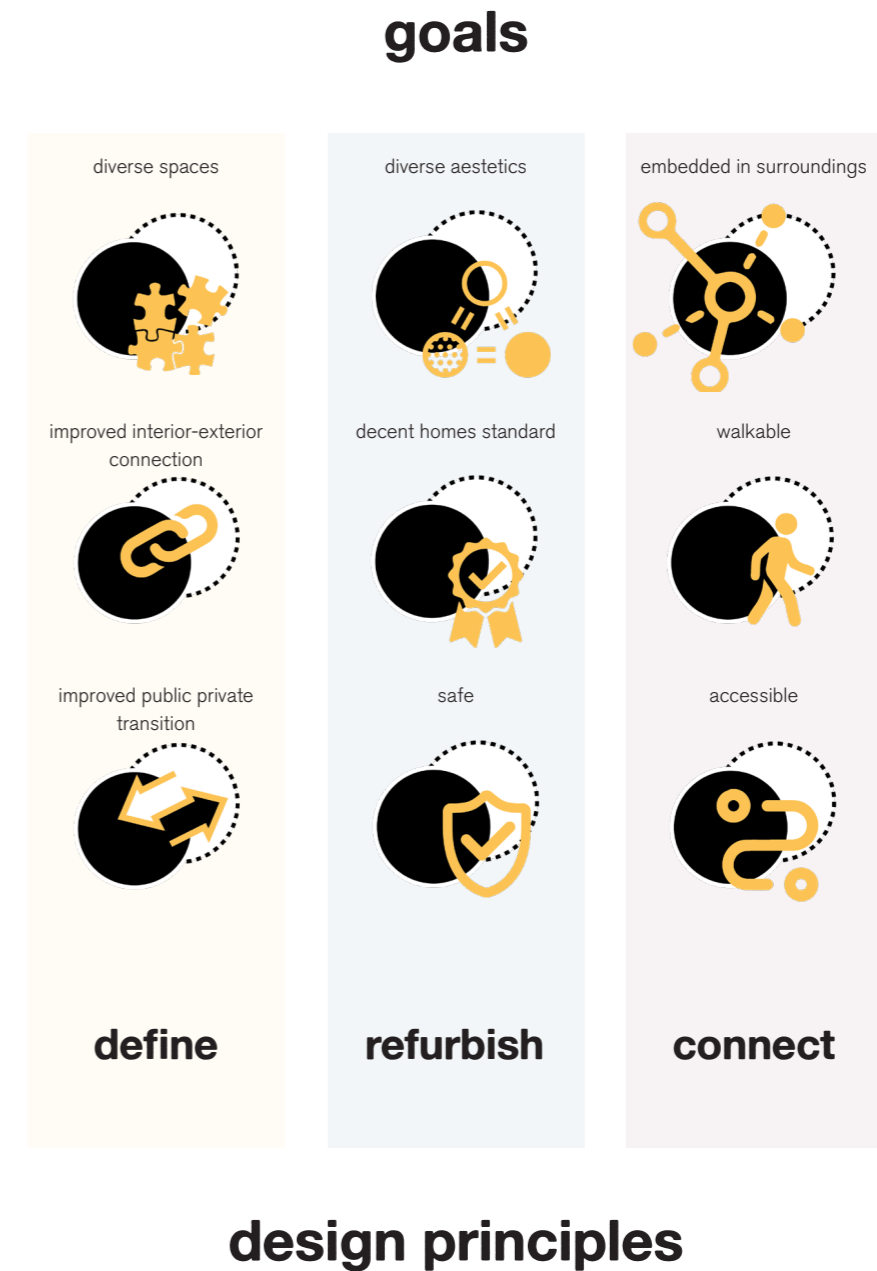


Figure 10.02
Goals & Design Principles














Gascoigne Estate 2050

In 30 years, the Gascoigne Estate should be a defined, refurbished, and connected area where people live in quality housing with secure tenure. The vision map in figure 10.03 mainly focuses in the large scale implementation of the CLT and the embedding in the surroundings.

The estate is divided in quadrants which grew their growth models with a central community hub and public space. Amidst the quadrants a public centre provides the residents of daily needs and amenities. Green pathways connect the area at tactical locations (C) with qualitative spaces



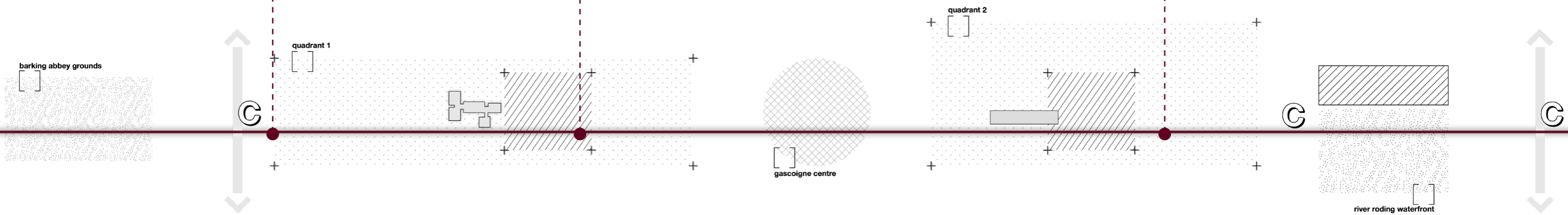
Figure 10.03
Vision Map 2050

-  quadrant
-  public space
-  public centre
-  green
-  water
-  town centre
-  starting point CLT
-  building CLT
-  public building
-  road
-  green pathway
-  railway
-  connection at tactical location

A Green Pathway



- 10.04: entering the estate (up)
- 10.05: connecting spaces (right)
- 10.06: through public spaces (far right)
- 10.07: A Green Pathway Section (down)



A Patchwork of Defined Spaces

This patchwork of defined spaces focuses on the relation between different types of spaces. Currently, a fenced grass field divides the buildings from public space. However, is it unclear how this inbetween space should be used. The buildings do not have a connection with the grass field, but it is also not accessible for the public. Because the space is not defined, the fences are necessary. By defining the use and function of the space, the fences will not be necessary anymore. Therefore, the gradation of space cooperates with a patchwork of defined spaces. Around the buildings there are private gardens. These private gardens are linked to communal spaces. Communal spaces at their turn connect to public spaces and access routes. The spaces overlap in diverse ways to create diverse transitions, softening the public-private transition and making space usable.

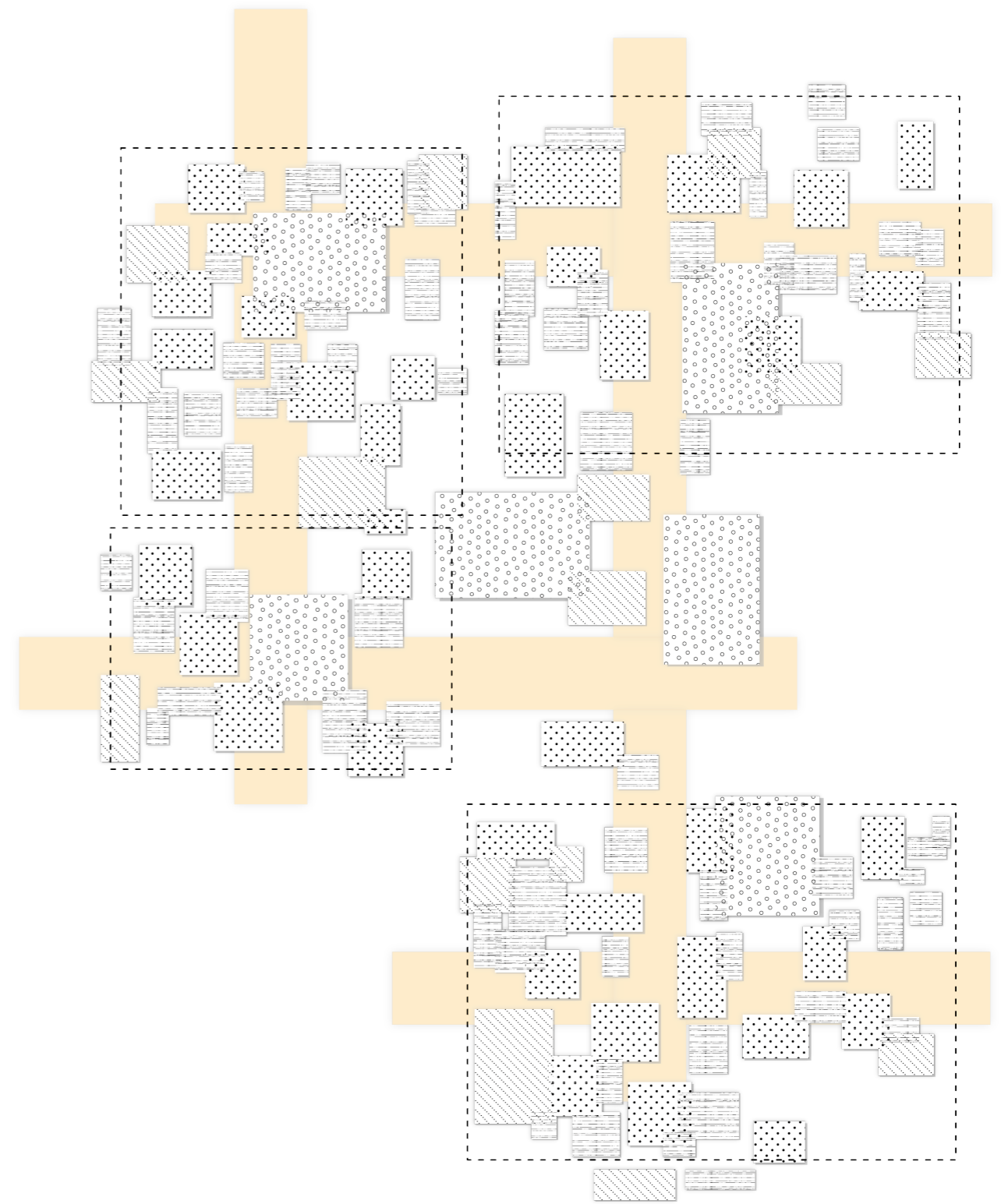








Figure 10.08
A patchwork of defined spaces

- public space 
- communal space 
- active space 
- private space 
- access routes 
- quadrant 

Layers of Space

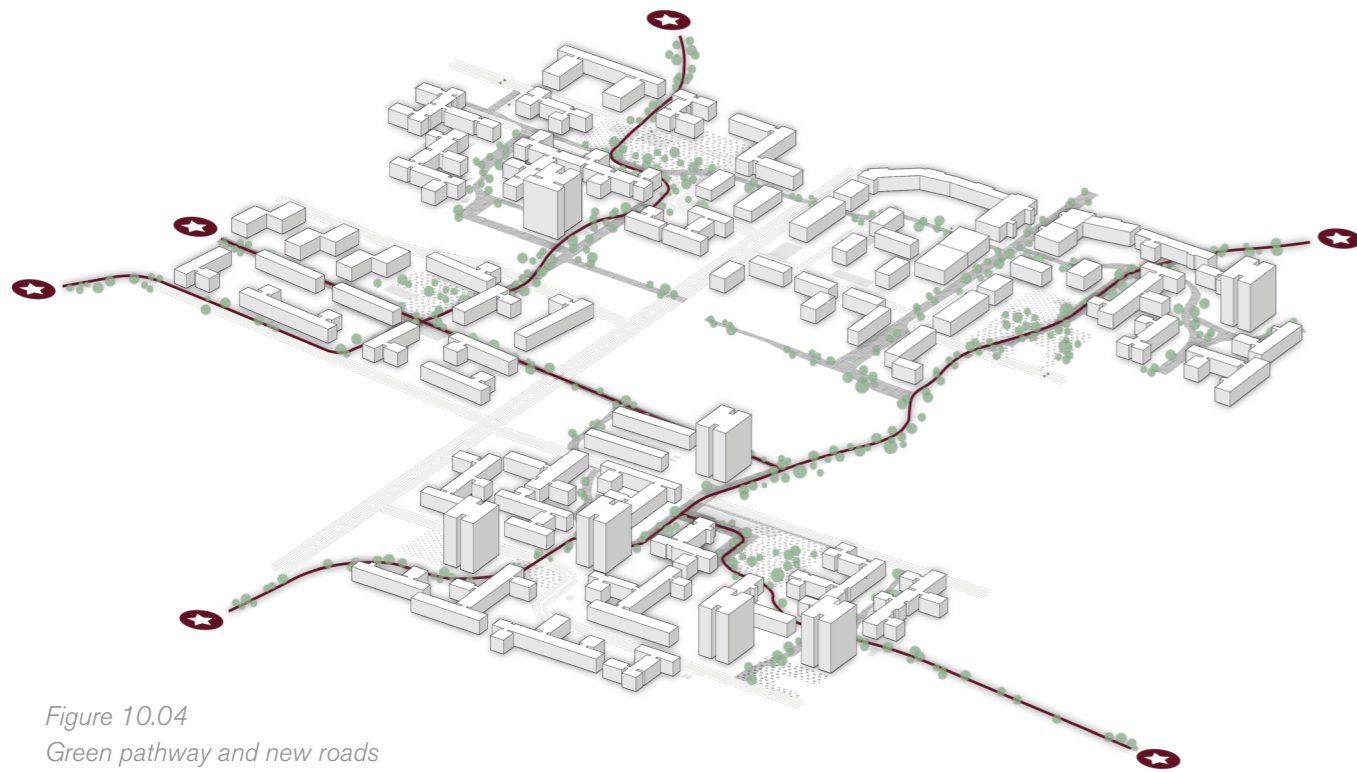


Figure 10.04
Green pathway and new roads

A **green pathway** forms a **fast slow traffic route** through the estate, **connecting the quadrants** with the each other, the **public centre**, and **surrounding qualities**. **Cul-de-sacs** are **connected** and transformed into **one-way-streets** with **tactical parking** spaces to decrease the road width and car dominance



Figure 10.06
Public and communal spaces in the quadrants

All quadrants will have a **recreational park**, **several playgrounds**, **sports fields**, **outdoor gyms**, and an **urban farm** that are **accessible** and **safe**. The **public spaces** will mainly be along the **green pathway**, **communal spaces** will be more **serene**



Figure 10.05
Public buildings and spaces

The area will **diversify** by implementing **community buildings**, **shops** and other **amenities**, as well as making use of the **existing public buildings**. The squares and sports fields around the school will be used for **events** and **activities**.

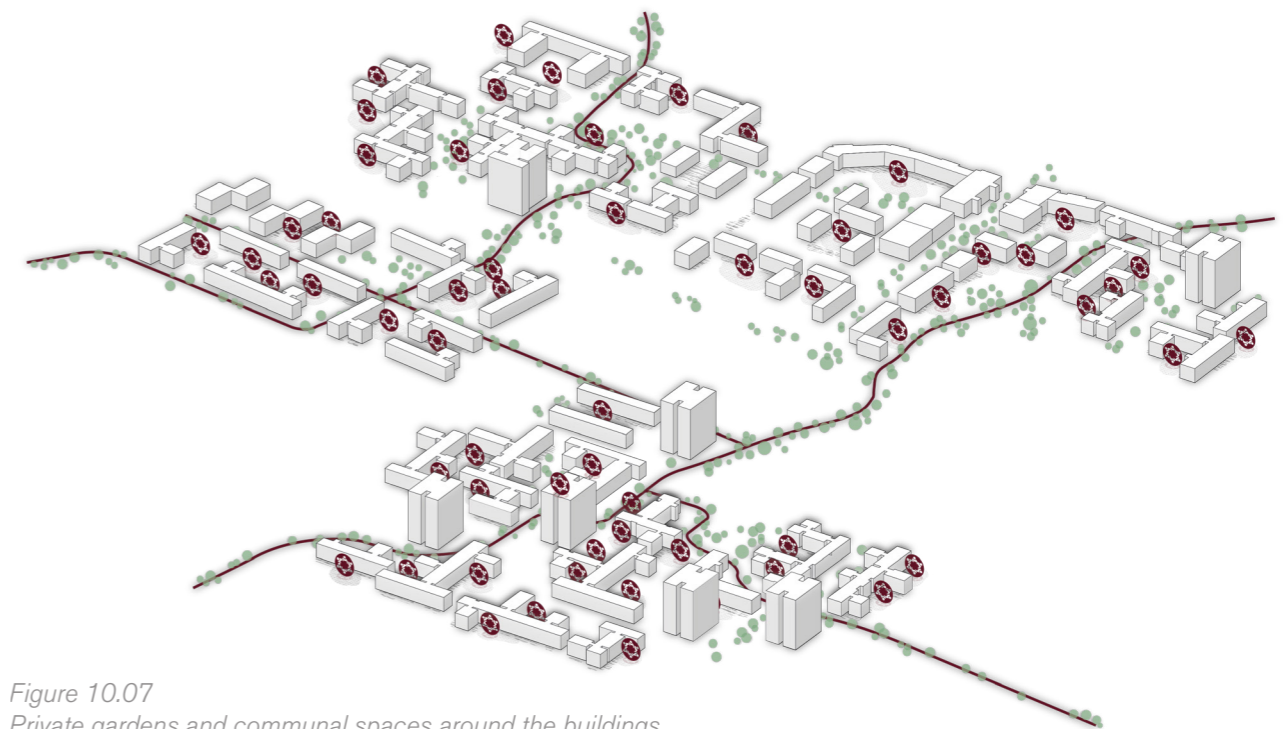


Figure 10.07
Private gardens and communal spaces around the buildings

All homes will have a **private garden** or **balcony** that looks out on a **communal space** that is **enclosed** between buildings and vegetation

A Healthy, Safe, and Inclusive Gascoigne

The Gascoigne Estate needs to make a shift to counter further dilapidation and alienation. Demolition plans have been around the corner for decades, which could lead to dispossession and displacement. Residents live in worsening living conditions with high tenure insecurities. The introduction of a community land trust could be that shift towards a revival of the social housing community. A CLT puts the community first, and gives them a seat at the table in decision making.

The vision is a holistic and multiscalar spatial framework based on the People's Plan. The vision aims to solve structural problems while simultaneously let the community decide how the space will be filled in within this spatial framework. The vision aims to solve problems and propose solutions for all residents, not just for the ones who are joining the CLT first.

One of the main issues of the Gascoigne Estate are the undefined spaces, which cause a lack of responsibility by the residents. An undefined space withstands use, meeting, and social control. The quality decline and lack of responsibility has caused a lack of trust and community. A community land trust addresses these problems. In the process of setting up the CLT, community organising and campaigning is leading to a stronger and closer community that feels they have a mutual interest of making their neighbourhood better. The introduction of the CLT provides the sense of responsibility: instead of an undefined space that is not owned or used, it becomes a communal ownership of the residents. The sense of ownership will increase the sense of responsibility and spaces will be used and maintained more. All in all, the CLT will bring a sense of ownership, safety, and community, which are among the most important elements of a quality living environment.

A sense of ownership, safety, and community for the residents generates a healthy, safe, and inclusive Gascoigne. The community land trust provides permanent affordability and tenure security, and makes sure the community has control over their own living environment. These elements are activating a revival of the social housing community. A community that is not displaced, dispossessed, stigmatised, or neglected, but a community that is living in quality housing with secure tenure in a healthy, safe, and inclusive environment.

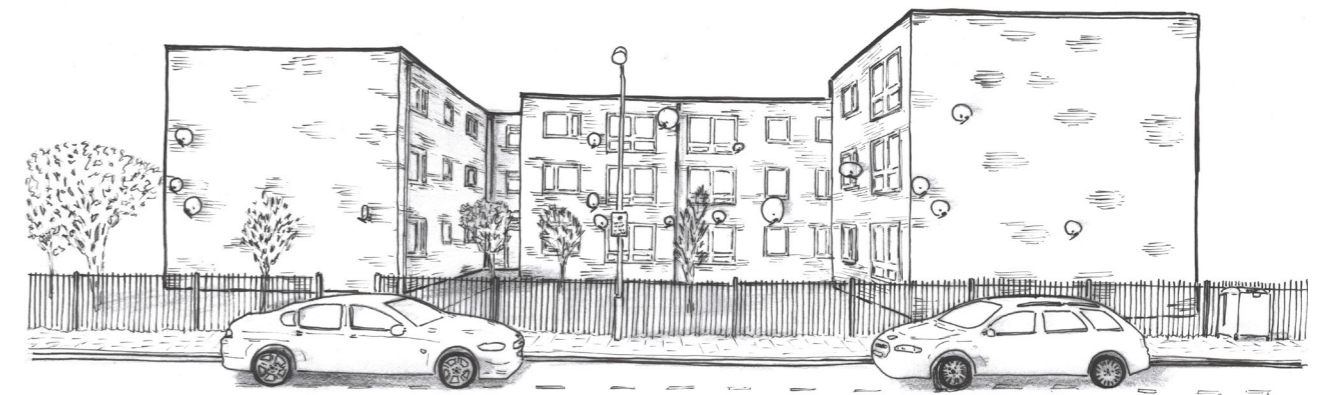


Figure 10.14
Current Situation



Figure 10.14
Proposed Situation

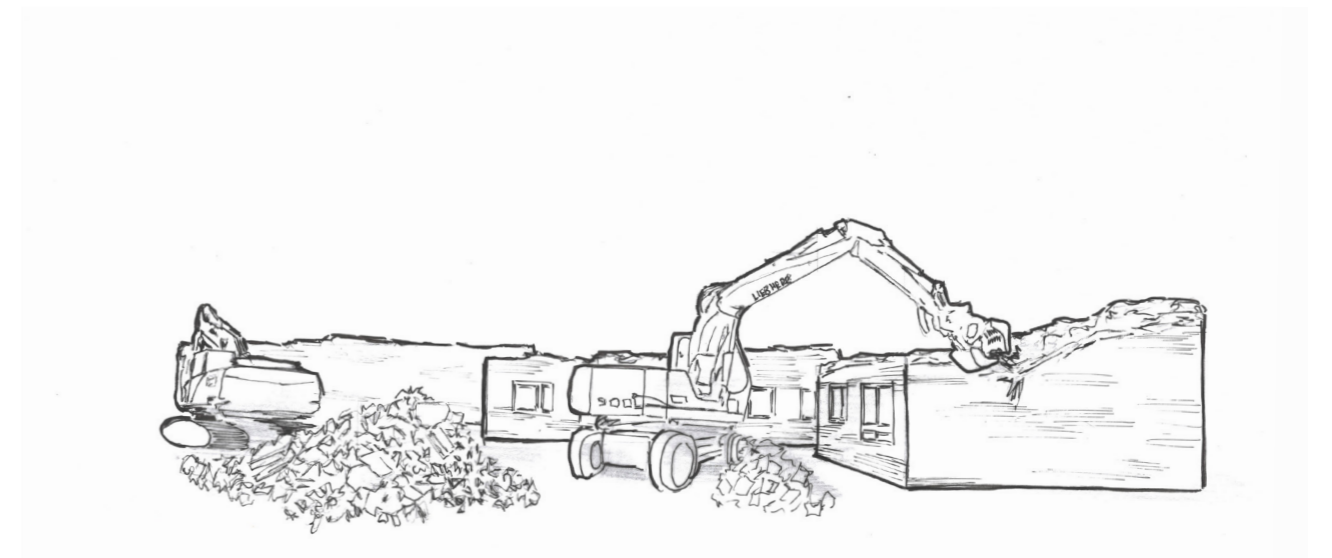


Figure 10.14
Worst Case Scenario

11 Conclusion & Reflection

Conclusion

This graduation project investigates how planning can be used to revive the social housing community of the Gascoigne Estate in London. The community is pressured by worsening living conditions and awaiting demolition due to government plans. This dual pressure can be lifted by implementing a community land trust in the estate, taking the land out of the market, securing permanent affordability and tenure security. The tenure model challenges trends of financialisation and privatisation, while the community is able to reclaim control over their lives and make use of their right to the city.

To fasten the negotiation process, the CLT will be implemented as a growth model in quadrants. The separation in quadrants makes the estate tangible, which eases community organising and setting up a People's Plan with the needs and demands of the community. The quadrants work as separate CLTs with an overarching board that regulates the entire estate. This overarching board with elected residents and professionals will create an encompassing vision for the estate. Both a large and a small CLT has its advantages. The quadrants keep the CLT small and the community strong, the overarching CLT secures the size and resources.

The Gascoigne Estate is severely dilapidated and is awaiting demolition. The area is enclosed from its surroundings, monotone and mono-functional. There is a lack of responsibility, because there is no space to be responsible of. Fences are needed to define the undefined spaces around buildings. From a SWOT analysis, focus group reports and literature the People's Plan and Vision suggest interventions to improve the quality of the estate. The People's Plan works with a gradation of space to build up a tangible story, that shows the essential interventions in a transparent and modular way. The Vision works from three design principles: define, refurbish, and connect, that aim to achieve the goals that were set from the SWOT analysis. The Vision forms a holistic spatial framework for the entire estate. Where the People's Plan works as an internal communicative tool towards the residents, the Vision works as an external communicative tool to obtain external support and attention.

The implementation of the CLT will increase a sense of community, safety and community. Spaces will be defined by giving them clear functions, creating interior-exterior connections and improving the public-private transition. Through time, the CLT growth model will transform the Gascoigne Estate into a safe, healthy, and inclusive area, that created quality housing and secure tenure for the social housing community.

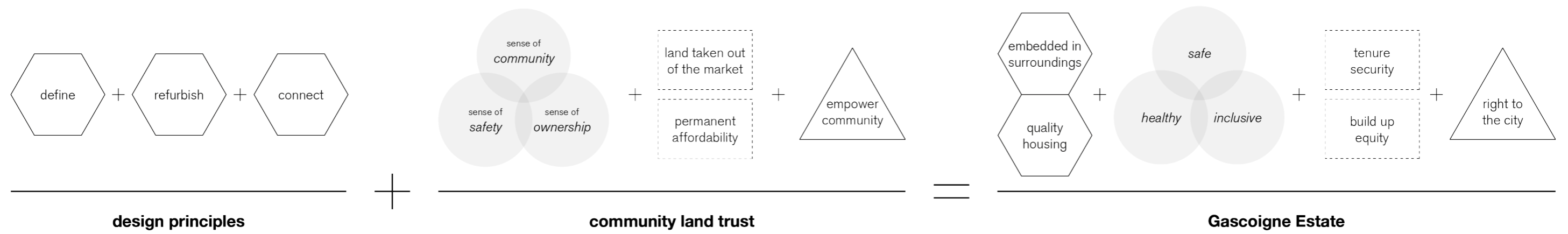


Figure 11.1
The concluding sum

Reflection

on Methodology

This graduation project aims to revive the pressured social housing community of the Gascoigne Estate. The project combines three questions (what-why-how) with the three steps of critical planning by Marcuse (2009b). This results in a holistic approach with both quantitative and qualitative research methods and both deductive and inductive reasoning. The three questions and planning steps keep the saw sharp and ensure the project is evidence-based.

In the field of urbanism, the term 'design' does not only cover the spatial domain. The Planning Complex Cities Studio enlarges the notion of design by not only designing physical structures or places, but also processes, and organisations. Therefore, this graduation project does not make the step from literature research to spatial design, but takes an intermediate step to design the process. This part of the design focusses on the implementation of a community land trust in the Gascoigne Estate. When the process is designed, the project continues to the design of physical structures in the People's Plan and vision.

A design is a strong communicative tool. In this project, the People's Plan works as a internal communicative tool, and the vision as an external communicative tool. It ensures transparency to every actor, which makes it an inclusive technique.

on Limitations

Although this thesis attempts to be as complete and elaborate as possible, there are limitations. This paragraph points out the limitations of the research. The project addresses global problems in the context of London, with focus on the housing crisis. The scope and complexity of these problems make it inevitable to consider them as given, with the project attempting to find solutions on a smaller scale which contribute to the bigger picture. The project tries to find compromises between what is variable and what is given in the current system and society.

Unfortunately, the understanding of the current system and society is limited. I have not been able to visit London through Covid-19 restrictions. Information was only available through databases, literature, reports and expert interviews. Fieldwork was limited to Google Earth and Streetview. The issue with spatial data, especially in an area that is awaiting demolition, it can be shiftily outdated. Therefore, the data used for this project is a snapshot taken with the most recent data and it could change through time.

Just as spatial data, a community changes over time. The only information available about the community were documentations, with the focus group report as most important input. There was no opportunity to discuss the concept of a CLT with the community and if it is preferable to them. On top of that, the spatial framework is mainly based on research, instead of being able to discuss space and design with the community.

on the relation of Research & Design

The thesis focussed on the influence of spatial planning and design on the current situation of the social housing community in London. This influence is determined by theoretical and spatial research. The research on financialisation, privatisation, and regeneration forms the theoretical backbone, explained in the context by the spatial research. Through design this project aims to find a solution to the processes explained in the theory. The spatial research forms the base of the design. The end product is a vision that considers the influence of spatial planning and design on the current situation of social housing and used the research to propose alternatives.

The alternative proposed is a community land trust, which is an already existing concept that had to land in the context of this project. Design is used as a tool to translate the concept by finding common ground and making use of the circumstances in the area. The design of the CLT works as a communicative tool for explaining the theory of the CLT together with its spatial implications.

on Transferability

This thesis focuses on a specific city in a specific time. However, that does not mean that the research and outcomes cannot be translated into other contexts. The theoretical part addresses global problems and uses literature that is not focussed on the specific context on this project. Processes of financialisation and privatisation occur around the globe, as well as the pressure on affordability and spatial justice. The information gathered in this project is transferable to other projects tackling the same issues.

The design part of the project is also convertible to other contexts. Although social housing is different in every country, every city has peripheries where the urban poor resides, often oppressed by authorities and private parties. Moreover, although the project is site specific, the project provides general suggestions and conclusions. A CLT could provide a solution in every context, especially considering the versatility of the concept. However, the uniqueness of a location is understood, and thus that certain principles work in one place but might not in another.

on the Role of the Urbanist

The role of the Urbanist varies per project and situation, and even per person. One adapts to the location, the planning system, and the present and future actors. The urbanist recognizes disparities and conflicts arising from the distribution of spatial resources across communities and territories. Its role is to move flexibly within the governance triangle (Rocco, 2020b) and support the oppressed. This graduation project recognizes the unequal provision of adequate housing and the inability for people to make use of their right to the city, and therefore the role of the urbanist is to stand up for the oppressed local population.

This project deliberately makes the role of the urbanist very explicit. It is named in the conceptual framework, as well as in the roadmap towards revival. The urbanist aims to empower the local population and translate their needs and demands into a vision. This vision is used to mediate decision makers and to obtain external support, attention, and awareness for the situation of the local population, as well as proposing an alternative. The pro-

ject aims to contribute to a more equal provision of housing, integrating social, cultural, economic, and political perspectives with the natural man-made conditions in order to shape and plan for more sustainable development.

on Scientific Relevance

The problem field of this graduation project is elaborating on two major drivers of unequal cities. Globalisation and financialisation have caused inequality and spatial injustice, especially in metropolitan areas where land and homes are scarce. The New Urban Agenda by UN-HABITAT presents a paradigm shift based on the science of cities and lays out standards and principles for the planning, construction, development, management, and improvement of urban areas. It works as an accelerator of the 17 Sustainable Development Goals (UN-HABITAT, 2015). In 2016, Habitat III placed SDG 11 central: Make cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable.

This project aims to contribute to SDG 11 by implementing a community land trust. The New Urban Agenda named CLTs among the 'policies, tools, mechanisms, and financing models'. The CLT movement is at an intersection of two world-wide movements for social change, especially at locations where lower income residents have high tenure insecurities in deprived living conditions. In cities grabbed by international capital CLTs are also being championed by the movement for a right to the city. This graduation project aims to broaden its potential by implementing it in a social housing estate, a scale that a CLT barely touched to date.

Literature on social housing acknowledges the worrying situation, but often does not propose alternatives. By implementing the CLT, the project zooms in to the neighbourhood and human scale. It contributes to urban planning, design, and theory in finding inclusive planning tools for sustainable cities and communities. The project is exploring alternative concepts, lines of thought and mentalities in order to boost for change. It is also a call for awareness and flexibility from all actors, from the local population to decision makers. In doing so, it connects closely to SDG 3, SDG 10, and, as mentioned, SDG 11, see figure 11.2 (UN-HABITAT, 2020).

on Societal Relevance

London is unhooked from its context. It became a theatre for international capital, and the skyrocketing land values and housing prices are creating a survival of the financially fittest. Local, low-income residents are being pushed out of the city. They lost their voice in decision making in the city, creating an unbalanced governance. The loss in right to democracy is not the only right to the city the local population has lost. Although London Plans have ambitious plans in affordable and inclusive housing, the city does not seem prepared for this challenge. In the current housing system, new homes are likely to disappear into a black hole of speculative demand.

Adequate housing is not provided by the market, thus this graduation project proposes an alternative concept to reclaim homes for the community. In 'The Revival of the Social Housing Community' the local population is placed central. The community decides how they live and decide democratically how the public space is designed. Moreover, the community is reclaiming their right to the city. On top of an empowerment of the community, the project provides tools to revitalize the built environment and improve the quality of life of its residents. Social housing residents have lived with tenure insecurities since the 1980s awaiting the demolition of their homes, often leading to their displacement. The reclaimed control also means that residents decide themselves what happens with their homes, which delivers tenure security.

By giving residents the responsibility of their space, they can tackle the stigmatisation on the social housing community. Social housing is seen as a tenure of last resort, the estates are seen as dilapidated sites full of crime and disorder. Since most actors only shape and respond to negative images and do not challenge them, the residents have the chance to challenge them themselves. Furthermore, the project contributes to the de-stigmatisation of social housing estates and its residents. Building a stronger community with fair payments and democratic decision-making delivers an inclusive neighbourhood with a sense of community, safety, and ownership.

on Ethical Considerations

This thesis aspires to be as transparent, elaborate and ethically responsible as possible. Nevertheless, there are ethical considerations to be mentioned. The first issue is my social and educational background, which gives me social, cultural, spatial, and political prejudices. I am Dutch and educated at the TU Delft. The Netherlands is a country with a 'strategic' planning structure, whereas the UK uses a 'policy' planning structure. The TU Delft stimulates a holistic approach to Urbanism, in the UK it is more separated. I would like to mention that I am not attempting to impose my knowledge to change the planning structure in the UK by creating a vision for a strategic project, but rather fitting the strategy into the local conditions. I strive to translate my knowledge to create suggestions, with respect to the existing planning system.

Political preference, educational background, and social environment influence the project. The knowledge that I have built up through this year is mainly based on existing, often opiated research. This gives a prejudice to what type of literature I am searching for and using for this project. Furthermore, I am using literature that criticizes global systems and exposes global issues, e.g. critique on capitalism and the financialisation of housing and discussing housing crises and inequality. Nevertheless, when taking the position of an activist with the aim of standing up for the deprived, a coloured position is hardly evitable. This is strengthened by my personal interest and prior work in finding solutions for the situation of social housing.

With the strategic project in the Gascoigne Estate I aim to suggest a revival of the social housing community, empowering them to control their own lives. However, that does not mean I intend to change the people. I respect the local community and systems. The project suggests improvements without harming the residents, creating awareness for alternative options. The project makes elaborate analyses and draws conclusions in its spatial framework. However, with drawing the conclusions, I do not suggest that my project forms a complete understanding of how the system works and how it should be working. The conclusion proposes alternatives for the local population and decision makers.



Figure 11.2: Sustainable Development Goals (United Nations, 2020)

References

Literature

- Aalbers, M.B. (2008). The Financialization of Home and the Mortgage Market Crisis. *Competition & Change*, 12(2): 148–166.
- Aalbers, M.B. (2016). *The Financialization of Housing: A Political Economy Approach*. London: Routledge.
- Arnstein, S.R. (1969). A Ladder of Citizen Participation. *JAIP* 35(4):216-224.
- Baeten, G. (2012). "Neoliberal planning, does it really exist?", in: Kasan-Kok, T., Baeten, G. (2012). *Contradictions of Neoliberal Planning: Cities, Policies, and Politics*. New York City: Springer.
- Barker, K. (2004). *Review of Housing Supply*. London: UK Government Departments HM Treasury.
- Bendahan, S., Camponovo, G., Pigneur, Y. (2004). Multi-Issue Actor Analysis: Tools and Models for Assessing Technology Environments. *Journal of Decision Systems*, 13(2):223-253.
- Beswick, J., Alexandri, G., Byrne, M., Vives-Miro, S., Fields, D., Hodkinson, S., Janoschka, M. (2016). Speculation on London's housing future. *City*, 20(2): 321-341.
- Big Society Capital (2021). Funding Affordable Homes. Retrieved on May 14, 2021, from <https://bigsocietycapital.com/portfolio/funding-affordable-homes-fund/>
- Birchall, J., Conaty, P., Foggit, R., Bendle, S. (2003). *Common Ground – for Mutual Home Ownership*. London: CDS Co-operatives & New Economics Foundation.
- Bobo, K., Kendall, J., Max, S. (2001). *Organizing for Social Change: Midwest Academy: Manual for activists*. Potomac, Maryland: Seven Locks.
- Booth, R. (2019). *UK housing crisis deepens as benefit claimants priced out by high rents*. Retrieved on January 3, 2021, from <https://www.theguardian.com/society/2019/jul/07/uk-housing-crisis-deepens-as-benefit-claimants-priced-out-by-high-rents>
- Booth, R. (2020a). *Freeze rents in London to avert mass evictions urges Sadiq Khan*. Retrieved on September 23, 2020, from <https://www.theguardian.com/society/2020/sep/16/freeze-rents-in-london-to-avert-mass-evictions-urges-sadiq-khan>.
- Booth, R. (2020b). *Revealed: London councils take funds from developers to pay for planning guidelines*. Retrieved on September 7, 2020, from <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2020/aug/23/revealed-councils-accept-payments-from-developers-to-fund-planning-guidelines?>
- Booth, R. (2020c). *The Final Straw: Tory heartlands in revolt over planning reforms Boris Johnson*. Retrieved on September 7, 2020, from <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2020/aug/23/the-final-straw-tory-heartlands-in-revolt-over-planning-reforms-boris-johnson>.
- Brenner, N., Marcuse, P., Mayer, M. (eds.) (2011). *Cities For People, Not For Profit*. London: Taylor & Francis.
- Calabrese, L.M (2020a). An Introduction To Research & Research Methods [slides]. Retrieved on September 21, 2020, from <https://brightspace.tudelft.nl/d2l/le/content/278772/viewContent/1967050/View>
- Calabrese, L.M (2020b). Designing The Research Framework [slides]. Retrieved on September 21, 2020, from <https://brightspace.tudelft.nl/d2l/le/content/278772/viewContent/1970513/View>.
- Campkin, B. (2013). *Remaking London*. London: I.B. Tauris & Co.
- CCMH (2009). *Bringing Democracy Home*. West Bromwich: Commission on Co-operative and Mutual Housing.
- Cheshire, P., Hilber, C., Schöni, O. (2021). *Why Central London has seen the biggest rises in house prices despite Covid*. Retrieved on April 2, 2021, from <https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/covid19/2021/03/31/why-central-london-has-seen-the-biggest-rises-in-house-prices-despite-covid/>
- Clayton, R. (1964). *Geography of Greater London*. London: Philip.
- CLH (2020). *Introduction To Mutual Home Ownership Societies (MHOS)*. London: Community Led Housing London.
- CLH (2021). *St. Clements, London CLT*. Retrieved on March 18, 2021, from <https://www.communityledhousing.london/project/st-clements-london-clt/>.
- Connell, R. (2010). "Understanding neoliberalism", in: Braedley, S., Luxton, M. [eds.] (2010). *Neoliberalism and Everyday Life*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- Copley, T. (2014). *From Right to Buy to Buy to Let*. Retrieved on October 20, 2020. <http://tomcopley.com/wp-content/uploads/2014/01/From-Right-to-Buy-to-Buy-to-Let-Jan-2014.pdf>.
- Courts and Tribunals Judiciary (2021). *You and the Judiciary*. Retrieved on May 14, 2021, from <https://www.judiciary.uk/you-and-the-judiciary/judicial-review/>
- Covey, S. (1989). *The Seven Habits of Highly Effective People*. New York City: Free Press.
- Covey, S. (1998). *The Seven Habits of Highly Effective Students*. New York City: Free Press.
- Cunningham, W. (1882). *The Growth of English Industry and Commerce during the Early and Middle Ages*. Cambridge: University Press.

- Davis, J. (2010). *Origins and Evolution of the Community Land Trust in the United States*. In *The Community Land Trust Reader* (pp. 3-47). Cambridge: Lincoln Institute of Land Policy.
- Davis, J., Algoed, L., Hernández-Torrales, M. [eds.]. *Community Land Trust Applications in Urban Neighbourhoods*. Madison, Wisconsin: Terra Nostra Press.
- Dean, J., Hastings, A. (2003). Challenging images: tackling stigma through estate regeneration. *Policy & Politics*, 31(2):171-184.
- De Bode, M. (2020). Roadmap Towards Inclusiv[C]ity. [thesis] Delft: TU Delft.
- Dorling, D. (2013). *All that is Solid: The Great Housing Disaster*. London: Penguin Books.
- Edwards, M. (2016). The housing crisis and London. *City*, 20(2): 222-237.
- Funding Affordable Homes (2021). About the company. Retrieved on May 14, 2021, from <https://fundingaffordable-homes.com/about-the-company/>
- GLA (2011). *The London Plan 2011*. London: Greater London Authority.
- GLA (2013). *The Housing (Right To Transfer from A Local Authority Landlord) (England) Regulations 2013*. London: Greater London Authority.
- GLA (2015). What are Opportunity Areas? Retrieved on November 25, 2020, from <https://www.london.gov.uk/what-we-do/planning/implementing-london-plan/opportunity-areas/what-are-opportunity-areas>
- GLA (2016a). *Homes for Londoners: Affordable Homes Programme 2016-2023*. Retrieved on January 3, 2021, from <https://www.london.gov.uk/what-we-do/housing-and-land/homes-londoners-affordable-homes-programmes/homes-londoners-affordable-homes-programme-2016-2023>.
- GLA (2016b). *The London Plan 2016*. London: Greater London Authority.
- GLA (2018a). Building Council Homes for Londoners. London: Greater London Authority.
- GLA (2020). Homes for Londoners: Affordable Homes Programme 2021-2026. Retrieved on January 3, 2021, from <https://www.london.gov.uk/what-we-do/housing-and-land/homes-londoners-affordable-homes-programmes/homes-londoners-affordable-homes-programme-2021-2026>.
- GLA (2021). *The London Plan 2021*. London: Greater London Authority.
- Glass, R. (1989). *Cliches of Urban Doom*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Gray, K.A., Galande, M. (2011). Keeping "Community" in a Community Land Trust. *Social Work Research*, 35(4):241-248.
- Gunder, M. (2006). Sustainability: Planning's saving grace or road to perdition? *Journal for Planning Education and Research*, 26(2): 208-221.
- Hamnett, C. (2004). Economic and social change and inequality in global cities: the case of London. *Επιθεώρηση Κοινωνικών Ερευνών*, 113(113): 63-80.
- Harvey, D. (1982). *The Limits to Capital*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Harvey, D. (2003). The Right to the City. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 27(4): 393-941.
- Harvey, D. (2005). *A brief history of neoliberalisation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hastings, A. (2004). Stigma and social housing estates: Beyond pathological explanations. *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment*, 19:233-254.
- Hermans, L.M., Thissen, W.A.H. (2009). Actor analysis methods and their use for public policy analysts. *European Journal of Operational Research*, 196(2):808-818.
- Higgings, P., Campanera, J., Nobajas, A. (2014). Quality of life and spatial inequality in London. *European Urban and Regional Studies*, 21(1): 42-59.
- Hill, D. (2018). *What are London 'affordable' homes and who can afford them?* Retrieved on November 23, 2020, from <https://www.onlondon.co.uk/what-are-london-affordable-homes-and-who-can-afford-them/#:~:text=The%20Affordable%20Homes%20Programme%20says,one%20or%20two%20bedroom%20dwellings>.
- Hodkinson, S., and G. Robbins. (2013). The Return of Class War Conservatism? Housing Under the UK Coalition Government. *Critical Social Policy* 33(1): 57-77.
- Holm, A., Horlitz, S., Jensen, I. (2015). *Neue Gemeinnützigkeit. Gemeinwohlorientierung in der Wohnungsversorgung*. Berlin: Arbeitsstudie im Auftrag der Fraktion DIE LINKE. im deutschen Bundestag.
- House of Commons (2016). *Housing and Planning Act 2016*. London: UK Parliament
- Huisman, O., De By, R.A. (2009). *Principles of Geographic Information Systems*. Enschede: The International Institute for Geo-Information Science and Earth Observation.
- Illsley, B., McCarthy, J. (1998) Community-led planning? The case of Dundee. *Scottish Geographical Magazine*, 114(2):103-108.
- International Independence Institute (1972). *The Community Land Trust: A Guide to a New Model for Land Tenure in America*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Center of Community Economic Development.
- Jacobs, K., Flanagan, K. (2013). Social housing and the politics of stigma. *The Australian Journal of Social Issues*, 48(3): 319-337.
- Jacobs, K. Manzi, T. (2019). Conceptualising 'financialisation': governance, organisational behaviour and social interaction. *UK housing, International Journal of Housing Policy*, 20(2): 184-202.
- Just Space, (2014). *Staying Put - An Anti-gentrification Handbook for Estates*. Retrieved on October 20, 2020, from <http://southwarknotes.wordpress.com/2014/06/13/>.
- Karamujic, M. (2015). *Housing Affordability and Housing Investment Opportunity in Australia*. London: Palgrave.
- Kearns, K.P. (1992), From Comparative Advantage to Damage Control: Clarifying Strategic Issues Using SWOT Analysis. *Non-profit Management & Leadership*, 3(1).
- King, A.D. (1990). *Global cities: post-imperialism and the internationalization of London*. London: Routledge.
- King, S. (2020). "Making a Case for CLTs in All Markets, Even Cold Ones". In J. Davis, L. Algoed, M. Hernández-Torrales [eds.] (p. 67-83). *Community Land Trust Applications in Urban Neighbourhoods*. Madison, Wisconsin: Terra Nostra Press.
- Krinsky, J., Hovde, S. (1996). Balancing Acts: The Experience Of Mutual Housing Associations And Community Land Trusts In Urban Neighborhoods. New York City: Community Service Society of New York.
- Kuada, J. (2012). *Research Methodology: A Project Guide for University Students*. Frederiksberg: Samfundslitteratur.
- Latham, J.R. (2014). *The Research Canvas: A Framework for Designing and Aligning the 'DNA' of Your Study*. Colorado: Monument.
- Lease (2021). *Right to Manage*. Retrieved on April 3, 2021, from <https://www.lease-advice.org/advice-guide/right-manage/>
- Lefebvre, H. (1996 [1968]), "The right to the city", in Kofman, E., Lebas, E. [eds.] (1996), *Writings on cities*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Lilac (2009). *Lilac Project Development Plan*. Leeds: Lilac.
- Lilac Learning Team (2020). *Living in Lilac*. Leeds: Lilac.
- Lyll, S., Wood, M., Bailey, D. (2015). Democracy: the missing link in the devolution debate. Retrieved on March 22, 2021, from https://b3cdn.net/nefoundation/1888588d95f1712903_e3m6ii50b.pdf
- Marcuse, P. (2009a). From critical urban theory to the right to the city. *City*, 13(2): 185-197.
- Marcuse, P. (2009b) "Who's right to what city?" in, Brenner, N., Marcuse, P., Mayer, M. [eds.] (2012). *Cities For People, Not For Profit*. London: Taylor & Francis.
- Martin, A., Ryan-Collins, J. (2016). *The financialisation of UK homes: the housing crisis, land and the financial system*. Retrieved on March 22, 2021, from https://b3cdn.net/nefoundation/496c07a5b30026d43a_d1m6i26iy.pdf.
- Ministry of Housing, Communities & Local Government (2020). Live tables on dwelling stock. Retrieved on January 2, 2021, from <https://www.gov.uk/government/statistical-data-sets/live-tables-on-dwelling-stock-including-vacants>
- Moreno, L. (2014). The Urban Process under Financialised Capitalism. *City* 18(3): 244-268.
- Moss, L., Parker, P., Ridge, E., (2019). *Mutual Home Ownership Societies: The Next Phase*. Retrieved on March 17, 2021, from <https://www.wrigleys.co.uk/news/community-led-housing/mutual-home-ownership-societies-mhos-the-next-phase/#:~:text=The%20MHOS%20model%20is%20an,by%20a%20co%20operative%20society>.
- Newman, K. (2009). Post-Industrial Widgets: Capital Flows and the Production of the Urban. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 33(2): 314-331.
- Nowicki, M., Harris, E. (2019). *Talk of a social housing renaissance in London is fake news*. Retrieved on January 3, 2021, from <https://www.theguardian.com/society/2019/aug/13/talk-public-housing-renaissance-london-fake-news-housing-crisis>.
- Ormsby, H. (1924). *London on the Thames*. London: Sifton, Praed & co.
- Plender, J. (1986). London's Big Bang in International Context. *Royal Institute of International Affairs*, 63(1): 38-48.
- Pialucha, D. (2018). *Community Land Trusts: Bringing The Context Back In* (Master Thesis). Paris: Master Governing The Large Metropolis, Sciences PO Urban School.
- Popkin, S., Cunningham, M., Burt, M. (2005). Social housing transformation and the hard-to-house. *Housing Policy Debate*, 16(1): 1-24.
- Powell, W.R. [editor] (1966). The borough of Barking. *A History of the County of Essex*, 5: 235-248.
- Property Funds World (2021). Funding Affordable Homes. Retrieved on May 14, 2021, from <https://www.propertyfundsworld.com/2020/12/08/293222/funding-affordable-homes-completes-gbp23m-acquisition-two-developments>
- Rasmussen, S.E. (1934). *London: the unique city*. Basel: Birkhäuser.
- Rocco (2020a). Ethics in Urbanism [slides]. Retrieved on December 3, 2020, from <https://brightspace.tudelft.nl/>

d21/le/content/192735/viewContent/1634227/View

Rocco (2020b). Complex Regions in Transformation [slides]. Retrieved on November 15, 2020, from <https://brightspace.tudelft.nl/d21/le/content/290020/viewContent/1952669/View>

Rolnik, R. (2019). *Urban Warfare*. London: Verso.

Romein, A. (2020). *On distinguishing research methods part I*. Retrieved on December 3, 2020, from: <https://brightspace.tudelft.nl/d21/le/content/290020/viewContent/1984599/View>

Rose, N. (1999). *Powers of Freedom: Reframing political thought*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

RUSS (2021). The RUSS School of Community-led Housing . Retrieved on May 14, 2021, from <https://www.the-russ.org/school-of-community-led-housing/>

Ryan-Collins, J. (2020). *Boris Johnson's 95% mortgages will put Britain back on course for a house price crash*. Retrieved on October 19, 2020, from <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2020/oct/08/boris-johnson-95-per-cent-mortgages-house-price-crash-banking-crisis?>

Sendra, P., Fitzpatrick, D. (2020). *Community-Led Regeneration*. London: UCL Press.

Smith, D. (2020). "London Community Land Trust: A Story of People, Power, and Perseverance". In J. Davis, L. Algoed, M. Hernández-Torrales [eds.] (p. 67-83). *Community Land Trust Applications in Urban Neighbourhoods*. Madison, Wisconsin: Terra Nostra Press.

Smith, H., Hernandez, T. (2020). "Take A Stand, Own The Land: Dudley Neighbors Inc., a Community Land Trust in Boston, Massachusetts". In J. Davis, L. Algoed, M. Hernández-Torrales [eds.] (p. 67-83). *Community Land Trust Applications in Urban Neighbourhoods*. Madison, Wisconsin: Terra Nostra Press.

Spence, L.H. (1993). Rethinking the social role of social housing. *Housing Policy Debate*, 4(3): 355-368.

Spinuzzi, C. (2005). The Methodology of Participatory Design. *Technical Communication*, 52(2):163-174.

Stears, M. (2016). *Building A New Economy Where People Really Take Control: An Agenda For Change*. London: New Economics Foundation.

stigma. (2020). in Oxford Dictionary (2020). Retrieved on November 15, 2020, from <https://www.lexico.com/en/definition/stigma>

stigmatisation. (2020). in Oxford Dictionary (2020). Retrieved on November 15, 2020, from <https://www.lexico.com/en/definition/stigmatization>

Taylor, M. (1998). Combating the Social Exclusion of Housing Estates. *Housing Studies*, 13(6):819-832.

Thorpe, R., & Holt, R. [editors] (2008). *The SAGE dictionary of qualitative management research (Vols. 1-0)*. London: SAGE Publications.

Travers, T., Sims, S., Bosetti, N. (2016). *Housing and inequality in London*. London: Center for London.

Trust for London (2020). *Barking & Dagenham: Poverty and inequality data for Barking & Dagenham*. Retrieved on October 25, 2020, from <https://www.trustforlondon.org.uk/data/boroughs/barking-and-dagenham-poverty-and-inequality-indicators/>

Tyler, I., Slater, T. (2018). Rethinking the Sociology of Stigma. *The Sociological Review*, 66(4): 721-743.

Trust for London (2020). *Barking & Dagenham*. Retrieved on October 18, 2020, from <https://www.trustforlondon.org.uk/data/boroughs/barking-and-dagenham-poverty-and-inequality-indicators/>.

UK Government (2021). *Right to Manage: a guide for landlords*. Retrieved on April 3, 2021, from <https://www.gov.uk/right-to-manage-a-guide-for-landlords>

UK Public General Acts (1963). *London Government Act*. London: UK Public General Acts.

UK Public General Acts (2016). *Housing and Planning Act 2016*. London: UK Public General Acts.

UN-HABITAT (2015). *Global Goals*. Retrieved on October 21, 2020, from <http://www.globalgoals.org/>.

UN-HABITAT (2020). *Sustainable Development Goals*. Retrieved on October 21, 2020, from <https://unhabitat.org/about-us/sustainable-development-goals>

United States Census Bureau (2020). Demographic Analysis. Retrieved on December 1, 2020, from <https://www.census.gov/programs-surveys/decennial-census/about/coverage-measurement/da.html>.

Urban Symbiotics (2020a). *Gascoigne East Phase 2 Community Focus Groups*. London: Be First

Urban Symbiotics (2020b). *Gascoigne West Phase 2 Community Focus Groups*. London: Be First

UWE (2008). *The history of council housing*. Retrieved on January 2, 2021, from https://fet.uwe.ac.uk/conweb/house_ages/council_housing/print.htm.

Van Buuren, A. et al. (2013). Towards Adaptive Spatial Planning for Climate Change: Balancing Between Robustness and Flexibility. *JEEPL*, 10(1):29-53.

Van Dooren, E.J.G.C., Boshuizen, E., Van Merrienboer, E., Asselbergs, M.F., Van Dorst, M.J. (2013). *Making explicit in design education: Generic elements in the design process*. New York City: Springer

Wacquant, L. (2009). *Punishing the poor. The neoliberal government of social security*. Durham, NC: Duke University

Press.

WAEG (1998). *Against The Odds* [video]. Retrieved on February 10, 2021, from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OrQHhBX0Toc&t=1131s>

Wainwright, O. (2019). *Council housing: it's back, it's booming – and this time it's beautiful*. Retrieved on September 24, 2020, from <https://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/2019/jun/20/council-housing-its-back-its-booming-and-this-time-its-beautiful#> = .

Wassenberg, F. (2004). Large social housing estates: From stigma to demolition? *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment*, 19: 223-232.

Weber, R. (2002). Extracting Value from the City: Neoliberalism and Urban Redevelopment. *Antipode*, 34(3): 519-540.

WECH (2021). *How We Started*. Retrieved on March 20, 2021, from <https://www.wech.co.uk/company/about/#-Background>.

Wijburg, G. (2020). The de-financialization of housing: towards a research agenda. *Housing Studies*.

Watt, P. (2020). Territorial Stigmatisation and Poor Housing at a London 'Sink Estate'. *Social Inclusion*, 8(1):20-33.

Wright, C. (2019). *Sadiq Kahn says he will stick to London Plan housing targets, despite government inspectors advice*. Retrieved on April 2, 2021, from <https://www.onlondon.co.uk/sadiq-khan-says-he-will-stick-to-london-plan-housing-targets-despite-government-inspectors-advice/>

Zimmerman, A.L. (2015). *Estate, a Reverie* [film]. London: Fugitive Images.

Figures

- 1.0 - Adams, B. (2013). *Casino Britain: The deprived town where a staggering £340 for EVERY man, woman and child is pumped into gambling slot machines in a year*. Retrieved on May 21, 2021, from <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2267057/Staggering-72m-staked-crack-cocaine-gambling-machines-Rochdale-year.html>
- 2.0 - The Collective (2017). *Living in a Fragmented Society. What Happened to Community?* Retrieved on January 5, 2021, from <https://medium.com/collective-living/living-in-a-fragmented-society-what-happened-to-community-f1b87882b5b2>
- 2.1 - Brinded, L. (2015). London is seeing an exodus of poor people because they can't afford to have spare bedroom. Retrieved on October 10, 2020, from <https://www.businessinsider.com.au/london-is-seeing-an-exodus-of-poor-people-because-they-cant-afford-to-have-spare-bedrooms-2015-4>
- 2.6 - Gimson, A. (2014). *How Thatcher sold council houses – and created a new generation of property owners*. Retrieved on October 17, 2020, from <https://www.conservativehome.com/thetorydiary/2014/03/how-thatcher-sold-council-houses-and-created-a-new-generation-of-property-owners.html>
- 2.7 - Kerrison, M. (2015). *Average monthly London rents hit £1,500 for first time, says survey*. Retrieved on June 24, 2021, from <https://www.theguardian.com/money/2015/jun/15/london-rents-homelet-survey-housing-crisis>
- 2.14 - Barrington-Bush, L. (2014). *Speaking back to stigma: social housing and solidarity in east london*. Retrieved on March 23, 2021, from <https://archive.discoverysociety.org/2014/11/04/speaking-back-to-stigma-social-housing-and-solidarity-in-east-london/>
- 3.0 - Zimmerman, A.L. (2015). *Estate, a Reverie* [film]. London: Fugitive Images.
- 4.0 - Derelict London (2018). *Flats and Houses South of the River Thames*. Retrieved on March 20, 2021, from <https://www.derelictlondon.com/homes-south-of-the-thames.html>
- 4.1 - Brown, S. (2015). *Gentrification: what is it? Why are people fighting it?* Retrieved on October 20, 2020, from <https://www.channel4.com/news/gentrification-uk-us-brixton-rents-working-class>
- 5.0 - McInnes, T. (2018). *The battle to save East London: is this finally the end?* Retrieved on January 5, 2021, from <https://www.huckmag.com/perspectives/reportage-2/the-battle-to-save-east-london-is-this-finally-the-end/>
- 5.1 - Lariviere, T. (2016). *The Scales of Gentrification*. Retrieved on May 21, 2021, from <https://www.planning.org/planning/2018/dec/scalesofgentrification/>
- 6.0 - Estate Watch (2020). *Gascoigne Estate*. Retrieved on January 7, 2021, from <https://estatewatch.london/casestudies/gascoigne/>
- 6.1 - Powell, W.R. [editor] (1966). *The borough of Barking. A History of the County of Essex*, 5: 235-248.
- 6.4 - Barratt London (2020). *New homes in Barking and Dagenham*. Retrieved on January 7, 2021, from <https://www.barratthomes.co.uk/new-homes/london/new-homes/east-london/barking-and-dagenham/>
- Corner, S. (2020). *Barking Market to reopen for essential traders next week*. Retrieved on January 7, 2021, from <https://www.time1075.net/159434-2-barking-market-reopen/>
- GLA (2020). *Regeneration projects: high streets*. Retrieved on January 7, 2020, from <https://www.london.gov>

- [uk/what-we-do/regeneration/high-streets/supporting-high-streets/regeneration-projects-high-streets](https://www.essexlive.news/news/essex-news/barking-harts-lane-housing-estate-3415848)
Hawkings, E. (2019). Barking Harts Lane: Inside the estate with a notorious reputation of 'violence, fear and armed police'. Retrieved on January 7, 2021, from <https://www.essexlive.news/news/essex-news/barking-harts-lane-housing-estate-3415848>
- Hidden London (2020). Becontree, Barking & Dagenham. Retrieved on January 7, 2021, from <https://hidden-london.com/gazetteer/becontree/>
- Ianvisits (2020). Barking Creek Barrier: Londons lesser known flood barrier. Retrieved on January 7, 2021, from <https://www.ianvisits.co.uk/blog/2020/03/30/barking-creek-barrier-londons-lesser-known-flood-barrier/>
- 6.6 - London Councils (1970). Housing Planning and Regeneration. Retrieved on January 7, 2020, from <https://boroughs50.londoncouncils.gov.uk/gallery/housing/220/>
- 6.7 - Richards, T. (2013). Post memories: Row over plans for Gascoigne tower blocks. Retrieved on January 7, 2020, from <https://www.barkinganddagenhampost.co.uk/lifestyle/heritage/post-memories-row-over-plans-for-gascoigne-tower-blocks-in-3294522>
- 6.18 - Estate Watch (2020). Gascoigne Estate. Retrieved on January 7, 2021, from <https://estatewatch.london/casestudies/gascoigne/>
- 6.19 - Estate Watch (2020). Gascoigne Estate. Retrieved on January 7, 2021, from <https://estatewatch.london/casestudies/gascoigne/>
- 6.20 - Estate Watch (2020). Gascoigne Estate. Retrieved on January 7, 2021, from <https://estatewatch.london/casestudies/gascoigne/>
- 6.36 - Austin, J. (2018). *The drug dealers who 'own' rundown estate*. Retrieved on June 15, 2021, from <https://www.express.co.uk/news/uk/1065108/drug-dealers-arrested-200-albanians>
- Barking & Dagenham Police (2018). *Patrols of the Harts Lane estate this sunny afternoon*. Retrieved on June 15, 2021, from <https://twitter.com/mpsbarkdag/status/1005101978966470656>
- Burford, R. (2018). *Hundreds of private homes to be built on site of Gascoigne Estate West in Barking*. Retrieved on March 10, 2021, from <https://www.barkinganddagenhampost.co.uk/news/hundreds-of-private-homes-to-be-built-on-site-of-3361234>
- Cornor (2020)
- Faichney, W. (2013). *Gascoigne Estate, Barking*. Retrieved on June 15, 2021, from <https://www.flickr.com/photos/willfaichneyphotography/9268888288>
- Hogg, N. (2009). *Barnes, Basing & Lexham from the cage*. Retrieved on June 15, 2021, from <https://www.flickr.com/photos/nicohogg/4195704318>
- Hogg, N. (2012). *Harts Lane Estate, Barking*. Retrieved on June 15, 2021, from <https://www.flickr.com/photos/nicohogg/7228595780>
- Towerblock (1987). *Gascoigne Redevelopment Area, Contract 2B*. Retrieved on June 15, 2021, from <https://www.towerblock.eca.ed.ac.uk/development/gascoigne-redevelopment-area-contract-2b>
- Townsend, M. (2019). *Britain's New Cocaine Mafia*. Retrieved on June 15, 2021, from <https://www.pressreader.com/uk/the-guardian-weekly/20190118/281479277581973>
- Uknp247 (2020). *Armed police called to man shot on Gascoigne Estate in Barking*. Retrieved on June 15, 2021, from <https://uknp.co.uk/breaking/news-233952/armed-police-called-to-man-shot-on-gascoigne-estate-in-barking/exclusion-streetview>
- 7.0 - LILAC (2015). Lilac (Low Impact Living Affordable Community) . Retrieved on April 13, 2021, from <https://world-habitat.org/world-habitat-awards/winners-and-finalists/lilac-low-impact-living-affordable-community/>
- 7.6 - Wolmuth, P. (1983). *Walterton & Elgin Action Group 1985-1995*. Retrieved on March 26, 2021, from https://philipwolmuth.photoshelter.com/gallery-image/Walterton-Elgin-Action-Group-1985-1995/G00000del850xf_I/100006Yqs8rGrtWQ
- Wolmuth, P. (1986). *Walterton & Elgin Action Group 1985-1995*. Retrieved on March 26, 2021, from https://philipwolmuth.photoshelter.com/gallery-image/Walterton-Elgin-Action-Group-1985-1995/G00000del850xf_I/10000ZcAAkM.Ysf0
- Wolmuth, P. (1987). *Walterton & Elgin Action Group 1985-1995*. Retrieved on March 26, 2021, from https://philipwolmuth.photoshelter.com/gallery-image/Walterton-Elgin-Action-Group-1985-1995/G00000del850xf_I/10000AZm9M0MID_E
- 7.8 - McKie, J. (2016). *The Ethics of Estate Regeneration: ASH response to the Royal Institute of British Architects*.

Retrieved on March 26, 2021, from <https://architectforsocialhousing.co.uk/2016/08/24/ethics-of-estate-regeneration-ash-response-to-the-riba-2/>

Watt, P. (2014). *Cressingham Gardens*. Retrieved on March 26, 2021, from https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Cressingham_Gardens_Sept_2014.jpg

7.10 - Citizens UK (2009). "Citizens UK campaign outside the St Clement's hospital site in Mile End" in Wainwright, O. (2017). *The radical model fighting the housing crisis: property prices based on income*. Retrieved on March 26, 2021, from <https://www.theguardian.com/cities/2017/jan/16/radical-model-housing-crisis-property-prices-income-community-land-trusts>

CLH London (2017). *St Clements, London CLT*. Retrieved on March 26, 2021, from <https://www.communityledhousing.london/project/st-clements-london-clt/>

7.12 - Modcell (2021). LILAC affordable ecological co-housing. Retrieved on February 26, 2021, from <https://www.modcell.com/projects/lilac-affordable-ecological-co-housing/>

West Leeds Dispatch (2018). Liliac co-housing community is looking for new members. Retrieved on February 26, 2021, from <https://westleedsdispatch.com/lilac-leeds-new-members-flat/>

8.0 - LILAC (2015). Characterising Themes. Retrieved on April 13, 2021, from <https://www.bioregionalhomes-choham.co.uk/scheme/project-aims/>

8.1 - Philips, J. (1986). *We Are A Little Worried About Our Landlord Poster*. Retrieved on May 5, 2021, from <https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O1193212/we-are-a-little-worried-poster-phillips-john/>

11.2 - United Nations (2020). Sustainable Development Goals. Retrieved on January 10, 2021, from <https://sdgs.un.org/goals>

Databases

Google Earth. <https://www.google.com/earth>

Google Maps. <https://www.google.com/maps>

Google Streetview. <https://www.google.com/streetview>

London Development Database. <https://maps.london.gov.uk/planning/>

London Datastore. <https://data.london.gov.uk/>

Office for National Statistics. <https://www.ons.gov.uk/>

OpenStreetMap. <https://www.openstreetmap.org>

Trust for London. <https://www.trustforlondon.org.uk/>

Appendix 1 Theory Essay

The stigmatic ignorance on social housing in London

Abstract

Severe housing crises are tormenting cities around the world. In the rise of neoliberalism, the financialisation of housing caused a depletion of social housing, making it a symbol of failure. It became a tenure of 'last resort', creating a problem image on the areas. This paper reviews literature on the causes and effects of social housing in London and which actors are involved in the process of stigmatisation. Actors are involved in three ways: responding, shaping, and challenging images, with most actors shaping images. The main issues are the ignorance of authorities and lack of knowledge on the estates by outsiders. They cause two types of stigma: socio-spatial stigma (stigma on residents and estates) and political stigma (structural stigma by authorities). Stigma makes residents internalise their negative image, causing a spiral of decline. This intensifies inequality and low self-esteem, and it decreases opportunities for the residents. The paper concludes that structural change to the status quo is needed. The creation of community organisations is a good start in tackling stigma, recognizing the power of the community as well as the need for a policy framework. A strong community forms the base in bringing stigma to a hold.

Keywords

Stigma; Stigmatisation; Image; Social housing; London.

Introduction

Severe housing crises are tormenting cities around the world. In the 1980s, in the rise of neoliberalism, a process of financialisation of housing started, transforming housing into a financial asset (Rolnik, 2018). Neoliberalism reinforced the free market, with large competition for land and privatisation of property as result. On top of that, neoliberal planning aimed to regenerate the urban environment, removing crime and disorder. It was assumed that quality of life and income levels of the local population would rise through regeneration, but in practice it increased inequality and reduced the amount of social housing (Campkin, 2013). In Western European cities, social housing became a symbol of failure. It was seen as a tenure of 'last resort', creating a problem image on the areas (Power, 1998).

Most social housing in the United Kingdom was built after WWII, when there was a high demand. They were mainly concentrated in large, modernistic, estates. These well thought-out areas currently have the worst image. It obtained this image through crime and disorder, vacancies, high turnover rates, and a problematic exploitation (Wassenberg, 2004). On top of that, these estates obtained a stigma. Stigma plays a distinct role in a spiral of decay, intensifying the already existing problems (Wassenberg, 2004). At first, only the most disadvantaged social housing estates were stigmatised. However, stigma is expanding to be an issue for social housing in general (Dean & Hastings, 2003). Social housing used to be a resource to facilitate decent housing for people who could not afford an owner-occupied home, but is now seen as a problematic tenure that highlights welfare dependency (Jacobs & Flanagan, 2013).

Thus, social housing is harshly stigmatised. This essay will review literature on the causes and effects of this stigma and who is involved in the process of stigmatisation. It focuses on social housing in London, since London has many stigmatised social housing estates (Watt, 2020). To investigate this, the following research question is put together: What are the causes and effects of stigma on social housing in London and which actors are involved in the process of stigmatisation? First, the terms stigma and stigmatisation will be defin-

ed. Second, the related concept of identity and image will be explained, also showing the various actors who are involved in the process of creating and maintaining a certain image which creates a stigma. Two types of stigma on social housing are recognized out of the actor analysis: socio-spatial stigma and political stigma. These two sections lay out the effects of stigma on social housing. Lastly, the discussion explains the complexity of tackling stigma and provides suggestions on how to move forward.

Defining Stigma

Stigma is defined by the Oxford Dictionary (2020) as "a mark of disgrace associated with a particular circumstance, quality, or person" with stigmatisation defined as "The action of describing or regarding someone or something as worthy of disgrace or great disapproval". Stigma is mainly explained as a social phenomenon, shaped by cultural beliefs and the structure of society and based on anecdotes, generalisations and stereotypes (Jacobs & Flanagan, 2013). It is primarily seen as an individual problem, as what one individual does to another individual (Tyler & Slater, 2018). Most research on stigma was quantitative, aiming to measure, classify, and quantify stigma. These studies have a tendency to understand stigma as static attitudes, instead of a dynamic process (Tyles & Slater, 2018). Pescosolido and Marten explain the relation between stigma and stigmatisation: 'Stigma [...] is the mark, the condition, or status that is subject to devaluation. [...] Stigmatization is the social process by which the mark affects the lives of all those touched by it.' (2015: 91).

Bos et al. (2013) created an overview of typologies of stigma. They recognize public stigma, self-stigma, stigma by association, and structural stigma. Public stigma is understood as individuals stigmatising other individuals based on anecdotes, generalisations, and stereotypes. Self-stigma is understood as the social and psychological impact that stigmatisation has on its receiver. Stigma by association refers to the social and psychological reactions to people who are associated with a stigmatized person. The fourth type, structural stigma, is about how institutions and ideologies legitimize a certain stigmatisation. In the subject of

social housing stigma, these four types of stigma can be narrowed down to two types: socio-spatial stigma and political stigma. Socio-spatial stigma is the stigma that the residents and the community obtain for living in social housing, as well as stigma on an estate. Political stigma is understood as structural stigmatisation by authorities.

Stigma was mainly understood as a social phenomenon, thus most literature on the topic cover socio-spatial stigma. Political stigma has been a focus point for more recent literature. Tyler and Slater (2018) suggest to rethink stigma as a multiscalar problem, with disenfranchisement in various forms and locations: A 'heterogeneous system' from the individual to the society and from molecular to the geographic and historical, which constructs, labels, and translates differences into marks. They demonstrate that stigma power is a vital form of exploitation to capital accumulation, it is used by individuals, communities and the state to create and recreate inequality.

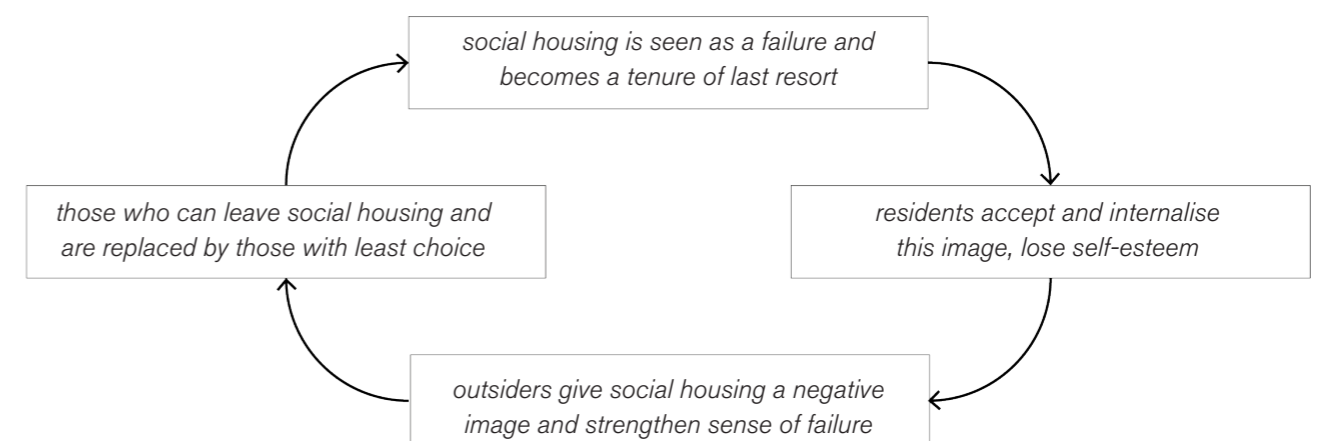
Stigma crept into the minds of people, and it became a subtle way to discriminate and exclude. Anxieties and hostilities are channelled towards the groups of the population who draw on scarce resources of the state (Tyler, 2013). One of these resources is housing. Housing and territorial stigma is a severe problem in cities. Social housing is understood as a cause of crime, social disorder, and welfare dependency due to its characteristics and its residents (Jacobs & Flanagan, 2013). Taylor (1998) created a cycle of labelling and exclusion in social housing, displayed in Figure

1. Processes of stigmatisation are closely linked with processes of inequality and exclusion, especially looking at housing. Housing stigma cannot be seen in isolation, there has to be an understanding of a broader historical, social, and material context (Smets & Kusenbach, 2020). Several processes of stigma, like stigmatisation of poverty and race, work together to heighten inequalities (Tyler & Slater, 2018). Stigmas are created through images, which will be discussed in the next section.

Image

A pioneering study by Kevin Lynch (1960) figured out how people experience a city and that everybody has a corresponding set of mental images of that city. He argued that the appearance of a certain space gives meaning to identity. Identity and image are related concepts to stigma. Negative external images lower a reputation of an area and increases internal problems (Wassenberg, 2004). Problem images on social housing estates originated in the 1930s when they were created as a slum clearance area. These images deteriorated through crime, drug problems, and social disorder (Dean & Hastings, 2003). Thus, Lynch (1960) stated that the appearance of a certain space gives meaning to identity. Most post-war social housing estates in the United Kingdom are large, anonymous, and do not have enough differentiation, which causes a lack of identity and imageability. According to policy-makers these estates need more variation, as diversity makes for quality (Wassenberg, 2004).

Figure A1.1: The cycle of labelling and exclusion of social housing. (based on Taylor, 1998: 821)



As mentioned in the introduction, it was assumed quality of life and income levels will rise through regeneration. It also aimed to develop public relations and marketing activities, in order to improve the image of social housing estates (Hastings, 2004). However, views of places, objects, practices, and moral character become diverged and support each other over time (Smets & Kusenbach, 2020). Even after regeneration, people mainly consider the large, anonymous blocks without differentiation as an accurate representation of the estates (Dean & Hastings, 2003). Many social housing estates in London are stigmatised, and this stigmatisation is mainly discordant from how residents' experience of their own neighbourhood (Watt, 2020). This is causing a mismatch between the internal and external image or reputation of the area. Even though the internal image of the area is improving through regeneration, the external image is still based on simple, outdated stereotypes (Wassenberg, 2004). Various actors play a role in the creation of these images, which will be explained in the following section.

Actors

Hastings (2004) investigated the causes of stigma on social housing, and the actors behind it. She carried out a survey on the perception on three social housing estates in the United Kingdom: Castle Vale in Birmingham, Pilton in Edinburgh, and Meadow Well in North Tyneside. It elaborates on creating, maintaining, and tackling stigma through actors responding, shaping and challenging images. First, actors respond to images, which can be simple reactions to an estate's image such as not visiting the area. Second, actors shape images, placing certain people or areas in a positive or negative light. Third, actors challenge images, being involved in activities to tackle a negative image. Appendix 1 contains a set of actors involved in the process. It shows that the majority of the actors are involved in responding to and shaping, but not in challenging images. On top of that, almost all actors are shaping images. Thus, a range of actors create and maintain stigmatised images on social housing.

An important actor in the process of shaping images, especially about housing, are estate agents. They have the power of shaping images by convin-

cing house-seekers where and especially where not to live. They often have a negative image on social housing estates. This image is mainly originated out of stereotypes and ignorance, estate agents were unaware of recent regenerations. Stigma can play a role in holding agents back from updating knowledge of the estates (Dean & Hastings, 2003). This creates a vicious circle of stigma.

Hastings (2004) also emphasized on the role of the media. The media can fuel the growth of stigma, and it reaches the entire population. For them, it is much more appealing to write about junkies than about the problem people have moving out of state funding (Dean & Hastings, 2003). The most exciting stories about social housing are the ones which show them in a negative light. This negative light make reputations remain. Even when areas are changing, journalists can use old footage. Paradoxically, the media can play an important role in portraying disadvantage, acquiring awareness, and encouraging action (Jacobs & Flanagan, 2013). But even positive news can be interpreted negatively, such as projects to reduce crime and drug use. It seems a positive project, but it can also work as a confirmation for certain images. Making the problems explicit also increases the attention and that could increase the process of shaping images. Second-hand, often out-dated stereotypes and false characterizations circulate in mass media and popular culture (Smets & Kusenbach, 2020).

Besides estate agents and the media, Hastings (2004) had respondents in various other disciplines. The respondents could be divided into normalisers and pathologisers. Normalisers do not characterize the residents of the estates as different than the general population. They rather blame external factors for the estates' problems. Pathologisers blame internal factors for these problems, they claim that the misfortunes of the poor are their own mistake. The pathologisers based their opinion mainly on second-hand knowledge, since they tended not to have direct knowledge on the estates. Residents who wished to leave the estate were less likely to be embedded in the community of the estates. Many external actors were not familiar with transformations of the estates, partly due to a low accessibility and

lack of public services in the area, and thus they tended to be unaware of the opportunities of the estates (Dean & Hastings, 2003). There is a major stigmatic ignorance on social housing by external actors, stigmatising the estates and its residents based on out-dated stereotypes and generalisations, and unwilling to gain knowledge or insight on the actual situation.

Socio-Spatial Stigma

The negative image on social housing is causing an increasing polarisation between good and bad areas, with a spatial concentration of a 'poor underclass' (Wassenberg, 2004). This is affecting the educational, economic, and social opportunities of the residents (Hastings, 2004).

The development of stigma and bad reputations is crucial in the deterioration of social housing estates (Stewart et al., 2001). These estates are experiencing backlash, with increasing unemployment and worsening symbols of decline (Taylor, 1998). Wassenberg (2004) created a table with examples and consequences of stigma in social housing estates. These consequences all contribute to deprivation of the area and lower living standards.

Programmes or articles about the area focussing on crime, drug abuse, pollution, etc.
Programmes or articles about crime, drug abuse, pollution, etc. using the area as a case
Visible pollution, graffiti, vandalism, drug addicts hanging around, etc.
Vacant houses, empty shops
Poor schools
Friends, relatives and colleagues are reluctant to visit
Services won't deliver, taxis won't come to the area
Shortages of doctors, teachers, etc.
Discrimination on labour market
Higher insurance premiums; credit and financial services are denied
Advertisements for easily available houses
Property values lag behind

Table 1: Examples and consequences of stigma on social housing (based on: Wassenberg, 2004: 226)

The survey done by Hastings (2004) exposes stigma on the residents, blaming them for alcohol and drug abuse, irresponsibility and even lack of intelligence. Pathologisers fuse poverty with social housing, claiming all social housing residents to be poor, and likewise claiming all poor people are living in social housing. In London, this pathological discourse is dominating among the population (Jacobs & Flanagan, 2013). The residents of these neighbourhoods experience denigration, including stigmatization, exclusion, extreme surveillance, criminalization, and exposure to violence, crime, and disorder (Smets & Kusenbach, 2020).

Residents of these estates are being seen as scum or dross, as soon as they explain where they come from (Hastings, 2004). They are being stigmatized, just for living in a stigmatized neighbourhood. Even areas where people are living well have to cope with negative associations (Wassenberg, 2004). Being labelled as failures by society, people tend to accept and internalise this image. The process of internalisation is decreasing life satisfaction and self-esteem, creating self-stigma. They are trapped in a spiral of decline. Unemployment, job security, low incomes and low welfare rights, reinforced by self-stigma, has led to an increase of chronic stress of the residents. People will not seek help, because they are ashamed of their situation and afraid of what people may think (Tyler & Slater, 2018). However, when the residents themselves start believing in the stigma, it will strengthen the validity of the stigma that was created by outsiders in the first place (Smets & Kusenbach, 2020).

Wacquant et al. (2014) discussed negative social, material, and emotional impacts of stigma on the built environment. They argued that internalised stigma causes decline in mutual solidarity, increase of fragmentation, shrinkage of institutional support, and lacking opportunities. Residents are unable to escape and become trapped in stigmatized spaces. Those who are able to escape, are likely to do so. Although this seems to be the best outcome for the individual, it strengthens the spiral of exclusion for the ones still trapped (Taylor, 1998). This results in the cycle of labelling and exclusion, as displayed in Figure 1, with stigmatization, internalisation and exclusion reinforcing each other (Wacquant et al., 2014).

It is difficult to get rid of a stigma, and only regeneration of the neighbourhood is not sufficient to shift the negative reputation. Campkin (2013) claimed the ineffectiveness of regeneration for existing residents, increasing inequality and exclusion. Regeneration investment mainly consists of gentrification, leading to displacement and social polarisation (Dean & Hastings, 2003). Examples of social housing estates that are gentrified and thence increased stigma, demonstrate how stigmatisation and gentrification are thoroughly intertwined (Tyler & Slater, 2018). An important step in getting rid of a negative image is the development of confidence and capacity of the estate and residents themselves. The estates need to generate momentum (Taylor, 1998). Although this step can be done from bottom-up, the help of authorities is still crucial in this process.

Political Stigma

The help that social housing residents and estates need is not always given by authorities. Stigmatisation is not only performed by individuals, also by the state. Tyler & Slater (2018) claim that stigma should be revised as a bureaucratised form of violence, regularly stimulated from above. Stigmatisation is often seen as a process executed by individuals, rather than a motive of authorities within an economy of capitalist accumulation. "Stigma power works as a productive and constitutive force which enables 'the structures, mechanisms, and justifications of power to function'" (Foucault, 2008: 85). The problems of inequality and injustice have developed in the wake of neoliberalism. A stigma works as a justification for the reproduction of inequality and injustice. Neoliberal governance attempted to manage the behaviour of society through stigma strategies which indoctrinate humiliation and shame (Tyler & Slater, 2018). Neoliberal governments aimed to reduce dependency on the state by privatising social housing. Social housing was viewed by authorities as a failed system. Authorities making this 'failure' explicit reinforced the cycle of exclusion.

Stigmatisation by authorities also takes place in London. London estates suffer from disinvestment and increased ignorance as they await demolition in regeneration processes (Watt, 2020).

The state, Greater London Authority and local boroughs show a support for private investors and a withdrawal of social welfare support (Tyler & Slater, 2018). The most relentless is the realisation of the 'sink estate'. Invented by journalists and converted into a political term, the sink estate is used for social housing estates with high levels of problems. It signifies that these estates create poverty, unemployment, welfare dependency, irresponsibility, and anti-solidarity. The term has become a symbol for justification of policies against the suffering social housing sector (Slater, 2018).

Stigma on the 'sink estates' have caused a major reduction in subsidies for social housing and policies prioritising disadvantaged groups. The underinvestment created a large reduction in the social housing stock (Jacobs & Flanagan, 2013). The stigma on the estates is passed on to the residents. The dilemma in tackling this stigma is the lack of funding and the stresses this has generated, but more is needed to tackle the negative image of social housing. Putnam (1993) argued the importance of 'social capital', the networks, capacity, and experience through local organisations. A shift must be made to a more cohesive process with participation in discussions, interrogating unequal socio-economic structures and power relationships (Jacobs & Flanagan, 2013).

Discussion

There is a mismatch between the image on the estate and the real situation. The stigma of a 'large underclass' of people 'trapped' in social housing estates with dreadful conditions has caused a vast reduction of funds (Tyler & Slater, 2018). Social housing tend to not really get rid of their stigma, mainly due to ignorance by authorities and a lack of knowledge of outsiders (Dean & Hastings, 2003). Stigma needs to be made explicit to generate discussions, but paradoxically, by making it explicit, the negative images can be reinforced and internalised (Jacobs & Flanagan, 2013). The estates cannot be regenerated like any other place, because stigma is a vast obstacle in the transmission of messages (Dean & Hastings, 2003).

Stigma also works as a barrier for the improvement of education and employment opportunities. Policies stimulating diversity and social mix rely on

the discourse of social housing as a problematic tenure, rather than a construction that delivers security and shelter. Anxiety over the absence of diversity feeds ongoing stigmatization (Jacobs & Flanagan, 2013). On the long run, social mix and diversity may be the best solution. However, social mix on itself does not imply a mixed community, it could even lead to polarization. This is what happens with gentrified areas. But without social mix, the created social capital could be eroded, since successful residents still would leave the area and will be replaced again by the people who do not have a choice, maintaining the negative image (Taylor, 1998).

Challenging negative images and stereotypes is essential in any solution. It would require significant change to the status quo from the top to the bottom line (Jacobs & Flanagan, 2013). First, stigma has to be made explicit, without creating a negative spiral of increasing stigma. Campaigns have been done challenging the ill-informed image on social housing. The digitalisation and upcoming of social media can support these campaigns, but it needs to be considered that social media can also work negatively by its judgmental nature. There has not been a sufficient amount of these campaigns done yet, so there is potential. Second, it would be desirable for authorities to understand the benefits of social housing as a tenure delivering shelter and security for the lower income class population, committing funds to expand the sector and increase the quality of the buildings and its surroundings (Jacobs & Flanagan, 2013). An increase of quality could lead to an increase in opportunity for the residents. It would also be more attractive for services to locate in the area, creating a more diverse and socially mixed area.

An increase of services and diversity would make an area more attractive for outsiders to visit, and these outsiders are the ones with the most severe stigma on social housing areas. However, with an increase of quality there is always the danger of an increase of value and competition. Therefore, it needs to be assured that a sufficient amount of social housing will remain, a process authorities should control. Appropriate redevelopment could reduce 'concentrations of disadvantage', without dispossessing and displacing social housing (Jacobs & Flanagan, 2013). Appropriate redevelopment

also contains an improvement of the immediate setting, a renovation of the buildings and semi-public spaces, as well as an upgrade of the wider surroundings (Wassenberg, 2004).

Taylor (1998: 825) created three suggestions in tackling stigma in social housing estates:

- building confidence and 'social capital' on the estate, so that residents no longer see themselves and their neighbours as failures;
- building new relationships with outsiders: service providers; decision-makers; the media;
- developing jobs and assets that bring money and people onto the estate and create stronger links between the estate and the outside world.

The three suggestions touch both socio-spatial stigma and political stigma, as well as the main actors in the creation of stigma. All actors should take initiative from their perspective. Authorities should put incentives in place to encourage residents into employment, which could reduce their reliance to welfare support (Jacobs & Flanagan, 2013). The second suggestion, building new relationships, is a tough task for the individual. But through campaigns, funding, and a strong community this could enhance. Public relations, media advocacy and marketing create an insight in the area, its residents and its potentials (Dean & Hastings, 2003). The involvement of the local community and the individual is important in the creation of a positive image. It gives them responsibility, which has a positive impact on itself, challenging the dependency of the residents (Taylor, 1998). The involvement of communities can be done through community-based housing management. There is a growing number of community development trusts and community regenerations organisations in the UK, which are starting to work as an umbrella for local enterprise and capital that can assist other community-based activities. This type of management recognizes the qualities of bottom-up and top-down, namely the power of the residents and the need of a national policy framework (Taylor, 1998).

Conclusion

This paper aimed to review the causes and effects of stigma on social housing and the actors involved in the process of stigmatisation. First, the terms stigma and stigmatisation were defined. A stigma is a negative association, experience and language. It is a social phenomenon, based on anecdotes, generalisations, and stereotypes. Where stigma is the mark, condition or status, stigmatisation is the social process by which stigma influences the lives of those affected by it. Stigmas are created through images. Social housing has a negative external image, the areas were seen as a failure. Negative external images lower a reputation of a neighbourhood and increase internal problems, and eventually increase inequality. Various actors have created this negative image. There are three ways how actors are involved: responding, shaping, and challenging images. The majority of the actors are involved in responding and shaping, but not in challenging the images. Thus, a range of actors create and maintain stigmatised images on social housing.

The negative image on social housing resulted in two types of stigma. Socio-spatial stigma is the stigma that the residents and the community obtain purely for living in social housing, as well as the stigma on an estate by outsiders. The image on social housing is causing an increasing polarisation between good and bad areas. This is affecting the educational, economic, and social opportunities of the residents. Being labelled as failures by society, people tend to internalise this image, which causes a decrease in life satisfaction and self-esteem. The process of internalisation, on top of an increasing negative image by outsiders, is creating the second type of stigma on social housing: political stigma. This is understood as structural stigmatisation by authorities, intensifying the spiral of decline in social housing, both on the residents as on the quality of the built environment. The most severe political stigma is the creation of the 'sink estate'. The term has become a symbol for justification of policies against social housing, causing large funding cuts in the sector.

The main issues of social housing stigma are the ignorance of authorities and lack of knowledge on the estates of outsiders. A fundamental change

of the status quo is needed in tackling stigma. It would be desirable if authorities acknowledge the benefits of social housing as a tenure delivering shelter and security for the lower income class population, which could lead to an increase of funding. This funding can be used to enhance the buildings and its surroundings. On top of that, social housing estates should build confidence and social capital; should build new relationships with outsiders; and jobs and assets should be developed that bring money and people to the estates. Through campaigns, funding, and a strong community the relationship with outsiders and the media can be enhanced, creating opportunities and tackling stigma. The creation of community developments trusts and community regenerations organisations has been a good start in tackling stigma. A strong community creates responsibility for the residents, and the self-awareness they are able to be independent. Together with an improvement of the buildings and surroundings of social housing estates, stigma could be brought to a hold.

Limitations

First and foremost, I would like to mention that the suggestions I give on tackling stigma do not mean I have a complete understanding of the complexity of stigma, or about the social housing situation in London. They are based on literature and analysis which I have read and done in the last months. On top of that, a number of sources is more than fifteen years old, and therefore do not give an insight in the current situation. However, the theories can still be used, especially combined with sources which are recent.

The research is focusing on social housing stigma in London. However, case studies have been used which are not located in London. The UK has many social housing estates which have similar problems, and most are being stigmatized. Thus, although some case studies are not located in London, they still give helpful information for the understanding of stigma on social housing. However, it would have been more appropriate if all case studies were located in London, also to compare the different estates within London and investigate the similarities and differences between them.

This can be an recommendation for further research.

Lastly, I would like to mention that there are large variables in the creation of stigma which, due to the size and timeframe of this project, cannot be covered. The housing crisis in London is too large and dynamic to tackle. Therefore, a snapshot is taken out of the literature and the paper is based on that snapshot. On top of that, there are currently two complex events and processes happening, namely the Brexit and Covid-19. These could not be considered due to a lack of research on these topics in relation to stigma. But it can be stated that these events have an influence on the economy, and the economy has an enormous influence on social housing. Unfortunately, this could not be considered for this essay.

Literature

- Bos, A.E.R., Pryor, J.B., Reeder, G.D., & Stutterheim, S.E. (2013). Stigma: Advances in theory and research. *Basic and Applied Social Psychology, 35*(1):1-9.
- Campkin, B. (2013). *Remaking London*. London: I.B. Tauris & Co.
- Dean, J., Hastings, A. (2003). Challenging images: tackling stigma through estate regeneration. *Policy & Politics, 31*(2):171-184.
- Foucault, M. [author], Sennelart, M. [editor], Burchell, G. [translator], (2008). *The Birth of Biopolitics: Lectures at the Collège de France, 1978-1979*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Hastings, A. (2004). Stigma and social housing estates: Beyond pathological explanations. *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment, 19*:233-254.
- Jacobs, K., Flanagan, K. (2013). Social housing and the politics of stigma. *The Australian Journal of Social Issues, 48*(3):319-337.
- Lynch, K. (1960). *The Image of the City*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press.
- Pescosolido, B., Martin, J. (2015). The Stigma Complex. *Annual Review of Sociology, 41*:87-116.
- Power, A. (1998). *Estates on the Edge: The Social Consequences of Mass Housing in Europe*. London: Macmillan.
- Putnam, R. (1993). *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- Rolnik, R. (2018). *Urban Warfare*. London: Verso.
- Slater, T. (2018). The invention of the 'sink estate': Consequential categorisation and the UK housing crisis. *The Sociological Review, 66*(4):877-897.
- Smets, P., Kusenbach, M. (2020). New Research on Housing and Territorial Stigma: Introduction to the Thematic Issue. *Social Inclusion, 8*(1):1-7.
- Stewart, M., Sparks, R., Girling, E., Loader, I. (2001). 'Fear and

- everyday urban lives'. *Urban Studies, 38*(5-6):885-98.
- stigma. (2020). in Oxford Dictionary (2020). Retrieved on November 15, 2020, from <https://www.lexico.com/en/definition/stigma>
- stigmatisation. (2020). in Oxford Dictionary (2020). Retrieved on November 15, 2020, from <https://www.lexico.com/en/definition/stigmatization>
- Tyler, I. (2013). *Revolting Subjects: Social Abjection and Resistance in Neoliberal Britain*. London: Zed.
- Tyler, I., Slater, T. (2018). Rethinking the Sociology of Stigma. *The Sociological Review, 66*(4):721-743.
- Wacquant, L., Slater, T., & Pereira, V. B. (2014). Territorial stigmatization in action. *Environment and Planning A, 46*(6):1270-1280.
- Wassenberg, F. (2004). Large social housing estates: From stigma to demolition? *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment, 19*: 223-232.
- Watt, P. (2020). Territorial Stigmatisation and Poor Housing at a London 'Sink Estate'. *Social Inclusion, 8*(1):20-33.

Appendix 2

Graduation Plan

Graduation Plan: All tracks

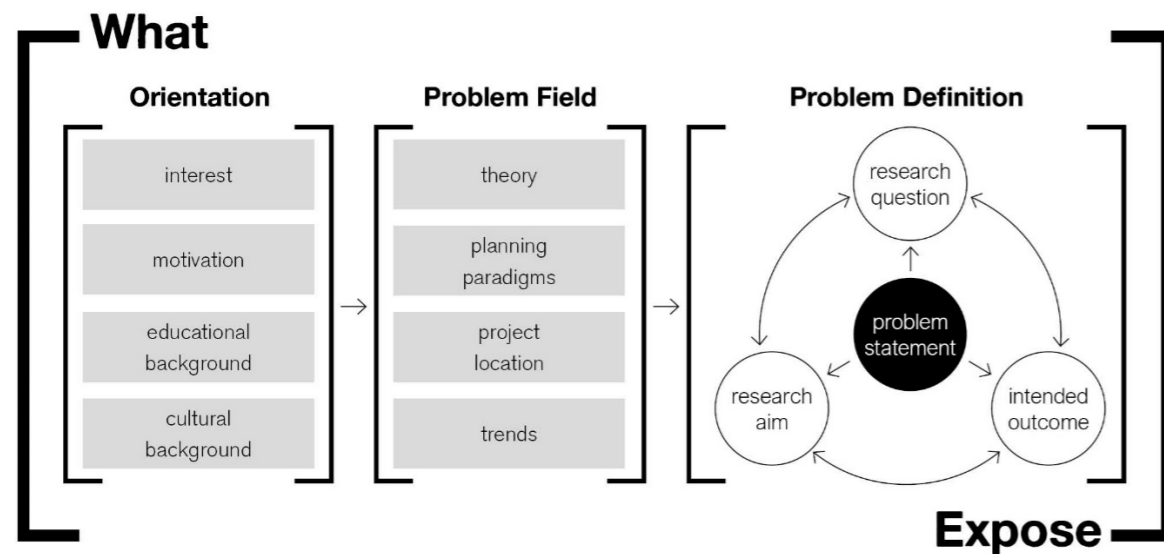
Personal information	
Name	Jort van den Broek
Student number	4458028

Studio		
Name / Theme	Planning Complex Cities	
Main mentor	Arie Romein	Spatial Planning & Strategy
Second mentor	Leo van den Burg	Urban Design
Argumentation of choice of the studio	<p>The starting point of my graduation project is the situation of social housing in London, and the growing inequality between rich and poor in the city. The Planning Complex Cities studio focuses on challenging inequalities and spatial injustice. I want to address the social, spatial, and governance inequalities the social housing crisis brings forward. The interaction between these three domains is an important point of investigation in the graduation studio. On top of that, I like the multi-method and multi-scalar approach this studio practices, and I would like to apply that in my project.</p>	

Graduation project	
Title of the graduation project	The Revival of Social Housing: Providing secure tenure and quality housing for the urban poor
Goal	
Location:	strategic project location: Gascoigne Estate borough: Barking & Dagenham city: London
The posed problem	<p>Neoliberalism reinforced a process of financialisation of housing and privatisation of property, which transformed housing from a social good to a financial asset. Land values and housing prices skyrocketed, resulting in a severe housing crisis. Social housing is neglected by authorities and stigmatised by society. Local, low-income residents are dispossessed and displaced, and social housing is moving towards disappearance. London has become a fragmented and unequal city, with an unbalanced governance. The power of the private investors induces that residents cannot make use of their right to the city. To recover the right to the city for all residents and to counteract the disappearance of social housing, a shift has to be made towards a revival of social housing, making sure there is secure tenure and quality housing for the entire population.</p>

research questions and	<p>This project is done from an urbanism perspective. To investigate what role planning can play in the revival of social housing, the following research question is composed: <i>How can planning be used to revive social housing in London?</i> The research will be done through three steps of critical planning by Marcuse (2009b): expose, propose, politicize. Expose, the first step, reveals the problems that occur in a certain situation and which actors are affected. The second step is understood as working with the affected actors to create a proposal to achieve the desired results. The last step, politicize, means clarifying the political implication of step one and two and its reasoning. The research approach will elaborate on these steps. Six sub-questions are subdivided under the three steps, supporting the main research question. The questions are displayed below.</p> <p><i>research question</i> How can planning can be used to revive social housing in London?</p> <p><i>sub research questions</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - What is the current social, spatial, and political state of social housing in London? - What is the current planning system and governance structure in London? - What are alternative affordable housing concepts for social housing? - How can top-down planning be used to revive social housing? - How can bottom-up planning be used to revive social housing? - How could these planning be implemented in an urban design in a social housing estate, in order to work as a strategic project?
design assignment in which these result.	<p>The design assignment of this project is an urban design on a strategic project location, with a roadmap of social, spatial, and governance recommendations. The end product comes forward out of an elaborate problem analysis on the situation of social housing in London, and the planning and governance structure of the city. The analysis will function as a basis for the design proposal, exposing the strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats of the current system. Furthermore, the project explores appropriate planning tools to achieve the challenges. These tools will be tested in an urban design on a strategic project location.</p>

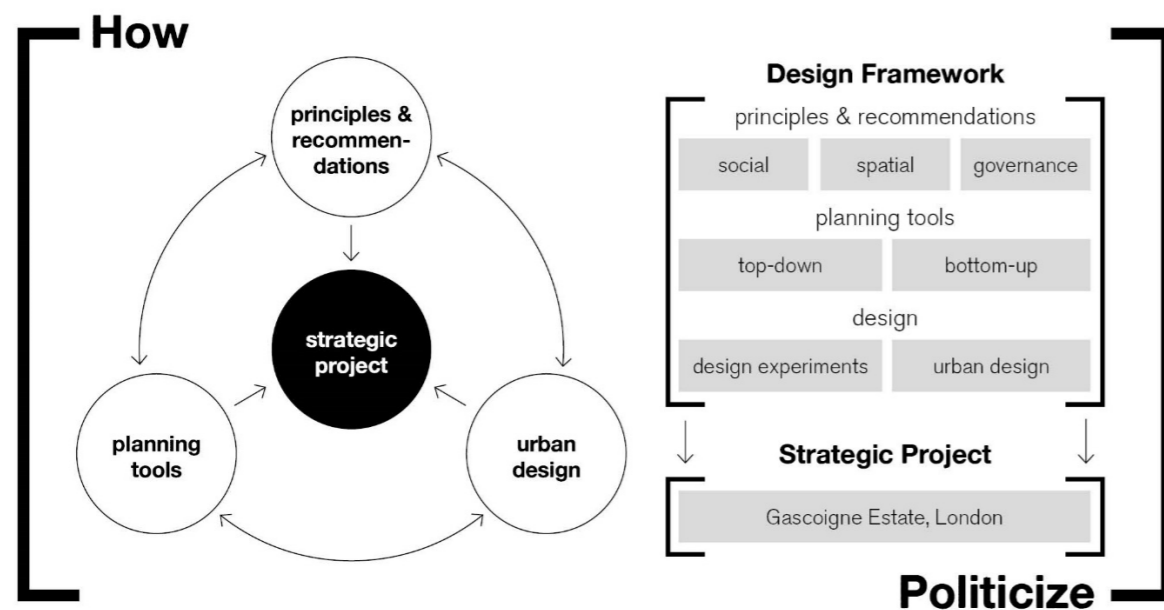
	<p>The design proposal summarizes the role of the urbanist: working with various actors from decision makers to the local community, implementing planning tools and using design as a tool to create a public sphere and public goods. The strategic project will contain visualisations and a roadmap of recommendations directed to decisionmakers and the local community. The project is mainly created for the social housing residents, who are living in poor conditions with a high tenure insecurity. The outcome of the project aims to show alternative ways of solving the social housing crisis, decreasing inequality and increasing inclusivity.</p>
<p>Process</p>	
<p>Method description</p>	
<p><i>general approach</i></p>	
<p>The research is considered as an applied research, since it will be carried out for a specific situation and location. The research will therefore contain conclusions and solutions based on the situation and location. However, it can work as an exemplar project for comparable issues. Since it has this specific situation, the reasoning of this research is mainly inductive. In constructing the design proposal the project will contain deductive reasoning, using general theories and concepts on a specific situation. The majority of the analyses however, are based on inductive reasoning, aiming to create general concepts and theories based on the specific location. The problem field and spatial analysis are mainly descriptive analysis, where problems will be exposed. The second step of the project aims to explore and experiment with planning tools and alternative concepts for social housing and governance. The exploratory phase follows up the descriptive phase.</p>	
<p><i>specific approach</i></p>	
<p>Next to the general approach, this project has a specific research approach. This project will be approached through three questions: what is the problem, why is it a problem, and how can the problem be solved. They are combined with the three steps of critical planning by Peter Marcuse. It leads to the following methodological</p>	



Why

	social	spatial	governance
analytical	demography analysis historical analysis	historical analysis morphological analysis spatial data analysis	actor analysis historical analysis policy analysis
theoretical	literature review theoretical framework	literature review theoretical framework	literature review theoretical framework
empirical	observations street interviews surveys	expert interviews observations	expert interviews
design	design experiments participatory design	design experiments urban design	participatory design

Propose



Literature and general practical preference

The literature that forms the body of knowledge for this graduation project, addresses several relevant scientific topics:

- the financialisation of housing (e.g. Baeten, 2012; Rolnik, 2019; Wijburg, 2020);
- the right to the city (e.g. Lefebvre, 1968; Harvey, 2003; Marcuse, 2009a);
- spatial justice (e.g. Brenner et al., 2011; Fainstain, 2013);
- situation of social housing: tenure insecurity, displacement, dispossession, regeneration (e.g. Campkin, 2013, Rolnik, 2019, Pasotti, 2020);
- stigma on social housing (e.g. Taylor, 1998; Hastings, 2004; Wassenberg, 2004).

It uses several relevant planning tools:

- community-led planning – improving the living conditions for residents, considering their needs & demands, giving them a voice in the planning process
- community land trust – empowering the local community, providing tenure security
- policy framework – suggesting policies to be implemented in planning documents with respect to the plans and policies of decision makers.
- strategy for social housing – suggesting alternative ways to deal with the future of social housing

Literature

- Baeten, G. (2012). "Neoliberal planning, does it really exist?", in: Kasan-Kok, T., Baeten, G. (2012). *Contradictions of Neoliberal Planning: Cities, Policies, and Politics*. New York City: Springer.
- Brenner, N., Marcuse, P., Mayer, M. (eds.) (2011). *Cities For People, Not For Profit*. London: Taylor & Francis.
- Campkin, B. (2013). *Remaking London*. London: I.B. Tauris & Co.
- Fainstain, S. (2010). *The Just City*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Harvey, D. (2003). The Right to the City. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 27(4): 393-941.
- Hastings, A. (2004). Stigma and social housing estates: Beyond pathological explanations. *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment*, 19:233-254.
- Lefebvre, H. (1996 [1968]), "The right to the city", in Kofman, E., Lebas, E. [eds.] (1996), *Writings on cities*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Marcuse, P. (2009) "Who's right to what city?" in, Brenner, N., Marcuse, P., Mayer, M. [eds.] (2012). *Cities For People, Not For Profit*. London: Taylor & Francis.
- Pasotti, E. (2020). *Resisting Redevelopment*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Rolnik, R. (2019). *Urban Warfare*. London: Verso.
- Taylor, M. (1998). Combating the Social Exclusion of Housing Estates. *Housing Studies*, 13(6):819-832.
- Wassenberg, F. (2004). Large social housing estates: From stigma to demolition? *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment*, 19: 223–232.
- Wijburg, G. (2020). The de-financialization of housing: towards a research agenda. *Housing Studies*.

Reflection

What is the relation between your graduation (project) topic, the studio topic (if applicable), your master track (A,U,BT,LA,MBE), and your master programme (MSc AUBS)?

Access to adequate housing has long been considered as a basic human right, a social good. Trends of globalisation, financialisation, and urbanisation are transforming housing into a financial asset. Cities are failing to meet the housing demand, and are becoming more and more unequal. The starting point of projects in the Planning Complex Cities Studio are observations of disparities and conflicts arising from the distribution of spatial resources across communities and territories, which for this graduation project is the unequal provision of adequate housing and the inability for people to make use of their right to the city. The project takes a multidisciplinary and multiscalar approach, something typical for the MSc AUBS. The Urbanism track combines urban design, landscape architecture, spatial planning and engineering. The design component plays a major role, blending knowledge and skills from design practice. The end product of this graduation project will be an urban design, implementing appropriate planning tools which are decided out of literature and analysis. The Planning Complex Cities studio enlarges the notion of design by not only designing physical structures or places, but also processes, and organisations. The urban design in this project will be mainly spatially, but it gives suggestions on alternating policies, strategies, and organisations. The project aims to contribute to a more equal provision of housing, integrating social, cultural, economic, and political perspectives with the natural man-made conditions in order to shape and plan for more sustainable development.

Relevance

Societal Relevance

London is unhooked from its context, it became a theatre for international capital. Its fortunes are decided by forces over which it has little control. The skyrocketing values and prices are creating a survival of the financially fittest. The private sector has a large voice in decision making. Without public support, the theatre for international capital would already have collapsed. Local, low-income residents are being pushed out of the city. They lost their voice in decision making of the city, creating an unbalanced governance. The loss in right to democracy is not the only right to the city the local population has lost. Although London Plans have ambitious plans in affordable and inclusive housing, the city does not seem prepared for this challenge. By using Barking & Dagenham as a strategic project, this project investigates top-down and bottom-up planning tools that could contribute to achieving the challenges London has. The project is exploring alternatives concepts, lines of thought and mentalities in order to boost for change. It is also a call for awareness and flexibility from all actors, from the local population to the authorities. In doing so, it connect to several Sustainable Development Goals set up by the United Nations (UN-HABITAT, 2020):

3 - Good Health and Well-Being

The disappearance of public housing and local population being pushed out is challenging good health and well-being for the residents, since they do not have access to public services, affordable housing, and a healthy, sustainable living environment.

This project aims to revive public housing and contribute to good health and well-being of its residents.

10 - Reduced Inequalities

This goal aims to address inequalities through better urban planning, design, and governance, providing equal opportunities for employment, housing, and transport. The project aims to reduce inequalities by creating planning tools for inclusivity, equity, and opportunity.

11 - Sustainable Cities and Communities

The project aims to empower communities and give them a voice in decision-making. It aims to balance the governance triangle, contributing to making cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient, and sustainable.

Scientific Relevance

The literature review and theoretical framework discuss significant concepts and theories in the field of urbanism. The *financialisation of housing* (e.g. Baeten, 2012; Rolnik, 2019; Wijburg, 2020) and the *right to the city* (e.g. Lefebvre, 1968; Harvey, 2003; Marcuse, 2009a) are especially significant in metropolitan areas where housing is scarce and inequality is increasing. The poor situation of public housing has also been an relevant topic in the field of urbanism (e.g. Beswick et al., 2016; Hastings, 2004; Taylor, 1998; Wassenberg, 2004).

The United Nations set up 17 Sustainable Development Goals (UN-HABITAT, 2015). In 2016, Habitat III placed SDG 11 central: sustainable cities and communities. This graduation project is narrowed down from the relevant topics and its main aim touches SDG 11. The project contributes to the right to the city paradigm and realizing the SDG's. It aims to supply suitable planning tools in reviving public housing and 'making cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient, and sustainable' (UN-HABITAT, 2020). The project provides useful quantitative and qualitative information from the analysis and fieldwork, combined with theory. The information is specific on London, but it also works as exemplar work for other cities.

A lot has been written on the housing crisis in London (e.g. Edwards, 2016; Travers et al., 2016). These mainly contain the financialisation of housing and privatisation of property by neoliberalism, started in the 1980s. Current bidding wars in rental housing and new policies by the state are starting the next phase of financialisation, which has not been written about a lot. The disappearance of public housing has been acknowledged, but not elaborated on. The literature mainly stays theoretical, or on a large scale. It does not zoom in to the neighbourhood or human scale. This graduation project aims to deliver information on this new phase of financialisation and the role of public housing in the city and aims to take a step towards problem solving, contributing to urban planning, design and theory in finding inclusive planning tools for sustainable cities and communities.

Appendix 3

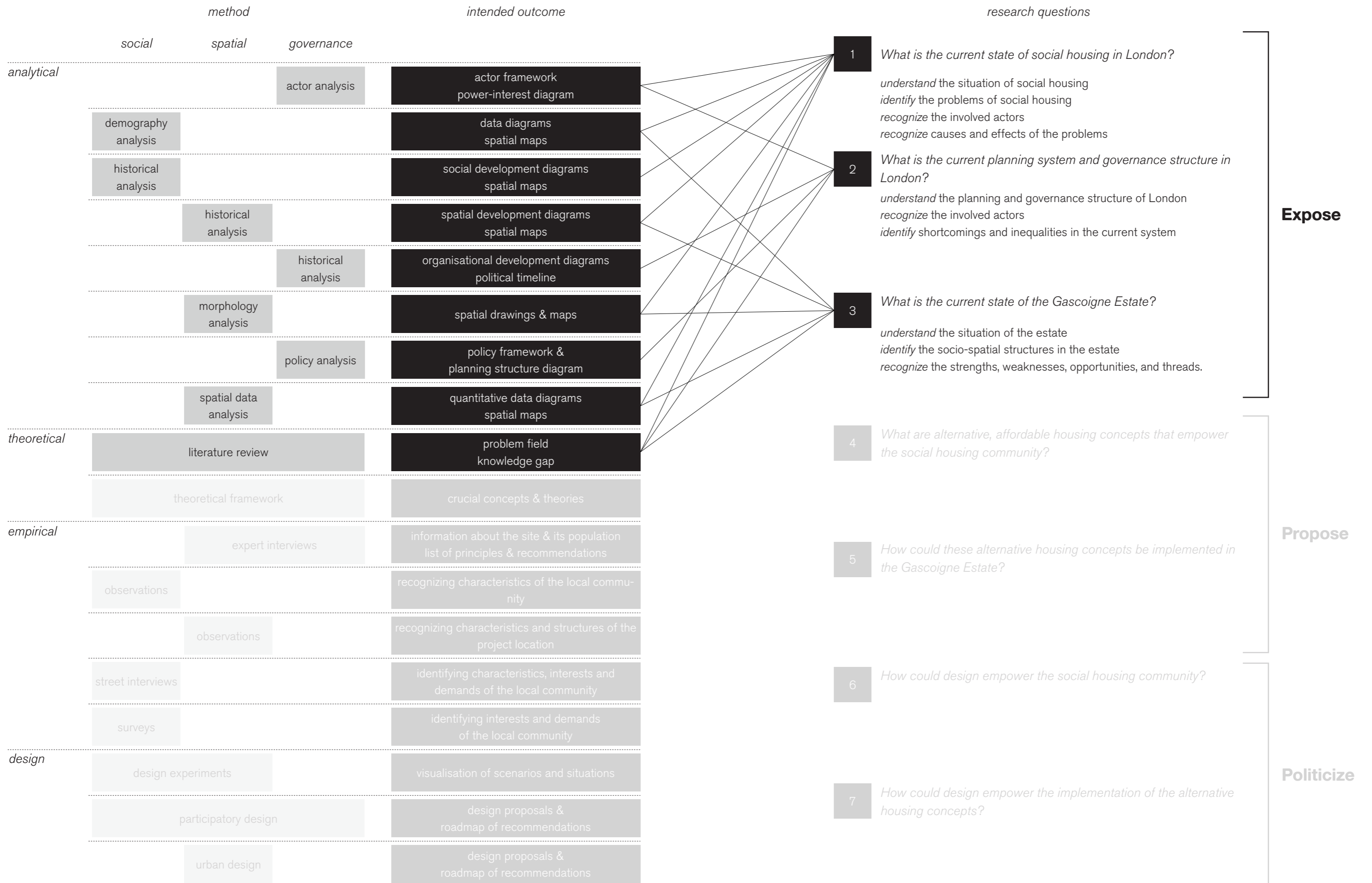
Research Methods

This section elaborates on the research methods that are used in this graduation project. The methods are part of the methodological framework, where they are only mentioned. In this appendix the methods will be defined and explained why they are used for this project. The intended outcome is given, and how they relate to the research questions.

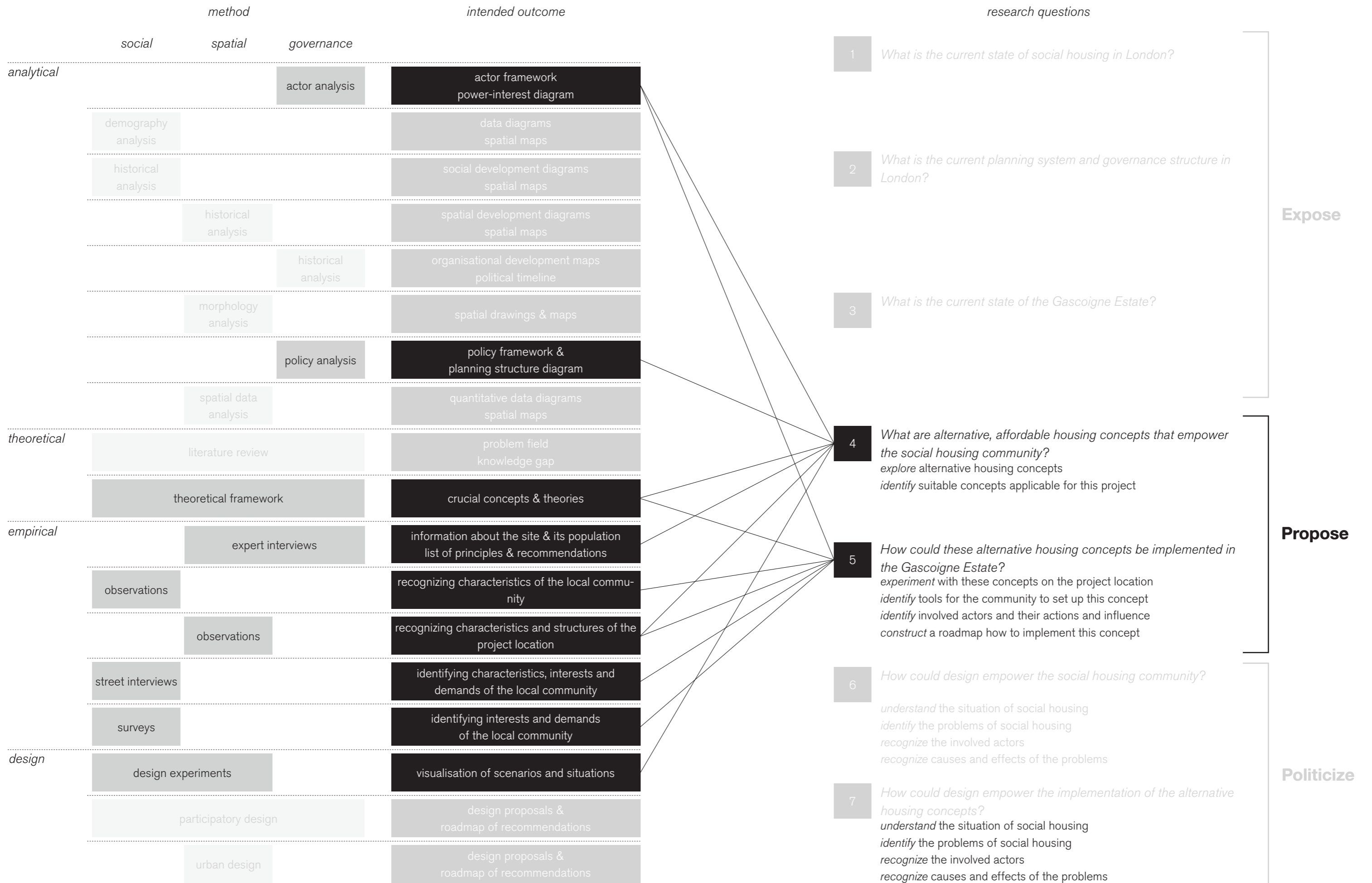
Research Methods

	<i>method</i>			<i>definition</i>	<i>objective</i>	<i>source</i>
	<i>social</i>	<i>spatial</i>	<i>governance</i>			
<i>analytical</i>			actor analysis	review of the actors, their power and interest, and their actions, responsibilities and mutual relations	understand the power and interest of actors and assess potential convergences and divergences, and anticipate coalitions and conflict	Bendahan et al., 2004
	demography analysis			quantitative data analysis on the composition of the population	understand how the demography has changed over time through the basic demographic processes of birth, death, and migration	United States Census Bureau, 2020
	historical analysis			examination of evidence in coming to an understanding of the past	understand social developments through time and the influence of certain events	Thorpe & Holt, 2008
		historical analysis		examination of evidence in coming to an understanding of the past	understand spatial developments through time and the influence of certain events	Thorpe & Holt, 2008
			historical analysis	examination of evidence in coming to an understanding of the past	understand organisational developments through time and the influence of certain events	Thorpe & Holt, 2008
		morphology analysis		spatial analysis on the form and structure of the built environment	understand the form and structure of the project location, recognizing the organisation and relationships between elements of the built environment	
			policy analysis	review policy documents, strategies, and visions of national, regional, and local governments and review other actors involved in policy-making	understand the policy system and the role of actors in the policy-making process and their paths of reasoning	Hermans & Thissen, 2008
		spatial data analysis		quantitative data analysis to make a large amount of detailed information intelligible for the project focus	extract main spatial trends	Huisman & De By, 2009
<i>theoretical</i>	literature review			reviewing existing knowledge on the topic and project location	gain insight in the topic and project location and highlight gaps and shortcomings in existing literature	Calabrese, 2020 Kuada, 2012
	theoretical framework			review existing literature to fill up the knowledge gap identified in the literature review	identify crucial concepts and theories to fill up the knowledge gap and justify decisions that are made	Calabrese, 2020 Kuada, 2012
<i>empirical</i>		expert interviews		carry out interviews with experts on the topic and project location	gaining knowledge and insight on the project location and obtaining multiple perspectives	Romein, 2020
	observations			experience the project location by walking around, drawing, measuring and making photographs	create a visual image and obtain a sense of the people	Lynch, 1960
		observations		experience the project location by walking around, drawing, measuring and making photographs	create a visual image and obtain a sense of the place	Lynch, 1960
	street interviews			carry out interviews with locals on the topic and project location	gaining knowledge on the local population, getting an insight on their needs and demands and obtaining multiple perspectives	Romein, 2020
	surveys			carry out surveys with locals on the topic the project location	gaining knowledge on the local population, getting an insight on their needs and demands and obtaining multiple perspectives	Romein, 2020
<i>design</i>	design experiments			exploring and experimenting based on the conclusions of the previously done literature review and analyses	visualize explorations and experiments in order to find new approaches, concepts and tools	Van Dooren et al., 2013
	participatory design			collaborate with involved actors, bridging analytical knowledge with tacit knowledge of the participants	co-create a roadmap of recommendations for the design proposal	Spinuzzi, 2005
		urban design		exploring, experimenting and deciding on various scales of the project location	create a design proposal on the project location and set up a roadmap of social, spatial and organisational recommendations	Van Dooren et al., 2013

Research Methods



Research Methods

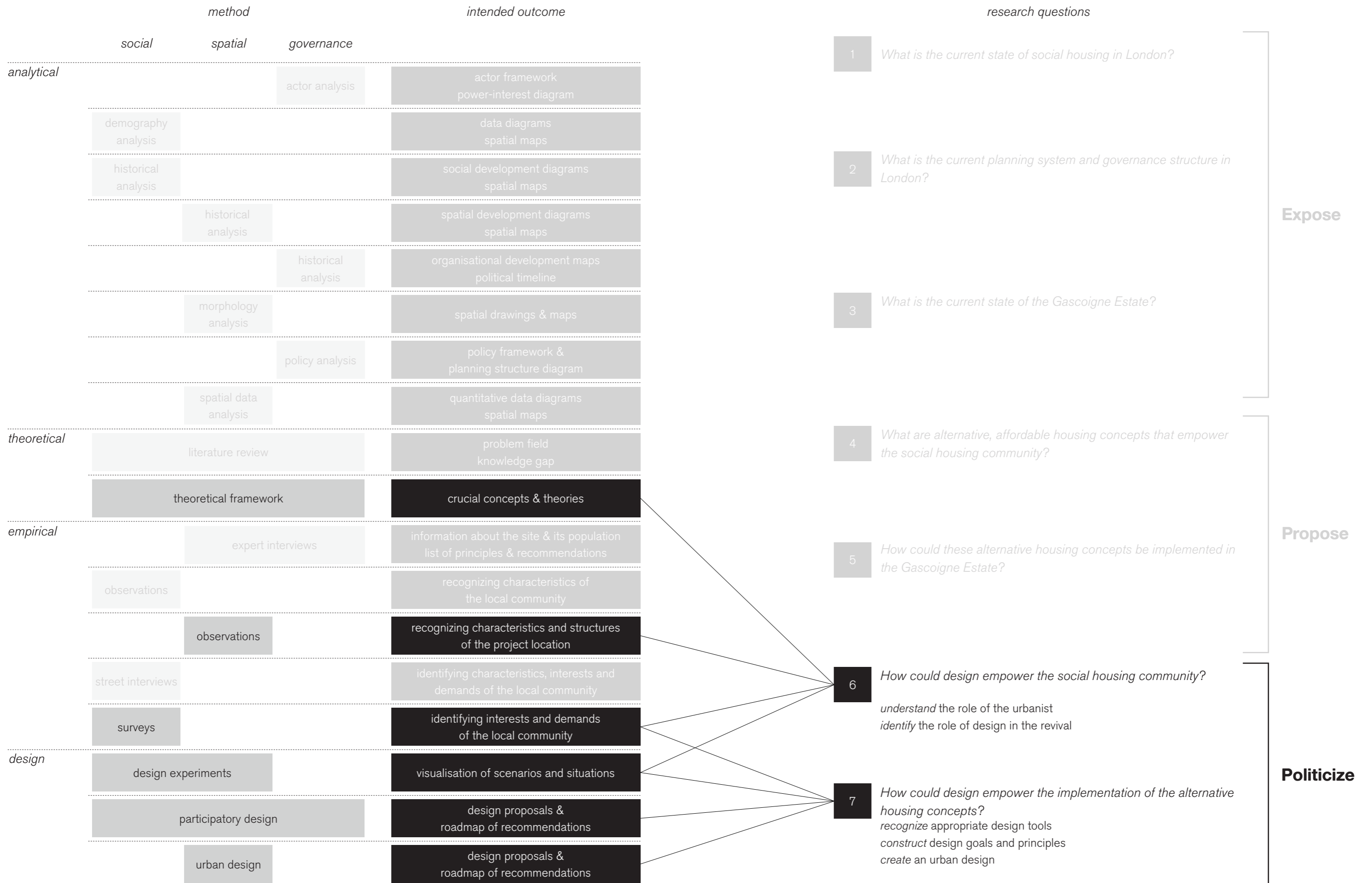


Expose

Propose

Politicize

Research Methods



Expose

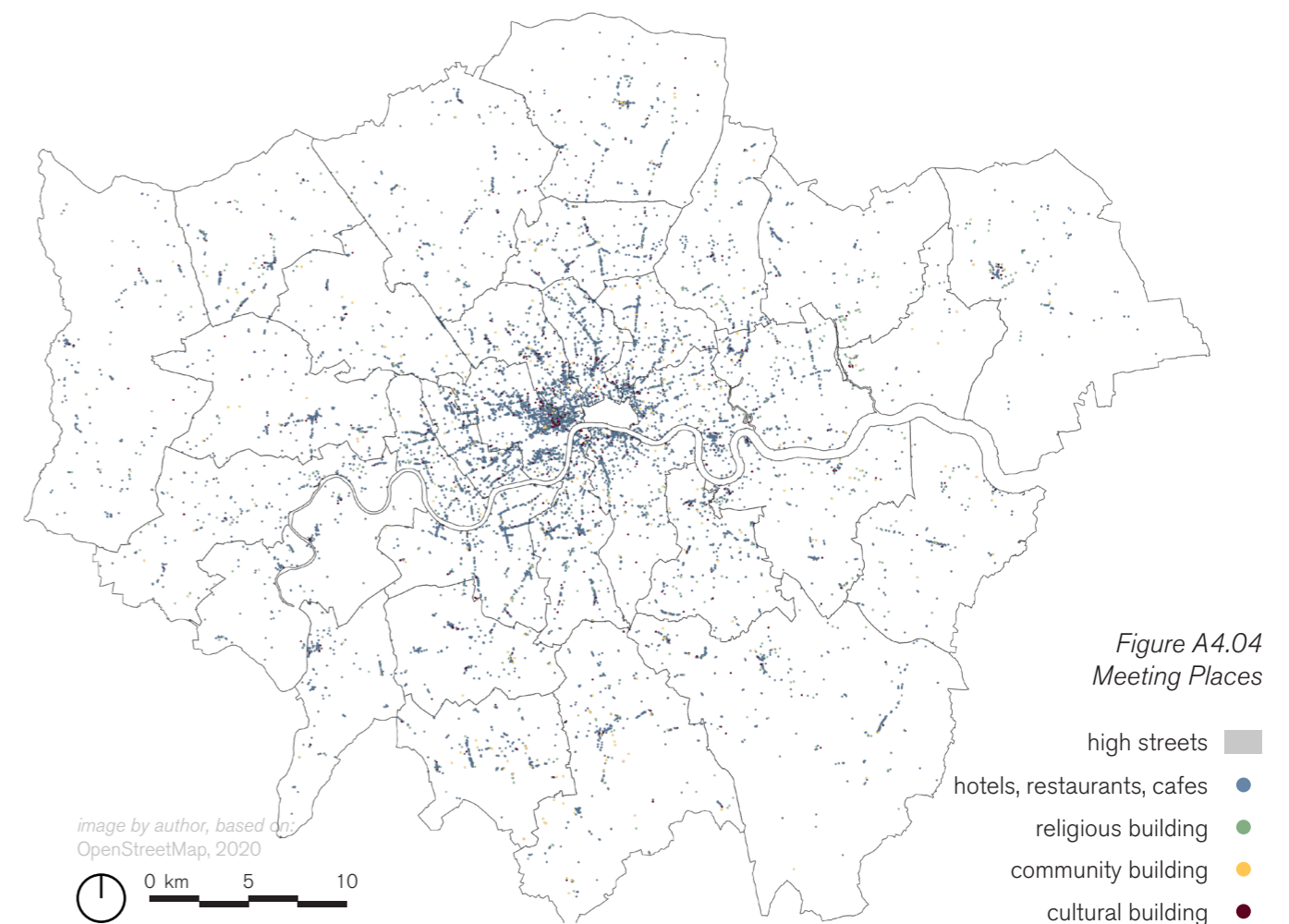
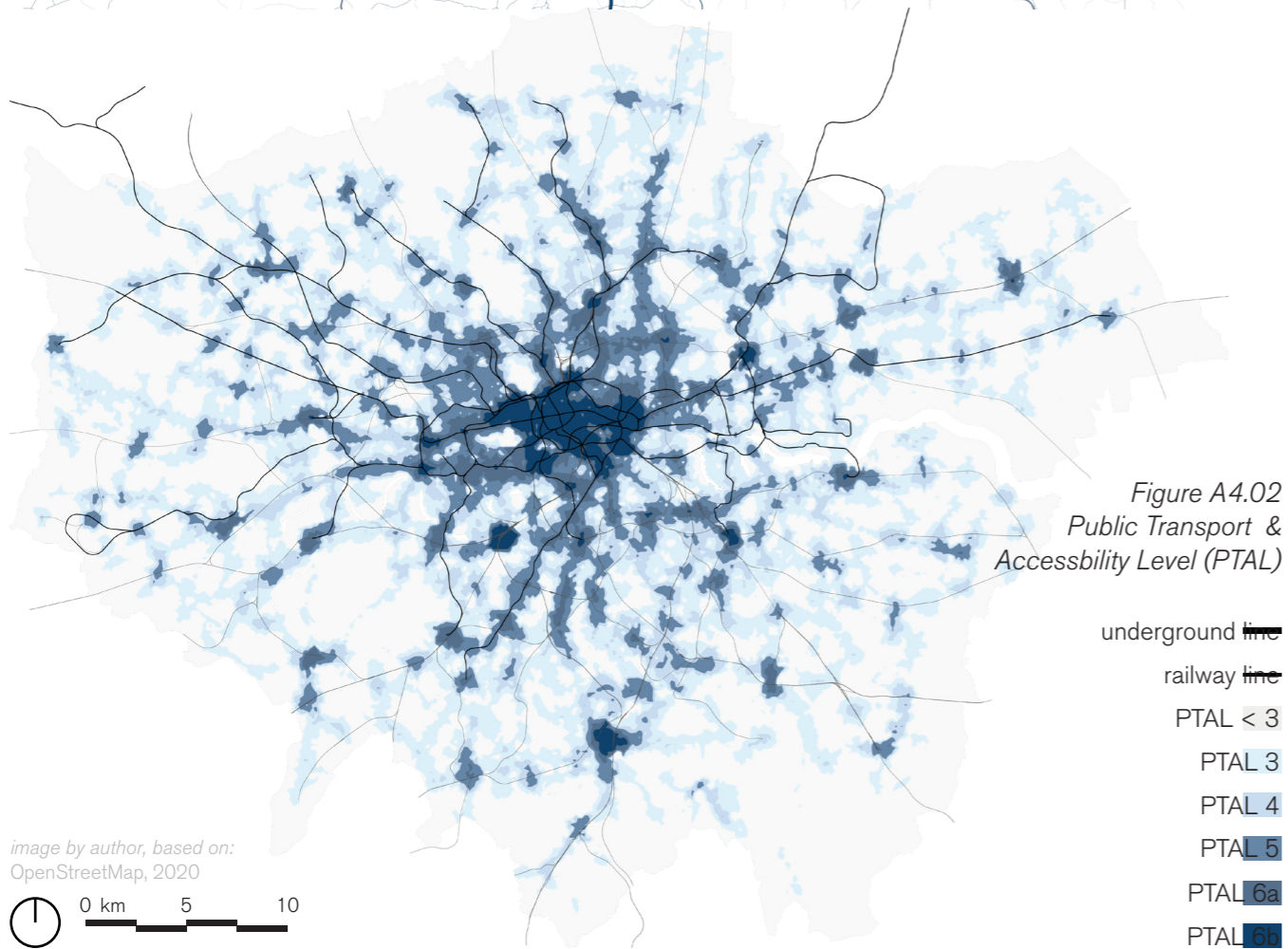
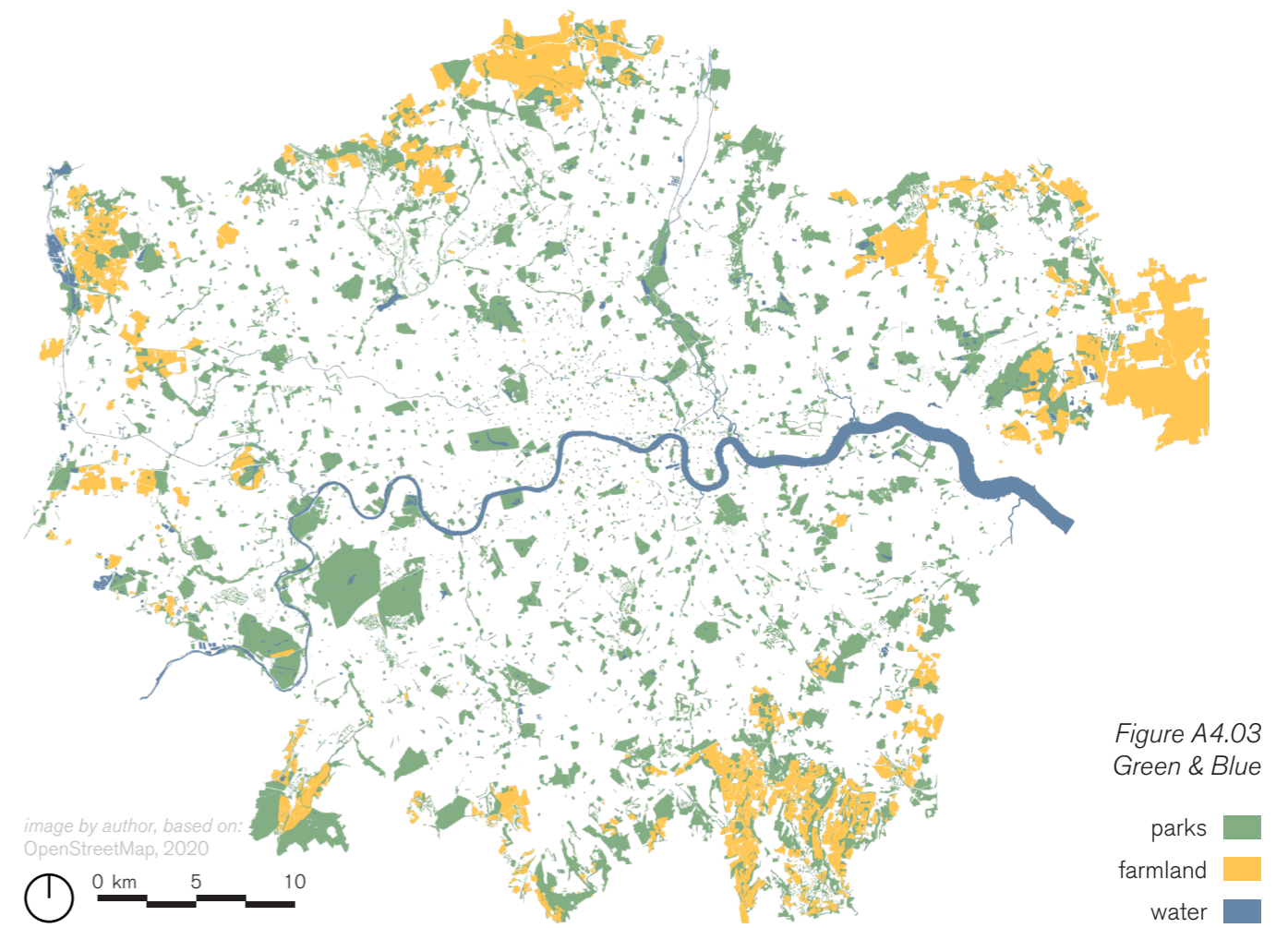
Propose

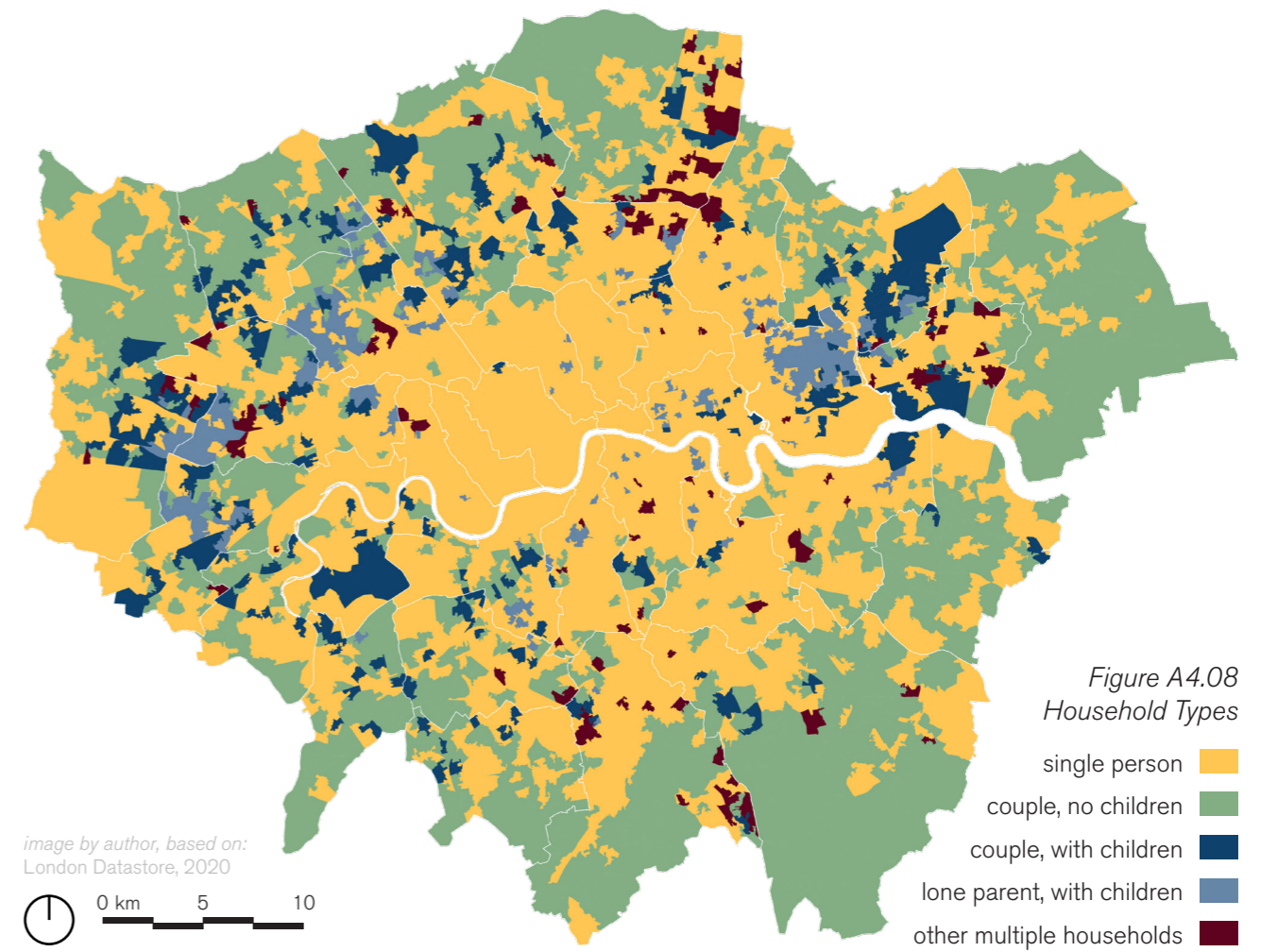
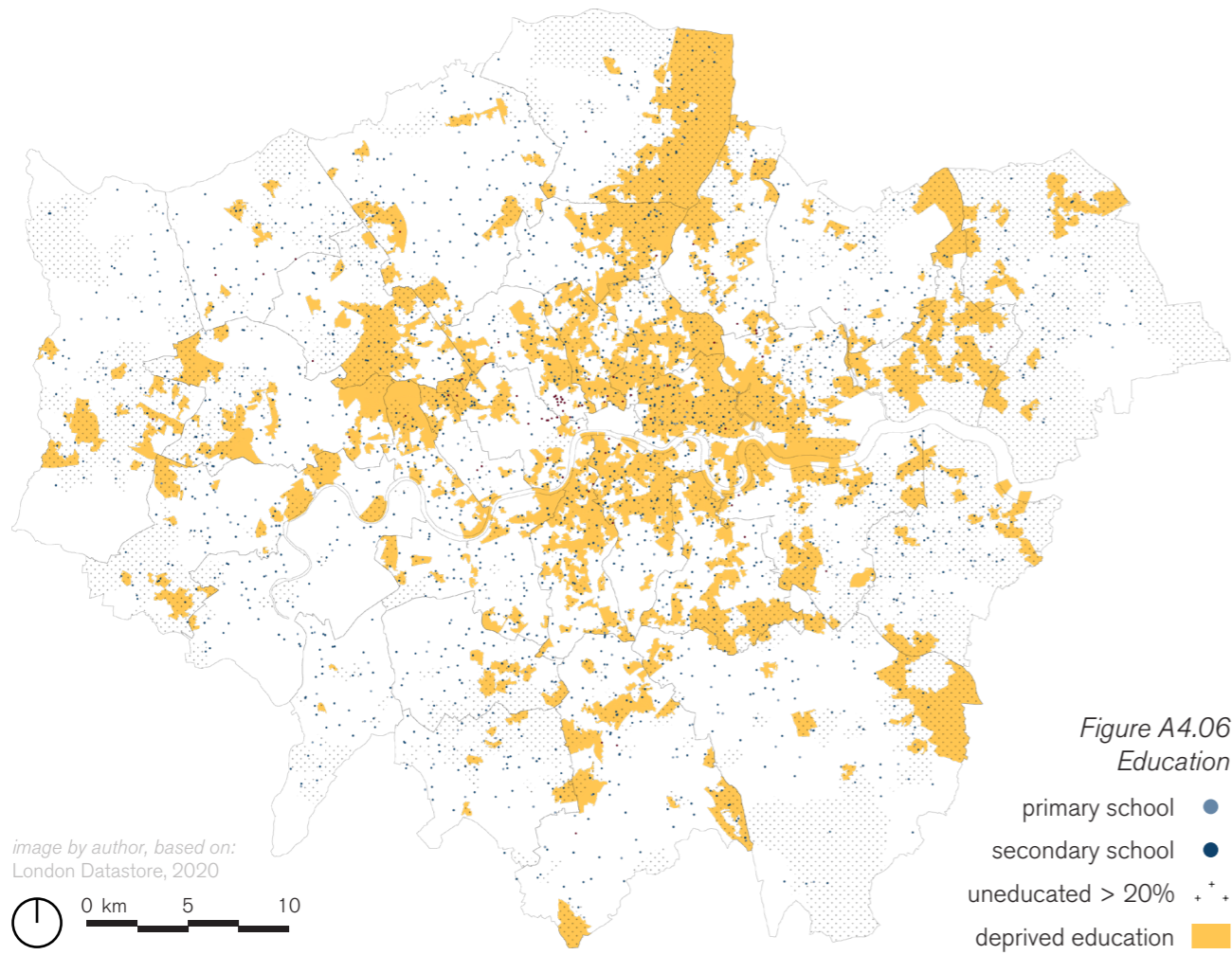
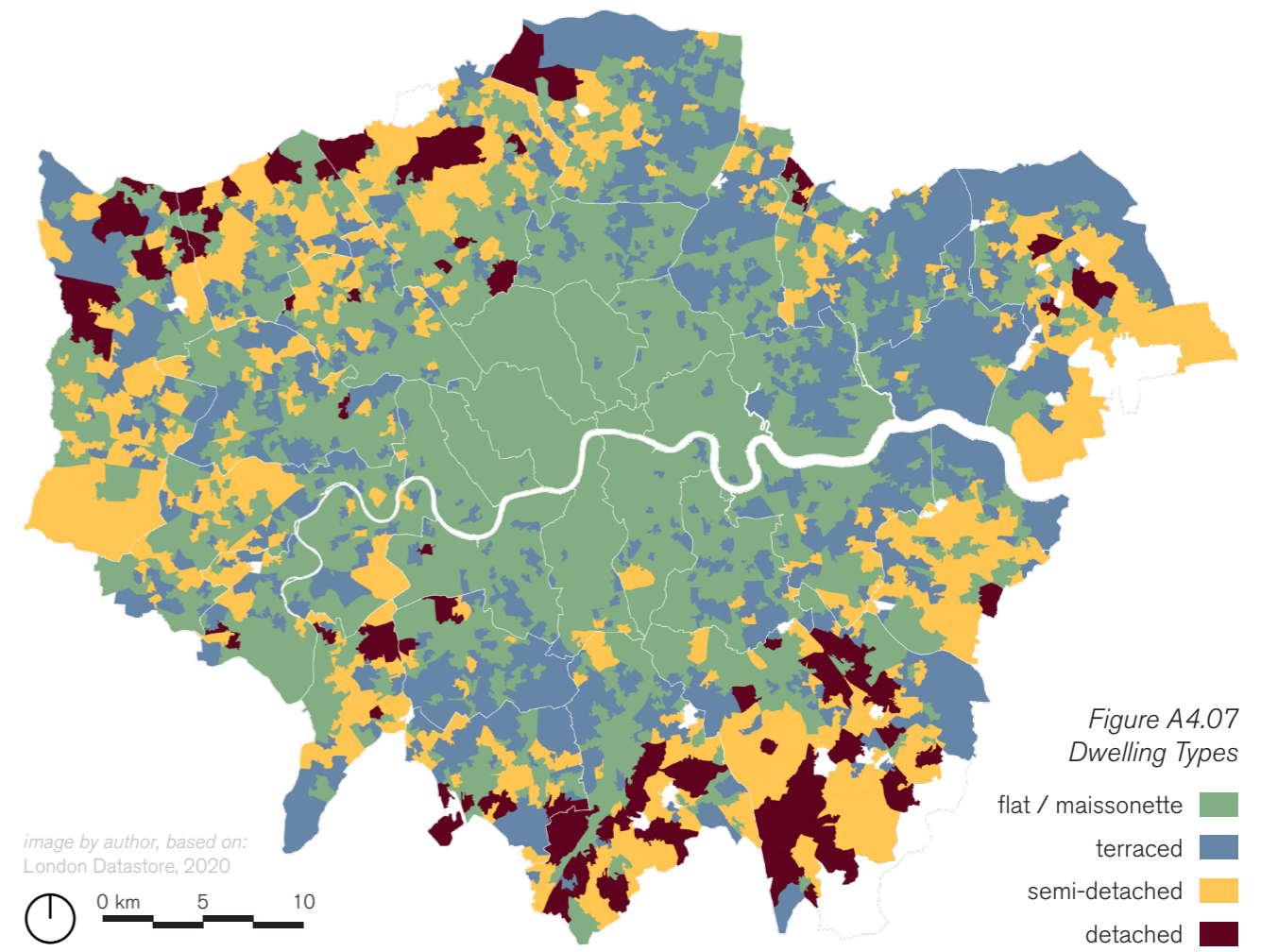
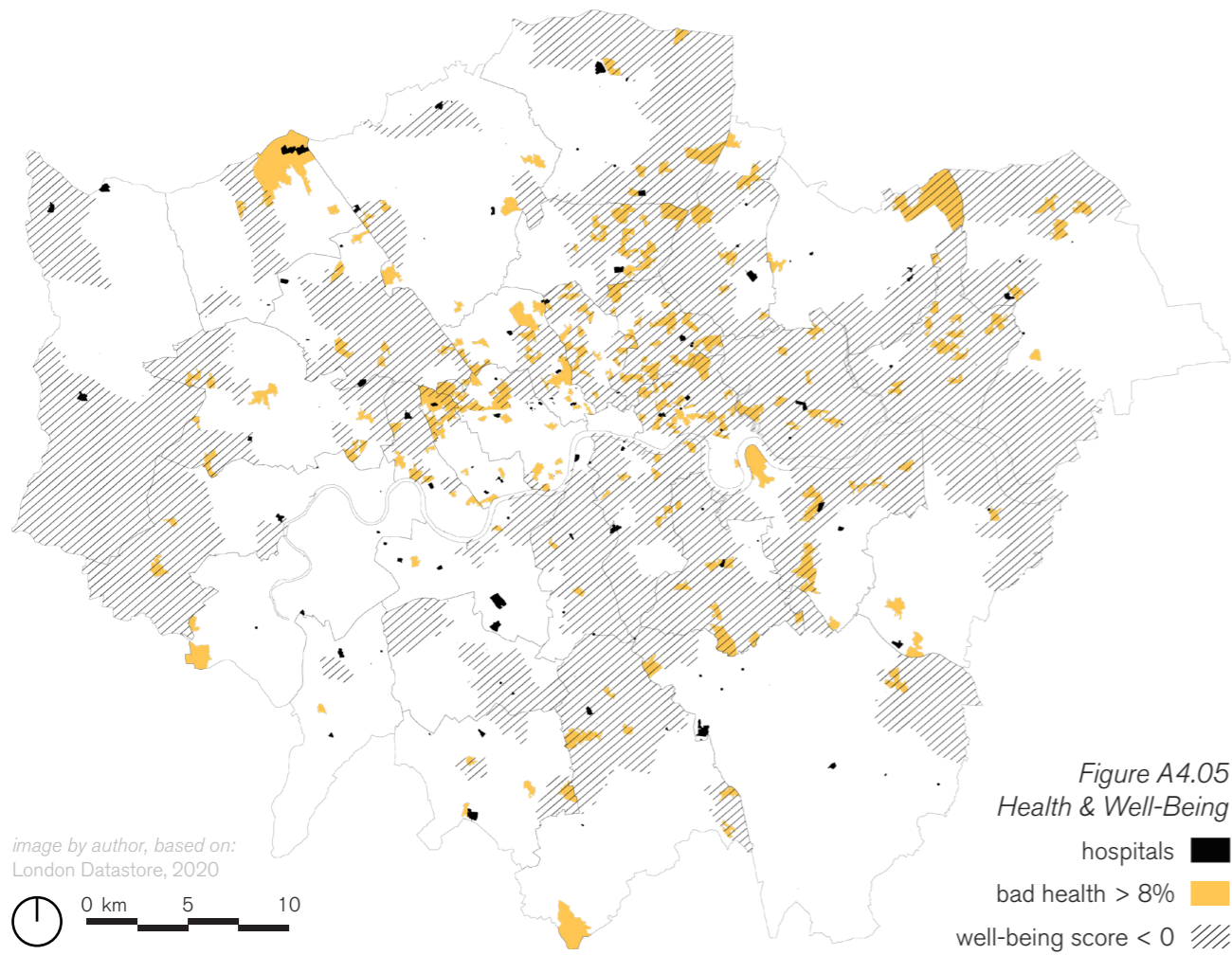
Politicize

Appendix 4

Spatial Analysis

Appendix 4 contains spatial analysis that were important in the understanding of the context of London and the situation of social housing. These maps form the foundation for concluding maps in Chapter 2, 4, and 5.





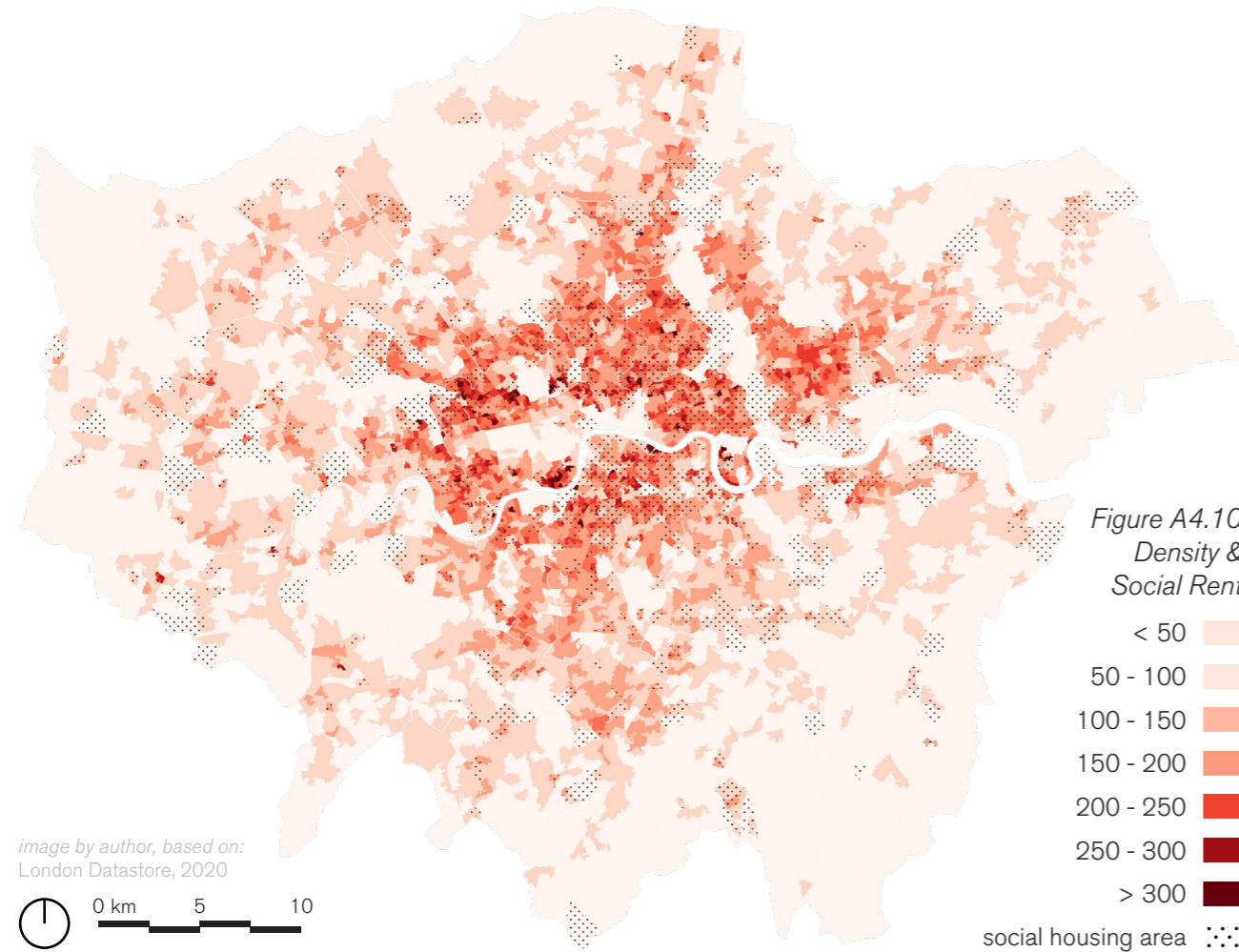
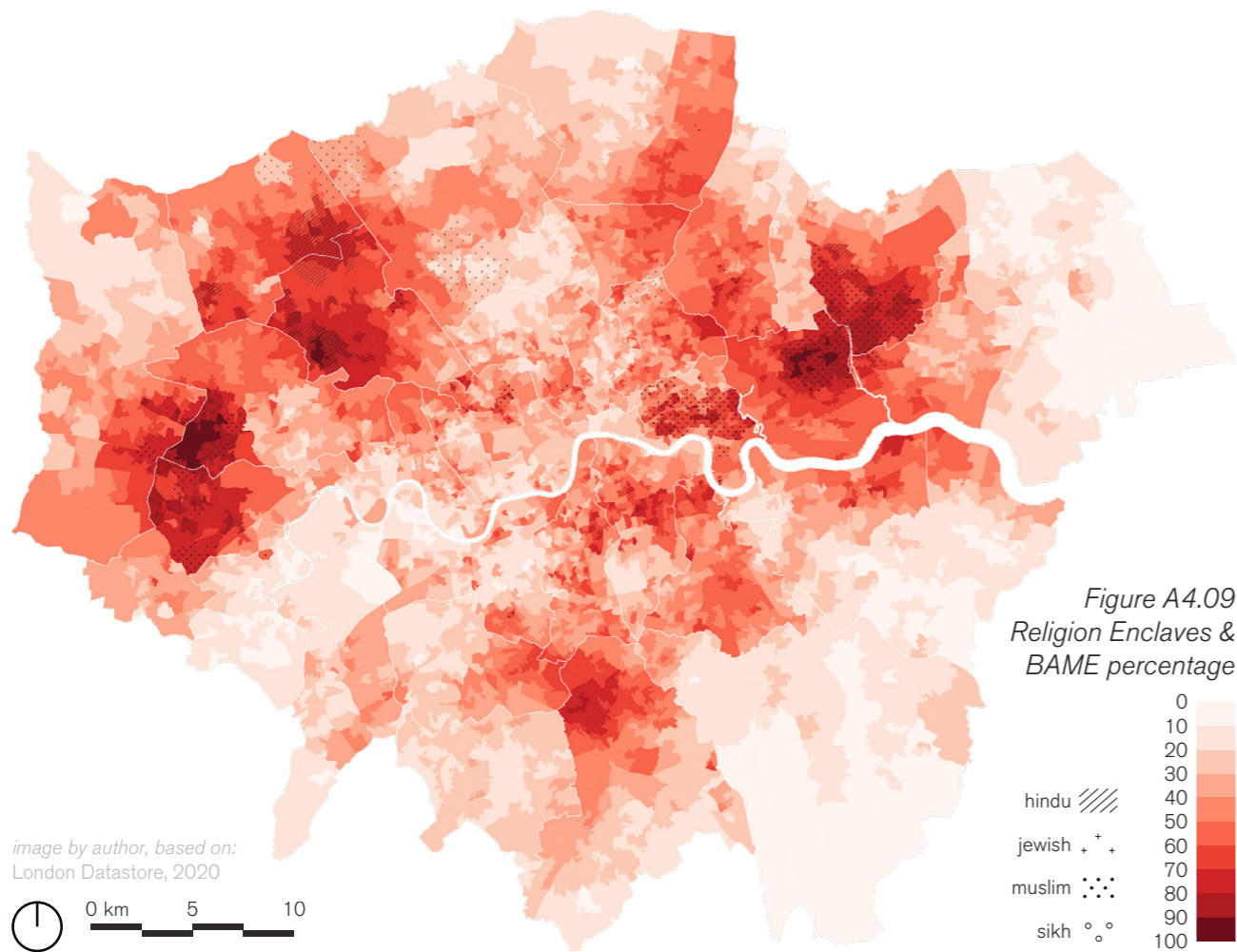


Figure A4.11
% council housing, borough

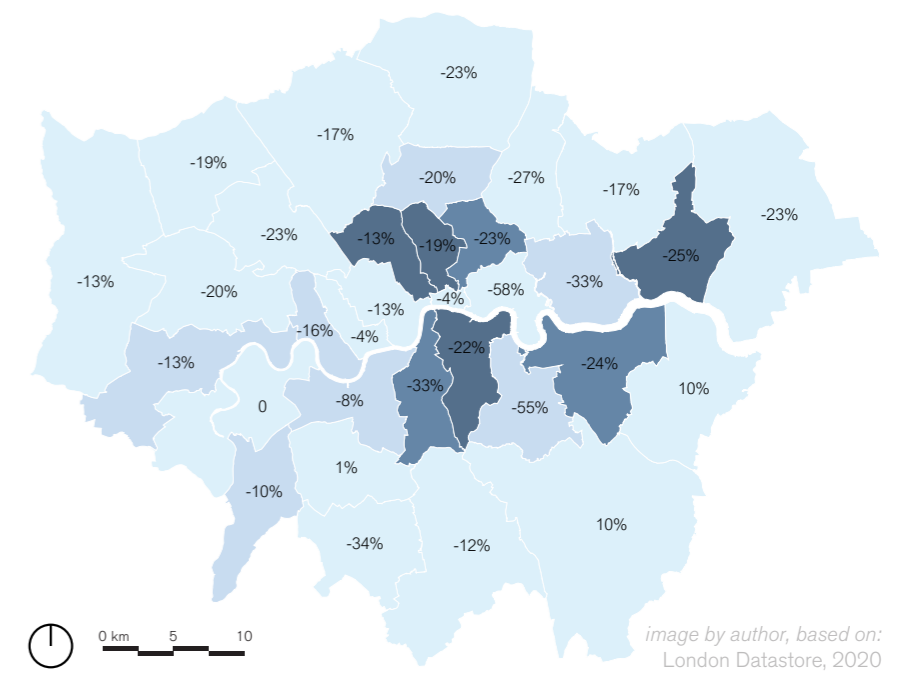
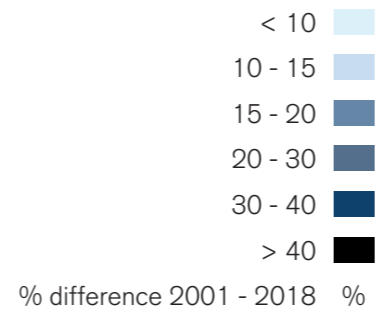


Figure A4.12
% RSL, borough

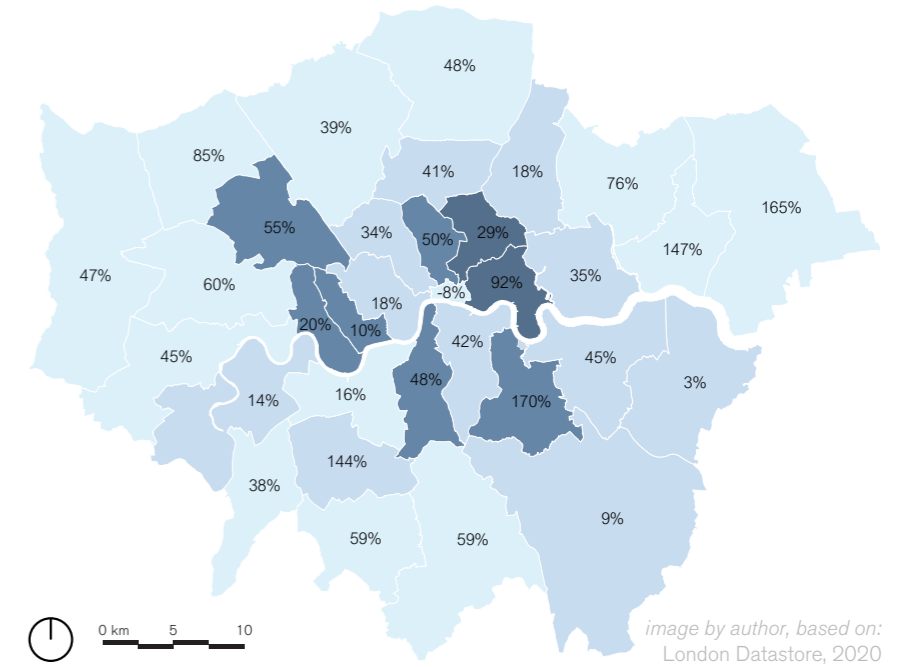
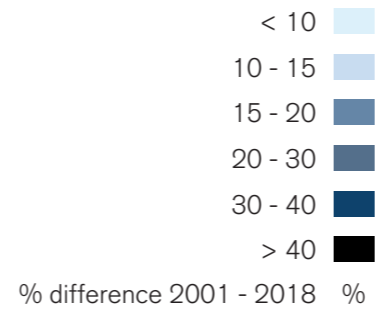
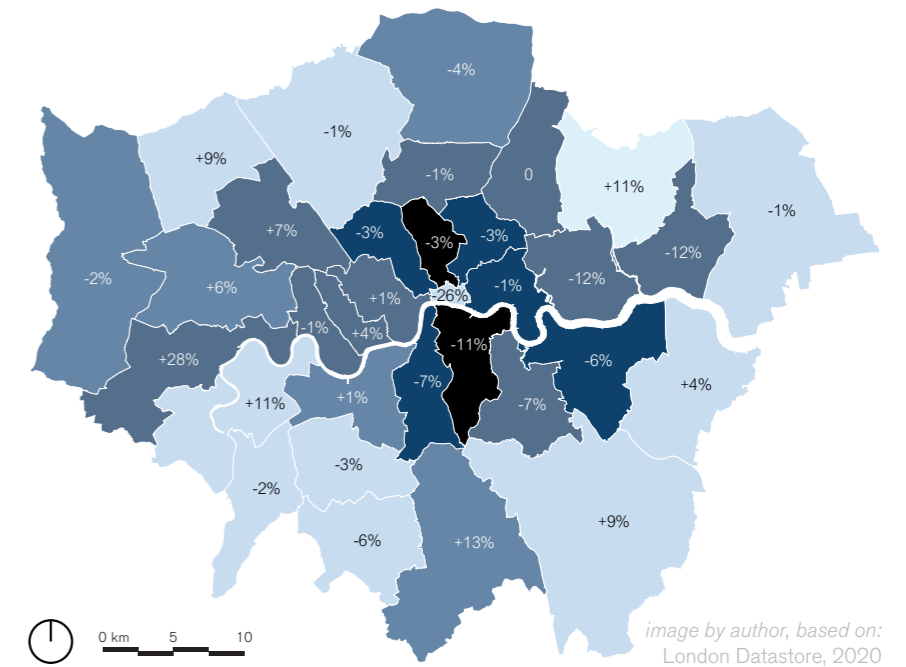
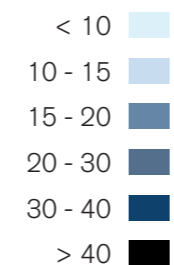


Figure A4.13
% social rent, borough



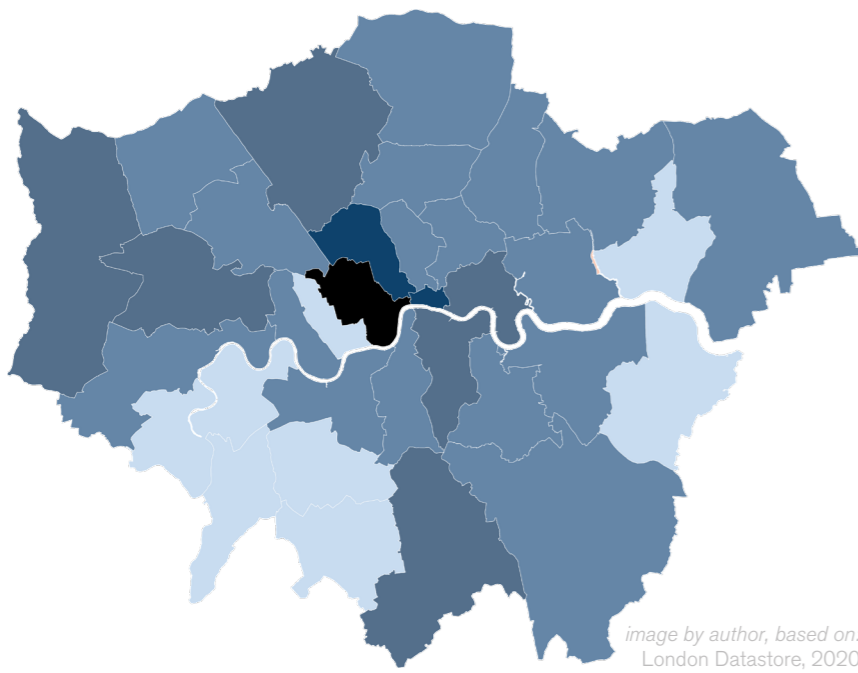


Figure A4.14
Workday Population



image by author, based on:
London Datastore, 2020

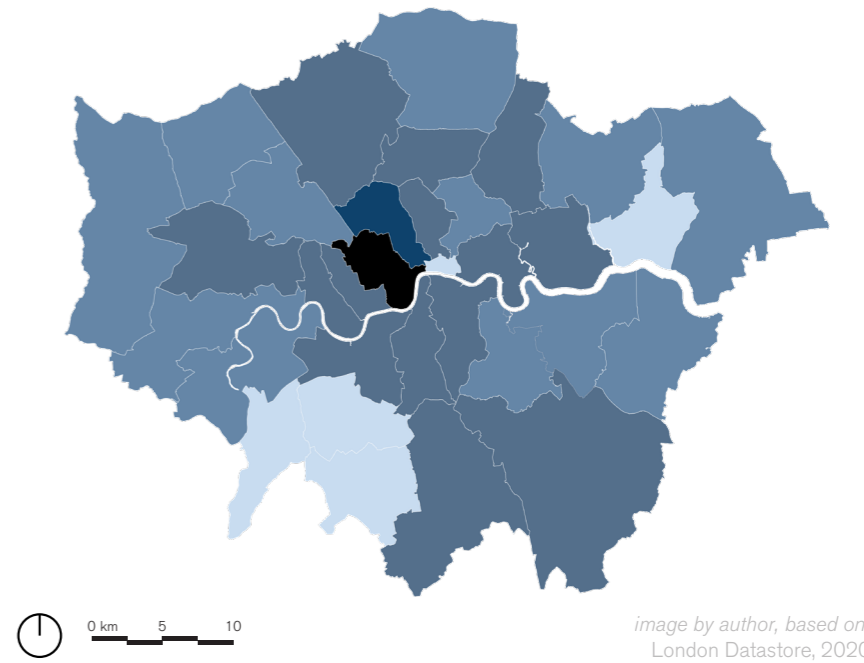


Figure A4.17
Retail

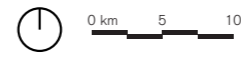
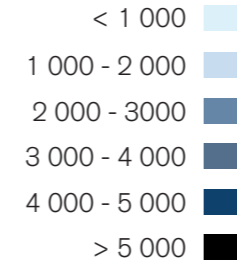


image by author, based on:
London Datastore, 2020

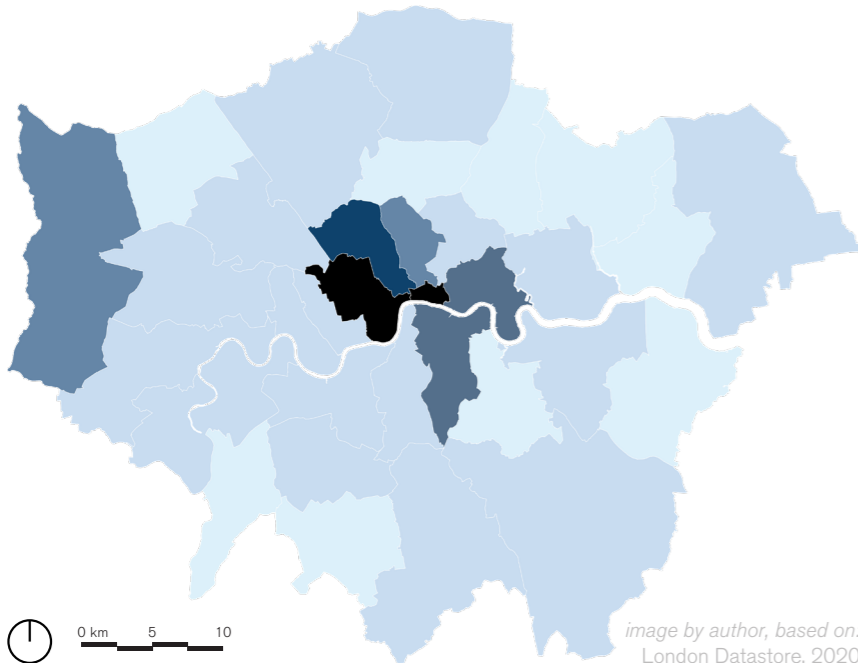


Figure A4.15
Jobs



image by author, based on:
London Datastore, 2020

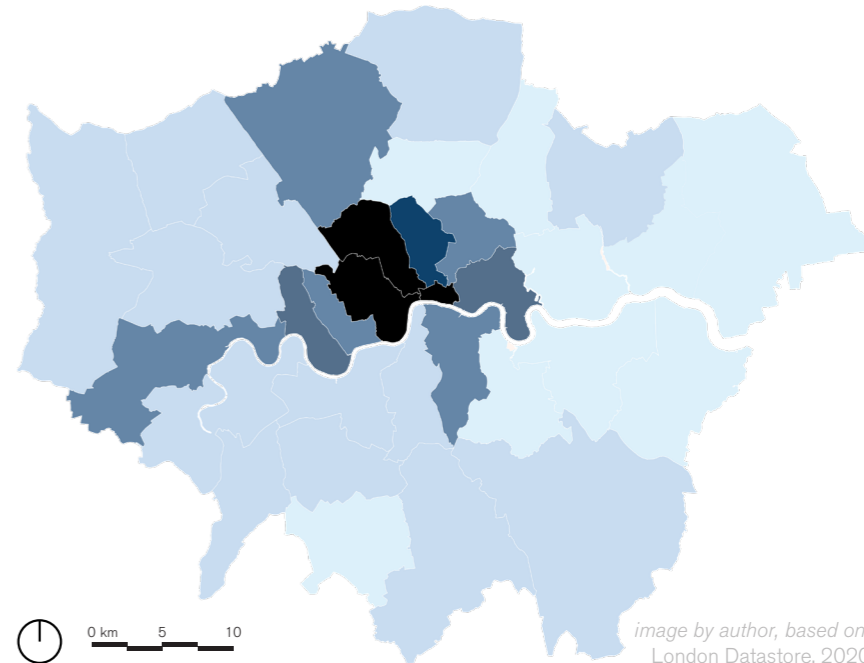


Figure A4.18
Offices

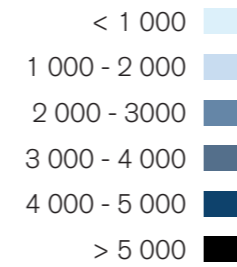


image by author, based on:
London Datastore, 2020

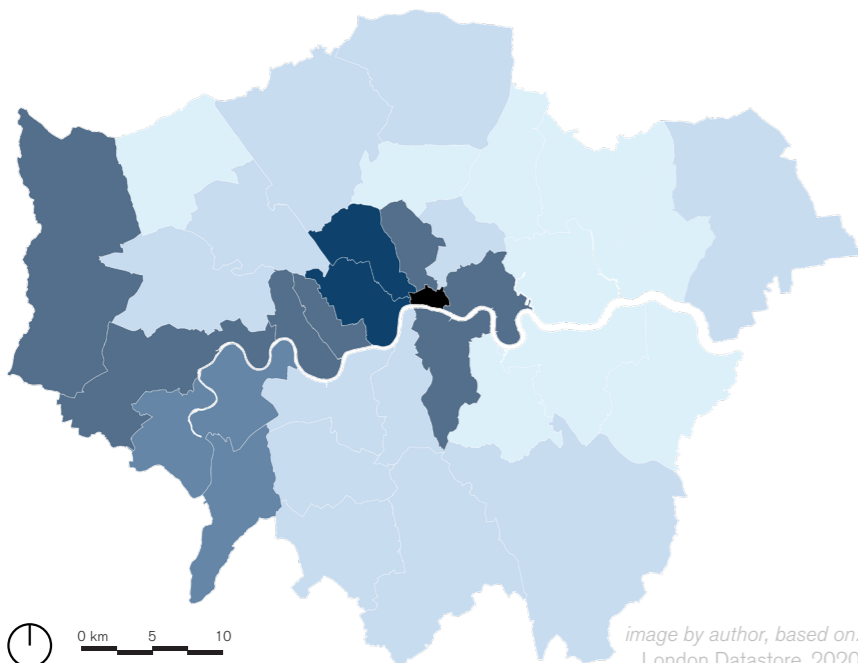


Figure A4.16
Job Density

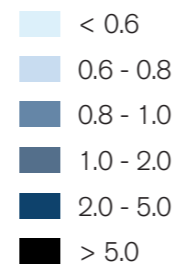


image by author, based on:
London Datastore, 2020

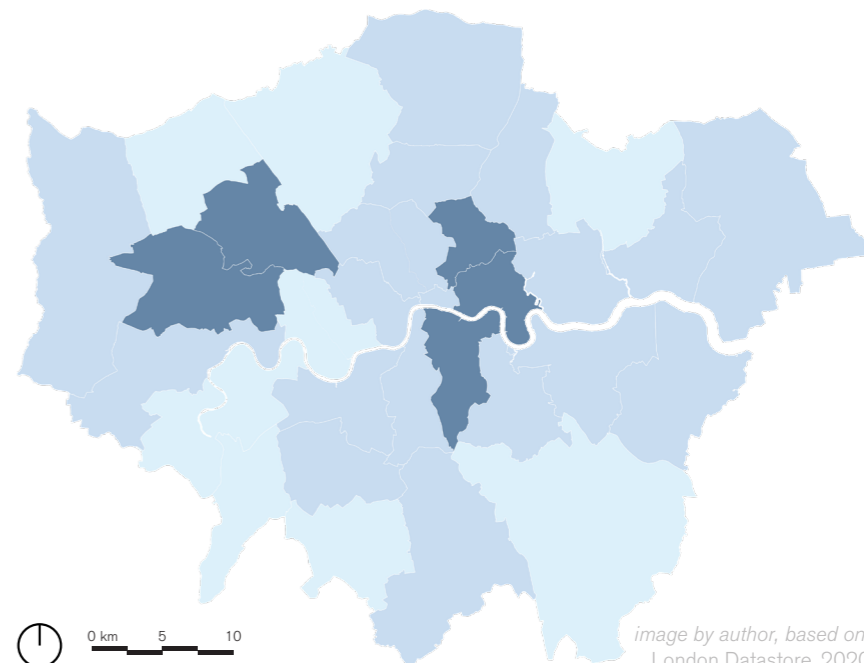


Figure A4.19
Industry

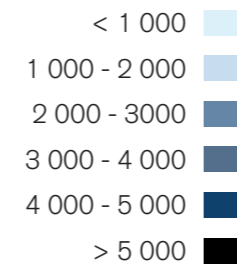


image by author, based on:
London Datastore, 2020

Figure A4.20: Building Age

- before 1950
- 1950 - 1980
- after 1980

made by author, based on:
London Development Database, 2020



Figure A4.21: Building Function

- commercial
- education
- industrial
- religion
- community health services
- housing

made by author, based on:
London Development Database, 2020



Figure A4.22: Building Typology

- lowrise flat
- midrise flat
- highrise flat
- terraced housing
- non-residential building

made by author, based on:
London Development Database, 2020



[

]