

SOCIAL HOUSING REGENERATION LEARNING LESSONS FOR LONDON

Master Thesis | July 2017
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Franziska Unzner



Cover: own illustration

Colophon

Justice and liveability in social housing regeneration: Learning lessons for London

Master Thesis Report
July 2017

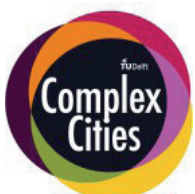
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Fig.X.1 Old and new (Photo: Getty)

INTRODUCTION


Learning lessons for London

London is among the most exciting cities on earth. As major global city, it is a place of extreme diversity and home to people with numerous cultures, ideas and aims in life. Due to its economic, political and cultural role, London has an outstanding position within the UK, Europe and the world. It is a desired place to live and work – particularly among young professionals – and a popular location for business and investment.

However, not everyone can access these opportunities in an environment of increasing inequalities. London is a “divided city in which poverty and wealth grow alongside each other” (Cochrane, 2009, p.317). Both some of the wealthiest and most deprived areas of the country can be found in London. The recent years have seen an extreme rise in rents and property prices, and many population groups struggle to afford housing in the city. Many historically lower income or working class areas are currently subject to gentrification and redevelopment processes. Issues of gentrification and spatial justice are phenomena not only restricted to big cities such as London, but occur in many places over the world. Still, London represents a prominent case in which market oriented urban development does not comply with the needs of its population (see, among others, Bowie, 2010).

The provision of genuinely affordable, decent housing – as prerequisite for equitable urban development - is the overarching theme in this thesis. Social housing plays a key role in this context, ensuring access to accommodation and opportunities for particularly vulnerable population groups. This thesis explores the role of planning and design to mediate interests of the different stakeholders and contribute to just outcomes when social housing estates are regenerated. Within political, economic and societal driving forces, the research aims to illustrate the possibilities and limitations of urban planning and design. It draws on the analysis of London, but seeks comparison and lessons from other planning cultures.

The main challenge is to achieve socially sustainable development within a high pressure development such as London.



**"London is one of a kind and it is being destroyed
in exchange for short term profit for the few."**

—an art director planning a move from Westminster to Wales

londonischar

Fig.X.2 Installation protesting London's urban development (Photo: Carrilho da Graça, 2015)

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MOTIVATION

Understanding the role of planning and design

The motivation for this topic stems from the experience of having lived and interned as a landscape architect in London in 2015. I love the city and greatly enjoyed my stay, but London seems to be slowly disposing itself of the very foundations of its attractiveness. The living costs are soaring, and district after district appears to be transformed by market and profit oriented developments. As a result, the city risks to become a more sterile, uniform place solely for well-off population groups whereas the rest is pushed more and more to the outskirts.

Access to affordable housing is a central aspect within this context and represents a much debated issue in London. However, solutions to the housing crisis - if they exist - are still to be found. In my office in London, I was working on high end residential developments in central London. This, and previous work experiences, gave me the impression that many designers (as clients of developers and municipalities), but also the local planning authorities themselves have limited decision leverage within interrelated political, societal and economic structures.

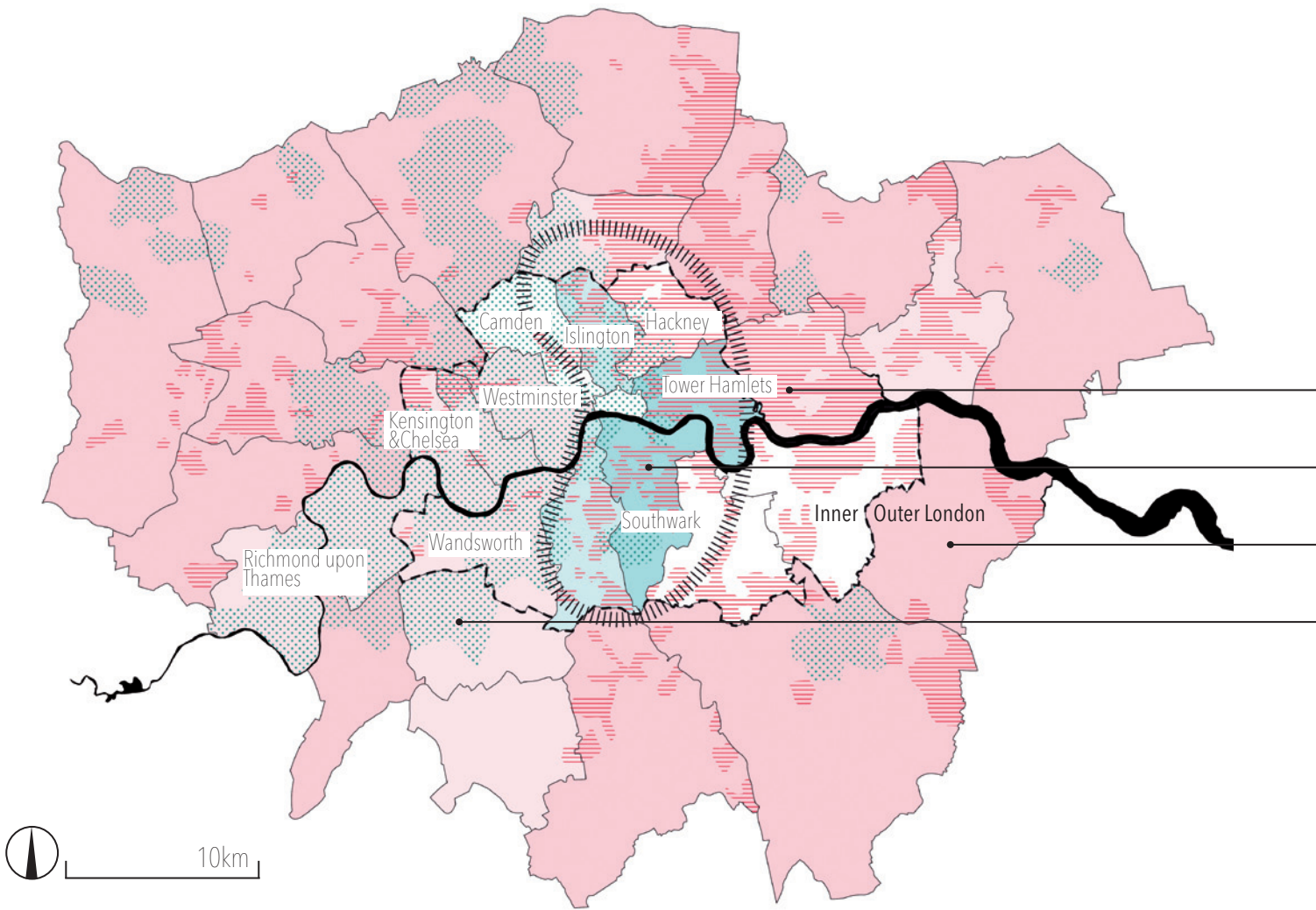
This thesis therefore represents the great opportunity for me to research the driving forces, planning and design decisions leading to the urban transformations mentioned above. Analysing actors, policy making and delivery tools, I can gain an understanding not only about the creation of plans and visions, but also about their implementation under 'real world' conditions.

Exploring the possibilities for change within this framework can hence represent an important step to position me in my role as urbanist after graduation. Justice and balanced development, as well as promoting not only transparency but also the active inclusion of citizens in the planning process are essential goals in my understanding of the type of urban development we should try to achieve.

1

PROBLEM DEFINITION

- 17** Problem Field *London's housing crisis in the context of global driving forces*
- 19** Problem Analysis *The issue of estate regeneration*
- 21** Problem Statement



10km

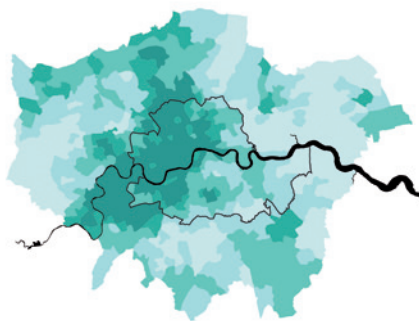


Fig.1.2 Average property prices 2013

- >550.000 £
- 450-550.000 £
- 350-450.000 £
- 250-350.000 £
- <250.000 £

Redrawn from Poonosamy, 2013

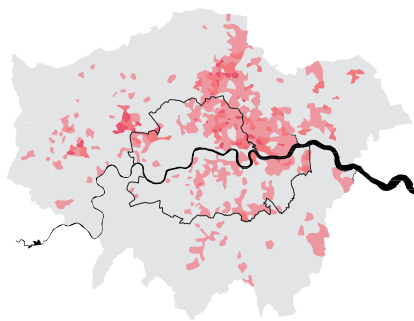


Fig.1.3 Index of multiple deprivation 2010

- in 5% most deprived of LSOAs in Engl.
- in 5-10% most deprived
- in 10-20% most deprived

Redrawn from Department of Communities and Local Government, 2013



Fig.1.4 Class change and migration patterns

- >5%/1-5% increase in poverty 2001-2011
- >5%/1-5% increase in middle class
- net domestic migration

Redrawn from Occupy London, 2014 and resi_analyst for Savills, 2013

PROBLEM FIELD

London's housing crisis in the context of global driving forces

Concentrated deprivation in East London

Inner East: divisive urban development and gentrification processes

Rising poverty levels in Outer London

Highest property prices in the traditionally wealthy West; foreign investment in real estate

◁ Fig. 1.1 The divided city

NEED: affordable housing mix

+ around 49.000 homes/year
+ 50% affordable housing (30%social, 20%intermediate rent)
+ bedroom mix, family sizes



OUTPUT: aimed at high end sector investment

+ 21.000 new homes in 2014/15
+ 22% affordable housing
+ one or two bedroom apt.

London is facing a housing crisis. Over the past decades, massively rising rents and real estate prices lead to an increasing unaffordability of housing in London not only for lower income groups but also middle class households.

This affects the liveability in the city. It impacts migration patterns: there is a constant population outflow of especially young families to other places in the UK (Salet et al, 2003). It furthermore leads to high levels of commuting into and within London (Cochrane, 2010), in an overstrained transport system, and a loss of vitality and diversity in the city (as criticised by Sassen, 2001, 2015, Minton, 2012).

Housing is particularly expensive in the historically wealthy Central West boroughs such as Westminster and Kensington & Chelsea as well as in Wandsworth and Richmond upon Thames in the South. But London's Inner East is catching up. Significant development takes place in the former most deprived boroughs of Southwark, Hackney, Tower Hamlets and parts of Islington and Camden. While they increasingly attract wealthier classes, lower income groups are gradually squeezed out. Consequently, demographic studies indicate an outward dispersal of poverty within London: since the financial crisis of 2008, Lupton et al. (2011) found increasing rates of poverty in Outer London boroughs whereas they dropped in the Inner East.

This process can lead to statistically positive findings

as previously deprived and socially segregated neighbourhoods become more mixed in the medium term (Manley et al., 2015). However, this effect is mitigated by the fact that - overall speaking - the social gap increases. Inequality is reinforced by a growing spatial distance of housing for lower income groups to central areas, due to which they may find it increasingly hard to access jobs and opportunities. Outer London boroughs, in return, are currently facing a rising demand for social services that they are unlikely to cope with (Hanna, 2016).

The ongoing growth of London further increases the need for housing of all kinds, but particularly affordable housing. After a period of shrinkage after the Second World War, London's population has grown since the 1990s and is projected to further increase from 8 to 10 million by 2030 (GLA, 2015). The Greater London Authority estimates that about 49,000 new homes will have to be built each year - as opposed to about 21,000 in 2014/15. It further estimates that 50% of them should be affordable, which is an ambitious goal - in 2015, boroughs achieved only an average of 22% (Booth, 2016). In addition, also the types of dwellings that are built do not meet the demand: mainly one- or two-bedroom homes are favoured over a greater diversity of types including family-sized homes (Bowie, 2010). Hence, the city currently lacks the appropriate amount, type and quality to suit the needs of its growing population.

London's housing crisis stands in relation to a set of trends that, to varying extents, shape urban development around the globe: changing demographic patterns, economic liberalism and the forces of globalisation. In London, as major global city, these forces are particularly strong.

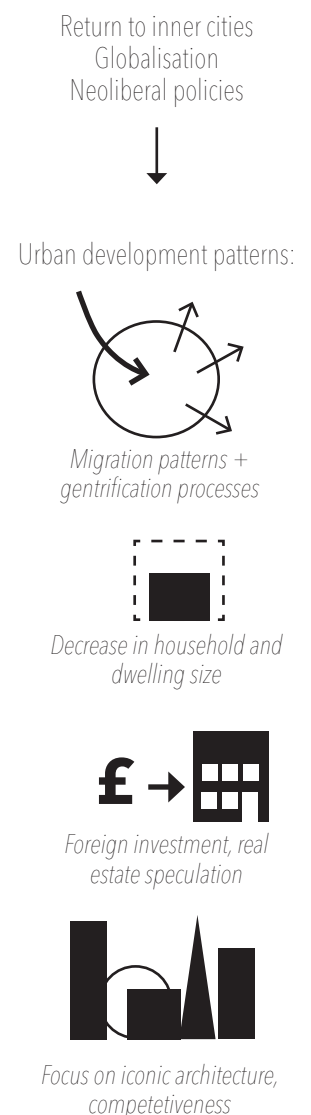
The global city status reinforces the migration of both highly skilled, well-connected population groups and un-educated migrants from developing countries seeking opportunities – the local population finding itself caught in-between (Cochrane, 2010).

A renewed interest in inner city living particularly among higher educated young professionals – as opposed to the model of suburban living – since the 1990s led furthermore to gentrification and expulsion processes in many cities. Much research has been undertaken on these processes (see Harnack, 2012, for an overview). Typically, artists, students and other creative groups, attracted by the cheap rents, settle in a former less desirable district and may later be replaced by higher income groups. The developments in London's Inner East mentioned above illustrate this well. Additionally, changing family structures and the constant decrease in household size further increase the pressure on urban housing markets (GLA, 2015).

The growing gap between rich and poor is reinforced by neoliberal tendencies that increasingly affect policy-making all over Europe. Waterhout et al. (2012, p.143) describe it as "shift away from distributive policies, welfare considerations, and direct service provision towards more market-oriented and market-dependent approaches aimed at pursuing economic growth and competitive restructuring." Hence, no longer balance or equality, but economic prosperity is the main goal of development. In the "shift from

government to governance" (Salet et al, 2003, p.15), activities of the public sector are increasingly (spatially) selective and aimed at boosting the competitiveness of a city. Competitiveness or "urban performance" is generally correlated with human capital and the knowledge economy (Caragliu, Del Bo & Nijkamp, 2012); and cities engage in the provision of the necessary infrastructures, urban spaces and branding to provide for this (Sassen, 2014). In London for instance, especially since the 2000s, a raised interest in the city's skyline can be observed with an increase in the construction of high-rise 'iconic buildings'. Attracting and retaining creative, highly skilled population groups can therefore become a goal that might be prioritised over balance and welfare considerations for lower income groups.

The UK has the strongest neoliberal tendencies within Europe – having always been a liberal economy, Thatcher's Conservative Government in the 1980s realized neoliberal reforms away from the post-war welfare state. They were since then to varying extents carried on by changing governments (Waterhout et al., 2012). London became a major player in banking, but also a playing field for investment. Real-estate investment was for a long time concentrated in office building and high value housing properties. Particularly the latter count as safe investment for the wealthy and were one major influence driving London's land values and housing prices up (Gordon, Travers, Whitehead, 2007). Sassen (2015), however, describes a new phase of corporate investment since the financial crisis of 2008, in which the focus lies no longer only on acquisition but also site development with a focus on housing. In London, this trend can be observed not only in new construction, but also in the urban regeneration schemes that are discussed in the following section.



PROBLEM ANALYSIS

THE ISSUE OF ESTATE REGENERATION

In the heated market environment described above, inner city council estates perform the important role to retain access to genuinely affordable housing for lower income groups in central locations.

Most of these estates, similar to other social housing developments in Europe, have been built in the post-war period according to modernist design principles. Over time, however, these developments often accumulated social problems and were largely criticised for their unpopular design and low construction quality (Rydin, 2011). For that reason, there has been a series of regeneration efforts in these areas since their construction. The approaches can vary between an emphasis on physical regeneration or primarily social strategies that focus on education and poverty relief (Tallon, 2010 and Leary and McCarthy, 2013).

The latest regeneration wave of council estates appears to be more focused on physical rather than social aspects. In this context, criticism against so-called “state-led gentrification” (Watt, 2009, p.229) emerged in London as reaction to recent urban regeneration strategies. Modernist estates, due to design issues and their “inefficient use of land” with relatively low densities, have been identified as potential areas for densification (Centre for London, 2016, p. 13). In consequence, parts or the entire housing stock are often demolished and rebuild as mixed tenure neighbourhoods.

This redevelopment, similar to other housing developments in London, is increasingly undertaken



Fig.1.5 Aylesbury Estate: one of London’s largest and most famous council estates became to be known as sink estate. The regeneration process is ongoing since the late 1990s. (Photo: Mattia Marinolli, 2013)



Fig.1.6 Deck access pathways at the Aylesbury Estate (Photo: retrieved from terrainsurveys.co.uk, 2014)



Fig.1.8 (1) King Square Estate prior to regeneration
(Photo: retrieved from w_faich, Flickr)



Fig.1.9 (2) Colville Estate regeneration on progress
(Photo: author)



Fig.1.10 (3) Woodberry Down Estate after regeneration
(Photo: Rightmove.uk)

in partnership with private housing developers. In the past decade, fifty estates – of an estimated around 3500 within Greater London (IPPR, 2015) - with over 30,000 homes have undergone substantial regeneration including demolition and rebuild (London Assembly, 2015). In my own survey, derived from the study of local authority websites, newspaper articles and a map prepared 2014 by Armet and Chakraborty for the 'Guardian', I found about 70 estate regeneration projects currently under way or recently completed.

The total number of homes within the estate regeneration schemes identified by the London Assembly has almost doubled from 34.213 to 67.601. However, the output of homes for social and affordable rent has fallen by one fifth, while the amount of units for private sale increased more than tenfold.

Despite an uplift in density, the conversion of council homes into mixed communities thus resulted in an overall net loss of about 8.000 social rented homes. This net loss is concentrated in areas with a large social housing stock, whereas a small increase in social housing can be observed in boroughs such as Westminster (Bowie, 2010). This pattern hence correlates with the demographic changes described in the previous section. As the 'Independent' (2015) notes, more than 50.000 families – being hit by welfare cuts and rent increases – could not find a home in their local area anymore and were moved elsewhere; 2.700 out of Greater London. For families, this is especially problematic as displacement leaves them cut off from their schools, communities and support networks.

At the same time, housing developers achieve high

profits (Chakraborty and Robison-Tillet, 2014).

These issues have built up to a politically stressed climate with critics accusing the authorities of 'state-led gentrification' - as mentioned above - or even 'social cleansing' (Elmer and Denning, 2016, p.272). A protest movement emerged with several institutions and organisations (among others: the London Tenants Federation, 35% percent Southwark, Architects for social housing) opposing London's urban development agenda and scrutinizing any estate regeneration scheme.

However, criticism does not only confine to affordability levels and a dispersal of previous residents, but also points out the living conditions of social housing tenants who stay on. Chakraborty and Robison-Tillet (2014) describe the case of Hackney's flagship regeneration scheme Woodberry Down: "a patch of inner London belonging to the elderly, the working poor, the unemployed [...] being broken up to suit an international company selling homes to the well-off". The design is criticised to be targeted towards the owners of the market homes, leaving the original residents feeling out of place in their neighbourhood.

PROBLEM STATEMENT

London's planning and policy framework currently does not achieve the right amount, type and quality of housing needed by large amounts of the population and specifically lower income groups. Within this, recent market-led estate regeneration schemes have caused a net loss in genuinely affordable housing and are criticised to override the needs of the local population.

◀ Fig. 1.7 Estate regeneration schemes

- Completed
- In development
- Planned

Source: author

2 RESEARCH DEFINITION

24	Objective
24	Research question
25	Methodology
30	Interview partners
33	Relevance

OBJECTIVE

The aim of this project is to contribute to the current search for methods to achieve more socially balanced and integrated estate regeneration within London's context of global pressures and neoliberal governance.

Therefore, understanding the effects of policies and implementation mechanisms on lower income groups – but also their effectiveness to guide the estate regeneration process – is the first objective of this research. Searching for alternative approaches to estate regeneration, it is useful to not only look at the London case but investigate strategies of other cities. Learning lessons from international examples, the thesis is intended to give recommendations on different levels (institutional structures, policies, process and design) in order to ensure a fair regeneration process and outcome in which the needs of lower income groups are met.

The proposals should

- shift the balance of costs and benefits from private market investors towards citizens and local authorities;
- ensure a fair regeneration process and fair distribution of space and opportunities;
- ensure liveability for the residents by promoting spatial quality and social cohesion; while positively contributing to the growth of London.

RESEARCH QUESTION

In the context of London's Housing crisis, how can the council estate regeneration process better integrate the needs of lower income groups ?

Theoretical framework

Sub-RQ 1 - What parameters define the success of an estate regeneration scheme in respect to lower income groups?

Analysis

Sub-RQ 2 What are the current approaches to social housing and estate regeneration in London?

Sub-RQ 3 What policies are in place to support (or contradict) the success parameters defined in the theoretical framework?

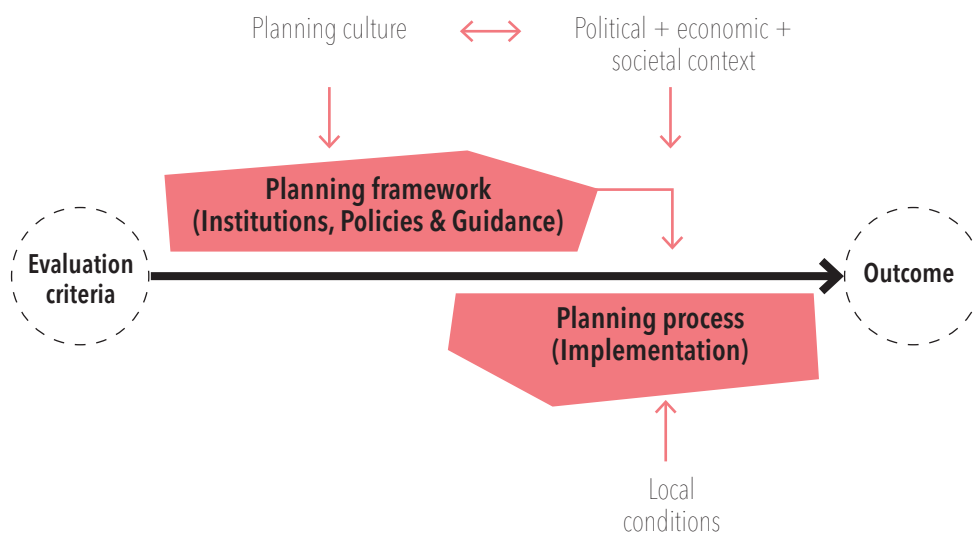
Sub-RQ 4 Which aspects of the planning system and context are supporting (or hindering) their implementation?

International comparison

Sub-RQ 5 What are planning and design approaches to social housing regeneration of other cities? Are they more successful and why?

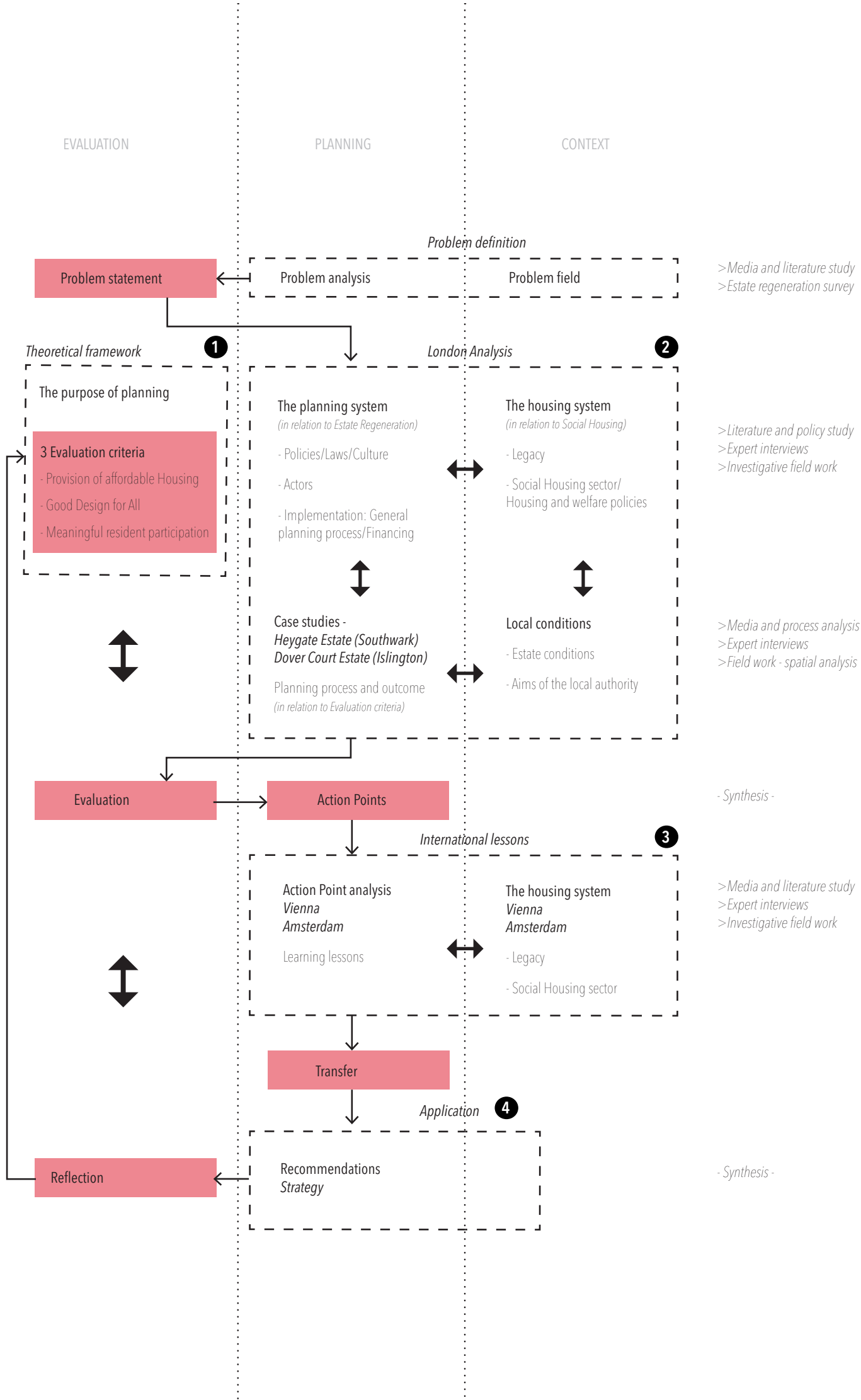
Sub-RQ 6 To what extent are the approaches of other cities context specific and what lessons can be transferred to London?

METHODOLOGY



Preface: Focus and context

The focus of this thesis lies on an exploration how planning and design can contribute to estate regeneration that better integrates the needs of lower income groups. Therefore, it is important to understand not only how regeneration is undertaken, but also why it is done in this particular way. Contextual knowledge on housing policy as well as spatial and cultural legacies are necessary to assess both the possibilities for change within the current framework and the applicability of international lessons. Particularly planning culture has to be considered: unwritten rules or intrinsic values may affect the planning process similarly to adopted policies.



Thesis structure and methodology

The research consists of four main chapters: the theoretical framework, the analysis of estate regeneration in London and the international lessons, each building up on the conclusions generated from the previous one. Based on the knowledge generated, recommendations for a revision of the estate regeneration process are developed.

The diagram on the opposite page gives an overview of the parts of the research, how they are interrelated and which research methodology is used.

1 Theoretical framework

The theoretical framework provides the foundations on which the analysis and proposal are developed. Derived from literature study on planning and design theory, it outlines the purpose of planning and defines three main evaluation criteria - superordinate objectives in respect to the needs of lower income groups - that regeneration schemes will be assessed against.

2 London Analysis

In the analysis chapter, the planning and housing system in London is evaluated, allowing to define critical aspects in the strategic framework to be re-evaluated ('action points'). The evaluation draws on the analysis of two case studies that allow understanding how decisions are taken in the regeneration process in relation to policies and the specific circumstances of the case.

In order to illustrate the scope of possibilities within London's planning framework, the cases are selected to display 'maximum variation' (Yin, 2014). As local authorities have a significant role in the process, different agendas largely shape the outcome. Case studies in two different boroughs, Southwark and

Islington, are chosen because they appear to represent two opposite ends of a spectrum – some projects of the former being very controversially discussed and the latter often cited as positive example. The choice is based on a brief survey on estate regeneration in London, providing an overview on the extent of estate regeneration, general project characteristics and variations in the approaches of different local authorities. It would have been ideal to investigate more cases, but this was not possible within the time frame of this thesis.

The choice of specific projects within the borough is based on significance (as displayed in the availability of discussion material in media and academia) and actuality in order to still be relevant for the analysis of the current planning process and policy measures. Due to this criterion, both sites were under construction during the site visit.

The case studies are:

1. Heygate Estate/Elephant Park (Southwark)

The Heygate Estate was demolished and reconstructed as part of the large scale 'Elephant and Castle' opportunity area development, creating a new centrality for housing, leisure and business. It is one of the most prominent and controversial schemes in London.

2. Dover Court Estate (Islington)

The Dover Court regeneration is one of Islington's 'In-fill' schemes, part of the program to build additional homes on land owned by the council. The scheme delivers public realm improvements to the entire estate, additional social housing units as well as market homes.

Selection criteria

Project information on the case studies is obtained from planning documents (Community report on the planning application, Design and access statement), developer and local authority websites as well as news articles. Additionally, **Expert interviews*** and **fieldwork**** are used to gain first-hand knowledge that cannot be obtained from documentary sources. The detailed analysis of the driving forces, planning process and outcomes of a specific regeneration project helps to highlight the relevant aspects of planning system and context (specific policies, implementation tools etc.) to be further examined in the next step via policy analysis and literature study on housing and planning in London/the UK. Policies, laws and other factors that support or contradict the three evaluation criteria that are defined in the theoretical framework can be identified. The understanding of causes and outcomes of regeneration practices can then be synthesised into 'action points' that form the basis of the search for 'International lessons'.

International lessons 3

A comprehensive comparative analysis of two correspondent cities, to a similar level of detail than the London study, is not possible within the time frame of this thesis. The 'action points' therefore allow to focus the international analysis on aspects of immediate relevance to potential improvements to the London system.

The chosen cities are Amsterdam and Vienna. Both cities are currently facing similar pressures regarding population growth and a resulting supply-demand gap in the housing market, and are both well known for their tradition in social housing (and attempts of its regeneration) as well as social justice. However, it is important to keep in mind that the cities are not

comparable with London in terms of size and global-city status.

Vienna

The city practises resident based urban renewal . It represents an exceptional example within Europe in terms of commitment to affordable housing. Drawing on the socialist legacy of the 'Red Vienna period' in the 1920s, the city is still supporting almost half of its housing stock (Förster, 2001 and Fassmann and Hatz, 2006).

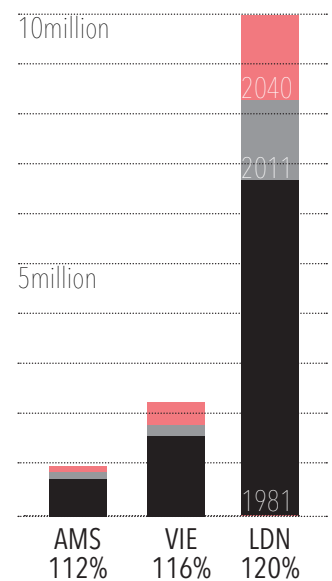
Amsterdam

Amsterdam is a traditionally an egalitarian and just city with a large social housing sector and a long tradition in planning. However, this status is under threat due to recently growing neoliberal influence particularly on the part of the national government (Fainstain, 2010, Lawton, 2013 and Teernstra, 2015).

Also here, literature study, but especially **expert interviews*** and **fieldwork**** are used as research methods. To assess the transferability of the lessons learned, contextual aspects regarding cultural and spatial legacy and the housing system have to be taken into account.

Recommendations 4

In the final chapter, the conclusions from the London Analysis and the international lessons are synthesised into a proposal for revision of the current estate regeneration process. In order to facilitate a fair process and just outcomes, the proposal includes recommendations on both the process itself as well as policy recommendations and other supportive mechanisms on higher levels of governance.



△ Fig.2.1 Population growth in London, Vienna and Amsterdam: After a period of shrinkage or stagnation, all 3 cities are facing large population growth since the 1980s.

Data source: GLA, 2015; Stadt Wien, 2014; Gemeente Amsterdam, 2017

Selection criteria

Elaboration on two key research methods

*Expert interviews

Expert interviews are used to gain background knowledge, understand the planning culture and obtain information that cannot be gained from literature or other documentary sources.

They are semi-structured interviews of approximately 1-1,5h length with planners, architects, policy makers, activists and university researchers. In total, 14 persons have been interviewed (seven in London, three in Vienna, three in Amsterdam). The interviews have been recorded, and a summary has been sent to the interviewee for their approval and potential comments. In addition, three events have been attended (London Tenants Federation, IBA Talk Vienna, International Social Housing Festival Amsterdam), including informal talks with some attendants.

**Field work

Two different kinds of field work have been undertaken within this research.

For the two case studies in London, two site visits each were carried out – one on the weekend and one on a weekday. During these visits spatial characteristics of the built and outdoor space, the surrounding areas as well as the behaviour of the users of the space was observed, photographed and mapped where possible. Two restrictions however limited the possibilities of this exercise:

- 1) The site visit was undertaken in February, and even though the climate was relatively mild and sunny, the use of the outdoor space is likely to be different in summer.
- 2) Both projects are currently under construction and

were not accessible in their entirety. What could be visited were the surroundings in both cases, some finished areas of the Heygate Estate redevelopment, as well the undeveloped parts of the Dover Court Estate (as the estate is regenerated under residents' occupation and only small areas are developed at a time). The other information has to be deduced from plan material.

Additionally, estate and surrounding residents' micro-stories were gathered. From a set of simple starting questions about their perception and use of the estate, as well as their experience and satisfaction of the regeneration process, residents were encouraged to share their experiences. In Dover Court, I could speak to about then residents of different age, nationality, etc. In the case of the Heygate Estate, where the former residents had moved out to the time of the site visit, the availability of extensive online documentation as well as one expert interview with a former resident/now activist filled this gap.

In London, as well as in Vienna and Amsterdam, additional investigative observations were undertaken. Projects of interest relevant to the specific city (undeveloped estates and already completed regeneration projects in London; social housing legacy, refurbishment and redevelopment projects as well as new built areas in Vienna and Amsterdam) were visited once to observe and photograph design patterns, user behaviours and traces. Where possible, also here, some resident micro-stories were collected, amounting to approximately fifteen in both cities.

LIST OF INTERVIEW PARTNERS AND EVENTS ATTENDED

London

Anonymous - Lend Lease

(personal communication 19 February 2017)

A salesman from Lend Lease showed me around the **Heygate/Elephant&Castle** development and explained its details, as well as other projects from the private developer.

Andrew Beharrel & Tricia Patel - PTE Architects

(personal communication 20 February 2017)

PTE was responsible for the **Dover Court Regeneration**, among other schemes such as the Packington, Alma and Aylesbury Estate Regeneration. Together with three other architecture practices, they published the 'Altered Estates' (2016) guide.

- London Tenants Federation -

(group meeting 21 February 2017)

The London Tenants Federation is an association of social housing tenants, aiming to take influence in housing and planning policy. The group meeting I attended discussed the Mayor's Draft Good Practice Guide to Estate Regeneration and included a presentation from a GLA member regarding viability and affordable housing.

Duncan Bowie - Westminster University

(personal communication 22 February 2017)

Duncan Bowie has extensive experience in housing policy and strategic planning, and vast political knowledge as former policy advisor under Mayor Livingstone (2000-2008).

Nick Bailey - Westminster University

(personal communication 22 February 2017)

As professor of urban regeneration, he researches, among other topics, social mixing, partnership and collaborative approaches.

Jerry Flynn - Southwark 35% Campaign

(personal communication 22 February 2017)

A former Heygate Estate Resident, Jerry Flynn founded the 35% Southwark Campaign as protest movement to the scheme. The movement systematically collected information about the estate, its former residents and the regeneration process, and now also scrutinises Southwark's urban development more generally.

Jon Abbot - Southwark Council

(personal communication 23 February 2017)

As head of regeneration in Southwark Council, Jon accompanied the **Heygate/Elephant&Castle** Regeneration Scheme since the late 1990s.

John Prevc - Make Architects

(email communication February 2017)

Originating from Forsters, his practice developed the E&C Supplementary Planning Guidance, and subsequently the Masterplan for the **Heygate/Elephant&Castle** project.

Alistair Gale - Islington Council

(phone communication 5 March 2017)

As project manager, Alistair Gale is responsible for, among others, the Dover Court Estate Regeneration Scheme.

Vienna

Andreas Novy - WU Wien

(personal communication 22 March 2017)

Andreas Novy heads the institute for multi-level governance and development. He has vast knowledge about the economic and institutional context of affordable housing in Vienna and published, among other things, on social cohesion and innovation.

Daniel Glaser - MA 50 Gemeinde Wien

(personal communication 23 March 2017)

As architect and urban planner at the municipality of Vienna, he currently contributes the coordination of the international building exhibition (IBA) in Vienna with the topic of 'New social housing'.

- IBA talk -

(expert talk 23 March 2017)

I attended an expert talk within the framework of the IBA, addressing the potential for innovation and experiment in housing.

Reinhard Seiß - urban researcher and critic

(personal communication 24 March 2017)

As spatial planner, publicist and author of 'Wer baut Wien' (2007) - who builds Vienna - he takes a critical look at the city's current urban development practices.

Staff at the Gebietsbetreuung *2/20

(personal communication 26 March 2017)

A staff member of Vienna's area renewal offices explained their role and the concept of soft urban renewal.

Amsterdam

Kees Vissers - Gemeente Amsterdam

(personal communication 31 March 2017)

As project manager for the municipality of Amsterdam, Kees Vissers coordinates several regeneration projects in Nieuw West, including Sloterveer and the Jacob Geelbuurt.

Jeroen van der Veer & Cathelijn Groot - AFWC

(personal communication 5 April 2017)

As vice director of the Amsterdam Federation of Housing Associations and policy advisor, Jeroen van der Veer is responsible for research on housing markets and policy in Amsterdam and international comparison. Cathelijn Groot is policy advisor at the AFWC in the fields of urban regeneration and liveability.

Jorrit Boomgaardt - Combiwel

(personal communication 5 April 2017)

Jorrit Boomgaardt works as social worker for Combiwel in behalf of the municipality of Amsterdam. He is active in the Kolenkitbuurt, a neighbourhood in Nieuw West currently under regeneration, together with the creative organisation Pakhuis de Zwijger.

- International Social Housing Festival -

(expert talk 16 June 2017)

I attended the lecture series 'A right to the city - a right to housing' discussing social housing projects and political developments in Paris, Berlin, Amsterdam and London.



RELEVANCE

Societal

The financialisation and increasing unaffordability of housing, resulting in the crowding out of lower income groups of many inner cities, represents a pressing societal issue of our time. London's housing crisis is an extreme manifestation of urban development and gentrification processes that happen in cities all over Europe to various degrees. These issues are hence not only relevant to London and other 'global cities', but become more generally problems of a wide range of cities within the globalisation processes of our time.

Within the context of decreasing governmental support for social housing and the promotion of mixed neighbourhoods, the regeneration of council estates has become a widely and heatedly discussed topic that caused much outrage lately. Intervention in the homes of people - particularly those of lower income groups who are the most vulnerable to current urban development processes - is a sensitive issue correlated to notions of the 'right to the city' (Lefebvre, 1968). It is hence not only about spatial, but also procedural justice: who should be involved in the decision making? Much is argued about further opening up and democratising the planning process as civil society desires more involvement (see Healey, 1996 or Fainstain, 2010), but simultaneously demands that the government reclaims its powers to protect its citizens. This discourse gains additional topicality in the light of the election of Sadiq Khan as the Mayor of London earlier in 2016, who has set the Housing crisis as one of his main agendas and aims to find ways to limit the powers of private developers (Booth, 2016).

Scientific

This thesis touches upon various interrelated fields of research: international planning cultures (Knieling and Othengrafen, 2009, Rydin, 2011), urban regeneration (Leary and McCarty, 2013 and for the UK: Tallon, 2010, Lees 2008 and 2009, and Imrie and Raco 2003, 2009), social housing and housing policy (Bowie, 2010, in London and Whitehead and Scanlon, 2007, in an international comparison), urban justice (Lefebvre, 1968 and Harvey, 2008) and citizen/resident engagement (Healey, 1996, Fainstain, 2000, 2010).

The current practise of estate regeneration in London has led to an increased academic interest in the topic, with researchers like Lupton (2014) or Watt (2009) being preoccupied with illustrating the negative impacts of current practises. However, much of the literature focusses on describing and criticizing current practice, or much research confines to one level such as policy making or design. I want to contribute to this knowledge on a detailed level, understanding effects of specific policies and their implementation in the case of estate regeneration projects and on the city as a whole. Especially the application of knowledge gained from international lessons can be valuable input to the scientific debate and provide useful insights not only for London itself but also other cities.

<△ Fig.2.2 & 2.3
Protest movement in London

Above: *Socialist Worker*, 2017
Below: *Paul Coleman*, 2015

3 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The purpose of planning

36 The role of planning

38 Evaluation criteria *Definition of objectives for estate regeneration in the context of social mixing*

THE ROLE OF PLANNING

Before defining what planning should achieve in the context of estate regeneration, it is necessary to analyse how planning is defined and what it can achieve. This will vary among different planning cultures.

Generally, planning aims to manage urban change with the aim of realising an environment that is desirable and in which people can live up to their potential. Hence, planning consists of both visionary aspects and "pragmatic judgement about what can possibly be achieved" (Rydin, 2011, p. 9). As spatial planning is highly interconnected with and dependent on societal economic and political trends, there are limitations to which problems can be tackled. Nevertheless, policies and other planning mechanisms will affect the life-worlds of people, and can bring forward and shape urban change.

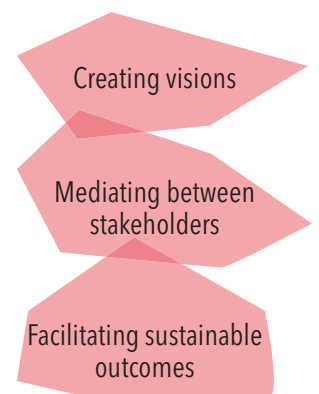
Especially in densely populated areas, space is a scarce resource. Therefore, mediating between various stakeholders about competition or conflicts in space is a crucial task of planning. A decision taken will have various impacts that need to be considered, potentially requiring a trade-off between the objectives of different groups - where on side benefits, it might happen at the expense of other (Rydin, 2011).

Key differences between planning cultures revolve around questions of what the values are that a society wants to achieve, and who is involved in the process.

Over the past decades, citizens have increasingly sought more participation in the planning process (see Fainstain, 2000, Healey, 1996, or Rydin, 2011). This is, for instance, reflected in the current debate on estate regeneration in London, where local communities demand to be involved in the decision making process.

More particularly, planning systems are defined by the role of the government: "planning is about the legitimate role of the public sector, acting in the avowed public interest, to intervene in the rights of private households, private companies and private landowners" (Rydin, 2011, p.10). The most direct method for the public sector to achieve its goals is self-development. This has largely been the case all over Europe in the post-war era with the large scale construction of social housing. The high amounts of public spending involved as well as the spatial and social shortcomings of these developments were however largely criticised. This caused resistance towards this functionalist, top-down planning approach and today, most development is undertaken through interaction between actors of the public and private sector. Hence, public sector involvement becomes more indirect and focussed on stimulating the private sector to deliver required developments and public goods like affordable housing. This can be undertaken by various mechanisms such as

The role of planning:



Implementation tools of the public sector:



public contracts, planning gain agreements or the construction of infrastructure to initiate development in certain areas. Financial mechanisms include taxation/tax breaks, public subsidy or allocation of land at reduced prices (Rydin, 2011).

More importantly, the public sector also takes a regulating role. In most systems, the government retains development rights and reallocates them to stakeholders according to certain criteria. The planning system in many central European countries like Germany or Austria is based on zoning, and new developments have to comply with land use regulations and building codes. The UK, on the other hand, uses a plan-led "discretionary system" (Rydin, 2011, p. 14) in which the conditions under which planning permission is granted can be individually evaluated and, to some degree, negotiated between the stakeholders. This is intended to achieve more flexible and locally adapted solutions, as well as to encourage private sector innovation.

Within different cultures, there might be varying perceptions about the degree of legitimate intervention of the public sector. In this context, Waterhout's (2013, p.156) distinction between the 'Anglo-Saxon' (UK, Netherlands) and the 'Rhineland' (France, Germany, Austria) economic models offers a useful categorisation: "The Anglo-Saxon model, which is more closely related to neo-liberal thinking,

is associated with, amongst other characteristics, free markets, short-term profit seeking and restricting government actions away from direct intervention and provision of services in favour of market supportive re-regulation. The Rhineland model, in contrast, is associated with, amongst other factors, long-term perspectives on development, based on elaborate negotiations between a variety of societal partners and collective action that benefits both markets and society."

EVALUATION CRITERIA

Definition of objectives for estate regeneration in the context of social mixing

According to Fainstain's 'just city' theory, planning should support the notions of equity, democracy and diversity. This implies equal access to opportunities for all population groups and the preservation and provision of public goods – not only for present but also future generations. Planning decisions therefore ought to follow an evaluation of the impacts on all population groups and maintain a long-term perspective.

In the context of estate regeneration, the main stakeholders are the communities that live on the estate – generally lower income, more vulnerable population groups. Planning and design therefore should give appropriate consideration to their needs and prioritise their well-being over market demands.

The creation of socially mixed neighbourhoods is a common theme in regeneration practices in many European countries. Also in the UK, social mixing is a major policy goal and seen as prerequisite for social sustainability. In urban regeneration, the aim is to counteract social segregation and stigmatisation of residents in deprived areas by increasing socio-economic or ethnic diversity. Generally, this is attempted by mixing tenure types. Building on theories of social capital (=local capacities, skills and networks) and neighbourhood effects, greater spatial proximity is intended to facilitate interaction between different social groups, opening up opportunities and stimulating upward social mobility for deprived

individuals. At the same time, mixing might be used to deconcentrate problematic social groups and draw financial resources into the area (Lawton, 2012 and van Eijck, 2013). Critics therefore question the actual benefits on lower income groups - an issue that will be explored in this thesis.

In this context, the basic principle underlying the evaluation criteria developed in this chapter is hence the premise that the original population benefits proportionally of the regeneration of the estate. The criteria are:

(1) Affordable housing – Staying in the city

Fainstain (2010) defines the provision of affordable housing as one of the most important mechanisms to increase equity and a fundamental prerequisite of a 'just city'.

However, also practical considerations support the case to provide housing for lower income groups within the city. As mentioned in the problem definition, displacement of lower income groups to the outskirts leaves them further cut off from the services and opportunities of the centre. Conversely, there is also an economic requirement of lower wage jobs in central areas, particularly in the service economy. In London, this category expands to key workers such as nurses, police and firemen (D. Bowie, personal communication, 22 February 2017). An

Evaluation criteria for **(1) Affordable housing:**

- net increase/loss of affordable housing
- level of affordability
- provision of on/off site replacement housing (if applicable)

increasing social gap, furthermore, can lead to social unrest, and according to Florida (2013) the 2011 London riots were not about race or ethnicity but class and the growing gap between wealthy and poor. Finally, a mixed population is correlated with urban vitality and attractiveness. An environment that supports tolerance, diversity and equity contributes to a person's well-being and is therefore an important category to assess a city's liveability (Dorst, 2005).

As council estates provide much needed genuinely affordable housing in London, regeneration schemes should therefore not result in a net loss of affordable units. When mixed communities are created, the influx of wealthy population groups has to go along with maintaining and creating housing opportunities for lower income groups. General affordability levels are primarily a matter of housing policy, but planning can contribute to its provision.

(2) Resident engagement – Shaping the city

Also for resident engagement, there is a strong moral and ethical argument brought forward by theorists such as Healey (1996), Fainstain (2000, 2010) as well as Lefebvre (1968) and Harvey (2008) demanding the 'right to the city'.

In a democratic society, the voices of all of its members should be heard. Especially disadvantaged groups should not be overruled by a paternalistic state or private profit interests. The ambition of better

involving local communities in the planning process is reoccurring in policy discussions since the 1960s. It is especially relevant in the physical and economic regeneration of deprived areas, among which are many post-war modernist developments. In fact, the discourse emerged, among other factors, from the dissatisfaction with these areas that were the outcome of functionalist and top-down planning (Healey, 1996). It is based on the belief that community empowerment can help to build social capital among the residents and relieve deprivation, crime and anti-social behaviour. Additionally, being involved in decisions and exercising influence on their living environment – instead of development being done to them – can be very important for a person's self-esteem. According to Rapoport (1977), this is especially relevant for lower income groups who have limited choice in where to live. The involvement of local communities can hence be seen as "both a necessary means to the regeneration of the inner areas and an end in its own right" (Department of Environment, 1977, as cited in Leary, 2013, p.395). Including a wider range of stakeholders in the planning process might come at the expense of efficiency and speed in the decision-making and requires specific skills and capacities of both planners and the community (Tallon, 2010). Furthermore, the term community might already be misleading and imply a unitary opinion and shared goals among all residents. More likely, the local community will consist of

Evaluation criteria for (2) Resident engagement:

- degree of resident involvement in the important decisions (early and meaningful participation)

- degree of resident involvement in finding appropriate design solutions

different and potentially conflicting groups. A further concern is that private persons think in a different way than the public sector, taking on a more narrow and short-term view (Gallent and Robinson, 2012). Despite these challenges, participatory approaches also stem from pragmatic resolutions: residents know their environment, its qualities and problems, better than planners. Their involvement can hence contribute to solutions that will work in the long term and are more likely to be cared for. Additionally, early engagement can contribute to a relation of trust and de-escalate conflicts that might block or delay regeneration schemes.

In practice, the discussion remains how and to which extent local communities should be involved. Arnstein's ladder of citizen participation (see Fig.3.1) provides a useful categorisation: practices can range from mere 'information' to a true power transfer to citizens via 'partnership', 'delegation of power' or 'citizen control'. As the estate regeneration process directly affects the life worlds of very vulnerable population groups, I will advocate in this thesis for mechanisms that involve a real power transfer to the citizens and allow them to challenge regeneration schemes that are not beneficial for them.

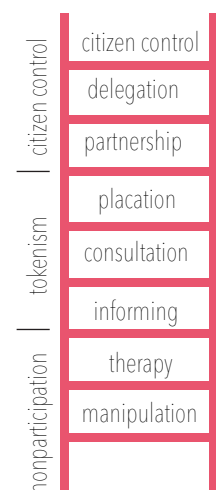
(3) Good Design for all – Using the city

Our modern society is characterised by individualism, and the ways of life are further differentiating especially in more and more multicultural cities. At the same time, urban living is popular, with increasing densities in inner cities and smaller dwelling sizes.

This results in new use patterns of the public realm that now has to accommodate a greater intensity of use - and by more varied user groups. Especially in areas where the quality of the dwelling is lower, communal and public space needs to cater for more daily activities such as eating, meeting, celebrating or playing (Pätzold, 2017).

Council estates in London are inhabited by a culturally very diverse population, and especially after regeneration into a 'mixed community', there will be groups with varied life styles and socio-economic backgrounds living closely together. Social mixing theories see in this the potential for a better integration of deprived population groups and the building of social capital, as mentioned above. But at the same time, there is an increased potential for conflict (Lawton, 2013).

The public realm has to cater for individual freedom and an array of different user groups - but also allow people to meet and gather, thereby encouraging the formation of social ties. In this context, Lawton (2013) emphasises the importance of social space for the liveability of a neighbourhood. These are "those spaces of common interaction within the built environment, from the more private or semi-private spaces, such as inner-courtyards, stairwells and lifts, to larger public spaces, such as the street and the square" (p.99). It comprises not only the physical space, but space as a social construct in relation to Lefebvres theories of production of space. Physical space can facilitate behaviour, but space is also characterised by its users and their stories, images and individual perceptions (Carmona, 2003). In this context, two

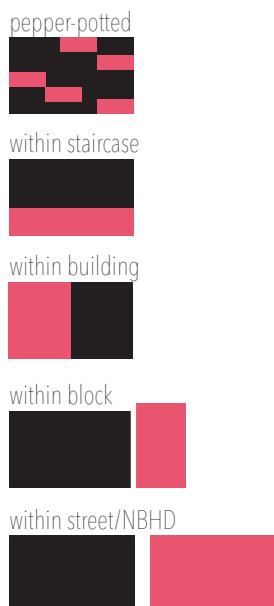


△ Fig.3.1 Ladder of citizen participation

Arnstein, 1969

Evaluation criteria for (3) Good design for all:

- Legibility
- Useability and diverse offer for different social groups
- Provision of spaces for informal appropriation
- Spatial justice in the social mix (distribution of affordable dwellings)
- Justice in access to facilities (consume free and low budget spaces)
- Innovation



△ Fig.3.2 Scales of mix

own illustration

things are important. Firstly, in order to avoid conflict, Dorst (2005) and Carmona (2003) underline the importance of a clear designation of space in the design. Spaces should be easily recognisable as private or public, zones for transition or stay. This will increase the legibility of the environment, avoiding anonymity and resulting anti-social behaviour. Secondly, spatial qualities should vary between, for instance, small and large, open and closed, spaces for movement and places for stay. Flexible and multi-useable spaces are useful. This way, the space can respond to the needs of various user groups – program is more important than form (Pätzold, 2017). Special attention should be given to the needs of lower income groups. A main requirement on design in this context is also that it has to promote spatial justice. Communal facilities should be accessible for everyone, and the space should not exclude particular groups such as teenagers or migrants. It is furthermore important that a balance between commercial and commercial free spaces is maintained, so that limited income does not restrict the active participation in public life (Pätzold, 2017).

If mixed communities are created, the design should not promote increased conflict but allow for positive interaction between different groups and lifestyles. Finding the appropriate scale of mixing and spatial distribution of tenure forms – within the staircase, building, block, street or neighbourhood – is an important prerequisite. Generally, the location of units should depend on an assessment of the needs of the inhabitants rather than purely financial considerations. For example, desirable locations

close to a small park would ideally be given to families and not higher income households. Hence, affordable units should not be clustered at the less desirable sites, next to highways or the rear end of developments (Lawton, 2013).

Regarding the design of communal areas for lower income groups, I refer back to Rapoport (1977). The feeling of being in control, having an impact on the environment, is extremely important particularly where control over the choice of residence is limited. According to Carmona (2003), territoriality and the act of personalisation of the private realm or the threshold between public and private are an expression of this need. Designers can support this by understanding the values and specific behaviours of user groups, allowing participation in the planning and design process and promoting flexible design that can be appropriated. A lacking 'sense of ownership', in contrast, can lead to anti-social behaviour and poor involvement of the residents in the maintenance of their surroundings (Lawton, 2013).

Last but not least, coming back to the initial statement, our society is in constant transformation. Design therefore should be adaptive and flexible, to allow for multiple interpretations and alterations over time. Furthermore, it is important that sufficient room is given for innovation and the exploration of new ways of living together.

4 LONDON

- 49** Context
- 61** Planning system
- 72** Case studies
- 110** Evaluation
- 118** Conclusion + Action
Points



Fig.4.1 The Gherkin towering over a Tower Hamlets Estate (Photo: LatitudeStock/Alamy)



Petticoat Lane
Market

k
keatons
0%
commission

MOVING CITY

NOVO FASHION
WHOLESALE
RETAIL & EXPORT
TEL: 020 7426 053

TO LET

1



Heygate/Elephant&Castle, Southwark

in development, demolition

CASE STUDY

2



Dover court Estate, Islington

in development, refurbishment + infill

CASE STUDY

3



Woodberry Down, Hackney

in development, demolition

Hackney's flagship project with 50% affordable housing, but simultaneously a large share in luxury high-rise towers

4



Packington Estate, Islington

in development, demolition

Islington's flagship project focusing on low-and mid-rise development for the local community

5



Tustin Estate, Southwark

unregenerated

South London council estate in need of refurbishment

6



Northumberland Estate, Haringey

in planning

Potentially London's next big controversial scheme with Haringey currently negotiating a joint venture with the international developer Lend Lease

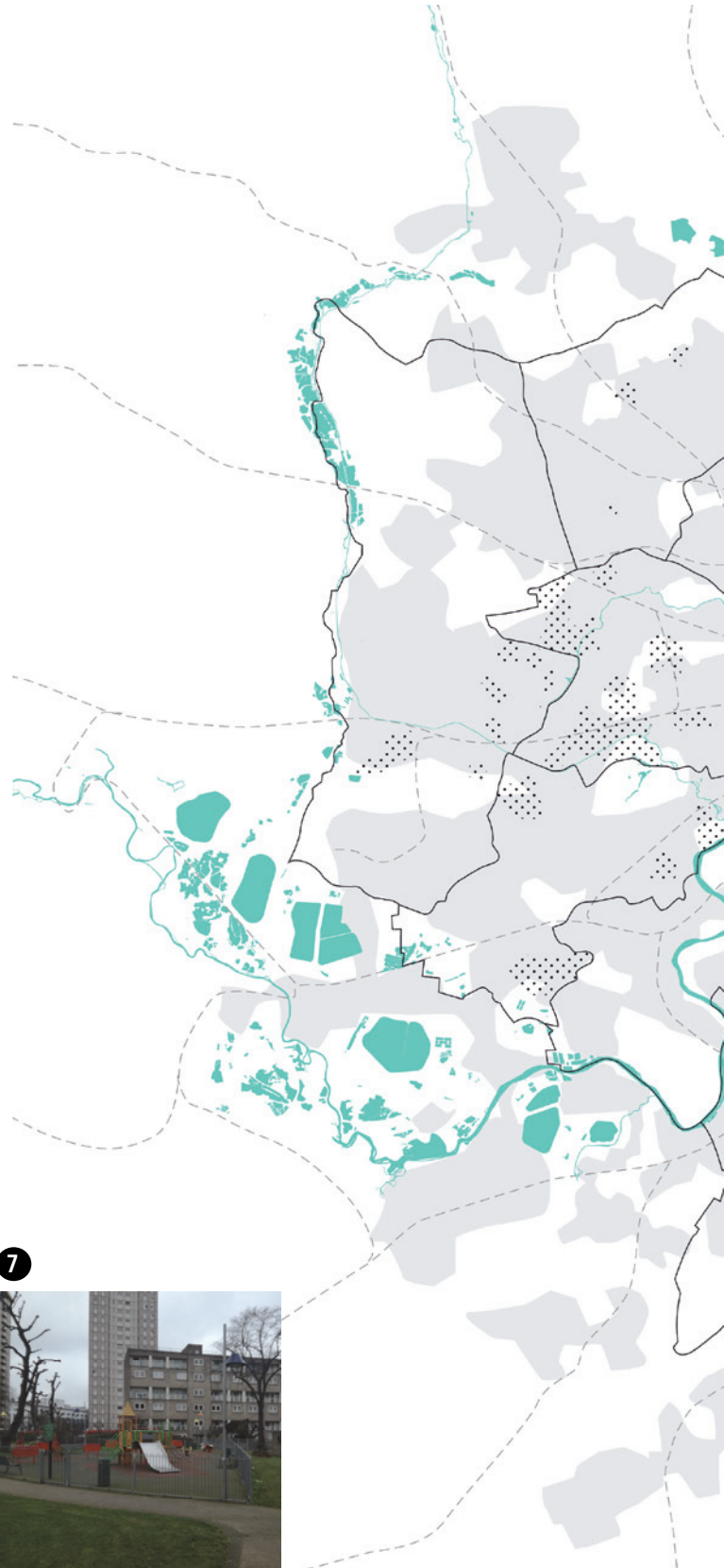
7



Ampthill Square Estate, Camden

unregenerated

North London Council Estate near King's Cross



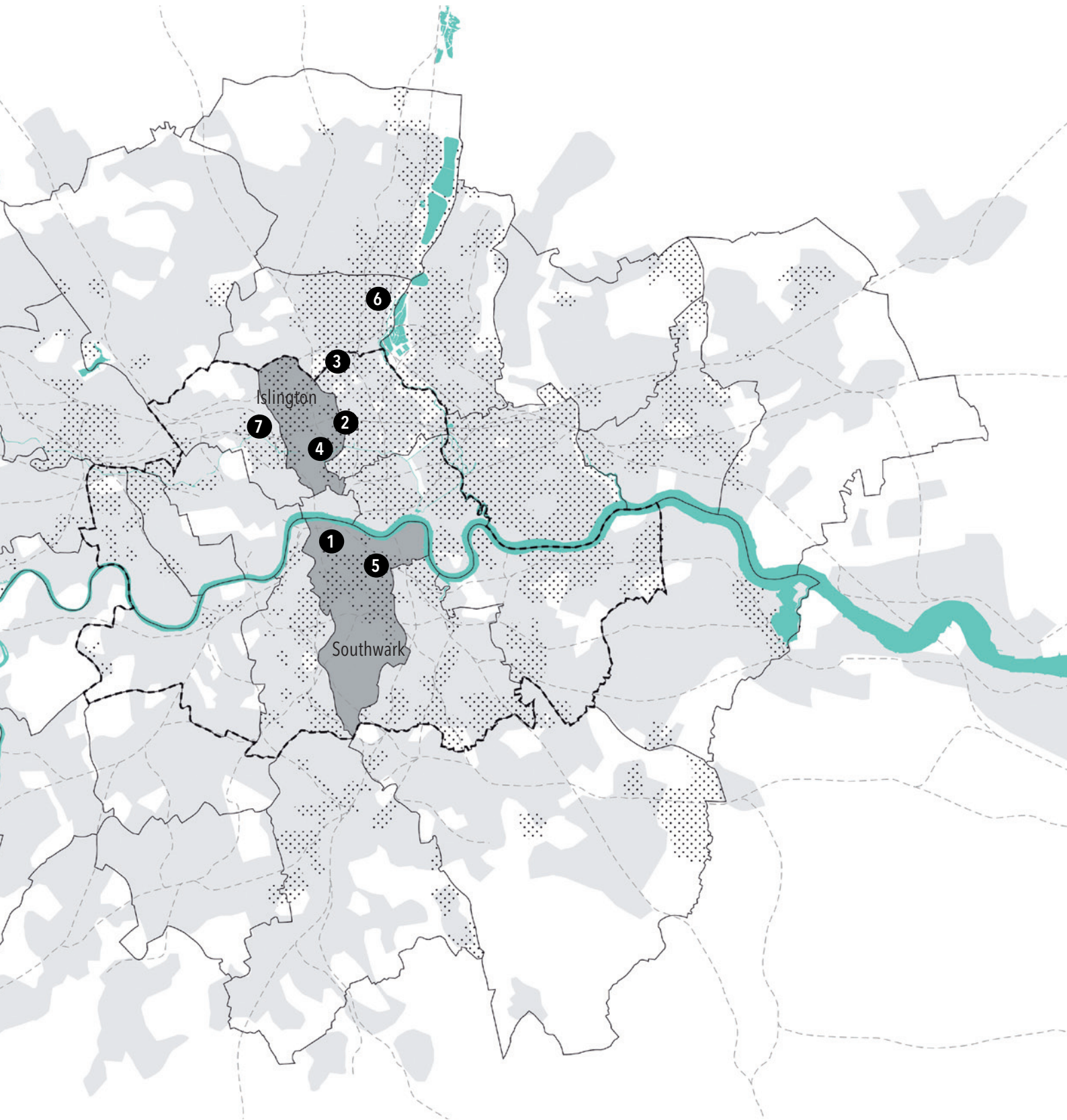


Fig.4.2 London

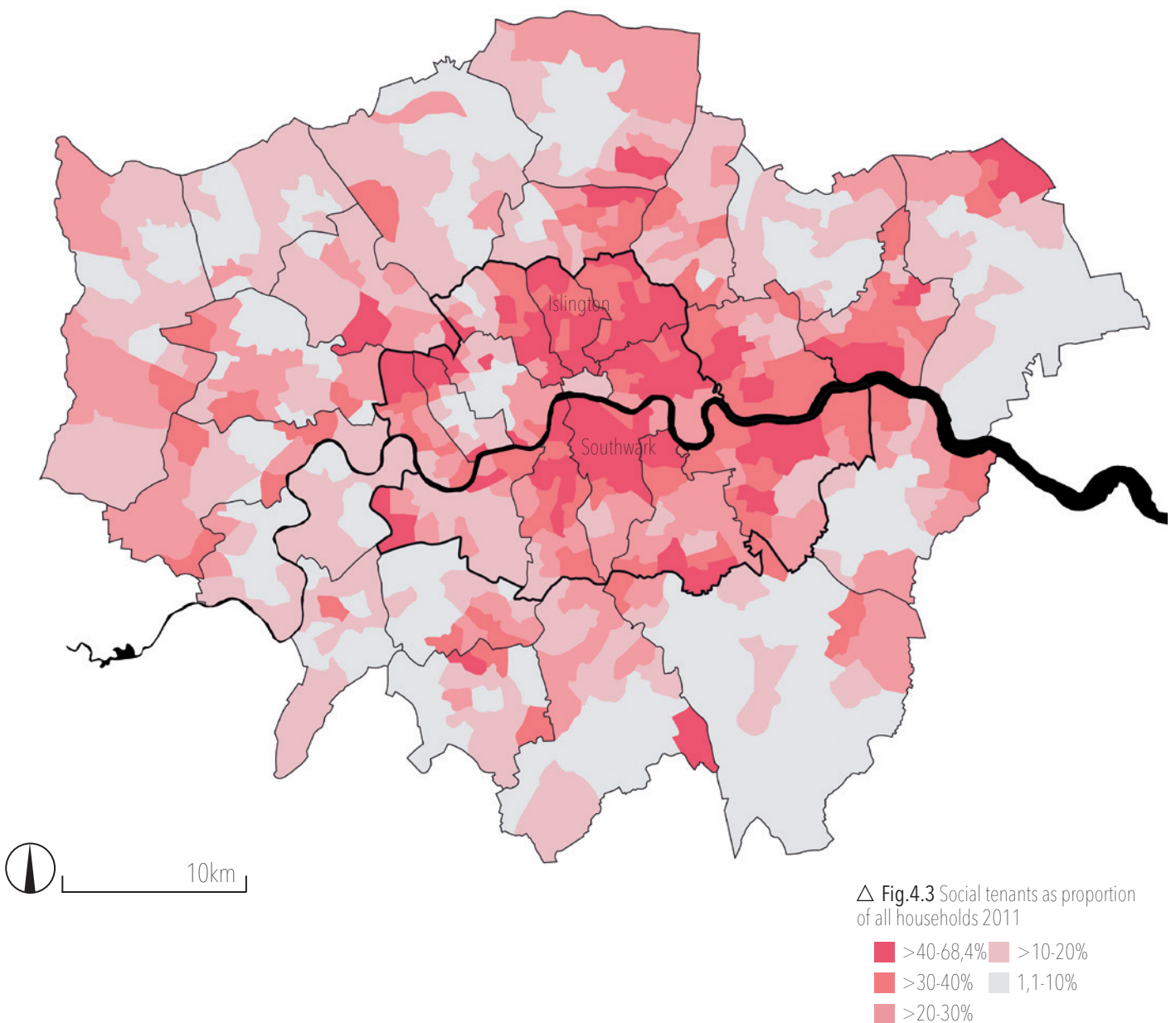
- Built up area
- Most deprived areas

Data on deprivation: ONS (2010)



10km

4.1 CONTEXT



Redrawn from London GLA, 2015 with data from ONS, 2011

THE RISE AND FALL OF COUNCIL HOUSING

The development of post-war council housing

The construction of public housing for lower income groups started in London in the late 19th century. The current regeneration debate however revolves largely around the legacy of the modernist council estates built in the post-war period from the 1950s to the end of the 1970s.

After the Second World War, large scale communal housing development was initiated to address the housing shortage and rebuild bombing sites that covered large areas especially in the South and Inner East, which were also historically poorer working class areas. Furthermore, 'slum clearance' sites that already had been earmarked in the interwar period could be tackled. Hence, council housing today is concentrated in the Inner East and South, with local authorities such as Southwark and Tower Hamlets still disposing of a large social housing stock (Harnack, 2012). In contrast to cities like Paris, social housing is not isolated in the suburbs but dispersed all over the city and can be found in very central locations.

The regeneration areas would provide the opportunity for architects to develop a new urban vision based on modernist ideals of sanitation, light, air, etc. (Harnack, 2012). The housing development in this time was also a political manifestation of concepts of the welfare state. They were based on equal opportunities and redistribution of wealth, promoting the idea of the collective over the individual (Komossa and Meyer, 2005).



Fig.4.4 Bomb damage in central London in 1953 where the Barbican was built - many estates were built on a bombing sites (Photo: Aerofilms LTD)

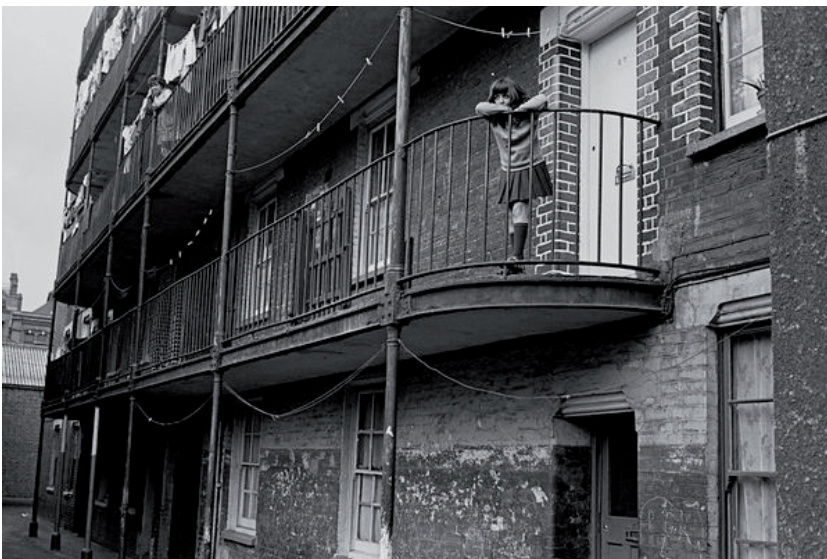


Fig.4.5 Up until the 1970s, there were many sub-standard dwellings in London, and estates were built on 'slum clearance' sites. This picture shows Southwark in 1970. (Photo: Shelter)

Phase 1



Fig.4.6 The Barbican, London's most iconic brutalist ensemble (Photo: Photographer unknown, retrieved from ArchCentre, 2016)



Fig.4.7 Less iconic, but still relatively well built: the Dover Court Estate in Islington, one of the case studies (Photo: author)

Phase 2



Fig.4.9 Maze of pathways at the Aylesbury Estate in Southwark (Photo: Mattia Marinolli, 2013)



Fig.4.10 Dark throughways (Photo: Mattia Marinolli, 2013)

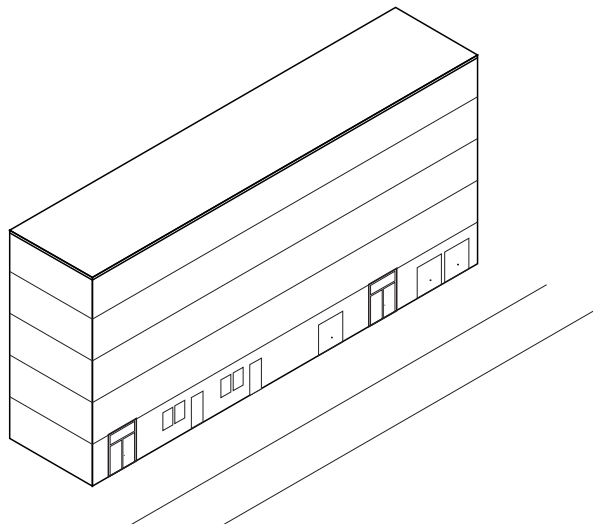


Fig.4.8 Low interaction between the buildings and its surroundings: the ground floor is often occupied by garages or storage units, and the buildings do not frame the street

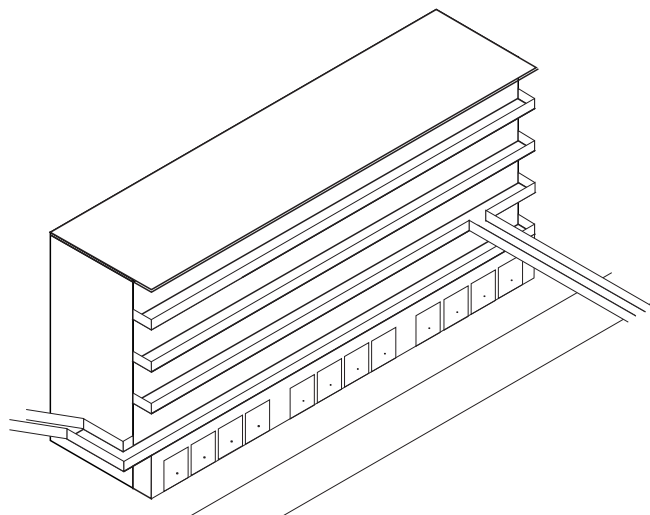


Fig.4.11 Streets in the sky characterise the later stages, and the ground floor area is dedicated to automobile traffic

Harnack (2012) describes the era until the borough reform of 1964 as time of innovative architecture with an exemplary role also for other European countries. The London County Council (LCC) had full planning powers at its disposal and was committed to high architectural standards. Boroughs could also develop new housing, but had to work within the guidelines of the LCC. Typical were so-called 'mixed developments', with singles and childless couples accommodated in high rise linear blocks or towers and families ideally being housed in mid-rise blocks or terraced houses. However, with the borough reform of 1965, the LCC became the GLC (Greater London Council). It was responsible for a larger area, but less powerful as the planning powers were transferred to the boroughs. In an effort to provide 'housing for all' (UWE, 2008) and relieve the continuing housing shortage, more high-rise buildings were commissioned. To achieve greater output numbers, the overall quality standards were lowered and the use of industrial construction systems promoted. According to Harnack (2012), the original ideals still played a role, but there was a lack of money to implement them in detail. For instance, the vision of integrating the buildings into a park-like landscape was reduced to the provision of uncharacterised lawn areas around the buildings. The most notorious estates were built in this later period, such as the Heygate or Aylesbury Estate. The industrial way of construction, mostly with cheap materials, resulted in visual monotony, and the increased focus on separation of pedestrian and automobile traffic led to higher crime rates and a general feeling of insecurity within the estate. Pedestrian movement was relocated at a higher level, with many of these structures lacking visibility and escape ways.



Heygate Estate (demolished)



Tustin Estate



Packington Estate (demolished)



Dover Court Estate (in development)



Unknown Estate



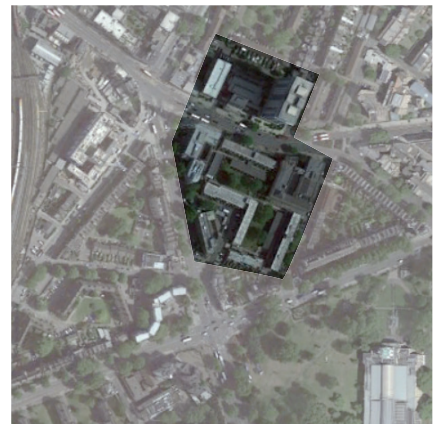
Aylesbury Estate (in development)



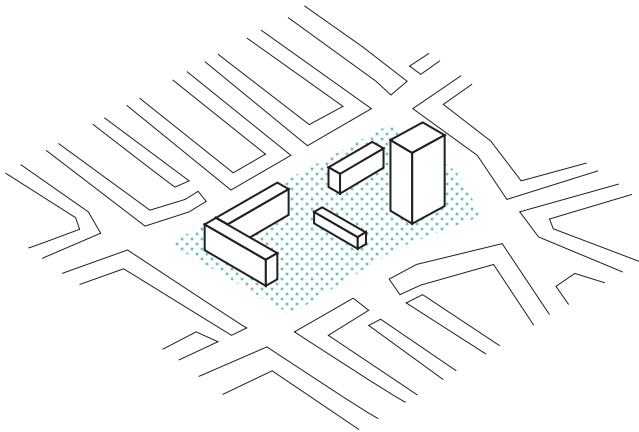
Northumberland Estate



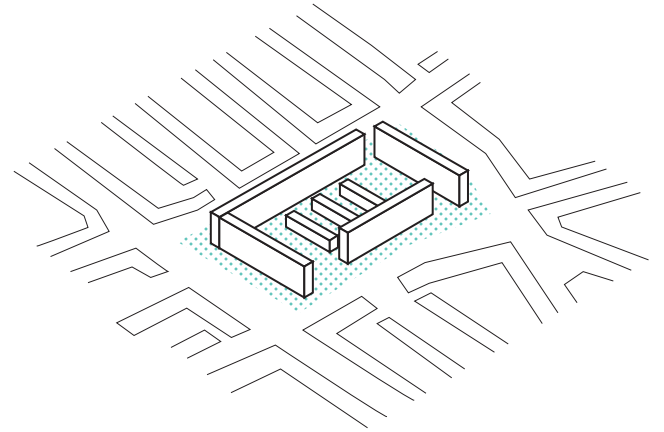
Cranbrook Estate



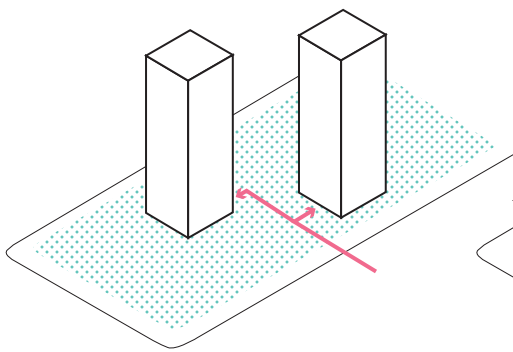
Unknown Estate



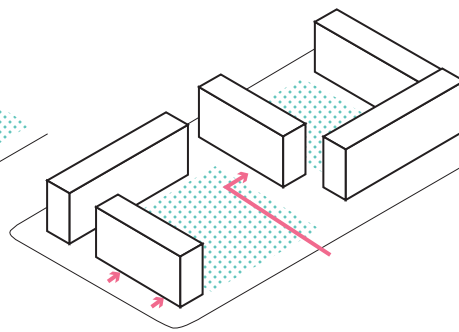
Isularity - cluster



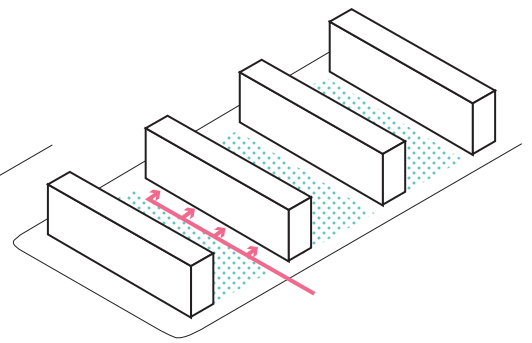
Isularity - wall



Towers in the landscape



Half open courtyards



Rigid linearity

◁△ Fig.4.12 & 4.13 The images illustrate the typical spatial characteristics of council estates. They form distinctive structures in the urban network, with building blocks that vary in height and scale from the surroundings.

The main points of criticism are:

- > Insulation/segregation
- > Low legibility (entrance situation; front/back; character of green spaces)
- > Monotony (functional and visual)
- > Inefficient density and use of space

Maintenance issues and the Right-to-buy: Accumulation of social problems and residualisation of the sector

Despite its current bad reputation, council housing was popular at the time of the construction. Long term tenants I met at the LTF meeting emphasised how happy they were to move away from sub-standard dwellings lacking basic facilities into spacious and modern apartments. They also described a strong feeling of community in these early days of council housing. Estates such as the Dover Court continue to be relatively popular to this day.

However, the sector was increasingly marginalised and stigmatised over the course of the following decades. One issue was, in addition to flaws in the construction and design especially of the newer estates, the lack of maintenance which led to the degeneration of many estates. After the dissolution of the GLC in 1986, that until then had managed many estates, the ownership of the stock was transferred to the boroughs. However, many struggled to properly maintain the estates, as this increase in responsibilities was accompanied by centralisation policies of the central government that reduced their financial and administrative capacities (Harnack, 2012). Hence, the social housing sector became less attractive for the middle and working class, reinforcing a vicious circle of physical and social decline.

The introduction of the 'Right-to-buy' (RTB) for council tenants in 1980/82 by the Conservative Thatcher government played a major role in reinforcing that trend. Via RTB, council housing tenants get the opportunities to acquire their dwelling at large



Fig.4.14 Unpopular deck access and failing elevators were major issues in high rise blocks. (Photo: Mattia Marinoli, 2013)



Fig.4.15 Signs of further maintenance and ventilation issues at the Northumberland Estate in Haringey: Moldy curtains (Photo: author)

discounts, helping them to step into home ownership and thereby stimulating their upward social mobility. They then become leaseholders of the apartment, whereas the land and building remain in the property of local authorities.

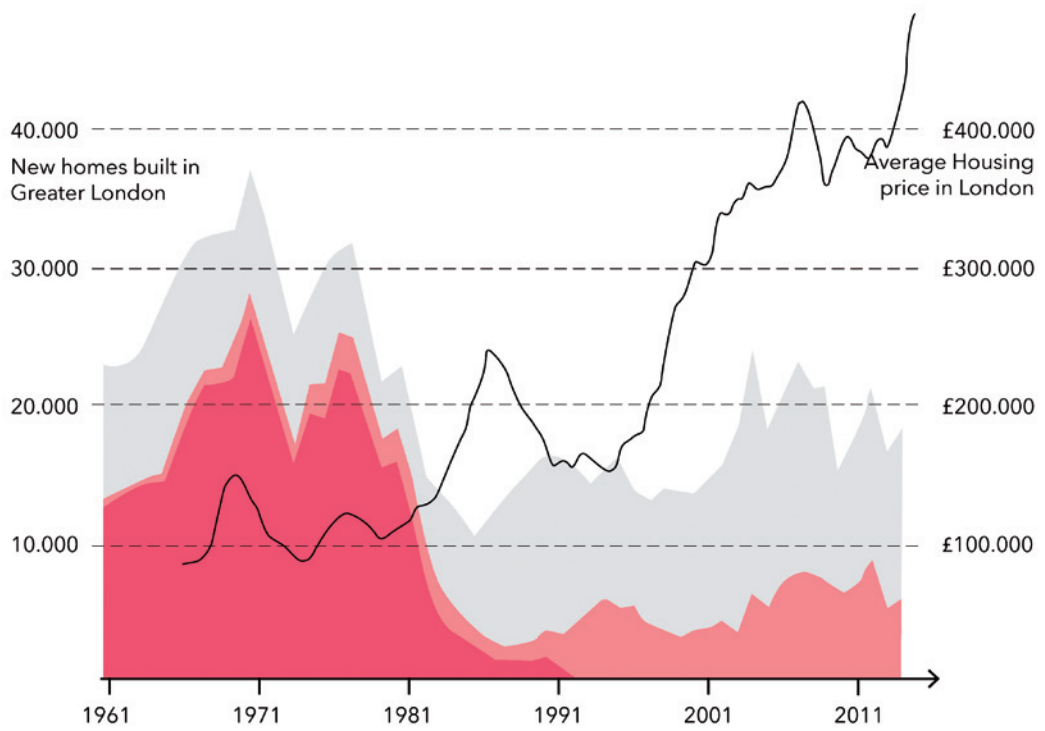
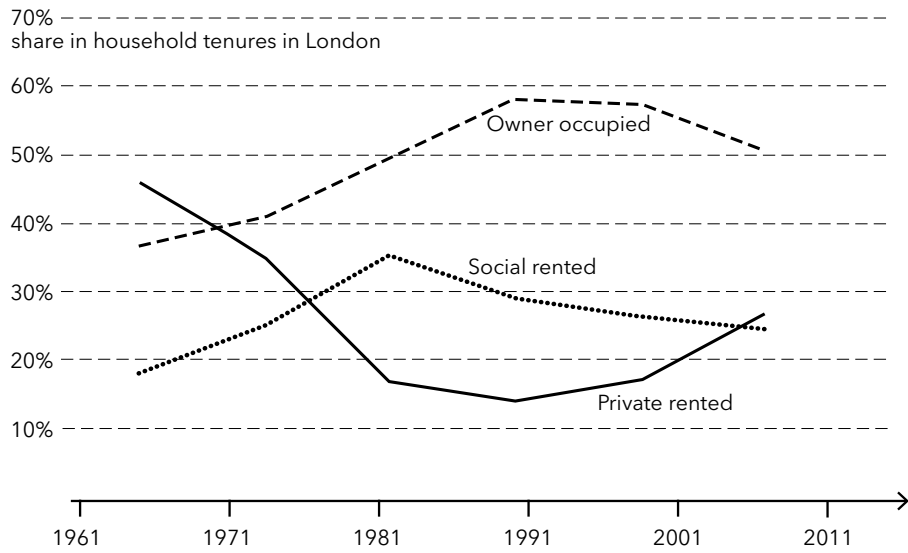
The policy also being an austerity measure, local authorities were required to use 80% of the receipt not to fund the new construction of housing, but pay off their debts (Harnack, 2012). As a result, social housing became increasingly residualised, with local authorities having to sell off their more attractive properties and the more affluent tenants leaving the sector. As, before 2005 with the introduction of a 'first right of refusal' for the former social landlord, the apartments could be sold on the free market after a certain period, much social housing stock was lost. Due to the reduced stock, the sector was transformed from broad provision in the post-war period into a safety net for the most vulnerable population groups; young, elderly, single parents, economically inactive (Whitehead and Scanlon, 2007), leading to an accumulation of deprivation and social stigmata.

RTB also increased the maintenance problems within estates, as the leaseholders had to financially contribute to repair and maintenance works. However, as the rest of the building was owned by a public sector entity, the leaseholders could not choose their own repair firm but the procurement rules of the private sector applied. This became especially problematic in the large tower blocks, where many leaseholders

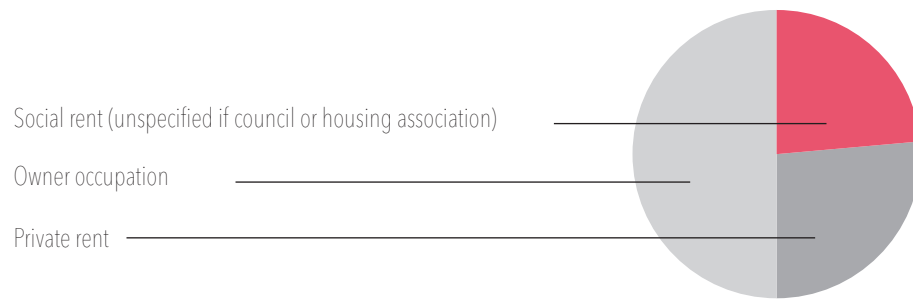
could not afford the repair works. Additionally, this resulted in higher administrative needs within the local authorities, with new positions now having to deal with leaseholder affairs (Harnack, 2012).

The desolate state of many council estates across the country led to the narrative of 'sink estates' that reinforce segregation, deprivation and crime among their residents (Tallon, 2010). On these grounds, large scale area based initiatives such as the 'Single Regeneration Budget' and the 'New Deal for Communities' were put forward by the national government in the 1990s and early 2000s. In these programs, the worst estates have been addressed (Hall, 2016).

The sink estate narrative shows how public perception plays an important role in the way estates are regenerated. It is therefore important to be careful using terms such as 'sink estate', as this notion is not necessarily be shared by the residents themselves who might feel further patronized and downgraded. But also the general perception might be about to change: there has been a recent re-appreciation of the brutalist aesthetics of council estates and their spacious flats and green surroundings (Harnack, 2012). This might be understood as reaction to a general dissatisfaction with the current form of urban development, idealising the legacy of an era that was more pre-occupied with social balance than individual profit (discussion emerged on the ISHF, 16 June 2017).



THE SOCIAL HOUSING SECTOR



◀ Fig.4.16 Tenure share 1961-2011

data: GLA, 2015

Tenure structure

As visualised in Fig 4.16, the sector of social rented housing in London was at its peak around 1980 and has declined since then to approximately 24%. The private rent sector gains increasing importance, but owner occupation is the most important tenure form (GLA, 2015). As described in the problem analysis chapter, there are major affordability issues within the unregulated private rental and real estate market, affecting not only lower income groups but also middle class households.

maintenance of their housing stock or the construction of new homes. Whereas local authorities only own stock within their boundaries, some large housing associations can own property across the country (Whitehead and Scanlon, 2007). Local authorities and most housing associations are 'registered providers' and must operate within the guidelines of the 'Homes and Communities Agency' (HCA - before 2008: Housing Corporation), supervised by the 'Department for Communities and Local Government' (Shelter England, 2017).

◀ Fig.4.17 Housebuilding in London between 1961 and 2011



Redrawn from GLA, 2015 and Meek, 2014

Changing provision of social housing: Local authorities and housing associations

Social housing can be provided by a local authority (council housing) or housing association. Housing associations are non-profit organisations, which means that they have to reinvest their profit into the

Council housing, as described above, was widely built and available from the 1950s to the 1980s. Since then, the central government prioritised housing associations over public sector housing provision through funding allocations and other regulatory mechanisms (Harnack, 2012). Almost all new building in the sector is since then undertaken by housing associations. In total, more than half of the social rented stock in England is now owned by

housing associations (CECODHAS, 2013). This is also due to 'Large Scale Voluntary Transfers', in which much council housing stock was transferred to them, relieving the local authorities of maintenance and regeneration duties. However, in order to do this the approval of the renters via ballot vote is needed, and in many cases this prevents the transfer nowadays (Harnack, 2012).

Access to social housing and the new 'affordable rent' product

In the UK, access to social rented housing is not formerly restricted by fixed income levels, but rather the availability of dwellings. Everyone of full age (including EU citizens and refugees) can technically apply for council housing if they cannot afford private sector housing, and join a waiting list.

However, one is not guaranteed a property, and especially in areas with high housing need like London, the demand outreaches the supply by far and the waiting lists are long (Shelter England, 2017). Furthermore, tenants can, depending on their income and household circumstances, request rent allowance in both the private and public rental sector (Whitehead and Scanlon, 2007).

A far-reaching step in housing policy was taken in 2011, when the Coalition government abandoned its commitment to 'social rent' – determined on local income levels and property values – in favour

of the more flexible umbrella category of 'affordable housing'. Affordable housing comprises "social rented, affordable rented and intermediate housing, provided to specified eligible households whose needs are not met by the market" (Department for Communities and Local Government, 2014). Whereas social rent levels usually amount to 40-60% of the local market values (in London potentially lower), the category of affordable rent is defined as up to 80% of the market rent. Furthermore, affordable rent is limited to a tenancy period of maximum 5 years. The 'intermediate' category supports citizen's first steps on the property ladder with, for example, 'shared ownership' models that allow the acquisition of a share of the apartment while renting the rest (TBJJ, 2017).

The new 'affordable housing' category was introduced to help the funding of the construction of more new homes below market prices while reducing the financial direct support on house building. Hence, according to Bowie (personal communication, 22 February 2017), the government is focusing on maximising the output numbers of affordable housing – even if the individual units will be less affordable – while pushing for home ownership and support of the middle class with shared ownership and starter homes initiatives.

However, due to the high housing prices in London, affordable rents at 80% of the market value would actually require incomes above the London average. Hence, this effectively reduces the provision available for lower income households, but also increases the

Fig. 4.18 London Affordable Rent benchmarks 2017-18

1 bedroom	£144,26 pw
2 bedrooms	£152,73 pw
3 bedrooms	£161,22 pw
4 bedrooms	£169,70 pw
5 bedrooms	£178,18 pw
6+ bedrooms	£186,66 pw

GLA, 2016

sum of rental allowance required as fewer people will be able to rent without allowance. The introduction of benefit caps, however, can make affordable rent then inaccessible even for households that can claim benefits (D. Bowie, personal communication, 22 February 2017).

The continuation of social rent levels is now only possible at the initiative of the GLA or local authorities. Mayor Johnson (2008-2016) aimed half of the rents at 50%, half at 80% percent of market value. The Mayor from 2016, Sadiq Khan, aims for some rents at even lower levels (GLA presentation on affordability SPG draft to LTF, 2017), but their delivery depends on negotiation: "in practice, the rent required will vary for each scheme with levels set by agreement between developers, providers and the Mayor through his housing investment function, In respect of individual schemes not funded by the Mayor, the London boroughs will take the lead in conjunction with relevant stakeholders [...], but in all cases particular regard should be had to the availability of resources, [and] the need to maximise provision [...]" (GLA, 2017).

new developments to be affordable – which then, in most cases, will be managed by a housing association (CECODHAS, 2013). The actual amount is negotiated in the planning process as part of Section 106 agreements ('planning gain').

However, there is a large gap in the need of affordable homes and the amount supplied within Section 106 agreements. As stated in the problem analysis, the need is estimated at about 50% of all new development. However, while the required percentage in most local authorities averages around 35%, even fewer are actually in the pipeline. In 2015, only 13% of all homes given planning permission were affordable (GLA presentation on affordability SPG draft to LTF, 2017).

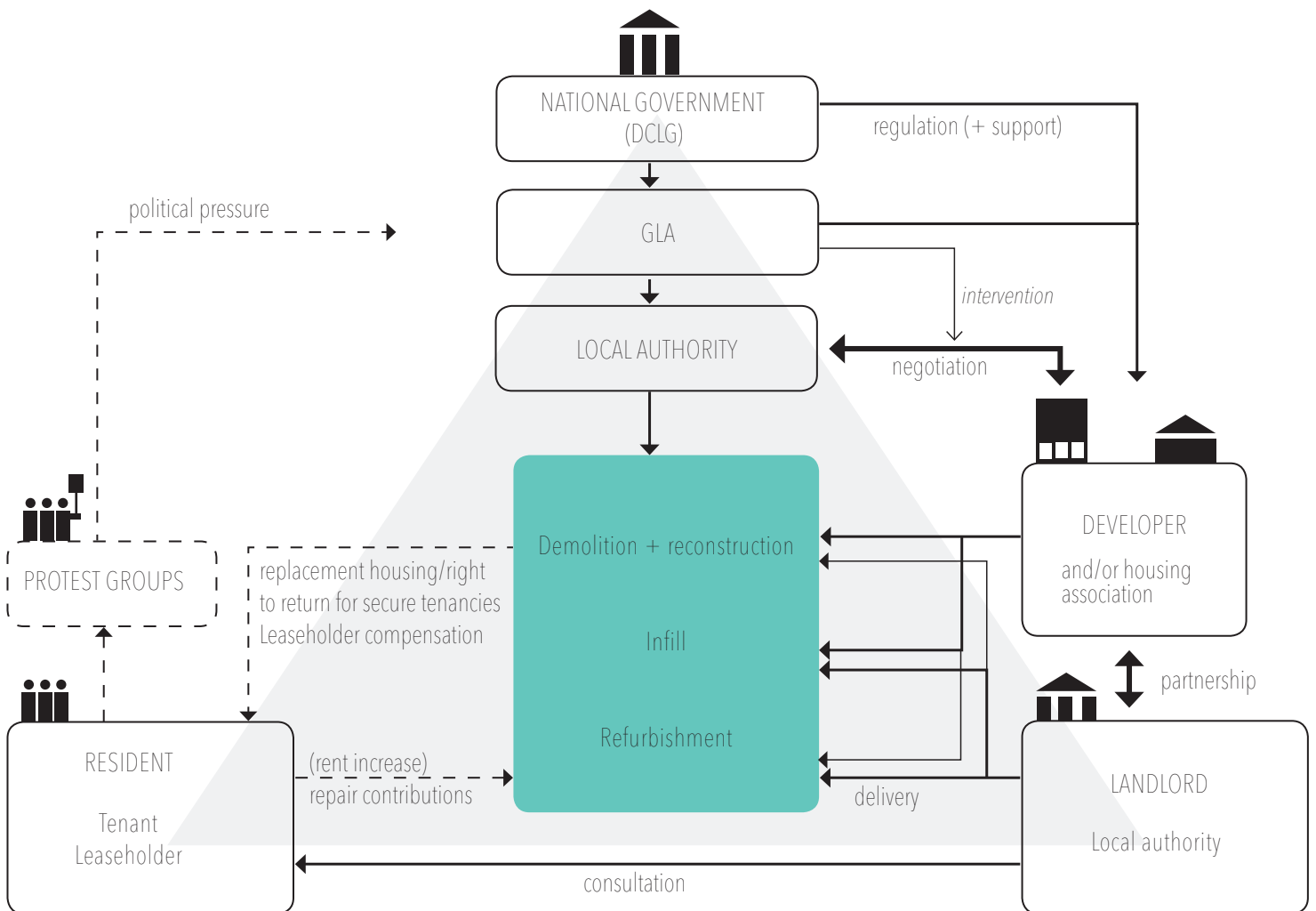


Section 106 agreements (1990 Town and Country Planning Act) are legal agreements negotiated between local planning authorities and developers. They include, among others, contributions to public realm, education and affordable housing and are intended to offset the impacts of the development on the local area.

Delivery of new affordable housing via the planning system

In the light of decreasing government subsidy, the delivery of affordable housing in the UK strongly relies on delivery via the planning system. Local authorities can require a percentage of homes in

4.2 PLANNING SYSTEM



INTRODUCTION AND ACTORS

The planning system in the UK is discretionary. Contrary to land use and zoning plans applied in many continental European countries, plans developed by UK planning authorities are not legally binding. They are used to define goals and targets that any developments will be assessed against individually before given planning permission. Within this, negotiation between the planning authority and developers plays an important role (Rydin, 2011). Giving in principle more flexibility and scope for innovation at the local level, the quality of outcomes may highly depend on the capacities of the actors involved. There is less certainty as the final decision is only made once the proposal comes forward.

On these grounds, the planning of estate regeneration in London is a complicated process, including a multitude of actors from policy making, development control and delivery. There are several possible regeneration options including refurbishment, infill, demolition and reconstruction; and the actors involved will vary among these options.

This chapter will first present the individual actors, then examine the policies relevant for estate regeneration on different levels and finally describe the planning process including different financing and delivery options.

National government



The central government is responsible for legislation and national planning policy in England. Also, housing policy such as the 'affordable rent product' described in the previous chapter is decided at national level. Due to the strong centralisation of the UK and the economic importance of London for the rest of the country, the national government takes high interest in the city's development.

Greater London Authority (GLA)



The GLA as metropolitan government was established only in 2000 and consists of the directly elected Mayor and the London Assembly. Its responsibilities include highways, transport planning, passenger transport and strategic planning (Politics UK, 2017). An important task is the definition of 'Opportunity Areas', the major (brownfield) development areas with targeted funding to support job growth and housing. The main policy document produced by the GLA is the London Plan (the current version was published by Mayor Johnson in 2015, and a new is scheduled for Autumn 2017).

Implementation powers for these policies, however, are limited as the GLA does not raise taxes. It is therefore dependent on central government funding and the conditions that come along. The implementation lies with the local authorities, who have to follow the London Plan. However, the Mayor disposes of planning powers and can stop or support projects against local authority's decision. Schemes above the size of 50 units (reduced from 150 in 2016) are referred to the Mayor (D. Bowie, personal communication, 22 February 2017).

Local authorities



Local authorities are the key actors in the estate regeneration process.

Greater London consists of 32 London boroughs (=local authorities). Their responsibilities include: education, highways, transport planning, social care, housing, libraries, leisure and recreation, environmental health, waste collection, waste disposal, planning applications, strategic planning and local taxation collection (Politics UK, 2017). In the context of estate regeneration, they represent not only the planning authority but simultaneously the land owner and council housing landlord. They are hence responsible for the maintenance and regeneration of their estates.

As planning authority, the boroughs are in charge of plan development, detailing the London plan in local plans and specifying local targets for housing. They are also responsible for development control, and in the planning application process, it is their role to negotiate with the private developer on planning gain.

However, local authorities are in an increasingly difficult position. Since the 1980s, the role of local authorities was reviewed and weakened by the central government in favour of a stronger involvement of the private sector to deliver public goods and services (Hall, 2016). This left many local authorities underfunded and under-skilled, and puts some in a weak position when negotiating with the private sector (Wainwright, 2015). This situation has been further aggravated since the election of the Coalition government and its austerity measures aiming to reduce financial support to local authorities. Since 2011, local authorities have faced funding cuts of 44% (Hanna, 2016) from the central government.

Housing associations

While this thesis focusses on the regeneration of local authority owned estates and not properties owned by housing associations, housing associations can play an important role in the delivery of council estate regeneration. Their role was in more detail elaborated in previous chapter – they are the government's preferred provider of affordable housing and responsible for almost all new build in the sector. Especially in larger schemes, the estate regeneration process may involve a stock transfer to housing associations. This can cause resistance from the residents, as this might involve rent increases - housing associations operate on affordable rather than social rent levels provided by most councils. The London Tenants Federation strongly argues against transfers in order to preserve the genuinely affordable housing that is left (Meeting of the London Tenants Federation, 21 February 2017).

Private developers

Private developers are responsible for providing affordable housing in any larger scheme as part of Section 106 agreements. For the regeneration of council estates, the local authority can collaborate with private developer to cross-subsidise the project and achieve a more diverse tenure mix in the area. According to Bailey (Interview in February 2017), the financial crisis changed the composition of the market in the UK. Many smaller developers have stopped building, and mostly big and international firms are left. This is especially relevant in the context of London, where generally only larger firms can afford to take on the high land prices.

Residents

There are different types of tenancy within a council estate. Tenants can either have unlimited 'secure' or temporary tenancies; only the secure tenants have

to be rehoused in case their dwelling is demolished in the regeneration process. The tenants may form a Tenants and Residents Association (TRA) to represent them with the landlord. Additionally, there is the group of the leaseholders who have acquired their apartment under RTB. In the case of redevelopment, their apartments have to be bought back by the local authority. Despite this price being higher than the original purchasing price it is often not enough money for the leaseholders to be able to stay in the area. Hence, as this group has much to lose, it is often very active and plays a leading role in the redevelopment process and often opposition to schemes (Meeting of the London Tenants Federation, 21 February 2017 and).

For both tenants and leaseholders, the regeneration process may be very stressful and expose them to insecurity regarding their future over extended periods of time, potentially causing associated physical and mental health issues (Interview with Bowie, February 2017, and meeting of the LTF, February 2017 and D. Bowie, personal communication, 22 February 2017).

Protest groups

As reaction to the perceived injustice of the current estate regeneration practice, several protest groups have emerged. They intend to assist the residents against profit seeking developers but also local authorities that are criticised of not advocating enough for the wellbeing of their citizens. Some groups emerged from residents movements (such as the Southwark 35% campaign), others are rather politically motivated (Architects for Social Housing, Radical Housing Network). These groups can provide valuable support to communities facing regeneration of their estates, but also bear the risk of overheating the debate and locking the different parties in opposition in which productive collaboration becomes more difficult.

Responsible parties

Policy documents

Guidance on Estate Regeneration

National Government
Department for Communities and
Local Government

Primary legislation: Planning Acts
National Planning Policy Framework
National Guidance

National Estate Regeneration Strategy (2016)



Greater London Authority (GLA)
Mayor of London
London Assembly

London Plan
SPGs and SPDs; Guidance

Good Practice Guide to Estate Regeneration (2017)



Local Authority
Departments varying among the LAs,
example: 'Environment and Regene-
ration' (Islington); Housing may be
separate

Local Plan — Core Strategy
SPGs and SPDs; Guidance



Local population
Interest groups

Neighbourhood Plan (optional)

Further guidance

- > Staying put: An Anti-Gentrification Hand-
book for Council Estates in London (London
Tenants Federation et al., 2014)
- > Estate Regeneration Sourcebook (Urban
Design London, 2015)
- > Knock it or do it up? The challenge of Estate
Regeneration (London Assembly, 2015)
- > Completing London's Streets (Savills, 2016)
- > Altered Estates – How to reconcile com-
peting interests in estate regeneration (4
architecture practices, 2016)
- > Another Storey: The Real Potential for Estate
Densification (Centre for London, 2016)
- > Estate Regeneration - More and better
homes for London (London First, 2017)
- > Handbook on Estate Regeneration (London
Tenants Federation, upcoming)

POLICIES AND OBJECTIVES

The national government sets the legal and regulatory framework for planning in planning acts. The previously mentioned Section 106 agreements, for instance, are set out in the 1990 Town and Country Planning Act. An important change to planning has been made in 2011 with the Localism Act that introduced the tool of neighbourhood planning. In an attempt to bring planning closer to the people, local communities are enabled to draw up visions for their area (Gallent and Robinson, 2013).

The 'National Planning Policy Framework' (NPPF) sets out the central objectives and priorities of the national government. They have to be reflected in the London Plan and Local Plans. The London Plan is the mayor strategic document to guide London's development. It defines the city's strategic objectives and includes policies to guide plan development and decision making/planning permission in local authorities. The Local plan includes the Core Strategy, Site allocations, development management policies to assess planning applications and additional supplementary planning documents (SPDs). If a neighbourhood plan is developed, it will become part of the local plan and be considered for planning applications. Before coming into effect, it has to be evaluated by an external examiner and approved in a referendum.

All levels of government furthermore publish a series of guidance documents. This includes design guidelines such as the 'London Housing Design Guide'.

The political relevance of estate regeneration is illustrated by the publication of two major guides both released in the end of 2016: The 'National Estate Regeneration Strategy' and GLA's 'Draft Good Practice Guide on Estate Regeneration'.

In absence of such guidance before, a set of reports and guides on different aspects of estate regeneration had been published by various bodies including the London Assembly, Savills, 4 Architecture Practices and Future of London.

The following section examines the objectives of the different government levels. For the analysis of policies, it is important to understand both explicit goals – what is written down in the documents – as well as implicit goals of policy making, unspoken rules and planning culture.

◁Fig.4.19 Plan and policy making: different governance layers

Goals of the national government

Key objectives in planning policy set out in the NPPF are viability and sustainability. The concept of 'mixed and balanced communities', as opposed to seemingly socially isolated council estates, plays an important role. Another important concept is 'localism', seeking for the democratic renewal and closer relationships to the voter base by devolving powers to the neighbourhood (Hall, 2016). However, Hall criticises that since the election of the Coalition government in 2010, England lacks a coherent urban regeneration strategy, with previous area based initiatives such as the 'New Deal for Communities' coming to an end without replacement.

The 'National Estate Regeneration Guide' makes up leeway in this aspect, however without providing grants in comparable amounts to support its implementation. The document identifies estate regeneration as source of "thousands of net additional homes over the next 10 to 15 years" and encourages local authorities to be innovative in financing, considering models that include partnerships with the private sector in order "access commercial skills and lever in private investment" (Executive Summary, p.2). It furthermore emphasises the importance of meaningful community engagement and consideration of the residents' needs. A 'resident deal', as in how residents can benefit from the regeneration, should be achieved. However, the guide does not seek to be prescriptive but rather provides a quite extensive overview of the potential delivery routes, the decision making process, the role of the local authority and the resident engagement procedures.

The 'National Estate Regeneration Guide' hence clearly

indicates the key goals of the national government, among others the reduction of public expenditure. Regarding housing policy, national priorities are the support of home ownership and the middle class. In order to counter the housing crisis, the government hence supports delivery models and partnerships with the private sector as well as the affordable rent model. The aim is to increase the housing output with less public money. Local authorities are encouraged to "manage their assets", intensifying use or selling off public land especially in high value areas (D. Bowie, personal communication 22 February 2017).

Goals of the GLA

The challenge of the GLA is to balance London's economic development and the social needs of the local residents in negotiation with the national government on capital grant its affiliated conditions. In the election of the current Mayor Sadiq Khan, housing was a major political topic, with the promise of restricting real estate speculation and increasing the delivery of affordable housing (see for instance Booth, 2016).

Estate regeneration was - supported by a set of reports by Calcott, Savills, IPPR and others - previously identified as a potential mechanism for urban densification and thereby achieving housing and densification targets set in the London Plan (D. Bowie, personal communication, 22 February 2017).

The 'Draft Good Practice Guide for Estate Regeneration' emphasises on this point, while at the same time outlining a set of conditions under which estate regeneration is acceptable. These are close resident

involvement from the beginning, fair treatment of residents and leaseholders and protection of existing affordable housing. However, it is criticised by the LTF as well as Bowie that the focus on densification as one main objective of estate regeneration might put all estates up for redevelopment regardless of their physical and social conditions.

> 2016 Housing SPG: the replacement of social/affordable rented homes by intermediate housing may be acceptable where it can be robustly demonstrated that this would achieve a more appropriate housing mix in a neighbourhood or borough; and the replacement of social rent by affordable rent provision may be necessary to maximise overall affordable housing provision.

Policies that support preservation/ delivery of affordable housing

> London Plan policy 3.4: resist the loss of affordable housing unless this is replaced at existing or higher densities with at least the equivalent amount of floorspace

> London Plan paragraph 3.82: redevelopment of affordable housing should not be permitted unless it is replaced by better quality accommodation and at least the equivalent amount of affordable housing floorspace

> London Plan policy 3.11: boroughs should seek to maximise affordable housing provision and ensure an average of at least 17,000 net additional affordable homes per year over the plan period

Goals of local authorities

The goals and approaches towards estate regeneration vary among the boroughs, depending social, spatial, economic and political factors. This will be further investigated along the examples of Islington and Southwark in the case studies.

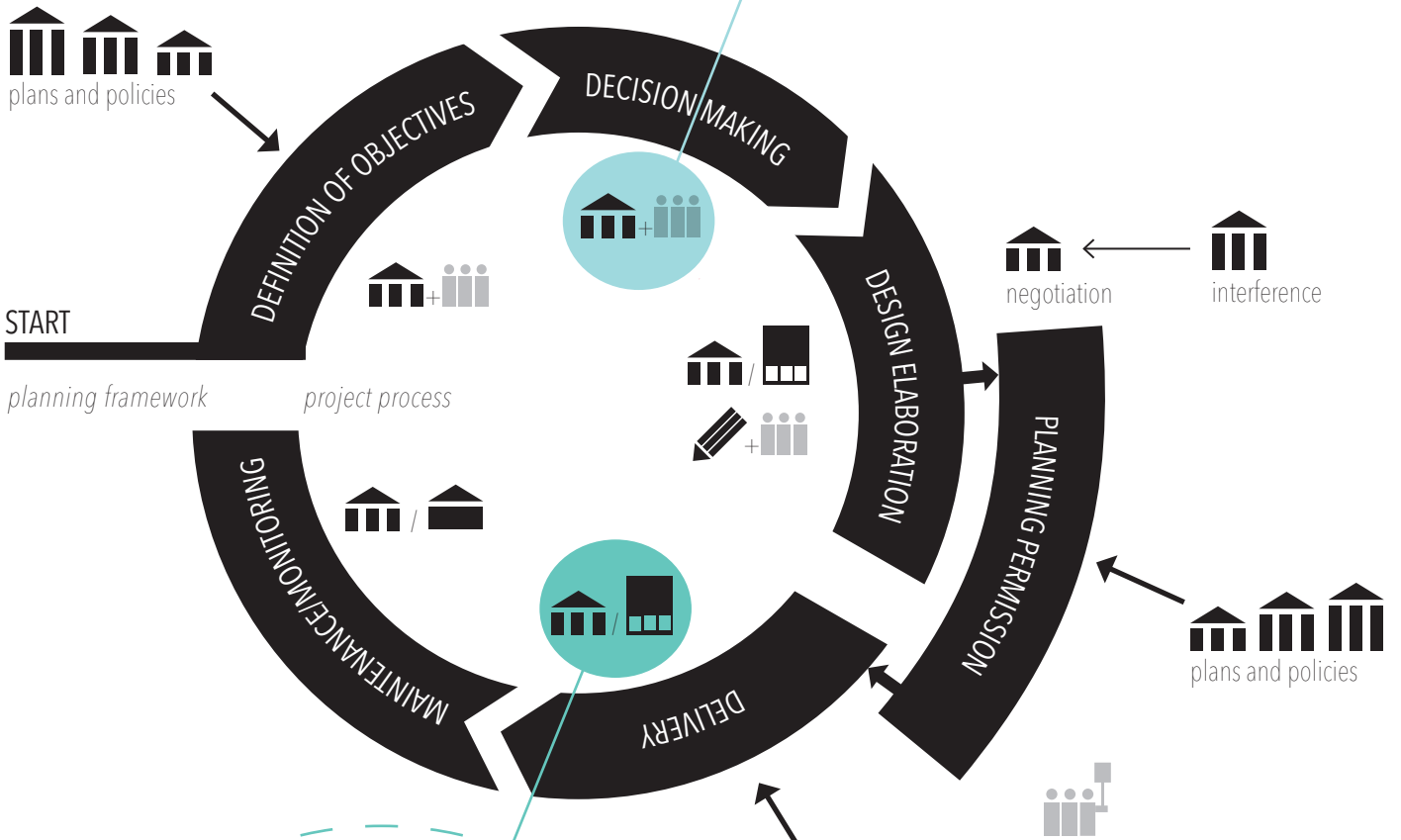
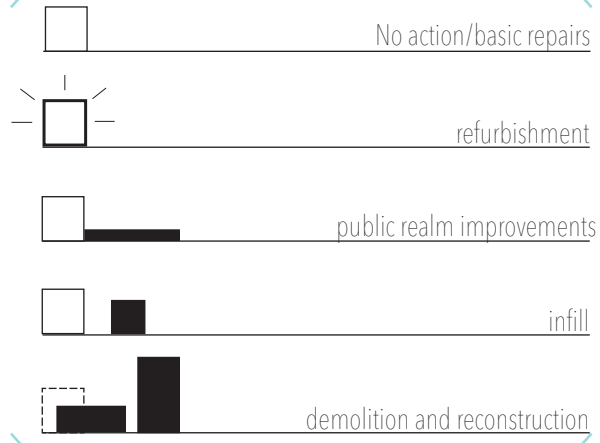
Generally, local authorities with a high percentage of social housing and many associated social problems will try to move upmarket and diversify their tenure structure while still responding to the local housing needs. Some estates - such as the Heygate Estate - were redeveloped in order to finance the renovation elsewhere in the borough. In the context of budget cuts, this can also become an economic need. According to Bowie (personal communication, 22 February 2017), one main driver of estate regeneration in these days is to realise the potentials of high value land in order to bring more resources into local authorities. New development bringing in more council tax and New Homes Bonus in the absence of further government subsidy, "going for growth can become the only way to get money into keeping their statutory services such as child care and adult social care running".

Policies that potentially hinder preservation/delivery of affordable housing

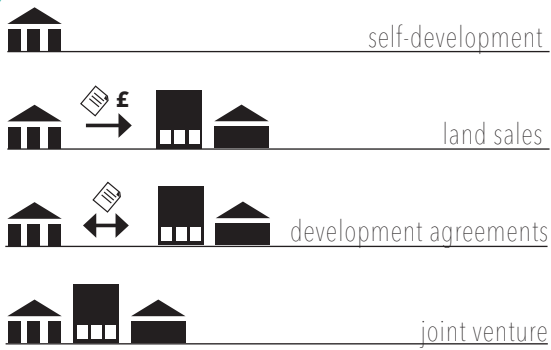
> London Plan paragraph 3.82: local circumstances should be taken into account (regeneration benefits to the local community, proportion of affordable housing in the surrounding area and the need to provide mixed and balanced communities, amount of affordable housing intended to be provided elsewhere in the borough).

> London Plan policy 3.12: the maximum reasonable amount of affordable housing should be sought when negotiating on private residential and mixed use schemes, having regard [...] the need to encourage rather than restrain development; the need to promote mixed and balanced communities; [...]

regeneration options



delivery options



PLANNING PROCESS

The diagram illustrates the general project process for estate regeneration. The main steps are: definition of objectives, decision-making, design elaboration/negotiation phase prior to planning permission, delivery and maintenance.

Within each scheme, the procedure, involved actors and decisions taken will vary – two examples are given in the case studies.

Decision making

In this phase, the regeneration option (refurbishment, demolition and reconstruction, etc.) is chosen. This is usually done with an option appraisal, analysing the different possibilities according to a set of (mostly financial) criteria. The choice of regeneration method will be followed up by the choice of delivery strategy and partner.

The importance of this process is emphasised by most guidance documents, including both the DCLG and the GLA Guide as well as 'Altered Estates' the 'Knock it down or do it up' report by the London Assembly. PTE Architects (A. Beharrell, personal communication 20 February 2017), explained that it is important that each regeneration option is properly and objectively examined not only with cost appraisals, but also architectural and resident input. The option of doing nothing/only minor repair works should always be included and can be used as baseline to tests costs and benefits of other options against. This approach, according the Beharrell and Patel, was standard in the 1980s and 90s but is less common now, also due to increased external development pressures and reduced funding to support the early stages of development.

A further discussion point is to what extent residents should be involved in the decision making process. Even though only mandatory at the planning application stage, most practice generally exceeds these requirements, consulting on resident's wishes and involving them in the design. However, among the LTF, as well as in other interviews (Flynn, Bowie, both in February 2017), the criticism was brought up that these mechanisms do not necessarily affect the decision-making. Hence, the LTF as well as the DCLG guide support a mandatory ballot vote on demolition whereas the GLA objects this proposal as it might in fact stop too many schemes.

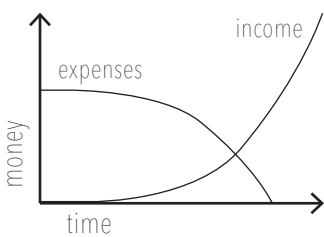
Financing and delivery

Financing is a key issue of estate regeneration. Everything stands and falls with the financial viability of the project, and socially sustainable solutions have to be financeable.

What makes estate regeneration particularly complex is that it requires significant investment over a long time period. Upfront costs tend to be significant. These include master-planning and resident engagement practices, but especially in the case of significant redevelopment strategies, the costs of emptying the estate, providing replacement housing for secure tenants and particularly buying back leaseholders can add up to large sums. Returns, on the other hand, will come in slowly (DCLG, 2016).

The National Estate Regeneration Strategy gives an overview of financing possibilities that are summarised in the diagram on the following page.

The possibilities for especially larger local authority self-funded schemes are limited. Boroughs have



△ Fig.4.20 Financing problems especially in the early stages of the project

< Fig.4.21 Actors, regeneration options and delivery constellations in the estate regeneration process



LOCAL AUTHORITY

DEVELOPER/PPP

project progress

WORKING CAPITAL
(limited due to budget cuts)

(WORKING CAPITAL)

-

GOVERNMENT GRANTS
(PPP as condition for government funding)

limited borrowing headroom

BORROWING
(lower percentage since financial crisis)

-

OFF-PLAN SALES

CROSS-SUBSIDY

CROSS-SUBSIDY

greater access to capital than in the past, being able to borrow against their housing assets and future rents since 2012, but many still have insufficient borrowing headroom as the amount is capped by the Treasury (London Assembly, 2015).

Generally, only very limited national government grant is available, and at lower levels than during previous governments. Especially for refurbishment, funding is limited, and additionally it is higher taxed than new build – the VAT tax for refurbishment is at 20% whereas new built is zero-rated (London Assembly, 2015).

Hence, other funding sources become more important. This is also part of the government's message to local authorities: be more innovative in exploring alternative financing and delivery models and work with the private sector to "access commercial skills and lever in private investment" (DCLG, 2016, Executive summary p.2). Partnership with the private sector is in fact one condition attached to larger government funding.

However, the reliance on the private market comes with a price, and developers will demand high profit margins, especially for such long-term projects like estate regeneration. As private developers "live or die by profit" (London Assembly, 2015, p.25), they will generally aim to get the most out of a project. Furthermore, the big developer firms' investment models shifted towards foreign investment and off-plan sales models, as large bank loans were not as easily available any more after the financial crisis (J. Abbot, personal communication 23 February 2017).

Planning application

Another critical phase in the planning process is the negotiation before planning permission is granted or denied. As mentioned before, the local authority

checks the planning application against relevant policies and negotiates with the applicant.

If private developers are involved, one important part of this are planning gain negotiations that have been mentioned earlier in this thesis. This is relevant for any development exceeding a threshold size of 15 dwellings, and includes new built within the estate regeneration process. Section 106 agreements include, for instance, contribution to schools, local capacity building, and affordable housing. Due to much criticism on transparency and the outcome of the negotiations, much of the planning gain has been simplified into a fixed infrastructure levy (CIL), but affordable housing continues to be a matter of negotiation. Developers can undertake viability assessments to justify a below-target amount of affordable housing; these have come under much media scrutiny in the recent years (see for example Wainwright, 2015).

In this negotiation process, local authorities might find themselves in a weak position to negotiate effectively and impose too strict conditions on private developers. This is due to a lack of capacities and skills within continuously under-funded local authorities; and their dependence on developers to bring forward large developments to relieve their budgets and deliver the housing targets. Every local authority has their own regulations on Section 106 agreements, but a viability SPG by the GLA is currently under preparation to streamline these negotiations.

Additionally, according to PTE (personal communication, 20 February 2017) the lack of local authority capacity is also relevant when judging the design in the planning application. As time is limited to elaborately evaluate design solutions, guidance become applied too rigidly, effectively limiting the possibilities for non-standard and innovative designs.

<|Fig.4.22 Delivery and financing options: *Local authorities cannot access some financing possibilities of housing associations or private sector parties.*

4.3 CASE STUDIES

In this chapter, the regeneration of two estates is analysed in more detail. The first is the controversial Heygate Estate regeneration in Southwark, the second a relatively small scale infill scheme at the Dover Court Estate in Islington.

To understand both the driving forces behind the development and the subsequent course of action, it is important to have an overview about the specific circumstances within the local authorities.

Southwark

Social Housing accounts for 29% of Southwark's housing stock. This totals up to 39,000 homes, making the borough the largest local authority landlord in London (Hill, 2014). Hence, moving the borough upmarket has been one of the major goals of the local authority (J. Abbot, personal communication 24 February 2017), and developments such as the transformation of the Southbank illustrate this clearly. Regarding housing, the borough generally pursues the strategy of social mixing, balancing out tenure and making use of rising land values. Especially in the more central locations, it actively engages in planning for economic growth, caters for global development - in line with the Mayor's Opportunity area framework - and has been object to foreign investment and real estate speculation (see Wainwright, 2015 and Hill, 2014).

Estate regeneration schemes in Southwark, such as the Aylesbury or Wood Dene redevelopment have come under much public scrutiny in the past years. The Heygate Estate/Elephant Park project is the most famous and well-documented example, and has been the reason for the formation of several protest groups such as the Southwark 35% campaign that continues to be active in observing and criticising many other developments since then.

However, the council also continues efforts in providing affordable housing, renovating many of its estates in need of repair and carrying out developments delivering new affordable housing as per the targets set by the borough. These are, among others, the Peckham, Silwood or Bermondsey Spa Estate regeneration. In fact, also in reaction to the overheating political climate, the council now carefully excludes council estates from new development plans such as the Old Kent Road Opportunity Area, and engages in a small scale refurbishment and infill approach similar to Islington (J. Abbot, personal communication 23 February 2017 and T. Patel, personal communication 20 February 2017).

Islington

Islington among the five most deprived boroughs in London, but at the same time one of the most expensive areas in in the owner occupied and private

rental sector. Hence, the Borough is very mixed, and extremes lie in close spatial proximity. Social rented housing is the largest tenure form, making up 27% of the housing stock (Islington Council, 2013).

The left liberal 'Guardian' describes Islington as 'the capital's most radical local authority' of affordable housing, and its regeneration schemes generally receive positive press and are used as best practice examples (Hill, 2014). Their housing strategy 2014-19 states, ambitiously: "We will make sure everyone in Islington has a place to live that is affordable, decent and secure". According to Alistair Gale, project manager at Islington and responsible for the Dover Court regeneration, the council has a strong political commitment to these goals, and still has the capacities to deliver them. The latter is, among other factors, a result from the high tenure diversity within the Borough and its attractiveness for businesses. Islington prefers to retain full control over its developments; consequently, government grants have not played a big role in Islington's regeneration schemes as the council did not want to meet certain conditions associated with these grants such as entering PPPs and the delivery of affordable rent levels (A. Gale, personal communication 5 March 2017).

Regarding its estates, the council runs a New Build Program that also the Dover Court regeneration was part of. The aim is to incrementally densify on garage

or other underused sites to deliver new social rented housing for the local population that gains primary access via a local lettings scheme. According to Gale, however, the council is currently running out of small sites and explores possibilities for larger scale regeneration and densification including potentially estate demolition. The aim remains to increase the output in affordable housing.

Regarding housing developments besides estate regeneration, also Islington council is criticised for many new residential developments are aimed at the high end or foreign investment sector especially around Old Street (LTF group meeting, 21 February 2017). A much criticised scheme is also the Mount Pleasant development, in which affordable housing targets are not met and luxury flats dominate the output (Denison and Bennet, 2015).



Fig.4.23 Vision for the new Elephant & Castle district (Lend Lease, 2016)

HEYGATE ESTATE

The regeneration of the Heygate Estate (now Elephant Park) is one of the most controversially discussed regeneration schemes in London due to numerous factors. Being a market-led scheme, the output of affordable housing stayed below the Southwark targets of 35% and the original resident population was dispersed.

The discussion about the Heygate is very emotionally held among many participants, and in my research online and on site I was confronted with a multitude of different opinions, theories and accusations.

Regeneration type: Demolition and reconstruction

Status: demolished, construction of phase 1/6 finished, phase 2-4 under construction

Developers: Lend Lease

Designers: Make Architects (Masterplan for outline planning permission), different architects per successive phase

Project scale: Demolition of 1194 and construction of 2500 dwellings on 9ha site; off-site replacement housing developments

Output:

The scheme will deliver 2500 new homes on site of which 25%/~530 units will be affordable (265 are affordable rent - 50/50 share between Southwark and GLA affordability caps - and 268 shared ownership). Additionally, business, retail and commercial space, a public park, cultural and leisure facilities are developed; public realm and infrastructure improvements undertaken.

Off-site replacement housing of 512 (Committee report, 2013)/around 600 (interview with Flynn, and Abbot, both February 2017) affordable units from 10 'Early Housing Sites' has been completed recently.



Location

The Heygate Estate was very centrally located in Walworth in North Southwark, directly next to the Elephant and Castle tube and rail station and the campus of the LCC. The site is framed by the major road connections of New Kent Road and Walworth Road. The Elephant and Castle area has been under development in the past decades, with many tall buildings emerging among relicts of a low budget shopping centre, shops and restaurants in the busy streets around the Elephant and Castle roundabout. The surrounding districts form a patchwork of mostly terraced houses and smaller scale estates.

The estate before regeneration

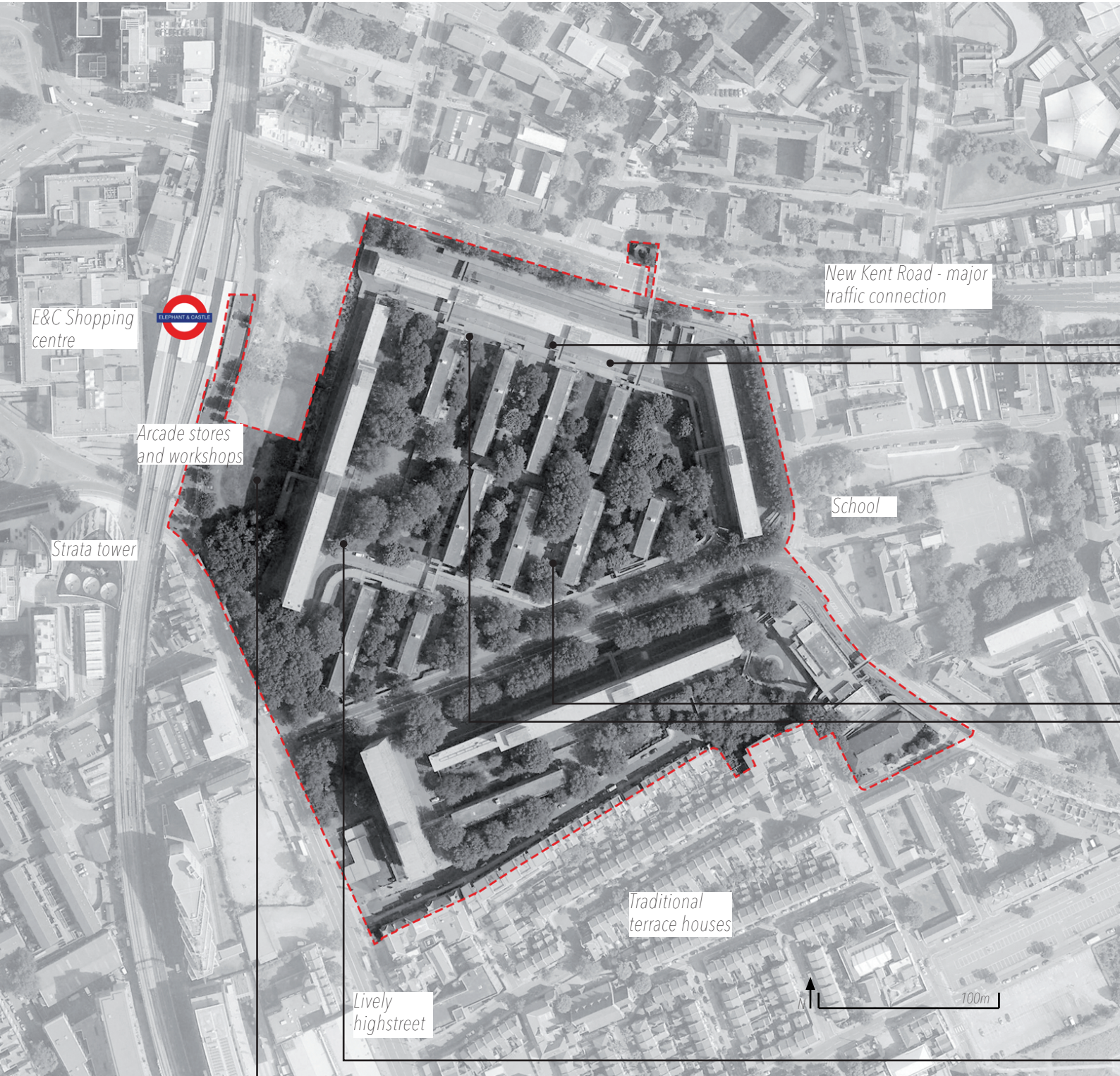
The Estate was finished in 1974 - hence being part of the later, larger and generally less qualitative phases of council housing building (Harnack, 2012) using brutalist pre-fabricated concrete slabs. The urban layout was very characteristic and reinforced an insular effect: The estate consisted of five linear high-rise deck access apartment blocks screening off a set of three storey blocks within communal, but mostly undefined green spaces in its centre. It represents a typical modernist design with a clear separation of uses and forms of traffic. The ground level was designated to motorised traffic, and the ground floor of all buildings was taken up by garages and storage rooms. The buildings were connected by concrete bridges, forming streets in the sky for the pedestrian user.

Following the concept of 'light, air and space', the flats were said to be generous compared to today's building standards, and set in a green environment with many mature trees.

The opinions about the quality of life on the estate nonetheless differ largely. By Southwark Council, and in the general media, the estate was portrayed as 'sink estate' (see, for instance: BBC, 2009) - an area of deprivation, crime and anti-social behaviour. Residents and protesters resist the stigmatisation of these homes, pointing to a sense of community on the estate and the lower crime rates than elsewhere in the borough (see, for instance: Heygatewashome, 2017). Jerry Flynn, former Heygate resident and founder of Southwark 35%, explained that the living conditions were not particularly bad but similar to any ordinary South London council estate: The opinions differed; some residents were satisfied and some, generally in the tall buildings, were unhappier (personal communication, 22 February 2017).

Another argument revolves around the structural condition of the buildings justifying demolition over refurbishment. Flynn pointed out that the Estate was in overall in a reasonable state of repair, but having the 'usual' council estate problems such as temporary failing lifts and heating systems resulting rather from poor maintenance and management. The buildings were found structurally sound in the building survey 1998 (Heygatewashome, 2016), but Abbot, project manager at Southwark Council (personal communication 23 February 2017), pointed out that during demolition, it was found that they were in a worse condition than originally estimated.

<|Fig.4.24 Location Heygate Estate



E&C Shopping centre



Arcade stores and workshops

Strata tower

New Kent Road - major traffic connection

School

Traditional terrace houses

Lively highstreet



100m



Fig.4.25 & 4.26 Strict traffic separation: elevated pathways and blind ground floor

left: Thomas Bryans via Flickr, 2010
right: Simon Carruthers, 2010



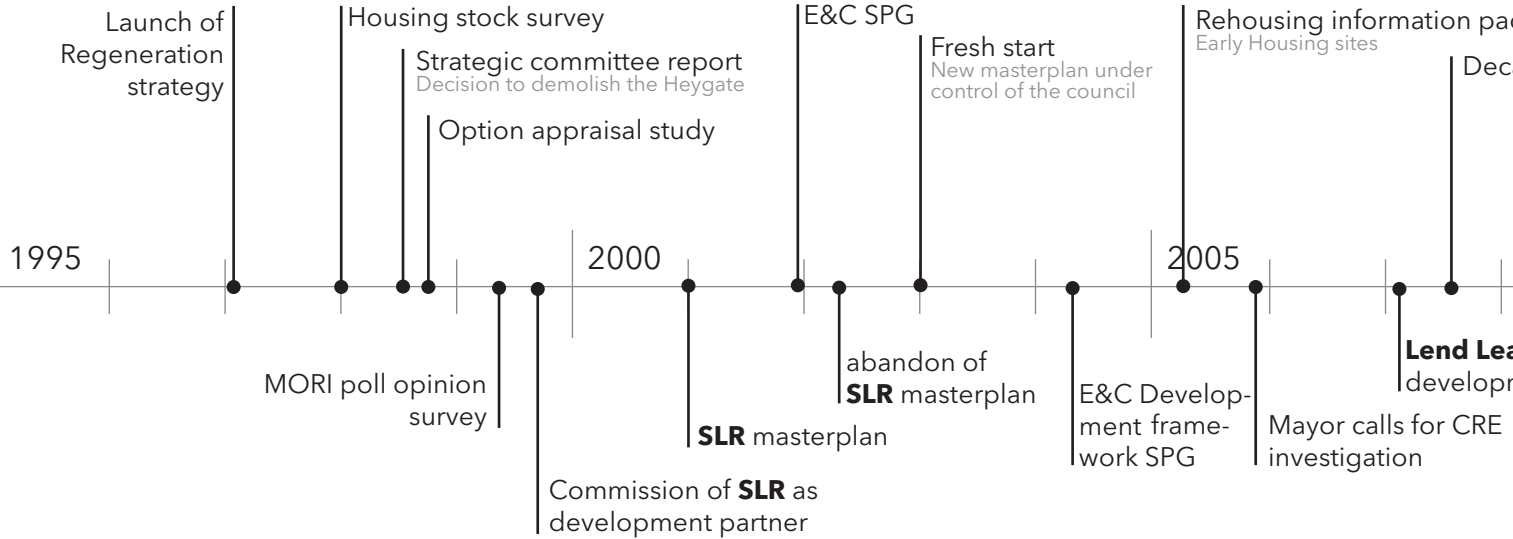
Fig.4.27 & 4.28 The space between the buildings, used?

both: Peter Marshall, 2012



Fig.4.29 & 4.30 Play spaces, formal and informal

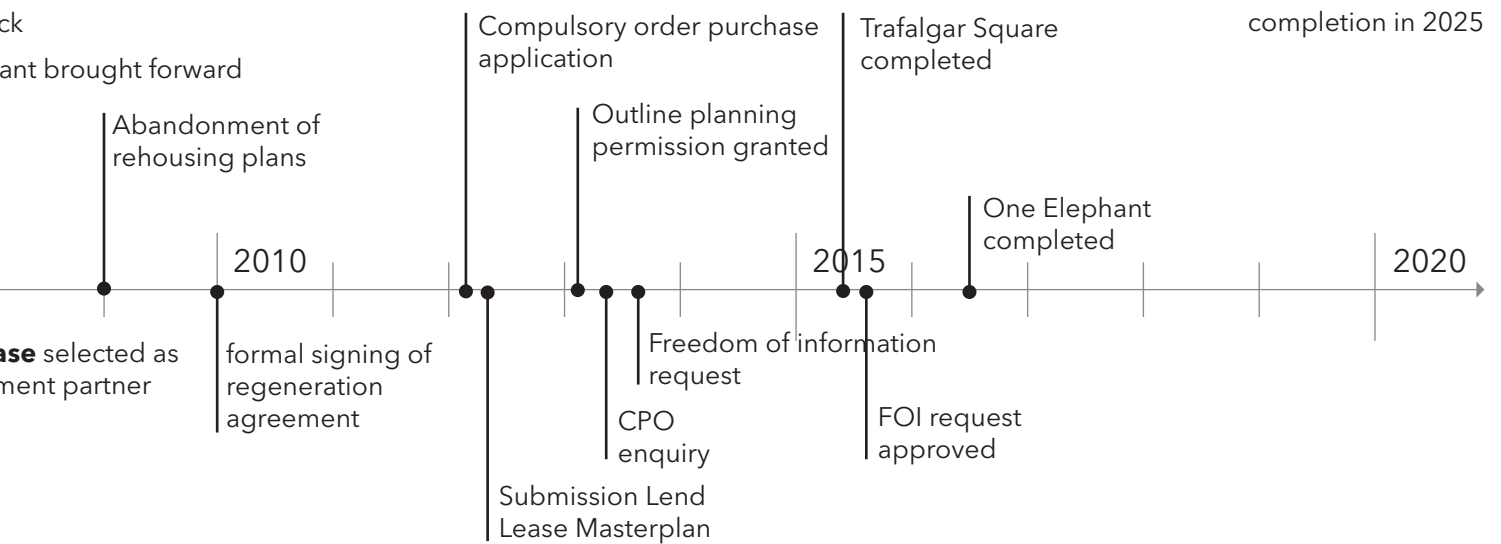
left: Steve Reed, 2013
right: Evening Standard, 2014



2002 HEYGATE MASTERPLAN



2012 HEYGATE MASTERPLAN



△ Fig.4.31 Regeneration timeline - a 20 year long process full of controversies and direction changes

Content retrieved from Heygatowashome

Driving forces for the regeneration and impact on the planning process

The demolition of the Heygate Estate was strategically motivated rather than by the condition of the estate. According to Jon Abbot (personal communication, 23 February 2017), there were two main reasons: In the 1990s, much of Southwark's large council housing stock was run down and in need of refurbishment. Investment, however, had to be targeted as the resources of the local authority were exhausted under the rule of the conservative national government. Furthermore, the borough wanted to move upmarket, diversifying its tenure and social mix, and create a centre for retail and business that did not exist in the borough to date. The site of the Heygate Estate, due to its central location and land in public ownership, provided hence the opportunity for such a development. In addition, this would allow to direct funds towards the refurbishment of other areas such as the Peckham Estates. This strategic decision for demolition was criticised by the Southwark 35% movement (Heygatowashome, 2016), as it was taken prior to consultations with the residents and the

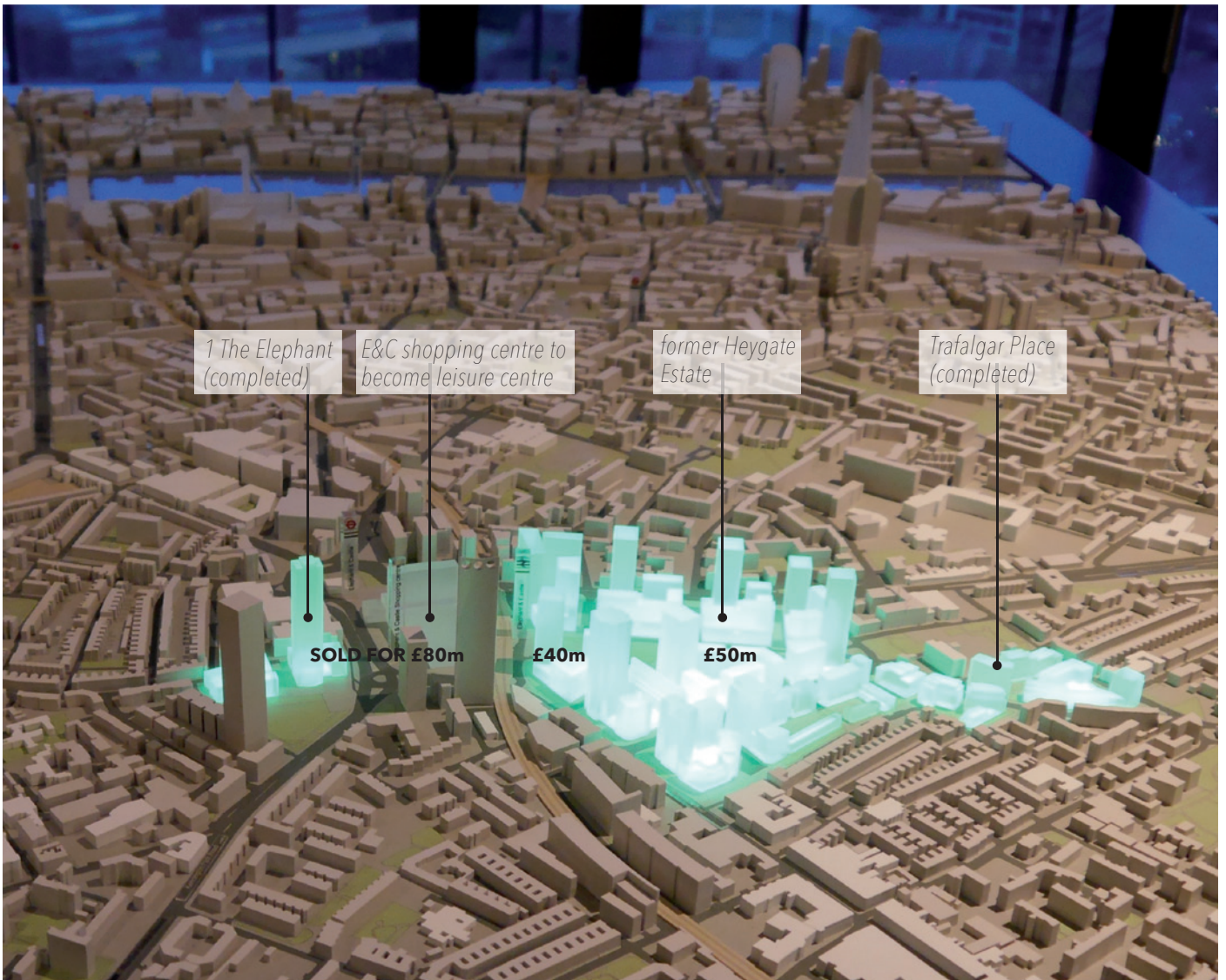
Option Appraisal Study determining the structural soundness of the buildings.

The two decades long planning process additionally included a series of direction changes, resulting in deception of the residents. The regeneration process was started in 1998 with an open brief, presenting the problem and opportunity and searching for a private sector development partner. SLR was chosen, and the proposal was based on a tripartite organisational structure, involving the Southwark Council, the developer SLR and the local community as partners. The scheme advocated transferring the land to a Community Land Trust. However, the arrangement was dropped in 2002. The council was not satisfied as the proposal did not deliver the envisioned urban and retail-oriented centrality (J. Abbot, personal communication, 23 February 2017), and disputes among the stakeholders and specifically also within the community groups involved further complicated the situation (J. Flynn, personal communication, 22 February 2017).

As result, the project was relaunched with the premise that Southwark will retain more control. The council commissioned Fosters (later Make Architects) to

< Fig.4.32 Comparison 2002 and 2012 Masterplan. The 2002 scheme foresaw transferring the land into a community land trust

Retrieved from Heygatowashome



prepare a plan that set out a clear vision before finding a developer to implement it. Due to this management change, previous commitments made towards the residents were not held: Initial promises to be rehoused in the Estate were changed to nearby replacement homes that are still lacking behind schedule in delivery (Heygatewashome, 2016). Abbot emphasised that from the start, the intention was to re-provide dwellings for a part of the residents elsewhere. However, according to Flynn, this had not been clearly communicated.

Stakeholder arrangement

In 2007, Lend Lease was selected as development partner; the land was sold to them under conditions set out in the regeneration agreement, including determinations on profit sharing and planning gain. Within this, the Heygate Estate site is only one part of the £3bn overall regeneration scheme in the Elephant & Castle Opportunity area. The affordable units within the new development are taken on by the London & Quadrant Housing Association.

The agreement was officially signed in 2010. In the three previous years, the negotiation went back and forth in the time of the financial crisis (J. Abbot, personal communication, 23 February 2017). After a change of party in the local election in 2010 then, the new Labour administration finally signed, but was accused to rush into the agreement that was very much in favour of Lend Lease (Heygatewashome, 2016). This illustrates the impact of political and market change on the planning process. Furthermore, as the council had already emptied the Estate since 2007, it was under pressure to keep the process going and was in a weaker position when

Lend Lease renegotiated the terms (J. Abbot, personal communication, 23 February 2017).

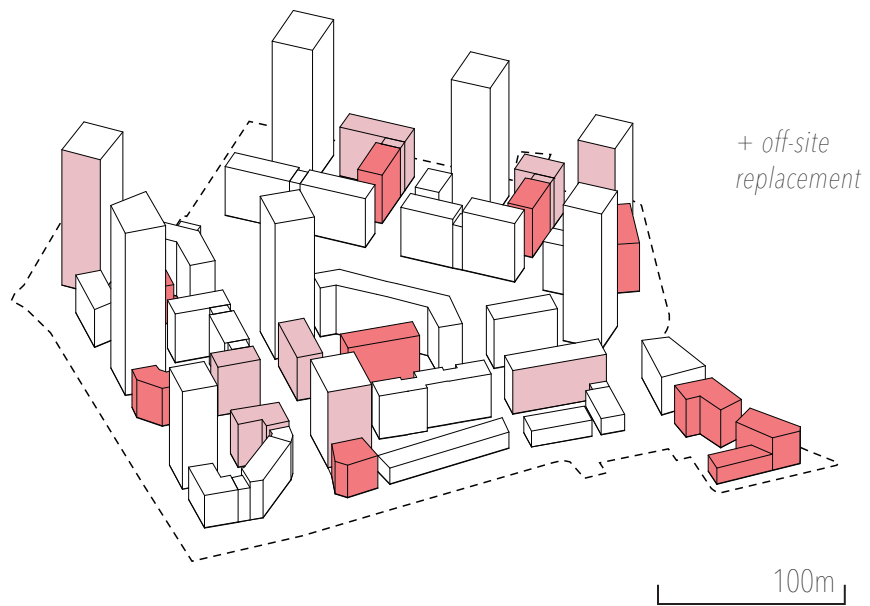
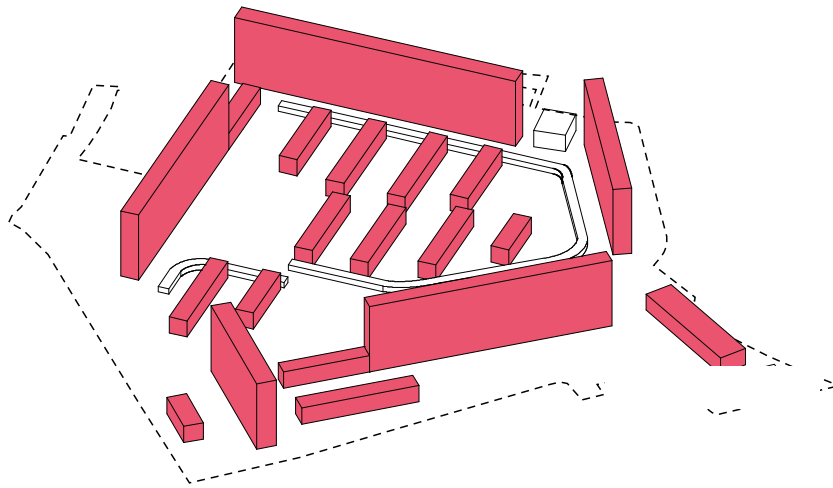
Financing

After the withdrawal of the HCA fund for affordable housing, the largest part of the scheme is financed by Lend Lease via the sale of private market units. An important aspect of the firm's business model is off-plan selling, attracting foreign investment for upfront cash (J. Abbot, personal communication, 23 February 2017 and Lend Lease staff, personal communication 19 February 2017). The homes, in consequence, are largely marketed overseas and designed to attract investors.

The Council has been criticised to have made a bad deal with Lend Lease (D. Bowie, personal communication, 22 February 2017, 35% Campaign, 2014 and Wainwright, 2015): After having spent £44m on emptying the estate and buying back leaseholders, it sold the land for only £50m whereas the profits for Lend Lease are estimated at £990m. Abbot however refused these notions on several grounds: first, the regeneration agreement included clauses on profit sharing, but in such a long term development projects it will take years to bring the investment back in; additionally, councils do not have the same motivations as private developers in terms of profit, and in the time of the crisis it was necessary to make a trade-off as pushing higher land values would in return have further reduced the viability of affordable housing.

◀ **Fig.4.33** The different sub-projects within the Elephant&Castle scheme; all developed by Lend Lease

Photo: author; Numbers: 35% Campaign



Affordable Housing

As mentioned above, this project originated from the intention to “replace the Heygate Estate with a mixed tenure, mixed use neighbourhood” (Committee report, 2013, p.6). The share of the affordable housing was supposed to be in line with planning policy – e.g. 35% of all the units – but not replace all affordable housing on site. However, both the replacement housing programme as well the percentage of onsite affordable housing did not develop as originally planned.

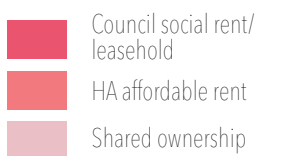
The 2004 E&C SPG proposes the construction of around 1200 social rented units to rehouse the former Heygate residents, to be delivered through two routes: the Heygate replacement programme (512 units to be developed in partnership with RSLs on council owned land with similar rent levels and security), and the remainder provided via Section 106 agreements on private residential development. The replacement homes, however, had not been built at the time the decanting was started, and at the time of the outline planning application in 2013, only 428 units had been completed or were under construction (Committee report, 2013). Some 600 are finished to date (Abbot, 2017). As a result, the secure tenants were dispersed among other existing council property, dispersing the local community and putting an additional strain on the local waiting lists (J. Flynn, personal communication, 22 February 2017). The leaseholders, being priced out of their local area, were dispersed across the borders of the borough and some out of London.

On the site of the estate, the masterplan determines a minimum 25% of the units to be affordable.

These units, including affordable rent and shared ownership, contain only around 90 dwellings at social rented levels.

Hence, this price increase further limits the possibilities for tenants who intended to return to the estate. The decrease from 35% to 25% was justified by Lend Lease with a viability assessment claiming that the scheme would not be economically feasible if a higher percentage of affordable housing would be provided. The committee report states: „The applicant has submitted a detailed financial appraisal to demonstrate that a scheme providing 35% affordable housing would be unviable and would produce a very substantial overall deficit“ and „In broad terms the DV accepts the applicant’s appraisal and agrees that the scheme cannot support the policy requirement of 35% affordable housing. The level of affordable housing that could be provided on a viable scheme is 9.4%“. This viability assessment, after a court ruling forced the council to disclose the numbers after a Freedom of Information request, has been object to much criticism and outrage as Lend Lease assumed a very high profit margin of 25% and significantly undervalued the end sales values of the completed development (Wainwright, 2015). The council, under pressure to keep the regeneration going - as explained previously - accepted it under the condition that the percentage may increase, should the scheme exceed a certain profit limit.

◁ Fig.4.34 Affordable Housing before and after regeneration



data: Masterplan, 2012

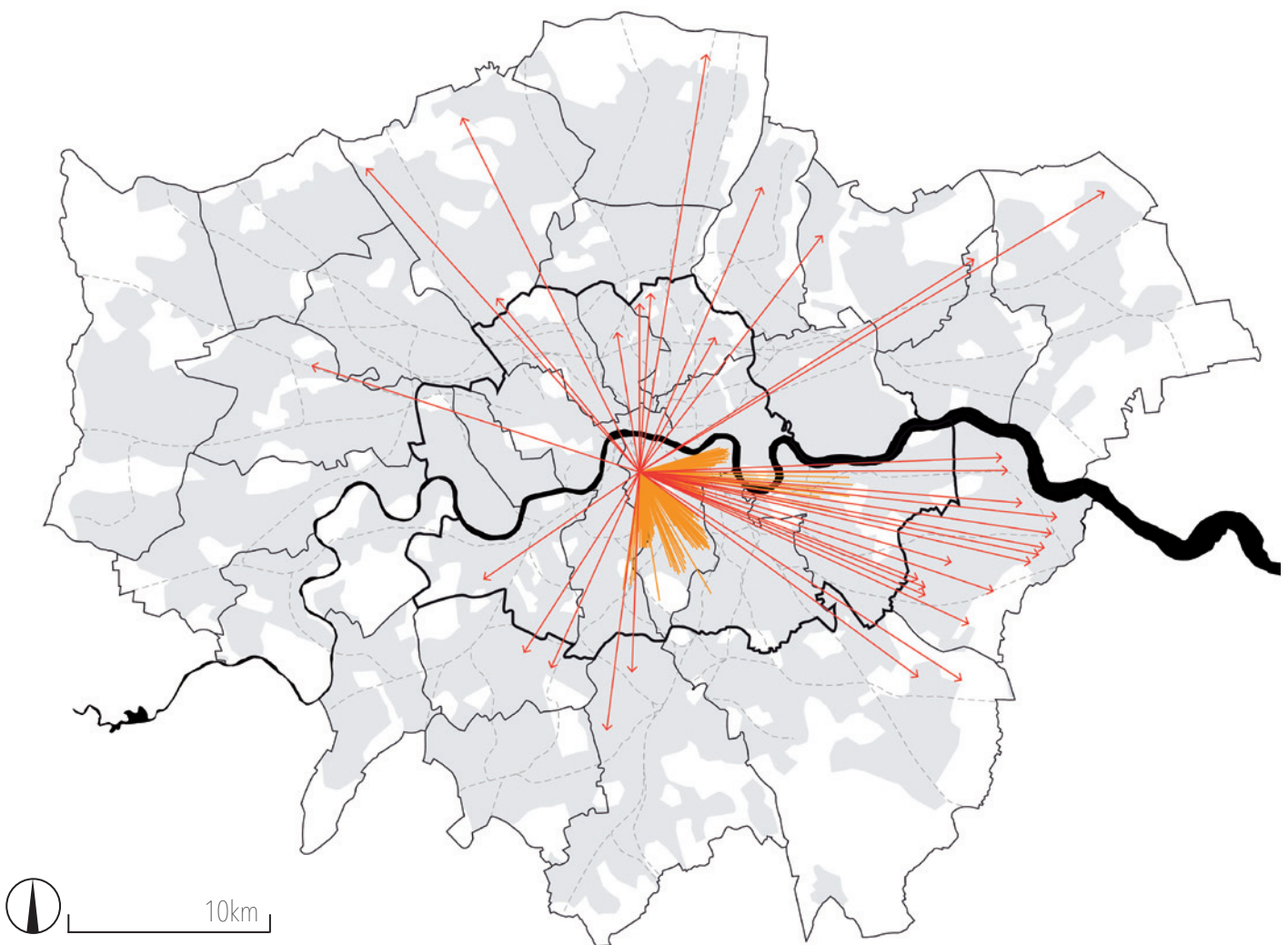


Fig.4.36 Secure tenants were decanted to other council property (Photo: J_Ymmit, 2011)

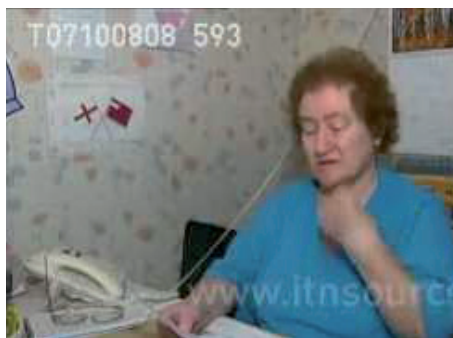


Fig.4.37 Residents were offered Happiness Therapy to cope with the continued insecurity during the regeneration period (Photo: video posted by 35% campaign)



Fig.4.38 The compensation payments to leaseholders were insufficient to stay in the local area (Photo: video posted by 35% campaign)

Resident engagement

The community has been involved to varying extents across the process, but Flynn criticised that the opinions of residents, in the end, did not count. As mentioned above, the decision for demolition was taken before the community got involved. The opinion poll, consulting on the residents' opinion on six different regeneration options ranging from full demolition to leaving things as they were, was later used as justification for demolition. However, according to Flynn, whereas one third of the residents were in favour of partial, one third in favour of full demolition, it also shows that 63% of the residents wanted to stay or come back to the estate.

The first scheme did give a high importance to the community by granting them a third-developer status in the tripartite structure in which nothing could go forward without the agreement of all three parties. But after the abandon of the scheme, the council retained more control within, and the SPG was prepared with much lesser community involvement. Residents were later consulted on the plans, giving generally positive feedback, but on houses that were not intended for them (J. Flynn, personal communication 22 February 2017).

Disputes about the decanting process and the right-to-return for residents are a central aspect of the criticism towards the scheme. After having deferred all maintenance and repair work since 1998 in anticipation of demolition, the Council stopped issuing new secure tenancies on the estate and started using some of the now vacant flats as short term emergency housing on non-secure tenancies. This being an economically reasonable proposal,

it impacted the living conditions on the estate in the years before its demolition (Heygatewashome, 2016). In addition, due to the several direction changes along the planning process, previous promises and agreements could not be held, increasing the frustration among the residents: the residents were promised to be rehoused within the E&C area, in case they wish to return to the Heygate in a temporary accommodation, and only under exceptional circumstances elsewhere in the borough (Heygatewashomw, 2016). As mentioned before, in 2007, a few months after the selection of Lend Lease as development partner, the council brought the de-canting forward without having built/granted planning permission to most early housing sites. The Heygate Action Plan supposedly pressured secure tenants to bid for existing council housing. According to the 35% Initiative (2014), were told they would be 'decanted' temporarily into existing council stock elsewhere in the Borough (=not in the local area anymore) and given the opportunity of signing a 'right to return' (valid for 7 years) to the new replacement once they had been built. Eviction proceedings were taken against a total of 198 households during the Heygate decanting process. In April 2010 the Council switched off the district heating and hot water supply to the Heygate's few remaining tenants and mainly leaseholders, and in 2012 the council applied for CPO (compulsory order purchase) powers in order to be able to evict the estate's remaining leaseholders (J. Flynn, personal communication, 22 February 2017, and Heygatewashome, 2016).

◁ Fig.4.35 Resident displacement

— Tenants
— Leaseholders

Redrawn from LTF, *Just space, SNAG and Lees, 2014* and Poonoosamy, 2013





Masterplan (opposite page)

Lend Lease, 2012

Fig.4.39 The new central park

Make architects, 2012



Fig.4.40 & 4.41 The new shopping street and affordable housing unit

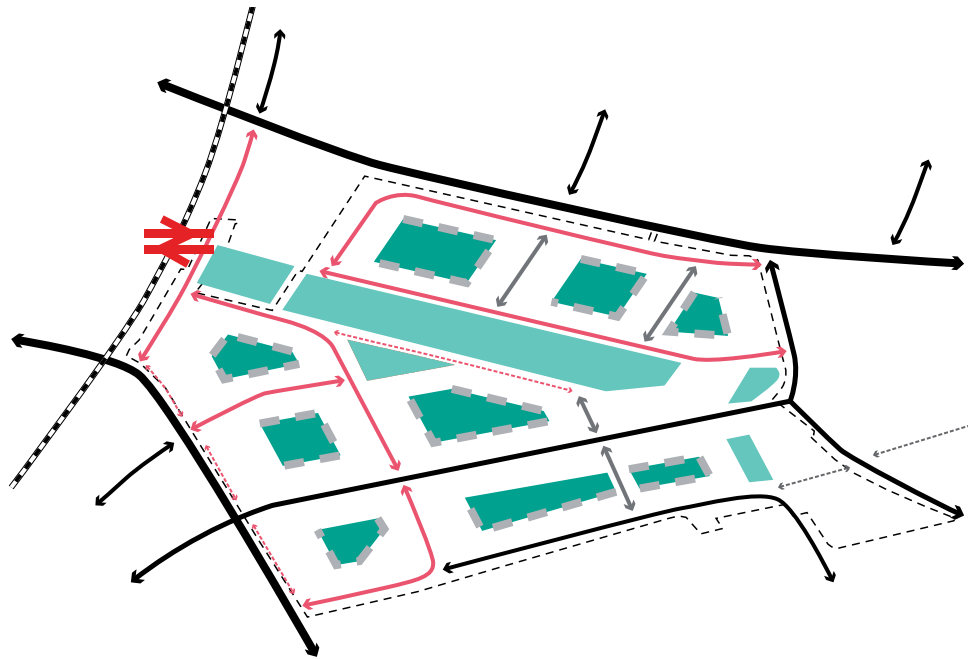
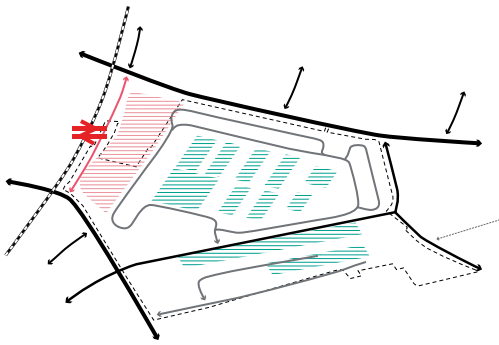
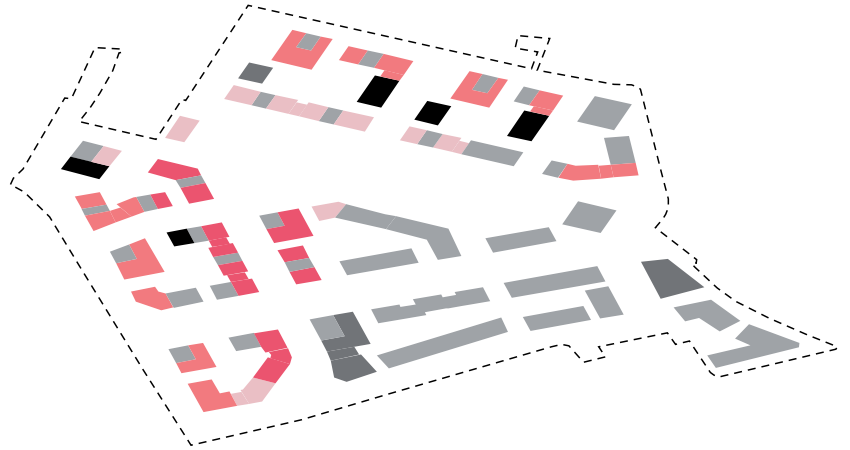
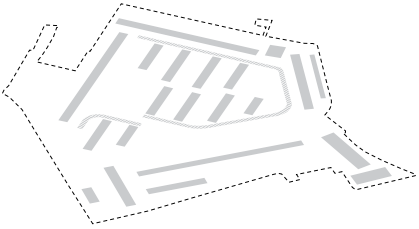
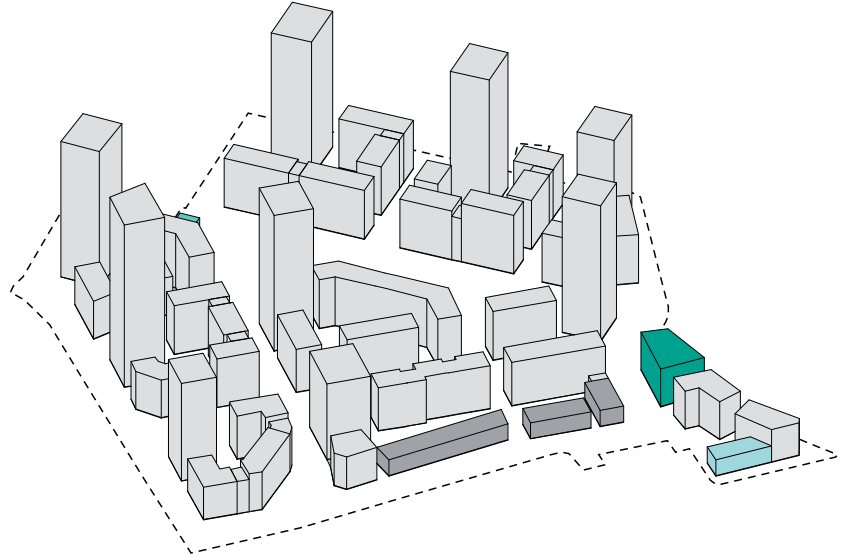
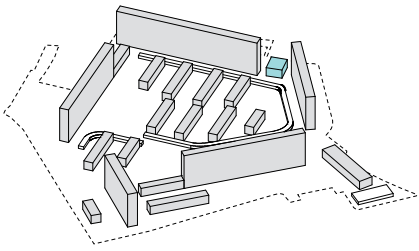
left: Lend Lease, 2014

right: Lend LEase/London&Quadrant, 2014



Fig.4.42 & 4.43 Design for communal courtyard and roof terrace within the market segment

both: Lend Lease, 2014



100m

◁ Fig.4.44 Urban structure before and after regeneration



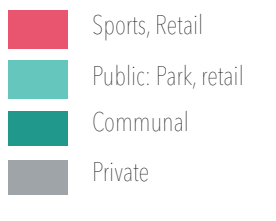
data: Masterplan, 2012

◁ Fig.4.45 Ground floor use



data: Masterplan, 2012

◁ Fig.4.46 Public realm before and after regeneration



data: Masterplan, 2012

Design

The design objective was the creation of a new town centre in the Elephant & Castle area. Hence, the development is at a high density, a large percentage of the ground floor is commercially used, and the masterplan foresees a large public park stretching from the rail station into the site. For this, the physical opening of the formerly insular site was seen as prerequisite, and the new internal street pattern connects up to the surrounding streets. The masterplan designates specific characters to each street – a high street at the site boundary at Walworth Road, a parallel pedestrianised retail street, roads lining the park with a focus on restaurants and cafes, and a set of residential streets. Automobile traffic is widely reduced within the site, focussing on pedestrian areas and shared space.

The buildings in the clearly readable layout are grouped into blocks around communal courtyards. Within one block, the buildings vary in height and usually contain one tall building. The average height within the development decreases from the Elephant & Castle area, dominated by high-rise, to match the smaller scale of the adjacent residential buildings in the south-east.

Regarding the social mix, generally one or two mid-rise buildings per block are designated as affordable. Mixing within the building is mostly avoided with the exception of shared ownership dwellings that may be combined with market flats. To date, however, only one affordable block, located towards the 'rear' end of the development, is finished.

The concept of 'tenure blindness' was emphasised both John Prevc from Make architects (email conversation, February 2017) as well as the Lend Lease sales person I talked to during the site visit. However, buildings containing market or affordable

units might still differ in material in scale – both the high-rise buildings, with facades of glass and steel, and the lower rise townhouses contain exclusively market units.

Every dwelling disposes of private outdoor space, be it balconies, gardens or roof terraces. Where the groundfloor is of residential use, the concept of front gardens as 'defensible space' has been widely applied. The inner courtyards, as well as some roof terraces and hireable event rooms can be used by the resident community. The courtyards, judging from the illustrations available online, contain mostly elaborate planting schemes. Their role might hence be representative – designed for calm uses such as looking, walking, sitting – rather than intended to offer opportunities for informal appropriation. The event rooms, as well gardening plots on roof terraces, can be rented by inhabitants, hence reducing their accessibility for lower income groups.

The overall design represents a mix of concepts: on the one hand, one can witness a return to current urbanism standards that draw back on the historical city – walkability, mix of uses, variations in height, active frontages etc. – that is combined with towers of glass and steel, with concierges and luxury two bedroom flats. The latter are built according to a market logic of investment opportunities rather than the housing need of people. According to a Lend Lease salesman, about 60% of the units might be occupied, whereas the rest is bought as investment. The opinions about the design differ: While some passers-by I talked to are happy about the new district coming up and being a clear improvement to the former Heygate Estate, others, such as Bowie, Bailey and Flynn, criticise its generic appearance that is attributed to the off plan selling mechanisms in which buyers have no interest in place making or living quality.



Fig.4.47 The construction site seen from the One The Elephant Tower - the first buildings of Phase 2 'West Grove' are under completion. Canary Wharf in the background. (Photo: author)



Fig.4.48 Old and new: low budget shops in the arcade of Elephant&Castle overground station adjacent to the Heygate development site, the strata tower in the background (Photo: author)



Fig.4.49 Gentrification has arrived? Food pop up on the construction site (Photo: author)



Fig.4.50 Construction of the 'South Gardens' blocks. Mid-rise development and brick dominate the scene design in this area. (Photo: author)



Fig.4.51 'South Gardens': low rise development to connect up to the adjacent street facades. (Photo: author)

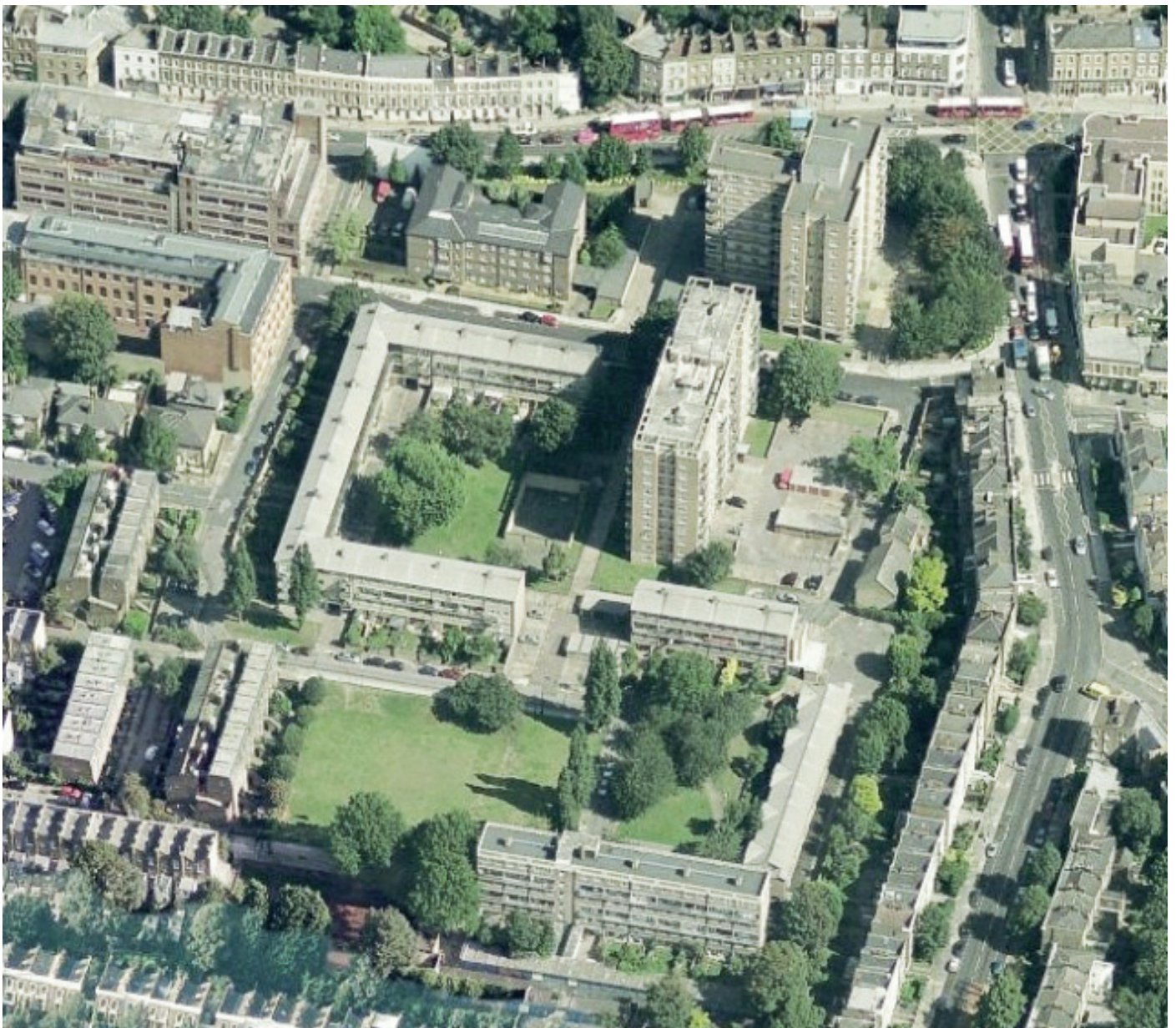


Fig.4.52 Dover Court Estate (*Design and Access statement, 2014*)

DOVER COURT ESTATE

The Dover Court Estate regeneration is one of several infill schemes undertaken in Islington to create new homes on council owned land. The local authority acts as developer and delivers a scheme that will increase the overall amount of affordable housing on site, having involved the local community throughout the process.

Regeneration type: Infill and public realm improvements

Status: Phase one of two under construction

Developers: LBI, Lovell

Designers: PTE Architects, Farrer Huxley Associates

Project scale: Addition of 71 dwellings to existing 252 units on 3ha site

Output:

The scheme will deliver 71 new homes on infill sites 9 sites. 81 garages are demolished as well as one two storey building consisting of 18 units whose residents will move to one of the new buildings. Of the new homes, 51 will be for social rent and 19 sold on the private market. The existing homes remain under their previous tenancy conditions.

Public realm improvements are planned across the entire estate, and the ground floor of Threadgold House is refurbished. Formerly consisting of storage units, it will now contain a community facility, new bike and bin storage and one wheelchair accessible flat.



Location

The Dover Court Estate lies in the South Islington Canonbury Ward, north of the popular Hoxton and Shoreditch area. It is relatively well connected, with several train and underground stations (Dalston Junction, Canonbury and Essex Road) within approximately 10min walking distance.

The estate lies within distinctive traditional neighbourhoods characterised by Victorian terraced housing and some post war estates. It is located at the intersection between Balls Pond Road and Southgate Road, both busy connection roads. The Balls Pond Road acts as the local High Street with a set of shops and restaurants.

Description of the Estate

The Estate was built in the 1960s, replacing a former slum neighbourhood. The layout disrupted the interconnected street pattern with a modernist 'towers in the landscape' approach (DAS, 2014).

The buildings are made of brick and consist of two 10 storey apartment towers, 6 storey linear apartment blocks and one low rise block, surrounding semi-public green spaces. The mid-and low rise apartment blocks contain dwellings with gardens in the ground floor and deck access apartments in the upper storeys, whereas the ground floor of the high-rise elements is mostly occupied by garages.

The buildings are structurally sound and have undergone incremental refurbishment over time.

The relationship between the buildings and the surrounding green space, however, is one of the major points of criticism in the 'Design and Access Statement', said to encourage anti-social behaviour due to a lack of natural surveillance and defensible space. The orientation of the entrances and private gardens was designed according to maximise sun exposure and does not follow the street pattern. This results in dark and secluded access ways to some dwellings. Large areas are dedicated to parking.

During my observation, most areas (apart from the ball pit) were only used for passing through or dog walking, especially the fenced area within Westcliffe House. The larger area in the South was under construction and not accessible.

PTE architects as well as the residents I interviewed both pointed out potential for improvement regarding the public realm of the estate, as the mostly plain lawns are not offering much potential for stay and meeting. According to one resident, the local pub acts the local meeting point for lack of better alternatives. One issue of conflict was the noise of playing kids. Most residents were however generally satisfied with their surroundings, particularly the with the openness that is rarely available in the densely populated Islington.

Especially for kids, the already finished ball pit is a well-used and popular element.



△ Fig.4.53 Map of the area 1954

Design and access statement, 2014

< Fig.4.54 Location Dover Court Estate





Leon, 31

"I live here with my wife and kids. We got relocated here from Hoxton 2 years ago, and it is fine. People are friendly, but don't interact much. But, there is also nowhere to meet and chat, especially for the elderly. The pub is the only place where the neighbours meet"



Anthony, 4, and Tayjar, 8

"We mostly play here in front of our houses, run around, bike, play ball. We like living here - there are not so many people and they are friendly."



Fig.4.55 &4.56 Mix of high and low-rise; unattractive plinth

Photos: author



Fig.4.57 &4.58 Relatively bland and uncharacterised communal spaces

Photos: author



Position of the local authority and driving forces for the regeneration

The main driving force for the development was the need for more affordable homes in the borough. As part of its New Build Program, Islington identified the Dover Court Estate as one of the potential densification sites. The process was started around 2007 with a large scale 'Site Finder Survey', identifying infill and small scale redevelopment sites within the council's land, specifically housing estates, such low rise blocks and garages. The selection criteria for the Dover Court Estate were its relatively low density, the amount of open and amenity space within the estate, the high number of garages and the opportunities for public realm improvements. Especially the latter was an important in order to give obvious benefits to the existing residents so they would support the scheme (A. Gale, personal communication, 5 March 2017).

Delivery

In line with Islington's priorities, the scheme is initiated and also put forward by the council itself. PTE Architects were commissioned to develop

identify underused sites, proposals for new homes and an improved public realm and consult these with the residents. For the construction phase, Lovell was appointed by the council as developer through Islington's New Build Contractor Framework. Lovell will oversee the delivery of the scheme and take over resident engagement.

Financing

The £21,8m project is forward funded through the Council's New Build Programme. In this, a major role plays the possibility of the council to borrow from HRA against its assets for upfront cash, and New Homes Bonus. In the long run, the project will bring a return via the sale of the market dwellings and the rental income over a 30 year period. However, the Dover Court regeneration is one of the last schemes being funded in that way. The proportion of social/market housing of the new build, in this case 70/30, will probably balance to 50/50 proportions due to the local authority budget cuts and rent reductions on existing council stock (A. Gale, personal communication, 5 March 2017).

△ Fig.4.59 Regeneration timeline

Content retrieved from Interviews and project website

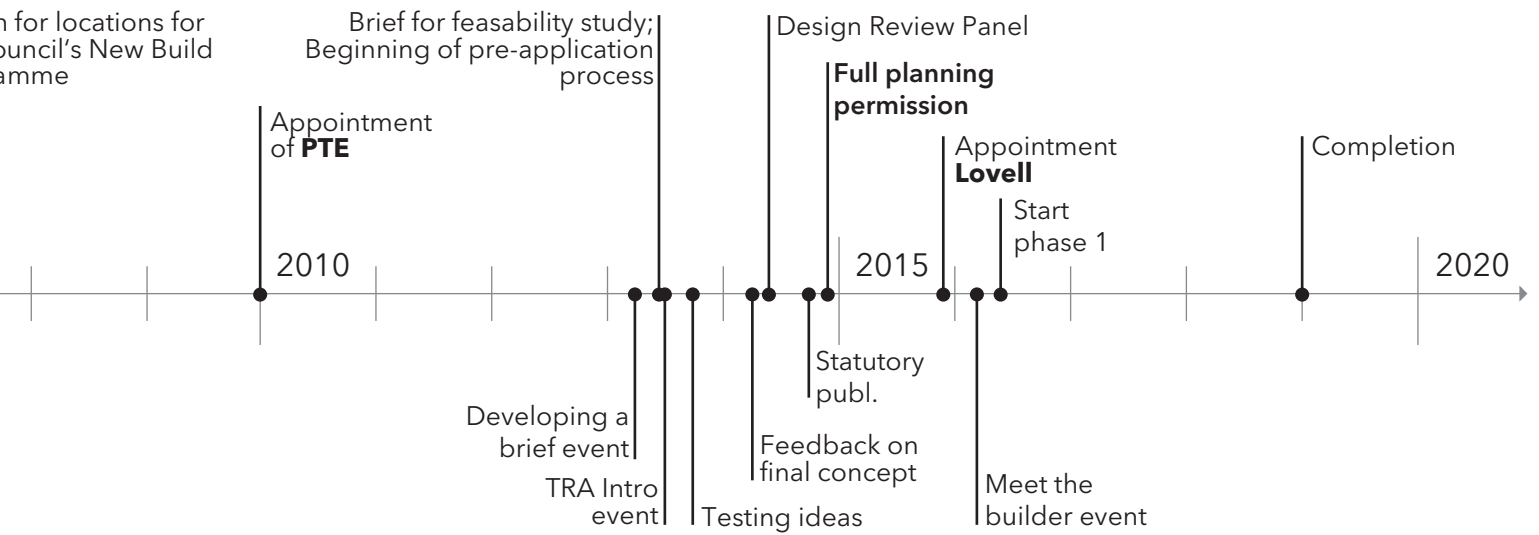


▷ Fig.5.60 Affordable Housing before and after regeneration



data: Design and access statement, 2014

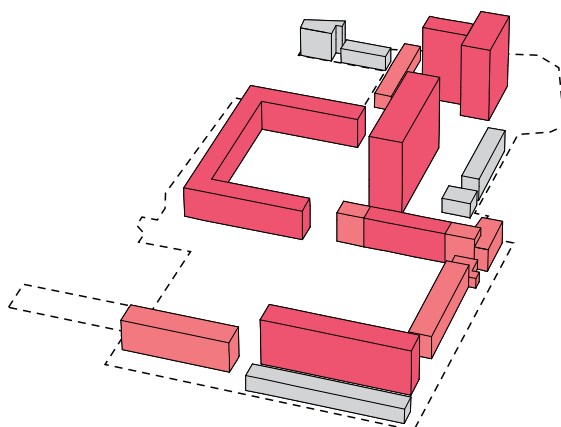
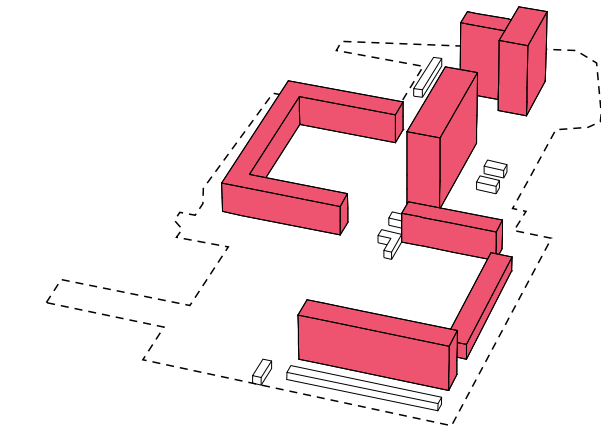
n for locations for
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Affordable Housing

There is a net gain of 33 social rented homes, including wheelchair accessible flats and homes for over 55s. Due to Islington's local lettings policy, local people will benefit from the scheme. Families in overcrowded homes get the opportunity to upsize to the newly constructed family homes (planned according to an assessment of the local housing needs) and residents in under-occupied apartments can downsize (T. Patel, personal communication 20 February 2017).

This project can act as example how small scale infill can alleviate the local housing need and contribute to an overall improvement of the existing residents' living conditions. However, this approach does not add large numbers of affordable homes.



New and affordable homes in Islington



There is a desperate need for affordable homes in Islington. Property is very expensive here, placing mortgages and private rents out of the reach of many Islington families. Levels of overcrowding are higher here than in other London boroughs.

Islington is looking across the borough to create more council housing. Islington has committed to over 30 projects to provide over 200 affordable homes by 2015. Examples of Islington New Build projects are shown below.



Amenor Close Garage - completed 2009



Vale Way - due to be completed shortly



143 Green Station Road - new build in progress



Lynn Street - over 50 flats recently granted planning consent

Decent and sustainable homes

We are building a range of new homes. They will be built to "Lifetime Homes" standard and designed to achieve high levels of sustainability. Features have included:

- air source heat pumps
- good insulation
- solar panels
- triple glazing
- rainwater harvesting
- adaptations for wheelchair users
- green roofs
- ground source heat pumps

Safer homes by design

We are designing out crime and anti-social behaviour by ensuring natural surveillance and creating pleasant surroundings for our residents to enjoy. Some of the new homes have been built on the sites of disused garages, and developments like these have seen incidences of crime and anti-social behaviour fall in Islington neighbourhoods. We work closely with the local neighbourhood police and the Secured by Design Officers to ensure all our new homes improve safety and security for our residents.

Pollard Thomas Edwards architects

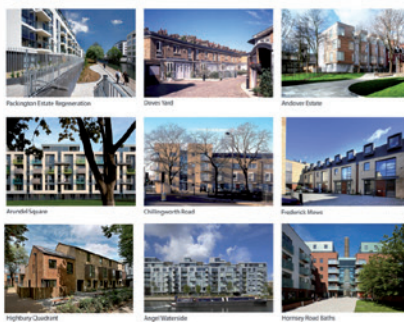
Who we are

Pollard Thomas Edwards architects (PTEa) is an architectural practice based in Islington. We specialise in the creation of new neighbourhoods and the revitalisation of old ones. We have extensive experience of residential development - to make our cities, towns and villages into thriving and sustainable places: homes, schools and nurseries, health and community centres, shops and workspaces, places to recreate, exercise and enjoy civic life.

Working in Islington

PTEa has been creating popular, durable and award-winning housing for nearly 40 years, including many developments in Islington.

The images below are examples of some of the homes PTEa has designed in the borough.



Islington Homes for over 55s



Islington is committed to providing good quality new homes, designed to meet the needs of residents on Dover Court estate. As before, we would like to explore with you whether you would like to see new homes on the estate specially designed for older residents.

Should Handford House be included in the development programme at Dover Court then the development process will be planned to ensure there are new build homes completed elsewhere on the Dover Court Estate for those Handford House residents to move directly into, and for Estate residents who may wish to downsize their homes.



Lynn Street - over 50 flats recently granted planning consent

- The sorts of features these new homes could offer include:
- Generous spaces that are easy to get around
 - Flexible layouts - such as enclosed kitchens, or open plan living areas
 - Well lit homes with pleasant views
 - Private outside space for plants, tables and chairs
 - Adaptable designs so that other independent living aids, space for wheelchair storage, mobility appliances can be introduced easily if required in the future
 - Good storage
 - Efficient energy systems to keep bills down

Islington has recently granted planning consent for a scheme that fits next to the Barnerton Estate on Lynn Street. 30 homes will be provided for existing residents aged over 55 on the estate.

PTEa experience

PTEa has designed many successful housing projects for older people. These range from fully self-contained apartments aimed at older purchasers or tenants, through sheltered housing and extra care homes, to fully assisted residential homes. A report we co-wrote in 2009 on behalf of the Homes and Communities Agency sets out guidance on how best to build homes for older people that many housing providers agree follow.

PTEa



Studio floor plans of 1 bedroom flats, 15 sq m (150 sq ft)



Examples of 1 bedroom and 2 bedroom flats

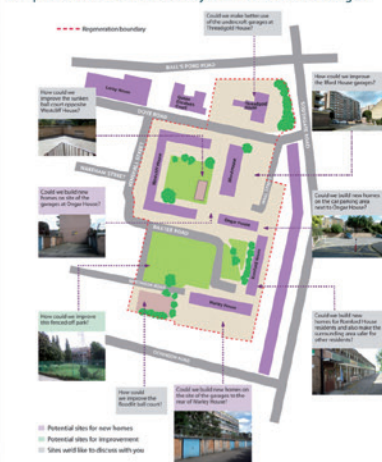
Opportunities for improvement

The plan shows the areas where we think there are opportunities for improvement.

Do you agree?

Yes - place a green dot on the areas that you would like to see improved

No - place a red dot on the areas that you do not want to see changed



If there were improvements at Dover Court, what would you like to see?

1. If there were new homes built would you want to move into them? (They would have improved energy efficiency, daylight levels, sound insulation, room sizes, accessibility, storage)

Yes - place a green dot below if you would be interested
No - place a red dot below if you are not interested

2. If you would be interested in a new home, what would suit your needs?

Place a green dot against the size and type of home listed below that you think is best suited to your needs.

- One bedroom flat
- One bedroom wheelchair accessible flat
- Two bedroom flat
- Two bedroom wheelchair accessible flat
- Three bedroom house
- Three bedroom wheelchair accessible house

3. Do you want see improved play areas?

Yes - place a green dot below
No - place a red dot below

4. Would you like to see play areas for toddlers?

Yes - place a green dot below
No - place a red dot below

5. Would you like to see play areas for older children?

Yes - place a green dot below
No - place a red dot below

6. Do you want a community space for daytime and evening activities on the estate?

Yes - place a green dot below
No - place a red dot below

7. What would you like to see happen at the community space?

Place a green dot next to the activities you would like these
Place a red dot next to the activities you are not interested in

- Exercise classes
- Toddler groups
- Children's parties
- Bingo
- Resident meetings
- Choir
- Church groups
- Other activities - please write them down here

Tell us what types of landscaping and play areas you like

Place a green dot next to the images you like
Place a red dot next to the images you do not like





Fig.4.62 Mobile truck to gather resident opinions (Design and Access statement, 2014)

Resident engagement

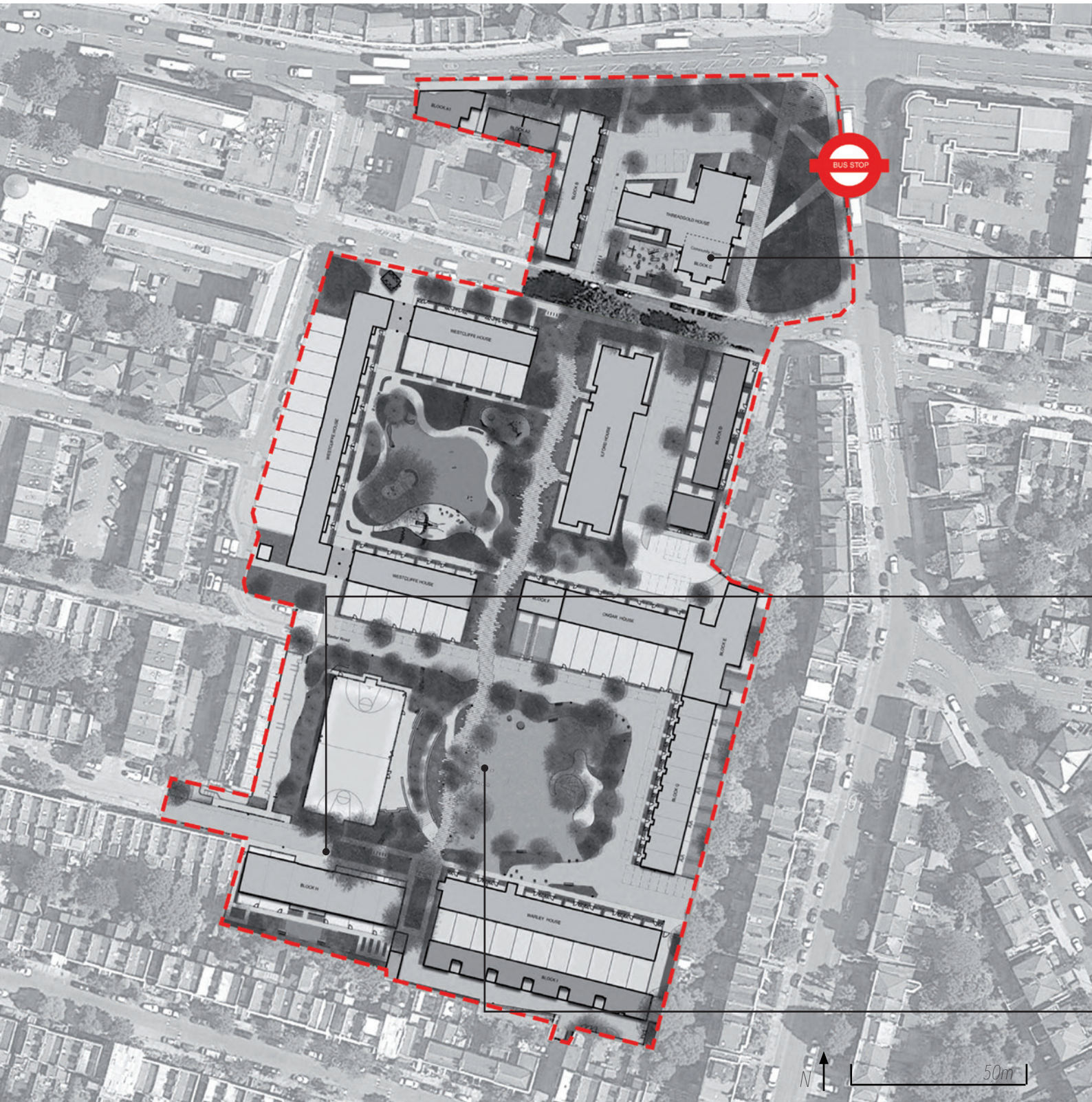
Prior to the planning application, there were three major formal events in which the residents were invited to discuss options for the regeneration: 'Developing a brief', 'Testing ideas' and 'Feedback on the final concept'. Additionally, smaller informal meetings with stakeholders and excursions to good practice projects were undertaken. Smaller focus group meetings, several site visits by the architects and an on-site office were strategies to reach also out to those residents who would not attend the meetings. Regular newsletters, reporting about the progress, continue to be sent out.

Since Lovell was appointed, the firm conducts further events such as 'meet the builder' days or afternoon teas.

Most residents I spoke to were informed about the regeneration project, some had actively participated in the regeneration process. They were generally satisfied with the level of participation they were offered – but this is not a surprising result as this regeneration project is comparatively benign and leads to no displacement of existing residents. Still, some residents were concerned about overcrowding on the Estate, and the TRA spoke out very critically about the densification in the *Islington Gazette*: „Despite multiple petitions, surveys and strong opposition to the decision to ramp up Dover Court Estate's population by a third, the planning committee nodded through the application to plonk 70 of the Council's target 500 new homes onto one small estate“.

<Fig.4.61 Posters at the first of three consultation events

Image: Design and Access statement, 2014





Masterplan (opposite page)

PTE, 2014

Fig.4.63 Threadgold House ground floor refurbishment: community centre, bin and cycle storage and wheelchair apartment

Design and access statement, 2014



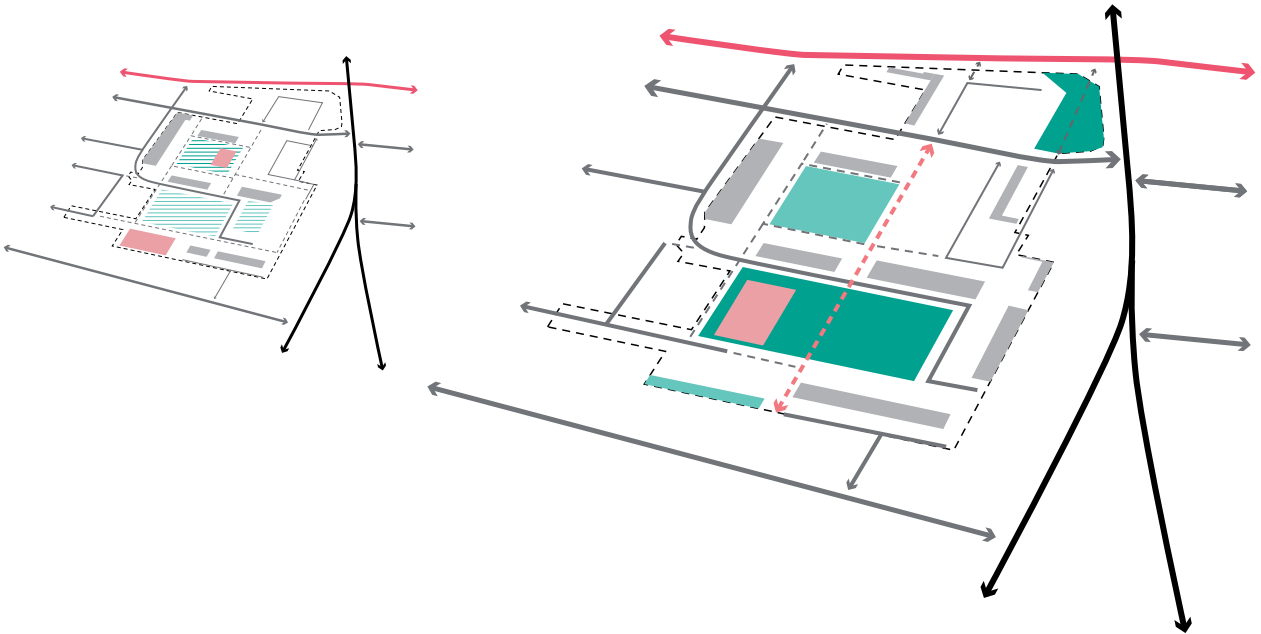
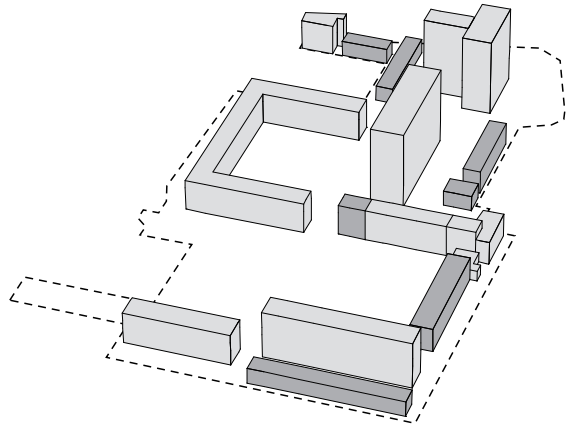
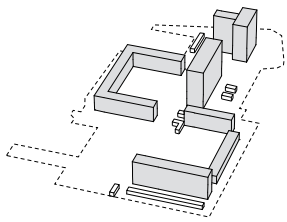
Fig.4.64 New over 55s block opposite the square and playing field

Image taken from hdawards, 2016



Fig.4.65 North-south pedestrian connection and square

GC studio, 2016



100m

◁ Fig.4.66 Urban structure before and after regeneration



data: Design and access statement, 2014

Design

The design aims to offer small scale and sensible bespoke solutions to introduce more dwellings and improve the overall liveability on the estate. The design supports low and mid-rise buildings with direct access to the apartments where possible. Regarding the location of the new dwellings, Patel (personal communication 20 February 2017) described that the needs of the renters were put first. The social rent units, in order to sustain the local community, are oriented towards the green space, whereas the dwellings for sale occupy the smaller and edge sites. There is no tenure mix within the building. All units are designed tenure blind.

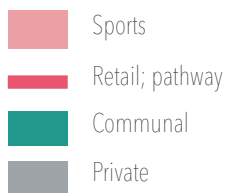
One further priority was to 're-stitch' the estate back into the surrounding street pattern. A north-south pedestrian axis therefore acts as spine that integrates the new developments with the existing structure. Important public and communal uses are located along this axis, such as the redesigned large square with the ball playing field, the smaller half open residential courtyard and the new community centre in the refurbished ground floor of Threadgold House with its adjacent play area. The new designed spaces are better framed, offer clearer designations of ownership and more seating and play elements. An important concept furthermore was the demarcation

of front gardens as defensible space.

The residents I interviewed were worrying about an over-densification of the estate, but generally very positive about the changes proposed and looking forward especially to new seating possibilities.

The design, despite it being a large improvement to the existing situation, might however not offer much flexibility in use. Large areas are devoted to representative planting rather than multi-useable areas that can be appropriated by the residents. The lawn next to the playing field – for children to run around more freely – was only added upon residents' request. Hence, the design does not only provide new opportunities for use, but might also be geared towards controlling them activities to some extent to prevent conflict.

◁ Fig.4.67 Public realm before and after regeneration



data: Design and access statement, 2014



Fig.4.68 Construction of the infill sites is under way (Photo: author)



Fig.4.69 The ball playing field was finished first - to demonstrate the residents that new new development also brings benefits for them, already in an early stage. (Photo: author)



Fig.4.70 Threadgold House (Photo: author)

4.4 EVALUATION

In the following section, the outcomes of the estate regeneration projects will be briefly assessed against the evaluation criteria set out in chapter 3, and conclusions are drawn on why/why not these objectives have been implemented.

(1) Affordable housing – Staying in the city

As described in the problem statement, the current practice in estate regeneration causes a net loss in genuinely affordable housing. Additionally, the conversion of social to affordable rent levels limits the accessibility of the new dwellings for the previous residents after regeneration. For secure tenants who then cannot return, the local authority provides replacement housing either in existing council stock or off-site. This can be problematic, as it risks displacing tenants from their environment, may disrupt established communities and puts a strain on local waiting lists. The Heygate/Elephant&Castle case illustrates that well, while the Dover Court Scheme offers a small net gain of social rented units.

The rising general demand for affordable housing is not absorbed by new developments. The strategy to delegate responsibility to the private market via planning gain negotiation has not been effective enough, as the output stays far below the targets.

There is a number of driving forces that contribute to these outcomes. First, a focus by policy makers – on the national, metropolitan and in some cases local authority level - on output numbers instead of social outcomes can allow socially problematic schemes to go forward if they help to achieve overall housing and density targets. Densification pressures and the widening of the affordable rent product are part of

this tendency.

Furthermore, the reliance on the private sector has brought a set of problems along – regarding the new build as well as regeneration schemes based on demolition and reconstruction. As developers tend to be foremost motivated by profit, they will do their best to maximise it by providing more luxury flats and less affordable housing. Viability assessments as means to achieve that have hence become a lucrative market for consultants in London (Wainwright, 2014). Within this, the high land prices are often mentioned as a factor driving down the affordable housing output. (D. Bowie and J. Abbot, personal communication on 22 and 23 February 2017) But also, developments become more expensive because the profit margin of the private sector has to be compensated for.

The conditions of the project will change when the market changes, as seen at the Heygate Estate example. This puts an additional risk to developments and strains the relations between planners and residents. The London Assembly summarises the dilemma: “Sometimes a housing association partner may be able to continue with a scheme on a loss-making basis, absorbing additional costs, but this has to be negotiated scheme by scheme. By contrast, private developers live or die by profit, and their solution will likely involve increasing the number of market homes to offer cross-subsidy and/or waiting for the market to improve. This leaves residents in a state of bewildering uncertainty, as well as making inefficient use of London’s housing resources. Where

promises are broken, relationships are often soured long-term, storing up hostility which may bedevil and jeopardise the success of any new regeneration scheme, no matter how financially efficient or strategically logical it may be.” (London Assembly, 2015, p.26)

A primary cause for this are limited capacities within local authorities. Being under-funded and often under-staffed, they lack competence to impose strict requirements on the private sector in a planning system that is based on negotiation.

Regarding the maintenance and refurbishment of the council housing, a tight budget, Right-to-buy obligations and limited borrowing capacities furthermore increase the pressure to seek private sector partnerships and moving the area upmarket.

Hence, for residents, local authority-led refurbishment programmes are currently the more beneficial and least disruptive in many cases. This approach is favoured by many parties including the London Tenants Federation, as existing council housing stock represents an increasingly scarce resource of access to housing for lower income groups. However, this approach does offer the same prospects than redevelopment and can be financially more difficult to implement for local authorities. Larger regeneration schemes, on the other hand, may be more likely to result in the net loss of affordable housing, and/or the transformation of social rented into ‘affordable’ units.

(2) Resident engagement – Shaping the city

Both case studies show that resident engagement generally goes beyond the minimal standards, with efforts on consulting their opinions in an early stage as well as involving them in the design process.

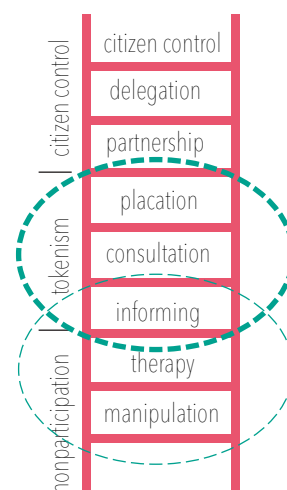
However, this practice loses meaning when the scheme results in a net loss of affordable housing and the existing residents cannot return to the estate. Additionally, within the complex interdependencies of the regeneration process, the power relations are not challenged and residents tend to have little influence on the fundamental decisions such as the regeneration option. This decision, in both cases, was taken by the council according to strategic and financial criteria. Hence, despite the efforts, engagement falls into Arnstein's tokenism category (in the Heygate case, critics accuse Southwark of 'therapy' and 'manipulation' mechanisms). Resident or community-led schemes are rare or, as the Heygate example shows, not followed through.

According to Gale (personal communication, 5 March 2017) such complex projects like estate regeneration require professional expertise and a strategic overview that is too complicated, costly and time consuming to build up among the residents to arrive at a full 'partnership' or resident self-development approach. Bowie (personal communication, 22 February 2017) takes a particular critical view supporting community organisations and housing cooperatives, as these tend to be rather a support for the middle class, and public authorities should retain their land and capacities to support the lowest income groups.

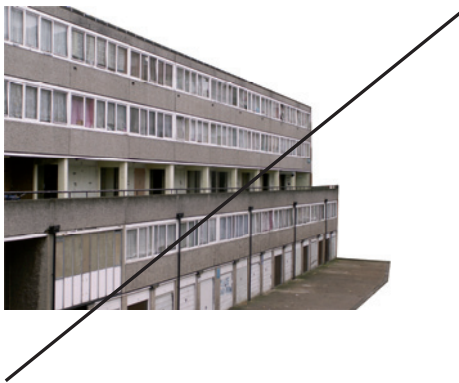
An important driver is the fear that many schemes will

not go forward if residents are given a fundamental choice. The rejection of a mandatory resident YES/NO ballot vote on demolition by the GLA, as expressed in the Mayor's Draft Good Practice Guide on Estate Regeneration, illustrates that clearly. One cause for this is the mistrust among many residents that has gradually built up due to negative experiences in other projects. The result is a politically heated situation, in which any council announcing an estate regeneration scheme might be confronted with criticism and protest from the start. This can be costly and cause delays, therefore adding an additional risk to an estate regeneration scheme. In the tense relation between local authorities and citizens, neutral consultation becomes a much debated issue. Currently it is provided by the local authority or the developer, which might lead to conflicts of interest. Hence, protest groups take the role of advocacy for the residents – but these also might further heat the conflict.

Another issue is a general lack of detailed knowledge on the outcomes of estate regeneration with the Heygate Estate being one of the few thoroughly documented cases. This is, among others, criticised by Duncan Bowie (personal communication, 22 February 2017). In fact, even basic information about the amount of council estates in London is not available in detail and therefore had to be estimated for reports such as 'Another storey'. Information on effects of the regeneration process, such as relocation or impacts in health and wellbeing, is generally not available.



△ Fig.4.71 Evaluation of current practices - despite awareness and wide spread application of participation techniques, residents often cannot participate in key decisions



(3) Good Design for all – Using the city

Regarding the design, two different tendencies can be identified: an idealistic movement reflecting on notions of place-making and traditional urban patterns, and a style that seems to be more dictated by the market. Both, however, represent an almost 180° turn from post-war urbanist principles and can be understood as response to the failures of modernist designs. Hence, refurbishment allows for fewer possibilities to achieve the new ideals and might therefore be seen – from a pure design perspective – as less favourable option.

The new 'ideal' principles are brought forward by design guidance and seem to be rooted in the local planning culture. Common themes to be read in project descriptions – both refurbishment and new build - include tenure blindness and 're-stitching' traditional street patterns. The renewed focus on the street as public space results in increasing attention to active frontages and the principle of 'eyes on the street'. Mid-rise developments are generally seen as preferable to tall buildings due to their more direct connection with the public realm (as described by, for instance, A. Beharrell and T. Patel, personal communication 20 February 2017). The Victorian townhouse – as opposed to flats – prevails as preferred mode of living. In this context, the attention to private backyards and front gardens as 'defensible space' is notable. Attention is also given to the design of communal areas – with the addition of community

,Ideal'



Fig.4.72 On the basis of the traditional English square: semi-public space at the Packington Estate (Photo: author)



Fig.4.73 Re-focus on traditional street patterns - the street as main public space, framed by terraced houses, also at the Packington Estate. (Photo: author)

,Viable'



Fig.4.74 Glass and steel - luxury flats at the Woodberry Down Estate (Photo: author)



Fig.4.75 High densities under construction, to finance affordable units, at Woodberry Down (Photo: author)

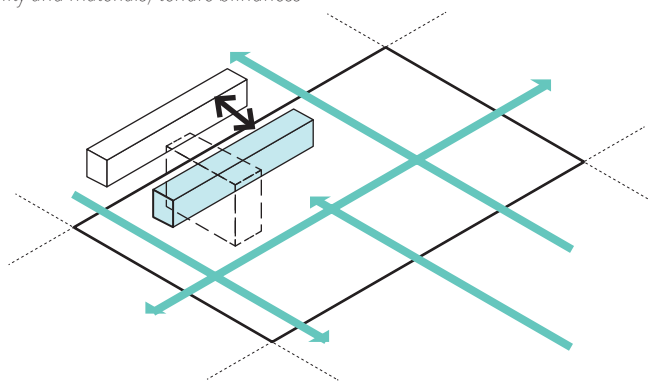
Modernist



Council Estates as physically and socially segregated spaces

Main design principle

Integration into surroundings regarding typology, accessibility and materials; tenure blindness

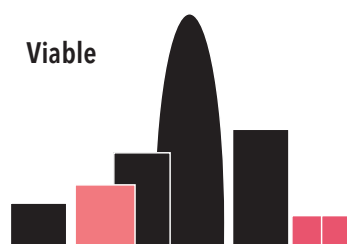


Ideal



Mid-rise, medium density neighbourhood including mixed typologies

Viable



High-density neighbourhood with high-rise towers (for market sales) and some mid-and low-rise affordable units

centres to estates that did not have one before, and, in the public realm, with notions on the traditional English square. This approach is well illustrated by the Packington Estate, but also the Dover Court Estate in Islington. However, the focus in these developments is on housing, and relatively little mixed and commercial use is incorporated.

Especially in the large scale redevelopment schemes, the designs seem to be increasingly dictated by the market. Due to the high land prices, financial viability demands high densities that exceed thresholds set in the London Plan. In the Elephant & Castle case study as well as the Woodberry Down regeneration, tall buildings with high-end one or two bedroom flats stand among mid-rise, family oriented affordable housing. This density, despite also here the aim being to reconnect lost street patterns, can generate an insular effect within the surrounding neighbourhoods. An interesting feature in this type of development is the access to public facilities that might be restricted to those who can pay: the event rooms or gardening facilities for rent in the Elephant & Castle are one example, or a ground floor gym room in Woodberry Down that is only accessible for residents of the building that consists of market priced flats.

In conclusion, both design tendencies generally achieve a higher legibility, diversity of program and connectivity with the surroundings than the modernist estates. However, to some extent, both the 'ideal' and the 'viable' project types have a design of the public

Control



Fig.4.76 Communal, semi-public square at the Packington Estate, designed for contemplation and strolling (Photo: author)



Fig.4.77 Representative planting in courtyard at the redeveloped Woodberry Down Estate (Photo: author)

Privacy and defensible space



Fig.4.78 Defensible space, Packington Estate (Photo: author)



Fig.4.79 Small front gardens at the Heygate/Elephant&Castle development (Photo: author)

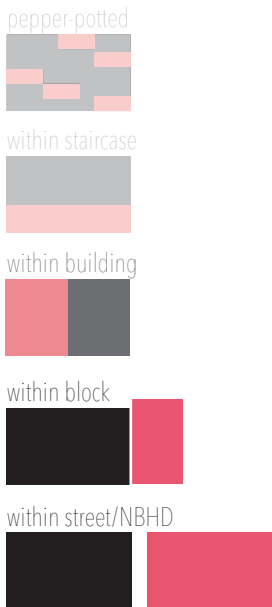
Before regeneration:



Segregation, stigmatisation?



Applied levels of social/tenure mixing:



Micro-Segregation & stigmatisation?

realm in common that seeks to reduce conflict and noise by preventing certain activities or user groups. In particular the green spaces tend to be occupied by representative planting – more or less elaborate depending on the tenure of the adjacent buildings – without large multi-useable spaces that could be used for gatherings, ball plays and the like.

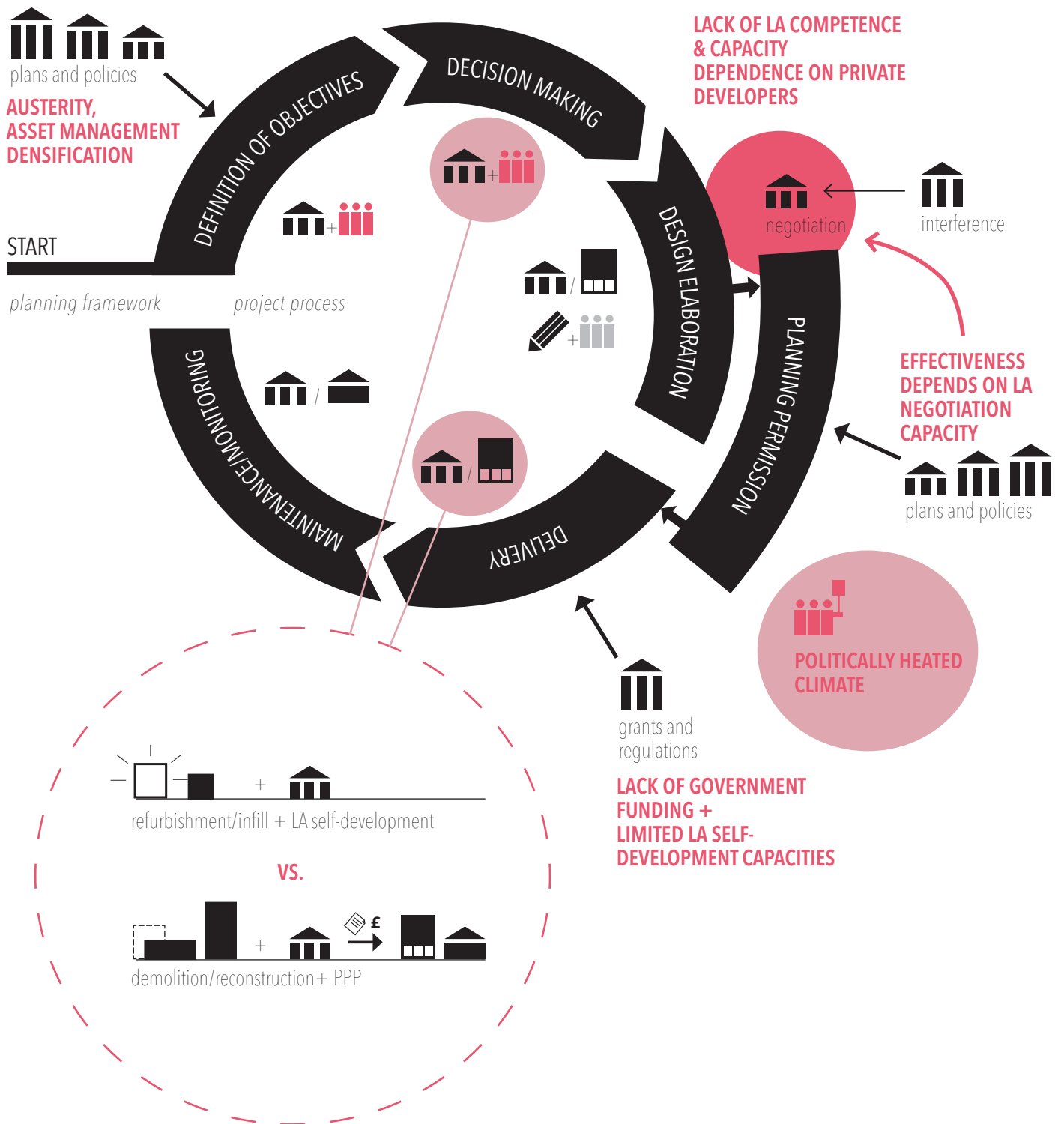
Regarding the social mix, the practice of mixing within the block/street and not within the building or staircase seems to have asserted itself. This decreases management and other conflicts about the use and maintenance costs of communal facilities such as staircases and lifts. However, the benefits for lower income residents to live in mixed neighbourhoods continue to be contested in academics and practice. According to Bailey, the situation becomes increasingly complicated, the more polarised the development is – such as luxury flats combined with social housing. Within the case studies, I could not gain first-hand knowledge on that topic as the construction not finished and the renters had not moved in yet. However, Jerry Flynn or newspaper articles (see: Chakraborty and Robinson-Tillet, 2014) describe mechanisms of micro-segregation and stigmatisation within new mixed neighbourhoods. Additionally, the need for affordable shops and facilities among lower income groups risks not to be satisfied anymore in gentrifying neighbourhoods. Hence, the impact of design on lower income groups in the regeneration process has mixed outcomes. On

the one hand, especially lower income residents may profit from a safer and improved living environment, but if their access to facilities such as communal gardens or the possibility to buy in local shops is restricted, they might again face exclusion. This is especially relevant for particular social groups such as teenagers and migrants.

A further issue frequently mentioned by my interview partners is the lack of built quality in the new developments. Only a few years after construction, the first problems might start to arise (see also: Harris, 2017). This is attributed to a short term interest of the developers, and the lack of control mechanisms within the public sector.

Among the architects, an additional complaint was the lack of innovation to be seen in the new developments. According to PTE architects (personal communication 20 February 2017), this is reinforced by the lack of resources within the short staffed planning departments of local authorities. Due to a lack of time, non-standard design proposals cannot be evaluated properly and might therefore be rejected.

4.5 CONCLUSION AND ACTION POINTS



In conclusion, the reliance on the private market to deliver regeneration and affordable housing, combined with output oriented policies, has proved difficult in an environment like London.

This shows in the following aspects:

- > due to budget cuts, under-staffing etc., many local authorities lack the ability to impose strict conditions and negotiate effectively;
- > market involvement can in fact be more costly than self-development due to high profit margins, and local authorities lack efficient value capture strategies for asset management;
- > market dependence can furthermore bring insecurity and inconsistency as schemes are vulnerable to market volatility - this can add to frustration among the estate residents due to broken promises and the resulting feeling of living in insecurity;
- > the neighbourhoods produced under short-term, market-driven output targets do not respond to the needs of the population in terms of type, quality and quantity - hence create the problems of the future (and repeat the mistakes of the past!).

Refurbishment and infill strategies are often promoted to be more beneficial for lower income groups than demolition/reconstruction approaches. However, this is hindered by densification targets, the stigma of council estates, and - most importantly - financing issues due to limited local authority finances and self-development capacities. Under the current funding

conditions, private public partnerships are the only way to deliver large scale renewal.

On the basis of this, a series of points to investigate in the other two cities could be developed.

These include:

- > **Regeneration approach** - what are the city's priorities regarding estate regeneration? Is there a general preference of demolition or refurbishment?
- > **Actors and financing mechanisms** involved in the regeneration process - what is the role of the public sector?
- > **Resident engagement** - how much power do citizens have to influence decisions?
- > **Land policies** - how is land allocated to developers, and how are the land prices regulated?
- > **Innovation and quality** - what are the mechanisms to support built quality and innovation in design?
- > **Design inspiration** - What are the concepts for social mixing and the design of communal areas? Are there inspiring examples for refurbishment?

Additionally, a set of general aspects has to be investigated:

- > **Legacy** - what is the cultural and spatial background on housing?
- > **Housing system** - what is the role of social housing in the city, and who is responsible for its delivery?

<|Fig.4.80 Conclusions

5 INTERNATIONAL LESSONS

122 Vienna

150 Amsterdam

176 Evaluation/lessons



120	Vienna
121	Introduction + site visit
125	The socialist legacy
128	The housing sector
131	Action points
148	Amsterdam
149	Introduction + site visit
152	Planning and the modernist legacy
154	The housing sector
159	Action Points
174	Evaluation/Lessons

5.1 VIENNA



Fig.5.1 Karl-Marx-Hof, Vienna (Photo: author)

INTRODUCTION

In the international comparison, Vienna represents one of the last examples of socialist city governance within Europe – and therefore an extreme contrast to the situation in London. Almost half of its inhabitants live in subsidised dwellings, resulting in an overall mostly affordable city. This contributes to its continuous high scores in liveability in international rankings– since 2008, it continued to lead Mercer’s list of the most liveable cities in the world (Mercer, 2017).

In the context of urban regeneration, Vienna is well-known for its ‘soft urban renewal’ policies. Their core components are renovation instead of reconstruction and the prevention of resident dispersal after regeneration.

3



Rennbahnweg

Gemeindebau, post-war

Large cluster of interconnected courtyards and small shopping centre

4



Hauffgasse

Gemeindebau, post-war

Renovation project with community involvement featured in the IBA

5



Alt-Erlaa

Gemeindebau, post-war

Vienna's most iconic postwar ensemble with high resident satisfaction

6



Häuslergasse

Gemeindebau, post-war

Typical 1950s ensemble

7



Donau city

Brownfield renewal

Investor-led development from the early 2000s

8

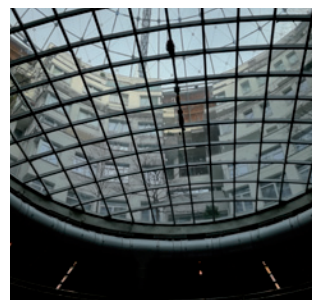


Sonnwendviertel

Brownfield renewal

First phase on former railway land, featured within the IBA

9



Gasometer

Brownfield renewal

Unsuccessful housing and cultural development in former gas silos

10



Kabelwerk Meindling

Brownfield renewal

New district in South Vienna by various developers and housing cooperatives

11



Sargfabrik

Co-housing

Renowned community-led co-housing project with cultural facilities

12



Interkulturelles Wohnen

Co-housing

Pilot project regarding inter-cultural and multi-ethnic living

13



Wohnprojekt Wien

Co-housing

Recent community-led co-housing project in brownfield development area



1



Goethehof

Gemeindebau, Red Vienna

Well-known estate currently undergoing substantial refurbishment

2



Karl-Marx-Hof

Gemeindebau, Red Vienna

Vienna's most iconic 'Gemeindebau'



5km

△ Fig.5.2 Vienna

- Built up area
- Most deprived areas

Data on deprivation: MA18/ZSI, 2012



THE SOCIALIST LEGACY

◀ **Fig.5.3** Karl-Marx-Hof: monumental, simple architecture, spacious internal courtyards with play and other communal facilities

Photo: author

Current approaches to housing and design are largely influenced by the period of 'Red Vienna' in the 1920s, which set the foundations for many structures that are still in place today. It is summarised by Förster (2000): After waves of immigration in the late 19th century and after the First World War, there was a severe housing shortage in the city. The provision of housing was dominated by private capital, leading to the poorer population groups living in overcrowded and insecure conditions. In 1919, the social democratic party was elected in Vienna and mostly continued to govern Vienna until today – with the exception of the fascist period during the Second World War. The government put forward advances in social, educational and health institutions, but housing was the key issue of the reform with the construction of around 66,000 dwellings until 1934. By then, one tenth of Vienna's population lived in municipal housing estates. Strict tenancy protection laws – already set up during the First World War – furthermore restricted the increase in rent prices in the private market.

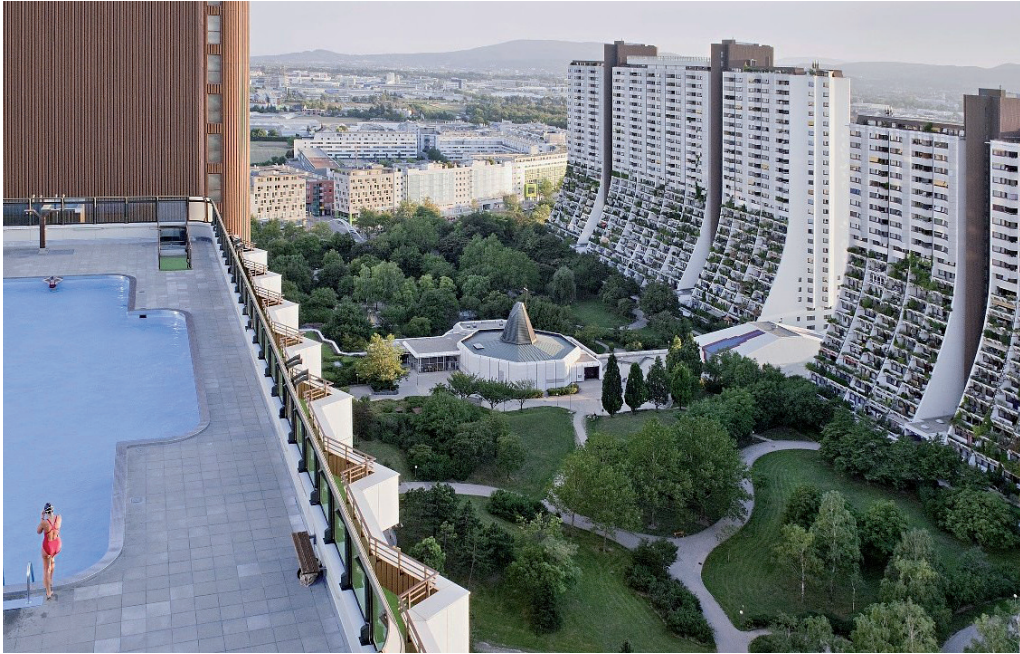
Elaborate redistributive taxing mechanisms enabled these reforms despite the ongoing economic recession during that time. This was facilitated by the formation of Vienna as federal province in 1922, in which the municipality gained greater fiscal and regulatory independence from that national government.

◀ **Fig.5.4** Goethehof: municipal kindergarten located within the blocks

Photo: author

The strong social ambition of housing during this time gave rise to the specific design characteristics of the 'Gemeindebau'. Housing was the realm where the political ideals could be experienced and lived in everyday life, and the new dwellings were supposed to significantly differ from the dense and dark 19th century structure. In this sense, also the 'Gemeindebau' reflects the modernist ambitions of light, air, space, health and community. The typology usually consists of a series of large interconnected apartment blocks. The private flats or maisonettes – mostly already possessing balconies or loggias – are accessed via publically accessible green courtyards. The design of the building was simple and functional, but quite monumental, with the city employing strict quality standards on construction and materials of which the buildings still benefit from today.

Housing was seen as a social activity, and the blocks included a variety of facilities such as kindergartens and communal washing and laundry rooms. The focus and generous provision of communal space was seen as extension of the private living space and justified a smaller size of the dwelling itself. Hence, not only the physical, but also the cultural legacy of this period is valued until today: a society in which limited financial possibilities did not restrict the active participation in public life due to affordable access to housing, education and communal facilities (Förster,



<Fig.5.5 The monumetal blocks of Alt-Erlaa are popular with its residents due to the large amount of community facilities and their calm green surroundings

Photo: *Hurmaus, Salzburger Nachrichten* (2015)

2000 and Fassmann and Hatz, 2006).

After the Second World War, the city continued with the delivery of 'Gemeindebau' until the 1990s when the program was stopped. Post-war pre-fabricated dwellings, however, only make up 4% of the city's housing stock (Kappeller, 2011). Higher concentrations of post-war social housing can be found in the districts north of the Donau – a little depreciatory called 'Transdanubien' – and in the South-East. They are built with a comparatively high structural quality, and continued to some extent the social ambitions of the 'Red Vienna' legacy with districts like 'Alt-Erlaa' or the 'Rennbahnstraße' providing facilities such as small internal shopping centres and large green spaces with play and seating opportunities. In this context, the monumental Alt-Erlaa is a special example of social housing with numerous community rooms, workshops and even swimming pools for the residents. Other districts such as the large-scale pre-fabricated Grossenfeldsiedlung were criticised for its monotony, but, according to Förster (2000), never became ghettos for the poor as in other cities.

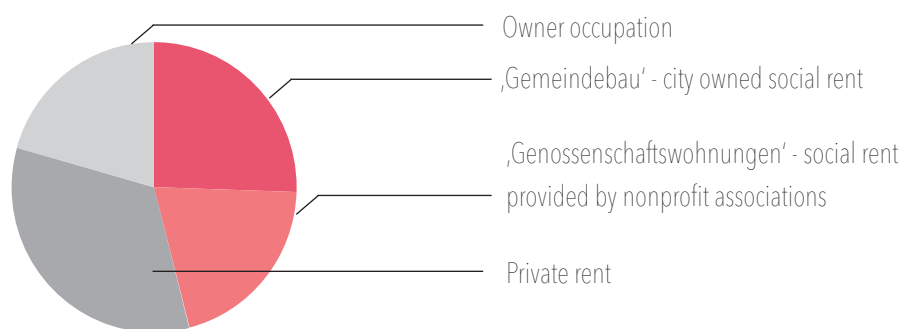
<Fig.5.6 The large interconnected courtyards of the Rennbahnsiedlung

Photo: *author*

Post-war modernist housing, compared to London, does hence not play a quantitatively big role in Vienna, where the housing stock is dominated by 19th century

buildings and the 1920s 'Gemeindebau'. In contrast to London, the social housing sector did not attract similar concentrations of poverty and deprivation that was concentrated in sub-standard dwellings in the private rental sector (Fassmann and Hatz, 2006). However, social conflicts and maintenance issues are also present in Vienna's social housing. During my visits of the Goethehof, Hauffgasse and Rennbahnsiedlung, several inhabitants – mostly elderly and of Austrian origin – complained about the noise and lack of respect among the 'newer' inhabitants from mainly Turkish and middle-eastern background. This observation was confirmed by my interview partners A. Novy and D. Glaser (personal communication, respective 22 and 23 March 2017).

THE HOUSING SECTOR



Affordable housing provision

The social housing sector in Vienna is large and houses almost half of Vienna's population. The second most important tenure form is the private rent, whereas owner occupation plays a relatively minor role of only 20% (Pätzold, 2017).

Two main parties are responsible for the provision of social housing. One is the 'Gemeindebau' which origins have been described in the previous section. The stock is today managed by the municipality's affiliated company 'Wiener Wohnen', accounting to approximately 220,000 units. Some additional 136,000 are provided by non-profit organisations and housing cooperatives (Lang and Novy, 2011) that subdue to the 'Wohnungsgemeinnützigkeitsgesetz' (charitable housing law). Hence, similar to English housing associations, they have to re-invest their profits into affordable housing, but they can demand

a membership fee. They are bound to provide durable affordable rents and receive tax incentives, privileged access to public building land and public building grants in return.

After the discontinuation of the 'Gemeindebau' in the 1990s, the housing cooperatives are now responsible for the delivery of new affordable housing. However, the municipality has recently re-started public housebuilding with a pilot project of some 2000 units (A. Novy, personal communication, 22 March 2017).

Access to affordable housing

The access to the 'Gemeindebau' is restricted to a maximum income of, for example, around €43,000 one person and €81,000 for four person households. Another, more recent condition is the requirement to have lived in the city for a minimum of two years before being eligible for an apartment (Wohnberatung

◀ **Fig.5.7** Tenure distribution
Vienna

data: Wohnbauforschung Wien, 2014

Wien, 2017). However, once a person has received an apartment, they can stay on if though their income rises and even pass them on to relatives. This point is controversial: on the one hand, it ensures stable and socially mixed neighbourhoods, but on the other hand prevents the apartments from becoming free to house people who would need it more as also in Vienna, waiting lists are becoming longer (D. Glaser, personal communication, 23 February 2017). People who cannot afford their rents receive rental allowance from the state.

Also for housing cooperatives, there is a maximum income. The entry fee, on the other hand, represents a downward threshold - as it ranges around €30,000, it restricts the accessibility of this sector for lower income groups. The most precarious groups then fall in fact back to small substandard apartments in the private rental sector (A. Novy, personal communication, 22 March 2017).

Tenant protection

Tenants in Austria enjoy a high degree of protection in the rental law. It depends on the type of contract, but rent levels in existing contracts can only be increased to very limited degrees, and also new lettings are subject to legal guideline values. This cannot avert, but attenuate the rapid price increases that can be observed in other cities (Pätzold, 2017).

Tenants, including social housing residents, are responsible for renovations within their apartments.

These include heating, flooring and sound insulation. Tenants can request financial support, but also decide to leave improvements undone. The renovation of the building itself, including windows, roof, thermal insulation, lifts and staircases, is the responsibility of the landlord.

Conclusion

To sum up, Vienna is a successful example of comparatively well-functioning social and affordable housing provision. The large subsidised housing sector and protective tenancy laws are currently still capable of ensuring broad affordability and avoid extreme social segregation (Pätzold, 2017). However, also Vienna is currently under increasing pressure, due to continued population growth and diminishing budget resources to keep the comprehensive social provision going (A. Novy, personal communication, 22 February 2017 and Pätzold, 2017).

Vienna's large and generally well-built 'Gemeindebau' legacy as well as the ongoing importance of housing in the political debate and planning culture are important contextual factors that limit the direct transferability of approaches to London. Still, its administrative structure, urban renewal strategies, planning mechanisms to ensure innovation as well as community oriented designs provide useful examples and lessons for London. They are illustrated in the following section.

Vienna as municipality and province

Municipality Vienna

Magistrate

Management groups presided by each one city councillor

Mayor

Housing and urban renewal („Wohnen, Wohnbau, Stadterneuerung“)

Urban planning (Stadtentwicklung, Verkehr, Klimaschutz, Energieplanung, BürgerInnenbeteiligung)

MA 25 - Urban renewal and housing inspection

MA 39 - Development control

MA 50 - Housing grant and Conciliation Body for residential affairs (Schlichtungsstelle)

city owned companies

Public sector
„Private“ sector

Wiener Linien,
Wiener Energie,...

Wien Holding
consortium of 75
businesses

Wiener Wohnen
manages Vienna's
'Gemeindebau'

WIGEB
construction of new
'Gemeindebau'

since 2000s

commissions

Gebietsbetreuung
supports urban renewal, district
management, residents initiatives,
tenant's consultancy

Wohnfonds Wien
provides funding and monitoring of
renovation projects; buys and sells
land for construction of affordable
housing by non-profit developers;
manages developer competitions
(Bauträgerwettbewerbe)

since the 1970s/80s

Preface: Administrative structure - Vienna and its daughter firms

Urban and housing development is controlled by the municipal authority without much direct involvement from the national government. The power of the municipality of Vienna as federal state that originated from the Red Vienna period was further consolidated in 1989 with the decentralisation of housing policies from the national to the federal level (EUKN, 2010). The municipal body itself is divided into different magistrate departments, each presided by an elected councillor. The two important bodies for urban renewal in Vienna are MA25 and MA50, whereas urban development strategies are prepared in MA18 – see the diagram on the opposite page.

In the 1990s/early 2000s, some further important administrative changes have been brought under way in Vienna. In response to the EU Maastricht criteria to lower the national deficit, many administrative units that were formerly integrated within the municipal structure have been outsourced into firms operating under private law. However, this does not represent privatisations, as the municipality of Vienna is the owner of these companies and carries their profits and

losses. One of these is the 'Wiener Wohnen', formerly a municipal office. For the new 'Gemeindebau' pilot, a city owned housing company, the WIGEBÄ, was founded. The intended benefits of this restructuring were greater cost-efficiency and flexibility, for instance in staffing or procurement laws. However, according to Novy (personal communication, 22 March 2017), this also brings forward some negative consequences. In the case of 'Wiener Wohnen', for instance, these include the reduction of social efforts to the compulsory minimum.

In summary, despite this neoliberal governance reform, the public sector still keeps a strong stake in urban development and particularly in housing. There is a well-developed culture of government funding, delivered via the municipality's arm's length bodies.

◀ **Fig.5.8** Vienna's administrative structure and affiliated daughter organisations.

Sanierungsbeispiele im 2. und 20. Bezirk
Innstraße 23, 1200 Wien



Planung Architekt Roger Karré ZT-GmbH
Bauherr Black Austria Real Invest
geförderte Maßnahmen Totalsanierung
Baukosten € 8.718.000
Zahl der Wohnungen 70
Bauszeit 10/2007 bis 6/2010

Im Bestand des ursprünglichen Fabrikgebäudes wurden 20 hochwertige Kategorie A Wohnungen realisiert. Weitere 50 Wohnungen konnten durch die Aufstockung erschaffen werden. Ein für alle MieterInnen zugänglicher Gemeinschaftsraum wurde geschaffen, welcher einen Zugang zur großzügigen Terrassenfläche im Hof ermöglicht.



Stadtabrechnung Baubehorhebung im 2. und 20. Bezirk

wohlfonds_wien LUBW

Sanierungsbeispiele im 2. und 20. Bezirk
Vorgartenstraße 158-164, 1020 Wien



Planung Architekt DI Peter Zauchenberger
Bauherr Stadt Wien / Wiener Wohnen
geförderte Maßnahmen Einzelverbesserung, thermische Sanierung
Baukosten € 4.800.000
Zahl der Wohnungen 333
Bauszeit 8/2008 bis 11/2008

Im Zuge einer öffentlichen Ausschreibung erhielt die SIEDLUNGS-UNION als Baumanager, den Auftrag, eine Theodosian-Sanierung in der Wohnhausanlage durchzuführen. Die Maßnahmen im Sinne der Baumanagerauftragung umfassten die Instandsetzung bzw. Erneuerung des Daches, die Anbringung einer Vollwärmeschutzfassade, die Sanierung der Loggien, die Erneuerung der Steghausverglasung sowie die Dämmung der obersten Geschosdecke.



Stadtabrechnung Baubehorhebung im 2. und 20. Bezirk

wohlfonds_wien LUBW

Sanierungsbeispiele im 2. und 20. Bezirk
Salzachstraße 35, 1200 Wien



Planung Architekt DI Werner Peters
Bauherr Privat
geförderte Maßnahmen Block- und Sockelsanierung mit Aufstockung
Baukosten € 2.850.000
Zahl der Wohnungen 1 WG (560m²), 13 sanierte, 7 neue Wohnungen
Bauszeit 11/2004 bis 11/2007

Das Objekt wurde gesamtanisiert. Alle Wohnungen wurden renoviert. Beim Hoftrakt wurden durch zweigeschossigen Abbruch Wintergärten und Terrassen in allen Ebenen geschaffen, inklusive einer großen Allgemein-terrasse. Der Straßentrakt wurde mit zwei Geschossen und Dachgeschoss aufgestockt, insgesamt 650 m² Nutzfläche. In den unteren drei Ebenen wurde eine Wohngemeinschaft für Menschen mit Behinderung geschaffen. Ein innerer Betriebsaufzug wurde eingebaut. Alle Fassaden verfügen über Vollwärmeschutz und Wärmeschutzfenster. Sämtliche Bestandswohnungen wurden auf Kategorie A saniert, ein Aufzug wurde eingebaut und das Objekt an das Fernwärmenetz angeschlossen.



Stadtabrechnung Baubehorhebung im 2. und 20. Bezirk

wohlfonds_wien LUBW

Sanierungsbeispiele im 2. und 20. Bezirk
Novaragasse 42, 1020 Wien



Planung Architekt Kronreif & Partner ZT Ges.m.b.H
Bauherr Privat
geförderte Maßnahmen Block- und Sockelsanierung
Baukosten € 1.800.000
Zahl der Wohnungen 14
Bauszeit 4/2008 bis 8/2009

Substratberbeitung, Erneuerung, Aufstockung und Erhaltung eines Betriebes waren die wesentlichen Themen bei dieser Sockelsanierung. Die ebenerdige Holüberbauung wurde bei bestehender Nutzung des dort befindlichen Betriebes zur Gänze saniert. Durch den Abbruch eines turmartigen Gebäudeteiles im Hof und der intensiven Begrünung des vorhandenen Flachdachs konnten neue hochwertige Wohnungen mit MieterInnen-gärten bzw. Terrassen geschaffen werden. Aus weiteren bestehenden Flächen im Erdgeschoss wurden neue Lokalfächen und hausinterne Räume geschaffen.



Stadtabrechnung Baubehorhebung im 2. und 20. Bezirk

wohlfonds_wien LUBW

Regeneration approach: Soft urban renewal

In Vienna, urban regeneration generally means physical refurbishment along with a set of social initiatives. The city is known for practising 'soft' resident oriented renewal which does not involve large scale demolition. These principles were established in the 1970s with first the setting up of area renewal offices ("Gebietsbetreuungen") – that are active until today - to initiate renovation and serve as neutral mediator between the city, residents and landlords. They are commissioned by the city, but run by architects or developers that, for the sake of neutrality, are not allowed to carry out other projects in the area (Förster, 2000).

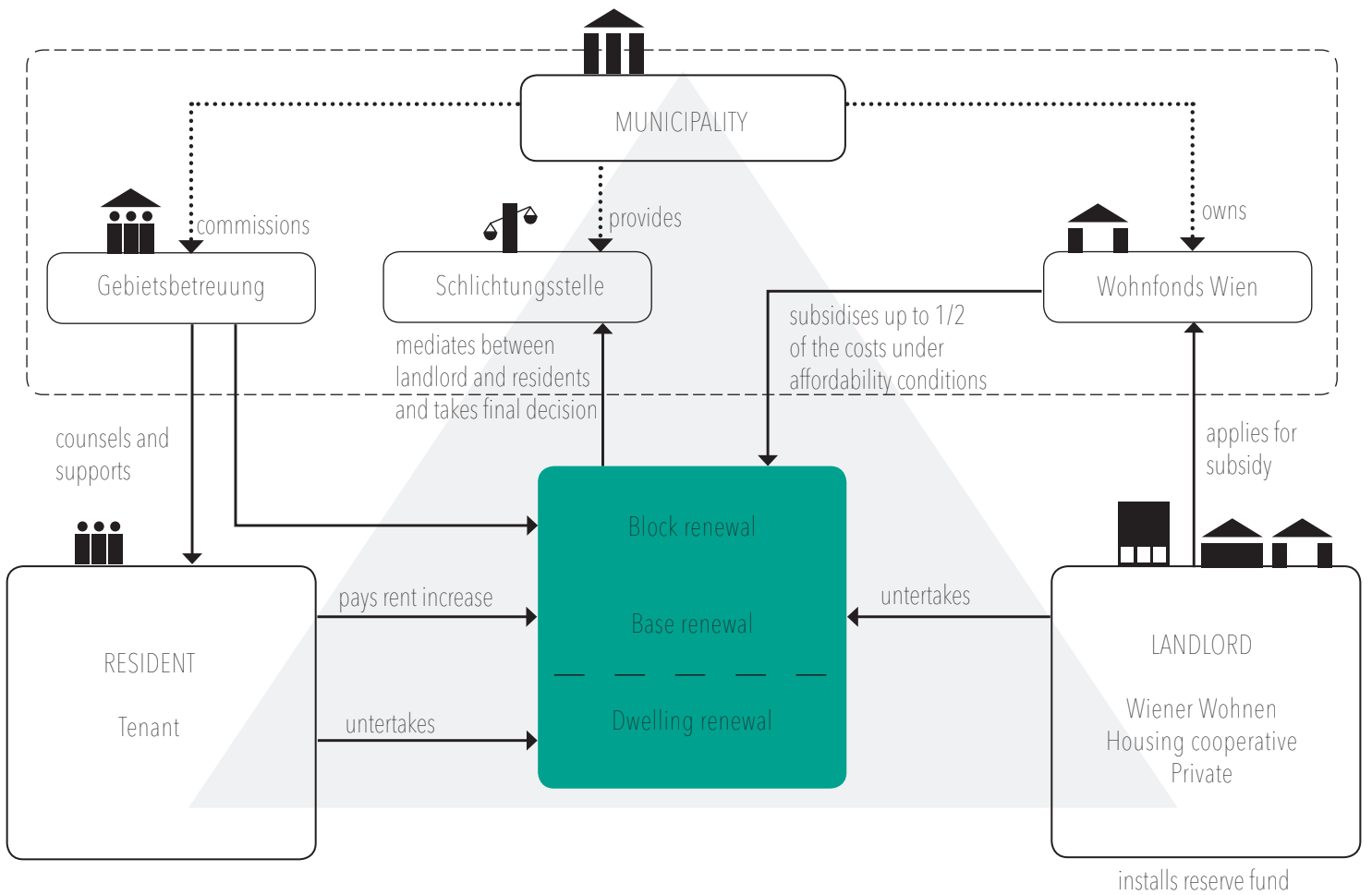
Soft urban renewal initially targeted private landlords, as poverty was historically concentrated in the private rental sector in 19th century substandard apartments without sanitation and other amenities. Due to the strict rental laws, landlords deferred investment and the buildings were left run down. Fassmann and Hatz (2006, p. 2-3) summarise the dilemma as follows: "When private investors renovate apartment buildings, they expect adequate returns and these returns have to be the result of higher rents. If the level of the rents is regulated, the private investors will decide to shift their capital elsewhere, or to achieve incomes through disinvestment. If, on the other hand, the rents are deregulated and left totally to market

forces, those social groups that can no longer afford the remodelled apartments will be displaced."

Hence, the primary goal of the renewal strategies was to give incentives to the private sector to improve the condition of the dwellings while simultaneously ensuring that the current residents can stay on after renovation. These incentives included mild liberations of the rental law and tax breaks for renovations, but were further supported by a large scale municipal renovation programme that was started in the 1980s with the creation of the Wohnfonds Wien. This body was responsible for the allocation of funding, contributing to the refurbishment of 170,000 apartments, one sixth of the total housing stock. This included not only private, but also social housing stock (Förster, 2000). The incorporated ideals of this soft renewal program continue to play an integral role in today's planning culture, even though it slowed down in the recent years as much of the stock has been effectively regenerated. The subsidy program is still of importance for the regeneration and new construction of affordable housing, but private landlords increasingly choose bank loans and other private funding mechanisms over committing to the affordability conditions that come along with the public subsidy (D. Glaser, personal communication, 23 February 2017).

< Fig.5.9-12 Exhibition on soft urban renewal in Gebietsbetreuung *2/20: The scope ranges from insulation and facade improvements, the addition of storeys and roof terraces to extensive refurbishment

Photos: author



ACTION POINTS

Regeneration process – actors and financing

Regeneration is carried out on three different levels: the apartment, the building and the block. As mentioned above, the tenant himself is responsible for refurbishment within the apartment. Block renewal involves a set of actors, including the 'Gebietsbetreuung', and consists of a combination of social activities, public space and building improvements. Additional attention can be given to encouraging mixed use in mono-functional areas and infrastructure developments (Gebietsbetreuung Stadterneuerung, 2017), .

The most common regeneration level however is that of the building, sometimes in combination with some block improvement strategies. Radical total renewal is a complex process, as the renters have to be brought to move out which is difficult to enforce under the strict tenancy laws. Hence, usually, base renewal ('Sockelsanierung') is undertaken which involves the refurbishment of the building while the existing tenancy contracts are continued. The renovation is then usually undertaken with the building still being fully or partially inhabited (Fassmann and Hatz, 2006), which is also the case in the Goethehof-renovation.

Overall, the regeneration process is similar for private or public landlords. In the case of the building renovation, it goes as follows: the landlord decides to renovate, makes an appraisal of the works that need to be done and the resulting costs. His ambition may range from thermal insulation, addition of elevators,

balconies, façade improvements, attic conversions, and the like, to improvements of community facilities and outdoor spaces. In the 'Gemeindebau', in order to keep down the costs and retain affordability, the measures will usually not be too extensive. The landlord is expected to have a reserve fund from which regular repairs and at least some part of the regeneration can be paid from. Up to a half of the regeneration costs can be taken over by the 'Wohnfonds Wien' and the remainder can be collected from rent increases. They stay within the legal affordability limit and are set for fifteen years until the regeneration costs are paid off ('Kostenmiete'). According to Glaser (personal communication, 23 March 2017), the rent increases do stay within a reasonable limit and are affordable to most tenants, that will receive rent allowance otherwise. Still, if residents disagree with the regeneration plans and rent increases, they can appeal to the conciliation body ('Schlichtungsstelle'), a municipal service free of charge.

Resident engagement

Generally, resident engagement in Vienna is represented rather at the district scale, with neighbourhood building efforts especially in large scale new developments. However, urban analyst Seiß (personal communication, 24 March 2017) criticises that Vienna is still lacking behind many other cities in terms of transparency and participation.

In the base renewal process, the level of resident

engagement may be relatively low and depends on each landlord. The housing cooperatives, by nature, are relatively democratic institutions where every member has a voice. 'Wiener Wohnen' on the other hand is a large and bureaucratic institution; it's lacking transparency, reduction of social efforts and distance to their tenants is a common complaint (A. Novy, personal communication, 22 March 2017, or Dossier Wohnen, 2015). Residents of the Goethehof confirmed this impression. They were informed, but not consulted on the renovation measures and the project was long delayed due to tenant's complaints about rent increases at the conciliation body.

In this context, the existence of this body plays an important role in guaranteeing the resident's rights. After an appeal to the conciliation body, the proposal is in most cases first renegotiated between the tenants and the landlord. If no consensus can be achieved, the 'Schlichtungsstelle' will take a decision. However, Glaser pointed out some negative experiences. A small group might object measures on the basis of rent increases that could be beneficial to the entire community – such as the renovation of a community centre, shared facilities and the like.

The 'Gebietsbetreuungen' play an important role as neutral contact and counselling body for tenants. There are present in 17 locations in the city, responsible for one to three districts. As area renewal offices, they are involved in block renovations and initiate other improvements in the district, like gardening initiatives or street festivals in collaboration with the residents. Furthermore, their offices act as local community centres and can be used for classes and non-commercial events.

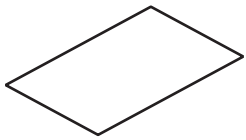


Fig.5.13 Redevelopment of a park in Ottakring: on site conversations initiated by the local 'Gebietsbetreuung' (Photo: GBstern.at)



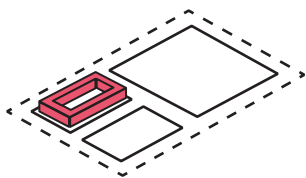
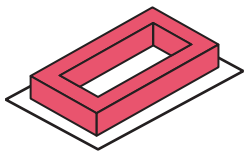
Fig.5.14 Community-building initiative of the local 'Gebietsbetreuung': Temporary gardening at the Sonnwendviertel (Photo: GBstern.at)

Wohnfonds Wien



↓ sells affordable land to developer under strict affordability conditions for construction

Developer



For larger pieces of land, (such as the railways land developments or Kabelwerk Meindling, the municipality collaborates with several developers, often including co-housing groups

Land politics and provision of new social housing

The 'Wohnfonds Wien' is not only responsible for the subsidy of renovation measures, but also the new construction of affordable housing primarily by housing cooperatives. To support soft urban renewal, it was set up in the 1980s as fund for urban renewal and land provision. The 'Wohnfonds' is financed by the purchase of relatively cheap, mostly agricultural or industrial land, and the resale to housing developers. The land is sold under favourable conditions – e.g. below the market rate - to housing cooperatives or other developers that commit to providing affordable housing on site for at least 35 years. This system has worked well in the past, but the city is currently working on strategies to handle decreasing land reserves (D. Glaser, personal communication 23 March 2017). Currently, the biggest development areas are former railway areas that are transferred from the municipality/land owners to the 'Wohnfonds'.

Problems, according to Seiß (personal communication, 24 March 2017) are the shortcomings of Vienna's land policy to restrict private land speculation, as well as the lack of transparency and accountability of this vehicle.

Innovation and quality control

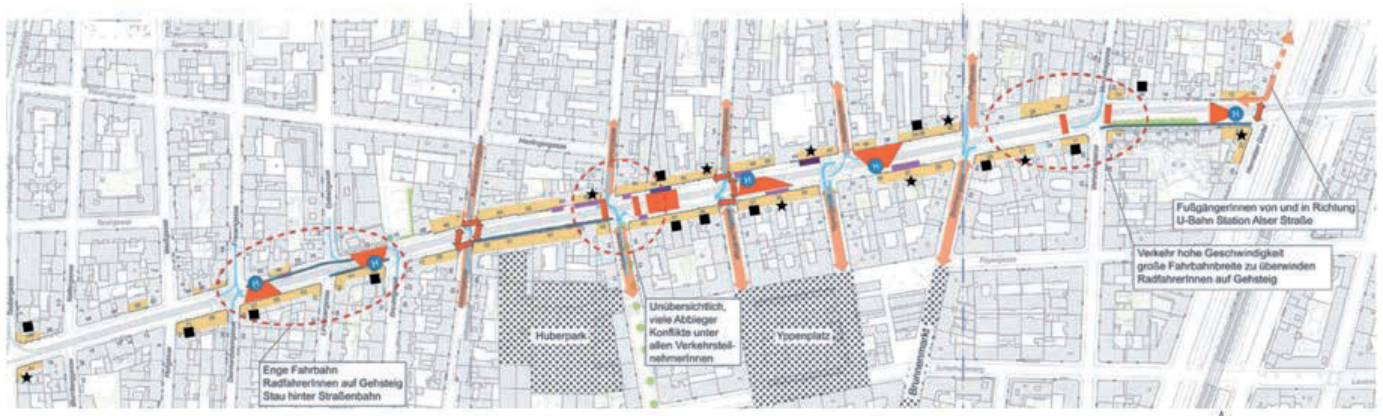
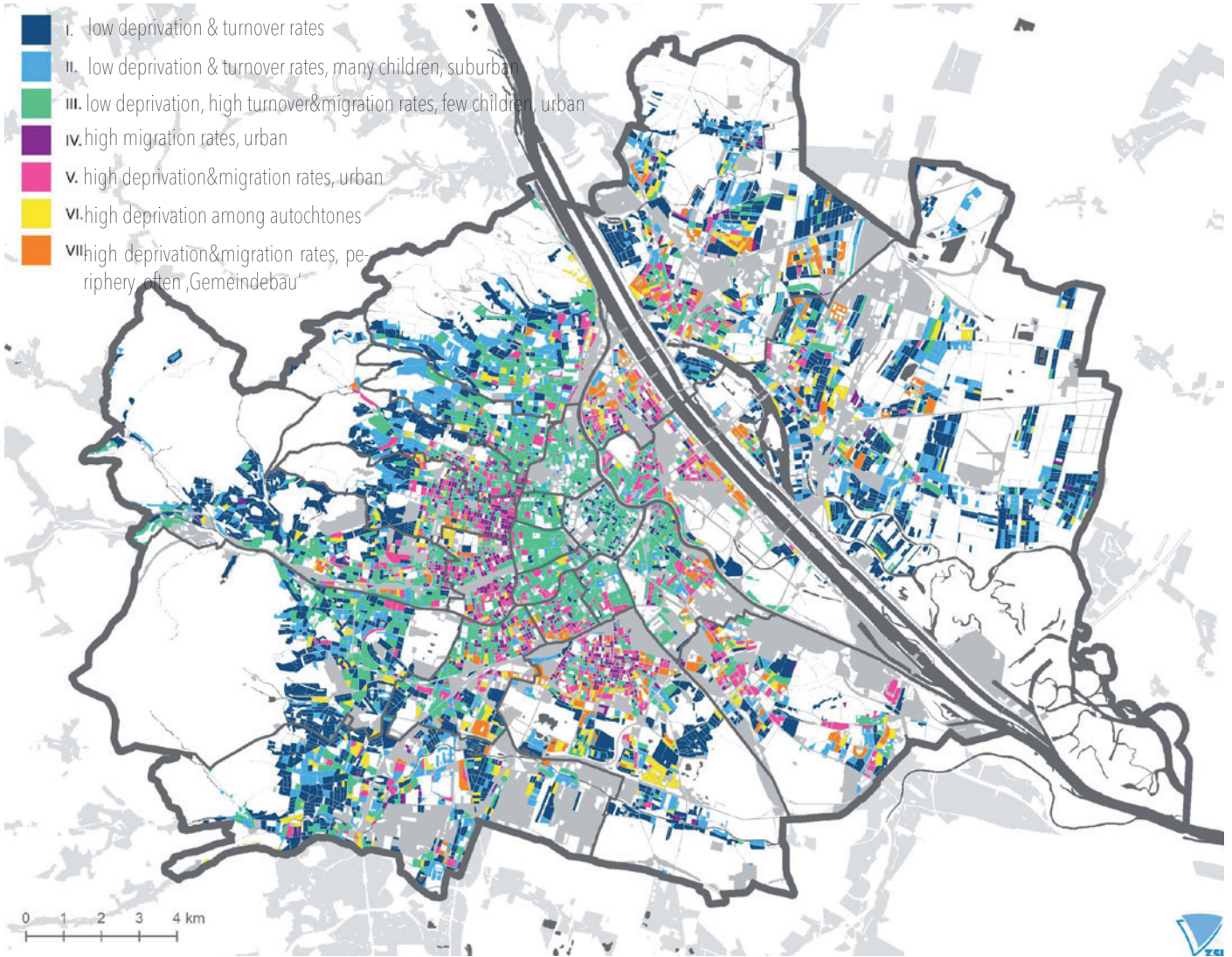
Due to the tradition and importance of housing as socio political issue in Vienna, there have been continuous efforts in that field. The notion of community and 'living together' appears to be a central focus within this. This is reflected in the city's

analysis and evaluation mechanisms, the tool of developer competitions' for the allocation of land from the 'Wohnfonds' Wien and the public support of innovative initiatives by small scale housing cooperatives.

According to Novy (personal communication, 22 March 2017), there still exists a strong capacity in the public sector with many bodies who think about the whole of the city, but the lack of interconnectedness between the different departments – such as urban development and housing – can be an issue.

To respond better to local communities, the city developed a set of analysis and evaluation tools for the built environment in relation to its users. These include enquiries on use pressure ('Potentieller Nutzungsdruck auf den öffentlichen Raum') according to density, dwelling quality and size, the presence of specific user groups, etc., as indicator to target public investment (Pätzold, 2017). The guidance on 'social space analysis' ('Sozialraumanalyse') was developed to inform the assessment of social, functional and spatial aspects of the public realm as preparation for intervention but also as subsequent monitoring tool. Combining statistical data with field work, the analysis method aims to identify the behaviour, but also needs and requirements of different user groups in an area.

Despite this strong framework, however, Seiß (personal communication, 24 March 2017) points out that the municipality often does not follow through in the implementation of their (vague) visions and let private investors take the lead in decisions regarding urbanistic principles. The Donau city is an example,



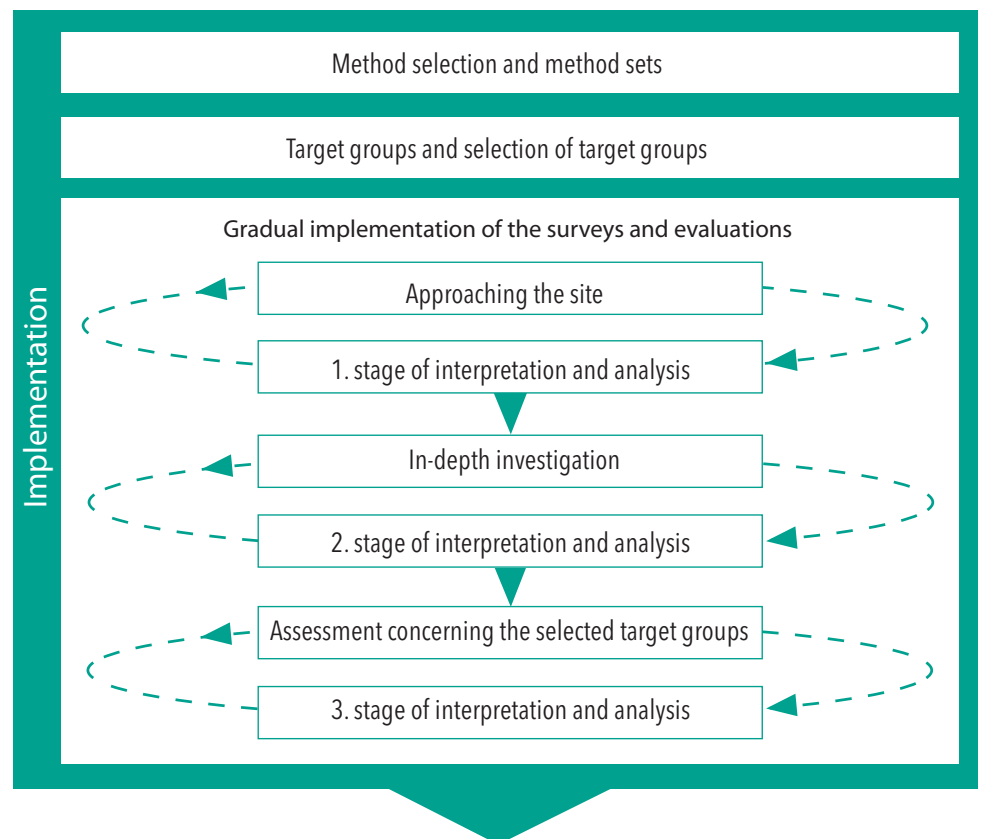
▷ **Fig.5.15** Analysis steps in Vienna's social space analysis guidance

MA 18 – Stadtentwicklung und Stadtplanung, Wien 2012



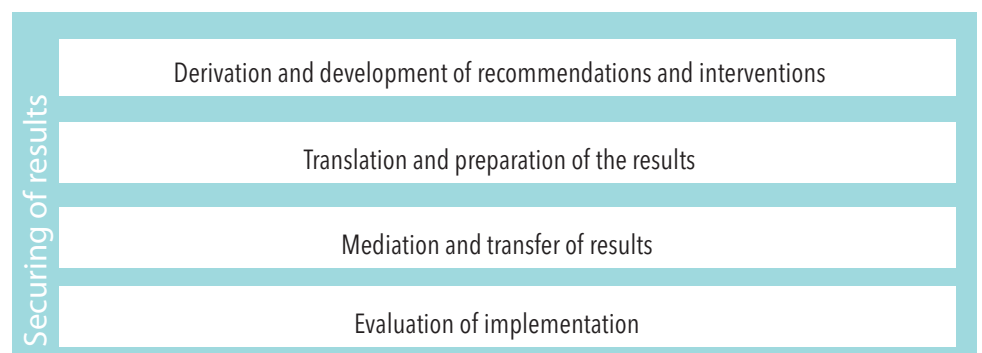
◁ **Fig.5.16** City wide classification into social space cluster according to demographic data (age, education, family status, deprivation indicators, migration background), turnover rates, density, urban typology

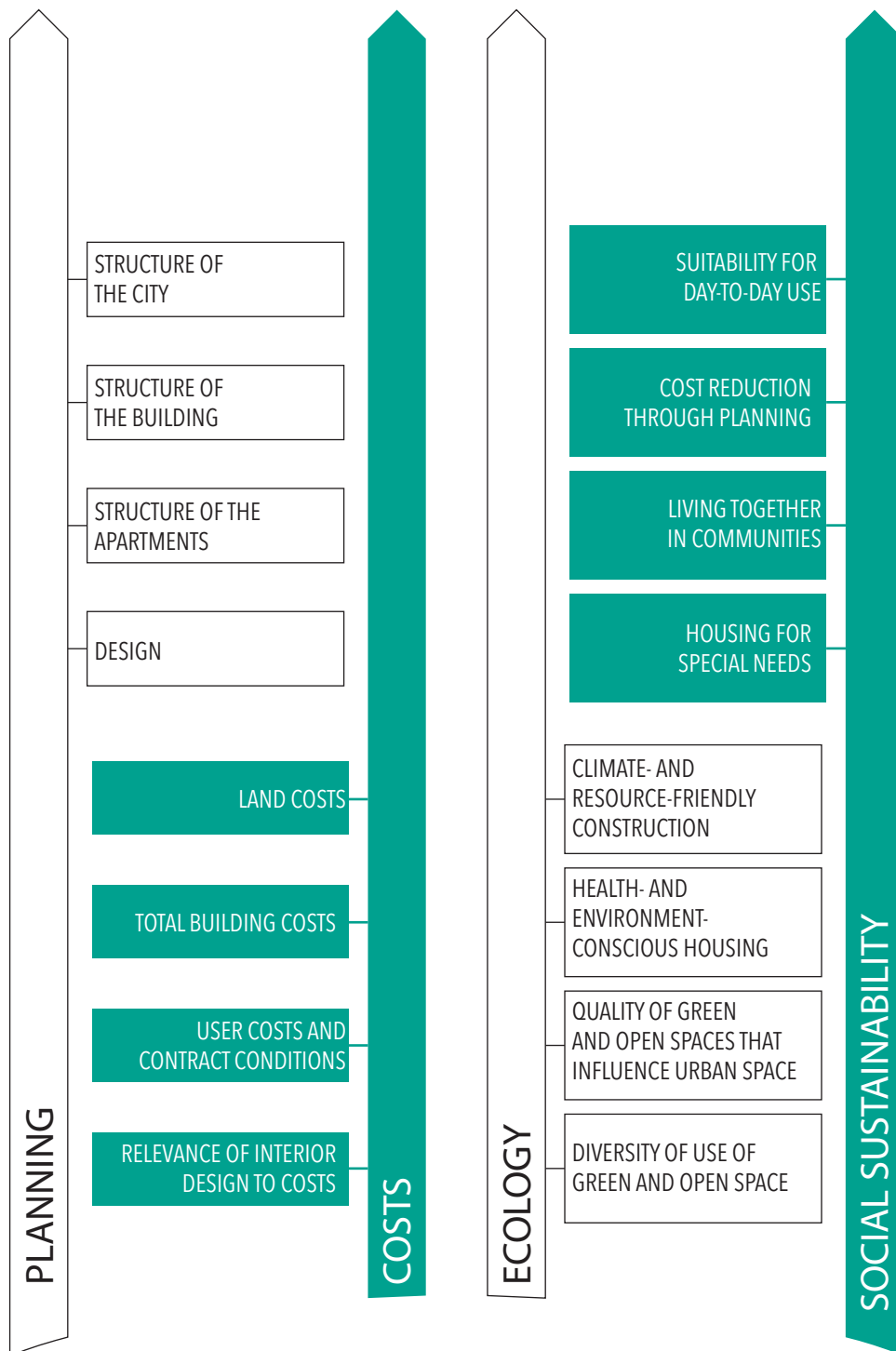
SozialraumAtlas Wien (MA18/ZSI, 2013)



◁ **Fig.5.17** Small scale application of the analysis tool: map indicating uses, use conflicts and potentials in the Ottakringer Straße

Puscher G., Titz T., Figl-Zavos M. (2012)





FOUR COLUMNS MODEL

where the masterplan was subsequently re-designed after the development had already happened.

'Bauträgerwettbewerbe' (developer competitions) are Vienna's method to stimulate innovation and quality in the construction of new affordable housing. They were introduced in 1995 in an attempt to overhaul established and crusty structures. At the time, housing developers hardly had to make an effort to be granted building land due to the city's generous subsidysystem for affordable housing. From then on, developers had to form a team with architects and enter a competition for the land provided by the 'Wohnfonds Wien'. The winning team commits to the provision the dwellings at affordable rent levels for a minimum of 35 years (D. Glaser, personal communication 23 March 2017). The brief contains the number of dwellings and tenure mix to be achieved, as well as, in most cases, a certain 'theme' to guide the proposals – such as young, intercultural or inter-generation living. Glaser explained that the brief would be left quite open due to the experience of a certain 'checklist mentality' if the requirements were defined too tightly. The developer is then expected to come up with interesting and innovative ideas. Some developments are set up as themed test sites ('Themensiedlungen') in which topics such as car-free living or gender based design would be explored more deeply, aiming to learn lessons that can later influence general practices. The entries are evaluated by a jury containing representatives of all relevant sectors such as architecture, landscape architecture, sociology, building ecology, developers and the municipality. They are assessed against the four

columns of architecture, ecology, economy and social sustainability (see diagram on the opposite page). In contrast to other bidding or procurement mechanisms, the developers are therefore chosen according to a set of quality criteria. The award of contract would hence not go to the highest, but the best bidder under fixed prices (D. Glaser, personal communication, 23 March, 2017). This may represent an advantage over traditional procurement mechanisms, but requires two important prerequisites: land ownership and private law status of the organising body due to public sector procurement constraints.

However, there is also associated criticism – in fact due to a lack of transparency and innovation. The number of entries is relatively low, with a set of reoccurring participants that enter proposals that have worked well in the past (information obtained from the IBA talk, 23 March 2017). Additionally, the jury does not have neutral positions, but is made of members who have experience, but also their own professional interest in Vienna; and it meets not publically (R. Seiß, personal communication, 24 March 2017).

Last but not least, considerable innovation continues to come from small housing cooperatives or building groups. As collectives with a social and communal vision, they have developed co-housing projects that usually go along with cultural, educational or community facilities such as cafés and event rooms. Exemplary cases are the 'Sargfabrik' or the 'Wohnprojekt Wien'. They will be further elaborated in the next section.

◀ Fig.5.18 The four columns of Vienna's developer competitions.

Redrawn from Förster, 2016

Renovation



Fig.5.19 Renovation of the Goethehof: thermal improvements, addition of balconies, elevators and an additional storey (Photo: author)



Fig.5.20 'Wiener Wohnen' is considering to lay this carpark underground and create a lawn area. (Photo: author)

Community within the building

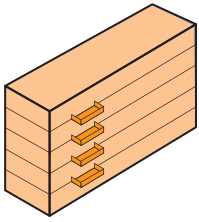


Fig.5.21 Community room at the Sonnwendviertel. This is a very large example, elsewhere they might consist of one simple room used for yoga or child's play (Photo: author)

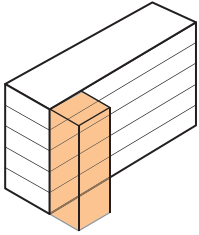


Fig.5.22 Light and spacious staircases as this one in the Kabelwerk Meindling can become a place to play or stop and chat with your neighbours (Photo: author)

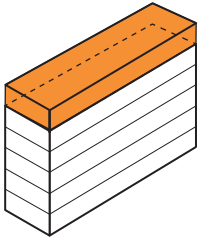
Renovation measures



Facade & structural improvements, insulation

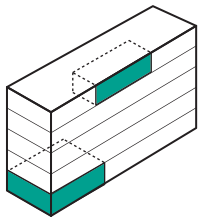


Addition of elevator, staircase

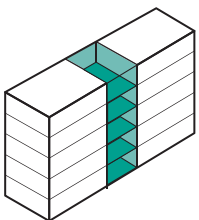


Addition of storey

Community spaces within the building



Community/play/yoga rooms



Light and spacious staircases

Design

The aim for this 'action point' was to explore both examples for refurbishment as well as general interesting approaches of design for mixed communities.

In the social housing sector, demolition is the exception. In difference to London, where – apart from structural conditions – a dysfunctional public realm or inverted layout of estates are used as arguments for demolition and redevelopment, such considerations do not seem to play an important role in Vienna. In the 'Gemeindebau', the scope of estate regeneration is generally quite limited and is mostly confined to necessary repairs and maintenance. A more substantial regeneration, that might be undertaken every thirty to forty years, tends to focus on the renovation of the building itself and does often not incorporate large structural changes of the public realm. The Goethehof regeneration, for instance, includes thermic insulation, the renovation of windows, balconies and the façade as well as the external addition of elevators. Plans regarding the public realm were not fully defined yet during the site visit. According to the construction office on site, they will most likely include the renewal of the pavement material, and the construction of an underground car park to relieve the parking shortage. An interesting aspect, however, is the attic conversion into new apartments.

In the 19th century housing stock, the greening of inner courtyards, modernisation of facades, addition of roof terraces or de-densification to allow for better

sunlight exposition in the apartments (as seen in an exhibition in the Gebietsbetreuung 2/20).

On the other hand, interesting lessons can be learnt from the design of communal spaces – especially from co-housing groups exploring new ways of living together. In tradition of 'Red Vienna', communal facilities still play an important role also in the new build. Community rooms within the building, used for children's play, yoga and other activities have been seen in several developments including the Kabelwerk Meindling and the Sonnwendviertel. Another interesting aspect is the generous and light design of entry areas and stair cases, allowing for residents who meet each other in the hallway to stop and talk in a comfortable atmosphere.

Inner courtyards of developments such as the 'Sargfabrik' have a collective and almost rural atmosphere, with communal gardens and a very direct connection between inside and outside, private and shared.

Mixed use, with cafes or cultural institutions occupying the groundfloor, are also common in these developments. It is important to bear in mind, though, that these developments are part of the rather middle-class oriented, socially engaged form of housing cooperatives and not the social housing for the lowest income groups. However, 'Alt-Erlaa' is an example of a large amount of communal spaces and shared facilities in the public housing sector. These, and the generously planted balconies, contribute to a high satisfaction of its residents.

Community outdoors



Fig.5.23 Community Gardens in the Wohnprojekt Wien (Photo: author)



Fig.5.24 Suburban atmosphere in the Sargfabrik, with small interactive elements maintained by the inhabitants (Photo: author)

Criticism



Fig.5.26 Small scale, updivided courtyard in the Sonnwendviertel (Photo: author)



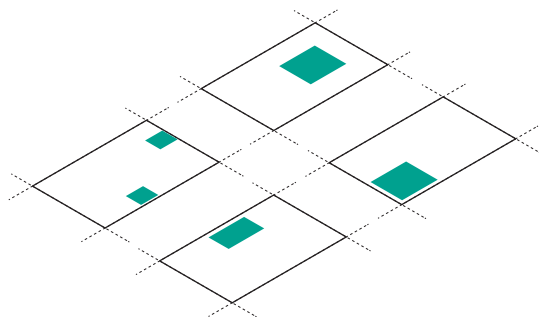
Fig.5.27 Dark corners in the Kabelwerk Meindling (Photo: author)



Fig.5.25 New addition of covered meeting points in Alt-Erlaa. (Photo: author)

Main design principle

Creation of spaces for the community - the children to play, the neighbours to meet up



But there are also shortcomings according to my evaluation criteria outlined in chapter 3.

As opposed to the large park-like courtyards of the 1920s but also the post-war period – that are appreciated, but not very well used according to residents I spoke to – new developments arrange a multitude of designed surfaces and objects in a small space. These allow for small children to play, people to sit, etc., but lack the flexibility of larger multiuseable surfaces.

Social mix is encouraged and applied but without the detailed discourse present in Amsterdam and London. According to Seiß (personal communication, 24 March 2017), mixed developments would often feature vertical separation, with the lower and – especially in dense developments – darker apartments intended for lower income households.

More generally, Seiß criticises the attitude among Vienna's architects to strive for innovation at any cost – it is more important to create something new at the expense of the useability or even illumination of the space.

Additionally, in housing development, the focus lies on the design of the dwelling and the communal spaces, but lesser regard seems to be given to the surrounding streetscape. Broad, car dominated street profiles and a monotonous plinth occur in new districts such as the Sonnwendviertel or the Nordbahnhof.



Fig.5.28 Communal courtyard in the Sonnwendviertel: Play, seating, lawn (Photo: author)



5.2 AMSTERDAM



Fig.5.29 Amsterdam Nieuw West (Photo: author)

INTRODUCTION

Despite its small size with a population still below one million inhabitants, Amsterdam is one of Europe's most influential cities.

The city is characterised by its famous historical core, but also large scale modernist city extensions such as Nieuw West or Bijlmermeer that are currently redeveloped. This stands in contrast to London, where council estates tend to occur next to other typologies, and estate regeneration is undertaken on project rather than district basis.

It is historically a 'just city' (Fainstain, 2010) with a culture of tolerance, participation and collaborative decision making. The social housing sector is large and comprises property all over town managed by housing associations that act as a major player in the city's urban development. However, the system is currently under transformation, and scholars fear that a neoliberal turn might break these foundations (see, for instance, Gent, 2012).

1



Jacob Geelbuurt

Residential neighbourhood under renovation

2



Kolenkitbuurt

Lively multicultural neighbourhood adjacent to Amsterdam West; several phases of demolition and reconstruction completed

3



Overtoomse Veld

Neighbourhood that was demolished and rebuilt; completed in large parts

4



Sloterveer

Neighbourhood towards Amsterdam's eastern fringe, regeneration is about to start

5



Dudokhaken

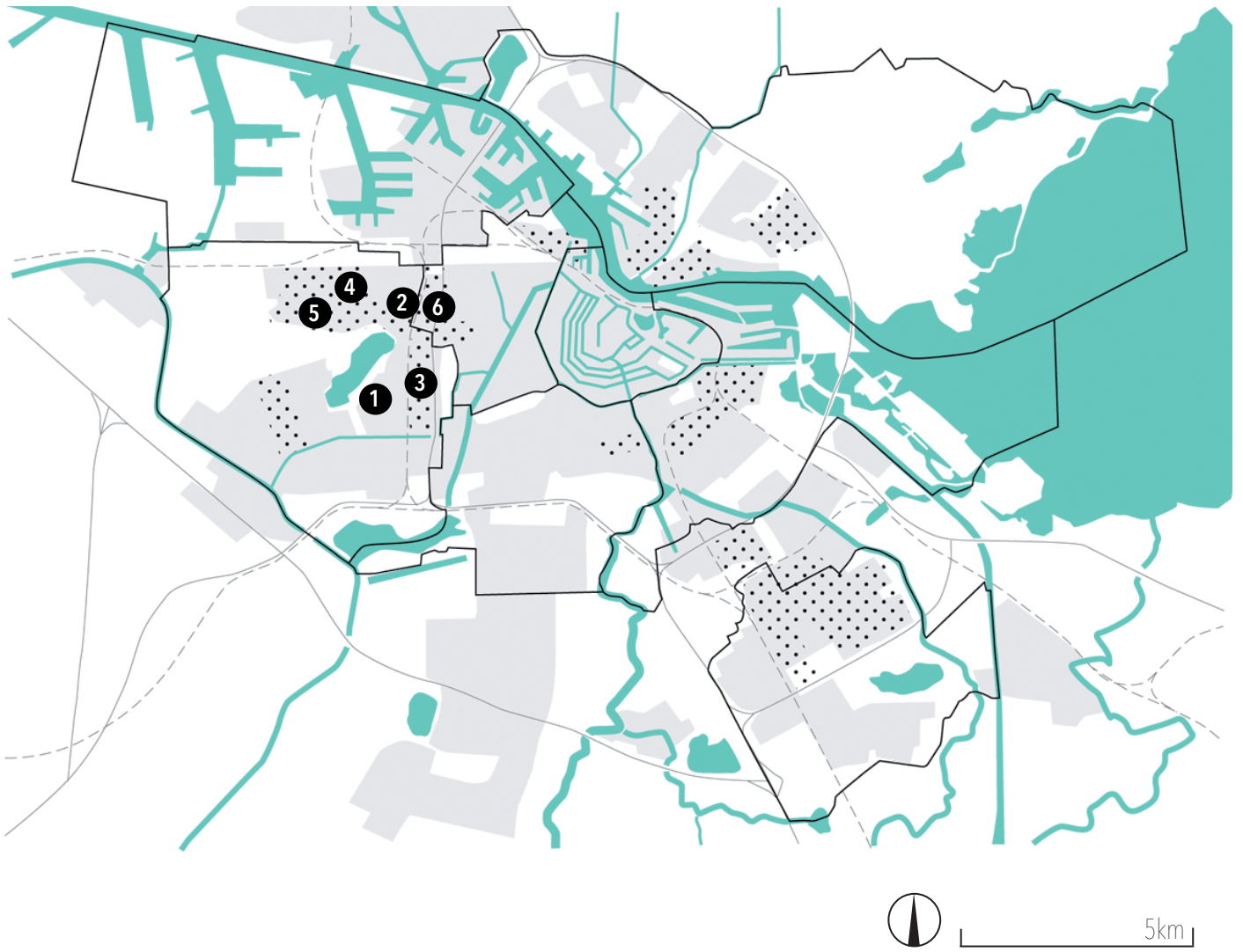
Renovation project of 6 L-shaped modernist blocks including re-programming of the outdoor space

6



Gakgebouw

Transformation of former office block into student flats



△ Fig.5.30 Amsterdam

- Built up area
- Most deprived areas

Data on deprivation: CBS, 2012

PLANNING AND THE MODERNIST LEGACY

Urban planning has a long history in the Netherlands. Because of the wet soils, the urban growth requires land preparation mechanisms that are not feasible for a single developer. The government therefore always played an important role in the coordination of drainage and landfill and the subsequent allocation of land. This history continues to reflect in a powerful and resourceful planning sector to this day (Fainstain, 2010).

At the turn of the last century, two further important preconditions for Amsterdam's present-day structure were set. The first was the development of the ground lease system, with the municipality retaining ownership of the land and leasing it to developers (Fainstain, 2010). Secondly, the 1901 Housing Act gave municipalities more control over the use and construction of land within their borders, and enabled them to collaborate with housing corporations to develop large pieces of land with financial aid from the government (Komossa and Meyer, 2005).

The areas that are in the focus of current urban regeneration programs are the city's large scale post-war extensions. An example is the district of Nieuw West, which will be used in the following chapter to illustrate Amsterdam's 'estate regeneration' approach.

The district was built after the Second World War according to the Berlage's general extension plan ('Algemeen Uitbreidingsplan' – short AUP) dating from the 1930s. The expansion, financed with government subsidy, contained almost solely social housing and was carried out in a relatively short time strictly according to plan (Fainstain, 2010). In line with its modernist ideals, the district has a spacious green layout with a functional separation of uses and traffic and a large park and water area in its centre. The typical typology consists of two usually mid and low-rise L-shaped buildings around an open courtyard. These are grouped in small neighbourhood clusters, separated by large streets or drainage canals. Towards the edges, the neighbourhood may be framed by a row of linear blocks. According to plan, schools take up an important function in the centre of neighbourhood clusters, but shopping facilities were located in small malls catering only for the daily needs (Gemeente Amsterdam, 2013). However, today, in several places there have developed high streets with oriental shops and small urban nodes with open markets catering for the large middle-eastern population.

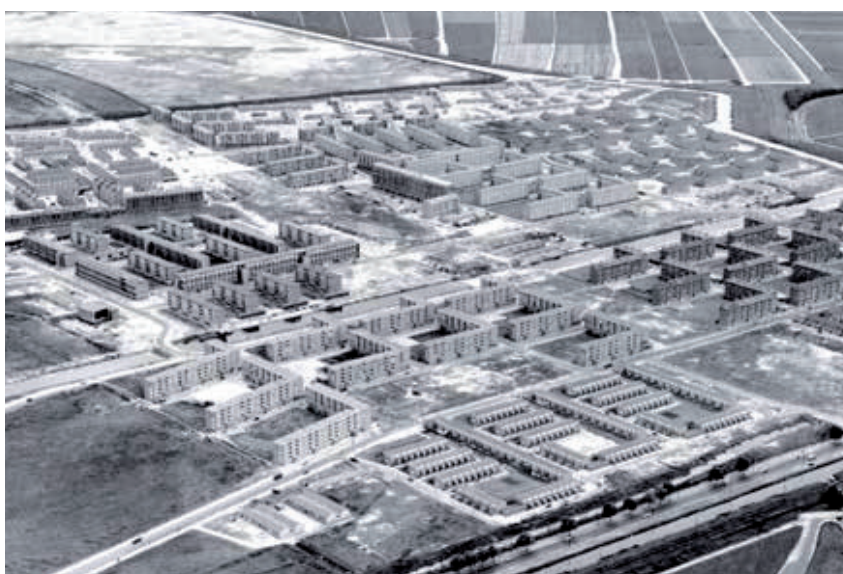
This is typical for Amsterdam, where the largest non-western groups are of Turkish and Moroccan heritage, who came as guest workers in the 1960s, and immigrants from the former Dutch colony of

▷ **Fig.5.31** Nieuw West under construction, 1955

Photo: collectie van Eesterenmuseum, retrieved from Gemeente Amsterdam, 2013

▷ **Fig.5.32** Nieuw West today - typical asymmetric street lining

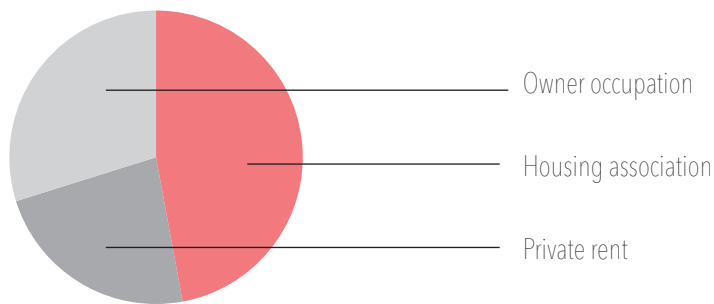
Photo: author



Surinam have clustered in post-war districts such as Nieuw West. As these areas have become problematic - with concentrations of multiple deprivation, crime, language and education issues - the public debate has increasingly turned from a tolerance of difference towards the need for more integration and better social mix. It is however important to keep in mind that, despite these issues, Amsterdam remains a city of relatively equal opportunities and still possesses the institutional capacities to tackle these issues (Fainstain, 2010 and Lawton, 2013).

To sum up, as large uniform district with suburban character in most places, Nieuw West's modernist legacy differentiates significantly from Inner London Estates in spatial terms, but issues of segregation and deprivation are prevalent in both.

THE HOUSING SECTOR



Affordable housing provision

At its peak in 1995, social housing made up almost 60% of Amsterdam's housing stock. It has declined since then, but still represents the largest tenure form with approximately 46%. Owner occupation takes the second place with 31%. As in most major cities, the numbers differ from the national average, where owner occupation is the strongest sector with 60% (AFWC, 2016).

In the European comparison, the Dutch social housing sector holds a unique position as almost the entire stock is owned by housing associations and not by municipal bodies. They have a similar setup but longer tradition, than their English counterpart and can own housing stock all over the country.

In Amsterdam, the nine main housing associations form the 'Amsterdamse Federatie van Woningcorporaties' that takes an important stake in housing and planning policy development with the municipality. This is due to the fact that housing

associations have not only been responsible for the social housing sector, but have delivered up to 70% of all new built housing in the recent years (AFWC, 2016).

The changing role of housing associations

Housing associations have played an important role in the Netherlands since the early 20th century. In the post-war period, they were responsible for the delivery of 90% of all new construction (Fainstain, 2010). The main objective at that time was to manage the housing shortage and deliver affordable housing for the 'baby boom' generation. This lasted until the 1990s, when the national government observed no longer quantitative but a qualitative housing shortage and increased the support of the owner occupied sector.

In an effort to comply with EU-criteria and reduce government spending, this policy change went along with an abandonment of construction subsidies to

< Fig.5.33 Tenure distribution
Amsterdam

data: AFWC, 2016

housing associations in favour of subject subsidies (=rent allowance). Instead of direct financial support, a Housing Guarantee Fund was set up, providing housing associations with secure loans. Housing associations in return gained more freedom to raise additional income from market sales and became both provider of affordable housing and increasingly private developer. As a result – in line with social mix policies – most projects from then on were mixed tenure developments. Associations also gained freedom to sell existing housing, but unlike the Right-to-buy, they could chose (not) to do so (AFWC, 2016).

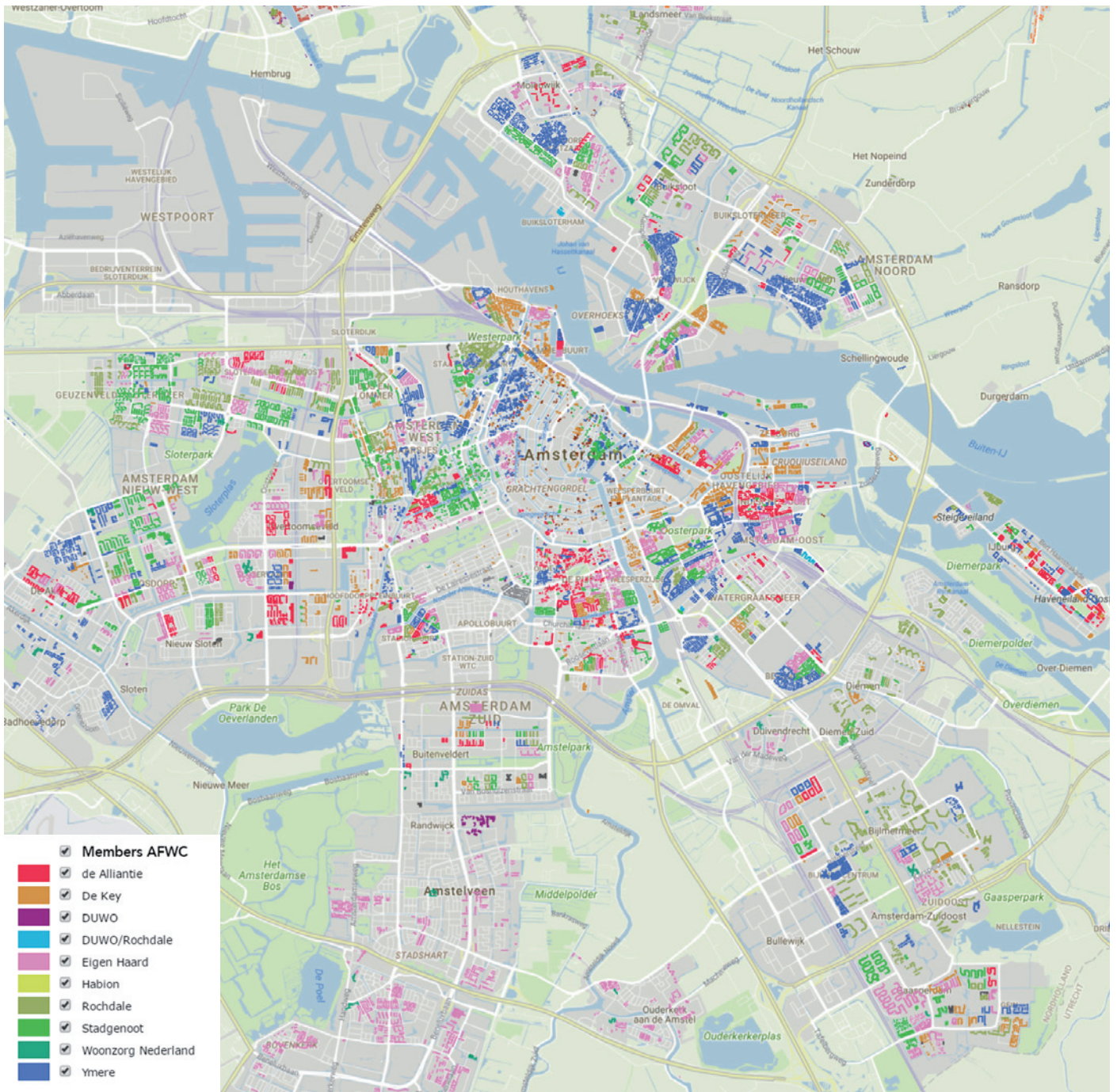
More recently, the role of housing associations was revised again. The catalyst were scandals and issues in the in the sector as well as requirements of the European Union regarding a stricter separation of state and market. Inversely of the cross-subsidy idea, housing associations were accused to have used affordable housing as backup to borrow money to develop market units. Scandals included high salaries of directors and the billion loss in derivatives of the Netherland's largest housing association, Vestia, that had to be carried by the entire sector due to a solidarity fund system. This resulted in a general negative reputation of housing associations and a parliamentary inquiry in 2014. The conclusion was that housing associations should from then on stay with their core business - the provision of housing for lower income groups. The Housing Act of 2015 hence requires housing associations to strictly separate their social and market activities, and further

disadvantages the latter by requesting a 'market test' for any private market development. This means that a housing association that wants to develop offices or market units has to prove that no other market party is interested in the land (J. van der Veer, personal conversation, 5 April 2017).

Access to affordable housing - rent setting and social housing entry criteria

For a long time, housing in Amsterdam continued to be genuinely affordable due to both the size of the social housing sector and the regulation in the private rental market. The government fixes a maximum annual increase (inflation + a certain percentage) for sitting tenants as well as maximum rent levels for new contracts based on a points system. There are three categories - the social rent level up to around €700, the medium rent level up to €1000 and the liberalised rent at the top end (J. van der Veer, personal conversation, 5 April 2017). Average rent levels in Amsterdam were still below these levels in 2015, with €485 per month in the housing association and €745 in the private sector (AFWC, 2016). However, the rent gap increasingly widened with the introduction of 'scarcity' or popularity points and property value as indicator in the rent determination. This allows many landlords, especially in popular inner city areas, to gather enough points to liberalise rents as soon as the apartment is re-let (J. van der Veer, personal conversation, 5 April 2017).

Simultaneously, the social housing sector was



reduced from broad to a more means-tested provision with the setting up of maximum income thresholds in 2011 in response to EU-policies. For new households entering the sector, the target group is limited to an annual income of €34.000 (AFWC, 2016).

Van der Veer additionally criticises a current paradox in the social rent setting due to the introduction of the 'Landlord Levy'. The national government set up this fixed tax in 2013 in the background of austerity measures and the prosperity of housing associations that had profited from the increasing property value of their stock. To make up for the new levy, housing associations had to raise their rents which led to an increase in housing allowance having to be provided by the national government. Therefore, in 2016, rent setting within the social rent sector was further regulated. Now, 95% of all low income people have to find a house below the threshold of the rental subsidy - €586 for small and €628 for larger households - limiting the scope for more lucrative social rents up to €700.

Additionally, due to the long term reduction of the social housing sector, there is now a supply gap in Amsterdam's real estate market with more people falling below the income threshold than housing association property available. Currently, this is still absorbed by the private rental market, but especially the entry into Amsterdam's housing market for newcomers can be difficult. Both developments in the housing association as well as the private rental sector caused stagnation in turnover rates - fewer people chose to move, leading to longer waiting lists

for social housing which had not been a problem in Amsterdam before (K. Vissers, personal conversation, 31 March 2017).

Conclusion

Unlike the UK, the social housing sector in the Netherlands is not stigmatised despite the social problems accumulated in modernist districts such as Nieuw West. This stems from the former broad scope and large size of the sector. For a long time, social housing used to be accessible and relatively attractive for everyone. However, the social housing system in the Netherlands is currently in a state of transformation - away from a broad provision of affordable housing to targeting more specifically lower income groups. The result is an increasing gap between affordable dwellings provided by housing associations and the growing liberalised private sector.

<Fig.5.34 Housing associations property in Amsterdam

AFWC, 2017

before 2008

after 2008

Municipality

Planning

Municipal structure plan

Renovation consortium

4 district government, municipality,
housing associations

District Renewal Plan

District government

Area Renewal Plan

Planning

Structural vision

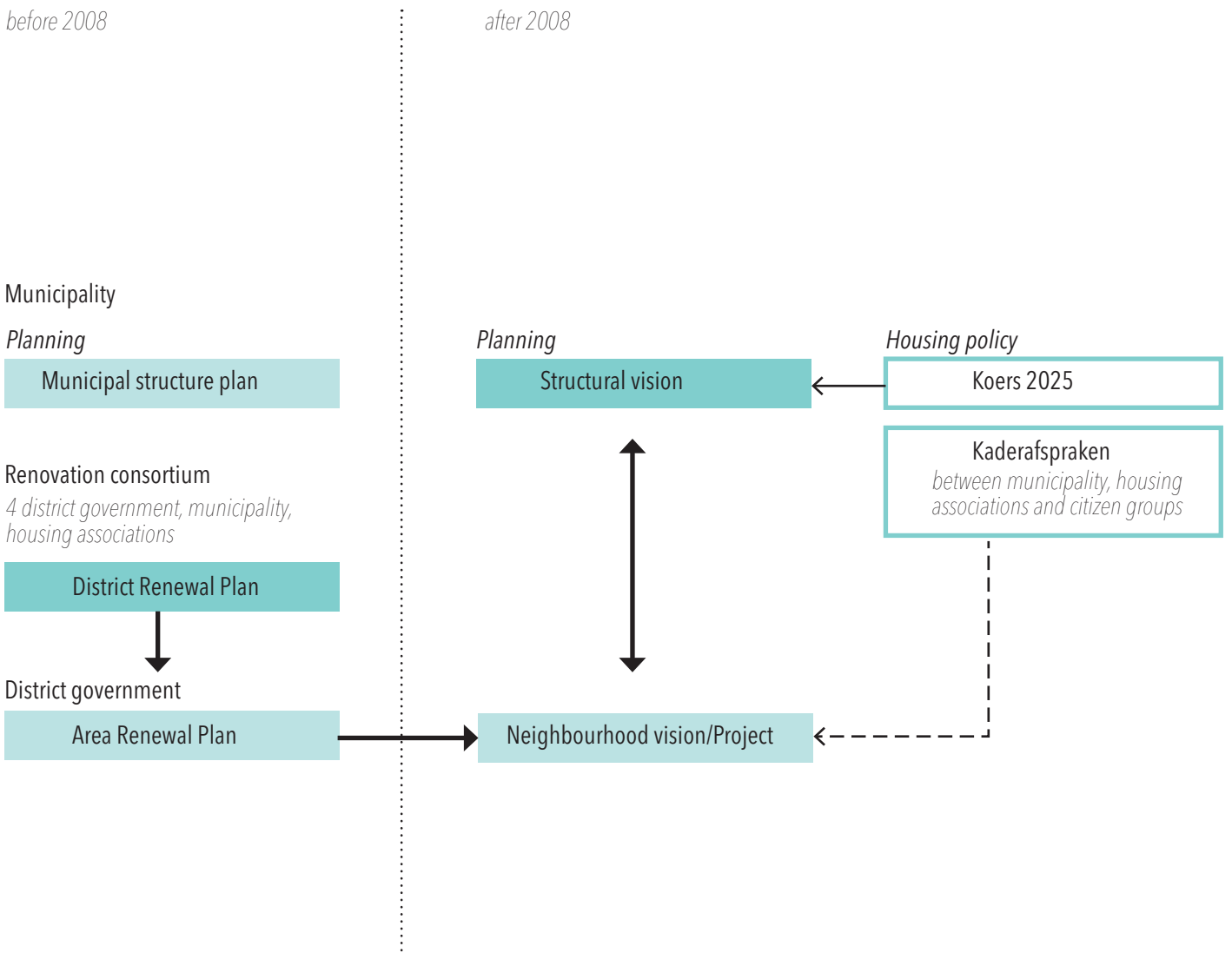
Housing policy

Koers 2025

Kaderafspraken

between municipality, housing
associations and citizen groups

Neighbourhood vision/Project



ACTION POINTS

Preface: Changing responsibilities

Similar to the UK, the national government plays an important role in housing policy in the Netherlands. It sets the legal framework, defines the scope of housing associations, regulates rent levels, prescribes minimum construction standards and is responsible for rental allowance for lower income households.

The municipality, on the other hand, has a larger scope of responsibilities and implementation capacity than London's GLA.

It formulates housing policy on city level and makes performance agreements with housing associations. Regarding housing development, the main policy document are the Kaderafspraken 2015-2019 – urban contracts between the municipality, housing associations and citizen groups. They define housing targets, but also include related topics such as resident engagement requirements (K. Vissers and J. van der Veer, personal conversation on 31 March and 5 April). Furthermore, the municipality is responsible for spatial planning and development control, as well as the design and maintenance of public space. In 2010, Fainstain praised Amsterdam's decentralisation of the local government to the district level, giving them sufficient financial means to develop and implement plans closer to the interests of the local

neighbourhood. Since then, however, the powers were centralised at the expense of the districts. The changes are illustrated on the opposite page.

Whereas before, as it was the case for Nieuw West, the district government – in collaboration with housing associations and the local population – drew up renewal plans for the entire area, the municipality now develops one single strategic document for the entire city, the *Strukturvisie 2040*.

Local visions, now rather on neighbourhood than district scale, are still developed by the district government but have to be in conformity with the structural vision and approved by the municipality (K. Vissers, personal communication 31 March 2017). Vision, generally, is the keyword that summarises the new, more flexible approach to planning developed as reaction to the financial crisis of 2008, in which many plans could not be realised. They are used to define shared objectives among the stakeholders and identify possible strategies to achieve these, without being bound to a strict plan.

A further important document is the 'Koers 2025', envisioning the construction of at least 50.000 new dwellings until 2025. It calls for densification, and all plans have to be revised accordingly.

◀ **Fig.5.35** Changing planning responsibilities after 2008: greater importance of the municipal government

Regeneration approach: planning according to the state of the economy

There have been different approaches to urban regeneration in Amsterdam over the years, with the most recent strategic changes triggered by the financial crisis of 2008. This is illustrated clearly at the example of the regeneration of 'Nieuw West' which was initiated in the late 1990s and is still ongoing. It shows that urban regeneration in Amsterdam was large scale and policy driven, with the aims of tenure diversification and social mix being implemented in a radical way, followed by a more flexible and market-driven approach after the financial crisis of 2008.

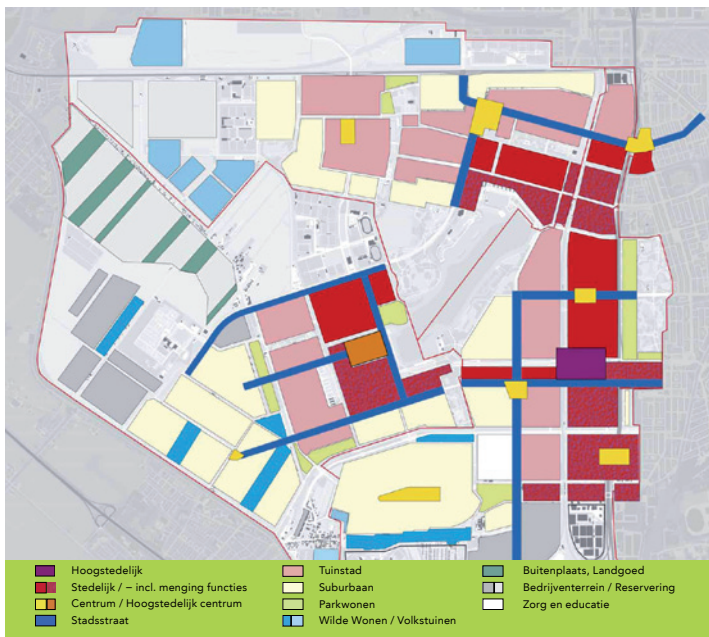
In 2000, the Bureau Parkstad was funded, a consortium of the concerned boroughs (4 at that time, before the borough reform that created the entity of Nieuw West), the municipality and the housing associations owning property in the area. The aim was both the improvement of the living conditions of the existing residents as well as the regeneration of the district itself to make it more attractive to other social groups. In 2001, a strategic plan was published based on a three pillar approach of economic, social and physical measures. The economic and social conditions were addressed with language courses, skill trainings, poverty relief programmes, but also the building of offices, social, retail, sports and recreation facilities (EUKN, 2010). Regarding housing, a radical physical approach was taken. In order to diversify

and densify the housing stock, the plan envisioned large scale demolition and sales of social housing. In total, 13,300 social housing units were planned for demolition to be replaced with the reconstruction of 24,300 dwellings – among them 5600 socially rented units. In addition of the sale and conversion of dwellings, this would amount to a net loss of some 8,000 social rented units. The redeveloped neighbourhoods should be given new and diverse characters, according to the concept of different living environments ('Leefomgevingen'). (Richting Parkstad 2015, 2001)

The financing concept, relying on the sale of office buildings in more central locations, fell through as the demand staggered during the crisis and the large renewal plan split into small projects. Many were stopped or postponed. Since then, a softer and more small scale approach was taken, with a renewed focus on refurbishment and the exploration of self-build and self-refurbishment programmes (Gemeene Amsterdam, 2014). However, according to both van der Veer and Vissers (personal communication on 5 April and 31 March 2017), the crisis is now overcome, but it is unsure in which direction the situation will develop from now on. Old plans are taken up again, one by one revised and developed under the new framework. As the market is recovering, demolition and densified reconstruction are becoming more

▷ **Fig.5.36 Richting Parkstad 2015 (2001)**
large restructuring scheme;
aim: diversification of living environments

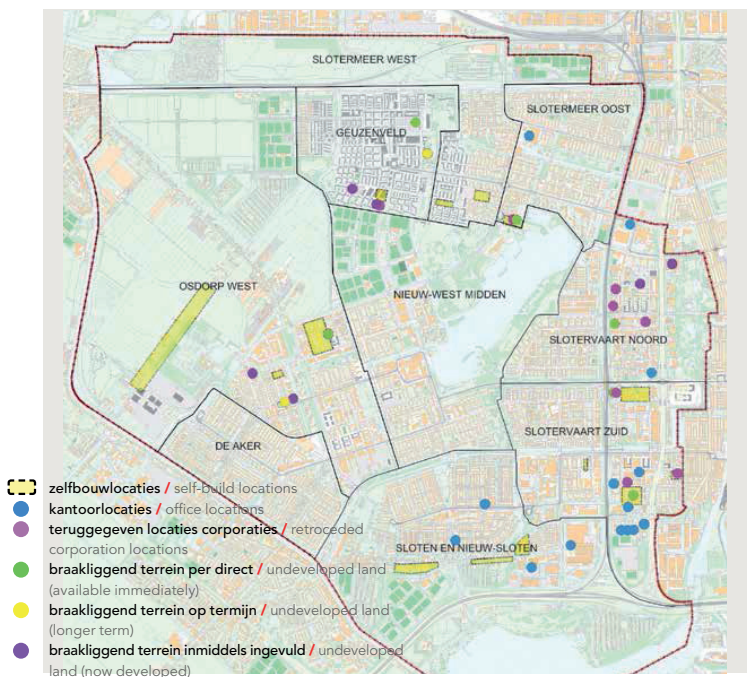
▷ **Fig.5.37 Planam (2014)**
new direction after the crisis: self-build and small scale projects

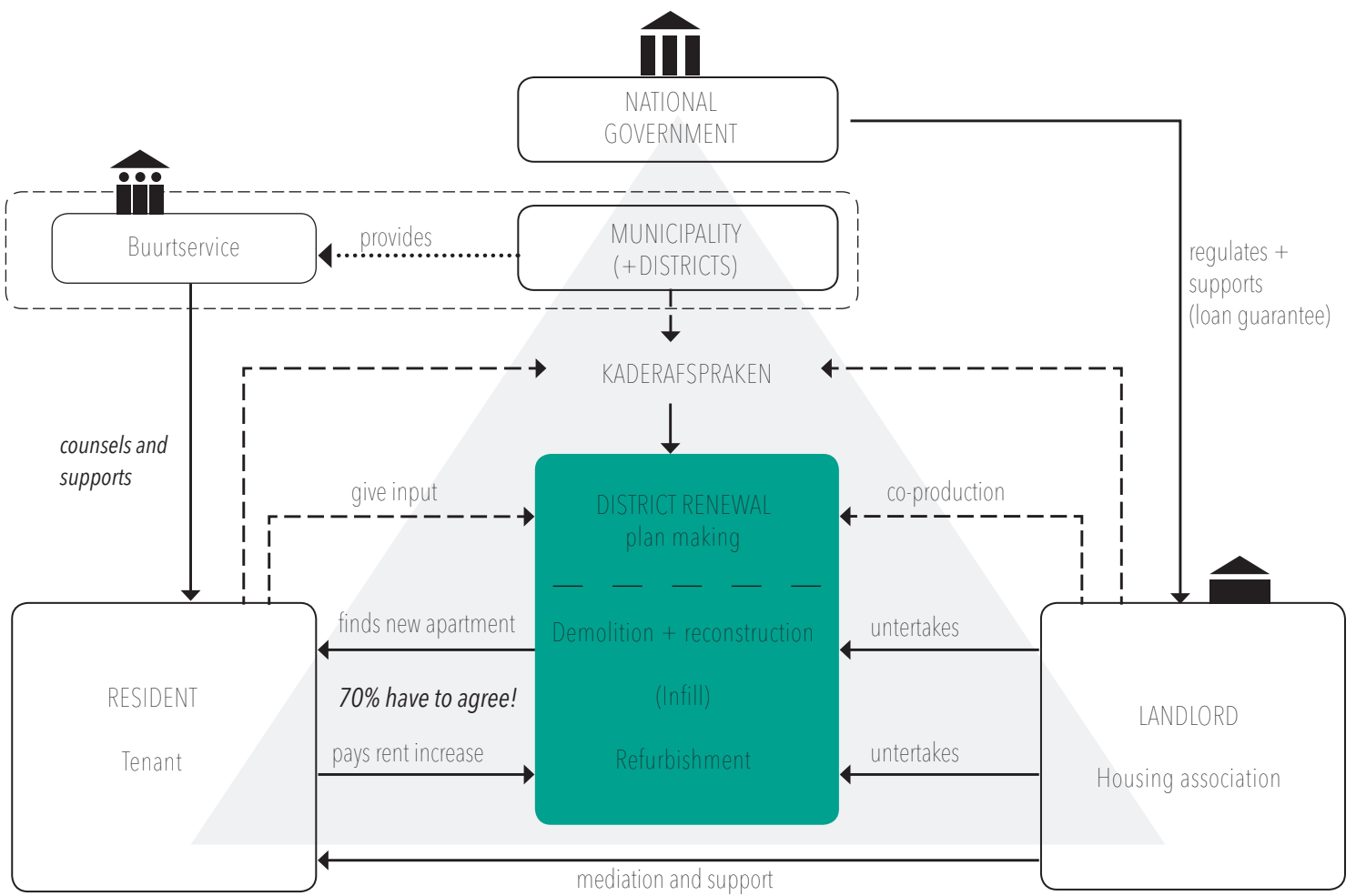


attractive again, potentially at the expense of community housing and self build developments.

The new agenda, whatsoever, will not include further large scale demolition of social housing and large scale regeneration schemes are unlikely to be repeated. The Kaderafspraken 2015-2019 suggest the emergence of more need-based policies from the side of the municipality. According to van der Veer (personal conversation, 5 April 2017), the municipality thereby distances itself from national government directives that still highly support home ownership and rent liberalisations and advocate for a smaller social housing sector.

The Kaderafspraken include the aim for an economic equilibrium (AFWC, 2016), in which sales, conversion and demolition of social rented units have to be balanced out with new construction. This equilibrium, however, applies for the city as a whole and not within a regeneration area. This means that if social housing stock is demolished, it does not have to be reprovided on site but should be overall balanced out with construction anywhere in Amsterdam – also in less central locations – even though the general aim is to reprovide it in the area (C. Groot, personal communication 5 April 2017). Hence, as opposed to Vienna or even London, there are no fixed provisions that prevent the dispersal of the original population.





Regeneration process: actors and financing

The primary actors involved in the regeneration process in its current form - after the crisis - are the housing associations and tenants. The project will be undertaken in collaboration with the district authorities, but both plans and planning applications are adopted/decided centrally in the municipality. The decision on the type of regeneration is made by the housing association in relation to (pre-)existing urban renewal plans and the current economic condition. At least in designated renewal areas, this might, as the crisis is overcome, again outweigh considerations on structural conditions of the building.

As mentioned in the previous section, the district renewal plan of Nieuw West split into smaller sub-projects after the crisis. These generally incorporate one or multiple neighbourhood clusters and are now gradually brought forward. Kees Vissers, in a personal conversation from 31 March 2017, explained the approach for one of these sub-projects, the Jacob Geelbuurt: During the crisis, the original plan for the neighbourhood was amended by the district government together with the concerned housing associations, and under consultation of the residents. The new plan is since then used as a general vision, but not determinative in its content. On the basis of a relation of trust and mutual commitment, it represents a flexible agreement between the stakeholders as framework for future collaboration. In fact, the plan was only officially adopted years after its making, as

an official document was needed for the allocation of a fund.

The refurbishment or demolition/reconstruction of the buildings is financed by the housing association from its own reserves and loans from the Guarantee Fund. Cross-subsidy from market sales is not possible anymore after the 2015 Housing Act. A part of the building or renovation costs are also raised from gradual rent increases (without exceeding the social rent threshold). The level of rent rises will be agreed upon with the residents in advance, and fixed in a social plan that 70% of the residents have to agree to. The municipality, in addition, can give subsidies for regeneration, and will invest in the public realm (K. Vissers, personal conversation, 31 March 2017).

In case of extensive refurbishment or demolition, the decanted residents get the status of urban renewal candidates and have priority in the allocation of new dwellings within Amsterdam and its surroundings. They are given 1-1,5 years notice and have time until then to find a new apartment. Elderly and families may receive special assistance (K. Vissers, personal conversation, 31 March 2017).



Resident engagement

The residents are engaged on several levels and several stages of the regeneration process.

In this context, the Kaderafspraken as city wide urban contract between the municipality, housing associations and residents association represent an exceptional level of involvement. Furthermore, these agreements outline minimum requirements on resident participation for different phases of plan making and construction. The Kaderafspraken, for instance, define that prior to a renovation scheme, the housing association is required to consult on the wishes of the residents and adjust their proposals accordingly.

In the case of the Jacob Geelbuurt, resident engagement during the plan development was undertaken by both the district government and the housing association. As per their roles in the regeneration process, the municipality focussed on the public space design with big group meetings, and smaller meetings particularly involving the stakeholders of the local school. The housing association is consulting with residents on their living environment and renovation plans as well as the social plan. As mentioned before, 70% of the residents have to agree for a regeneration scheme to go forward (K. Vissers, personal communication 31 March 2017).

Additionally, if the residents are not satisfied and feel the mandatory engagement practices have not fully been applied, they can report to the 'Klachtenkommissie'. However, according to Vissers

(personal conversation, 31 March 2017), residents would generally first approach the local project team, housing association or district government with their complaints.

Independent of development plans, both the municipality and the housing association are usually present in the local area with contact persons and local offices, employing also social workers. One of their main tasks is to motivate the residents to take action for their area themselves, supporting them with funds and know-how to organise workshops or festivals (J. Boomgaardt, personal communication 31 March 2017). Additionally, Groot (personal communication, 5 April 2017) emphasised the importance of continuous support and management of a property throughout its lifespan. Despite being cost intensive, it helps to prevent conflicts – especially in socially mixed schemes.

However, also in Amsterdam, people protest the ongoing gentrification of the city and the loss of social housing in Nieuw West:



< Fig.5.38 & 5.39 Participation workshop for the creation of the Struktuurvisie: inviting residents to build their own vision

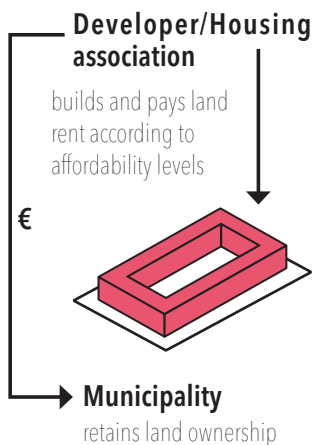
Photos: Free state of Amsterdam, 2016

< Fig.5.40 Presence of municipality and housing associations in the neighbourhood

Photo: author



Land politics and provision of new social housing



◁ Fig.5.41 The former office block of the Gakgebouw is transformed into student flats, with a café and workspace in the ground floor

Photo: author

In Amsterdam, the municipality owns most of the land and leases it to developers. This gives the municipality a high degree of control on the use of land. In addition, it can benefit from eventual value uplifts.

The city supports the affordable housing sector by demanding lower land rent than for commercial development. In the case a housing association sells their apartments, it would have to pay a fee. This 'Ervpacht' system is seen as one of the major prerequisites for Amsterdam's equitable development (Fainstain, 2010).

For the delivery of mixed tenure projects (as redevelopment or in the new built), housing associations will be required to increasingly work together with private developers due to the 2015 Housing Act with its limitations on housing association's market activity (J. van der Veer and C. Groot, personal communication, 5 April 2017).

Stimulation of innovation and built quality

The basis for innovation in the built environment in Amsterdam is set in the Dutch open and experimenting planning and design culture. Additionally, the municipality disposes of strong planning competence and financial capacities – for instance for the development of the IJburg, a new neighbourhood on an artificial island – and with its universities and institutions like the AMS, research driven bodies eager to explore new solutions. This

is facilitated by the amount, quality and availability of demographic and other data in the Netherlands, supporting evidence-based and data driven decision making.

Regarding affordable housing development, there are however no fixed innovation stimulating structures such as Vienna's developer competitions. In fact, housing associations would coordinate internally and with the municipality so that normally only one party would apply for a piece of land designated for social housing development (K. Vissers, personal conversation, 32 March 2017).

Innovative projects hence would not result from a competition between different developers, but in conversation and collaboration between the municipality and a housing association. Hence, the planning process itself plays an important role, starting with the creation of shared visions.

In this environment, projects such as the creation of the IJburg become possible. Within this, concepts such as social mixing are largely applied and tested in various ways and on various scales – within the staircase, building, block or neighbourhood (Lawton, 2013).

The crisis, furthermore, has led to increased innovation from bottom-up instead of top-down. New approaches have been tested with the focus on self-build, self-refurbishment and co-housing projects. One of the most famous examples is found not in Nieuw West, but Bijlmermeer, where a self-refurbishment project was very successful. Un-renovated apartments in the massive structure of the modernist Kleiburg building were sold individually for very low prices – and met high demand. The outer façade and ground floor

◁ Fig.5.42 Opening festival of the Kleiburg, a self-renovation project in Bijlmermeer

Photo: Klushuis, 2016

Renovation



Fig.5.43 Renovation of the Dudokhaken: addition of storeys, staircases and re-framing the space by fencing off the open courtyards (Photo: author)



Fig.5.44 Restored feeling of ownership and appropriation of space (Photo: author)

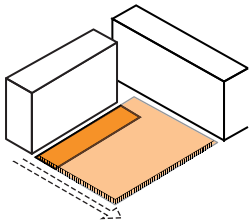


Fig.5.45 Renovation of a building in the Kolenkitbuurt: In addition to renewing the facade, the groundfloor storage units were transformed into apartments. The first two storeys and the top floor were sold, inbetween is social housing (Photo: author)

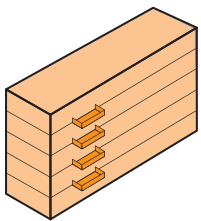


Fig.5.46 Renovated cornershops enliven the street, also Kolenkitbuurt (Photo: author)

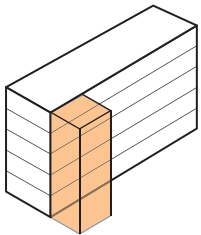
Renovation measures



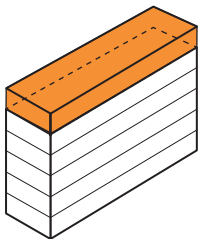
Re-framing the open space



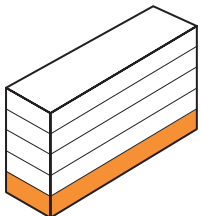
Facade & structural improvements, insulation



Addition of elevator, staircase



Addition of storey



Conversion of blind ground-floor into dwellings, shops or communal spaces

entrances and shared facilities such as bike storage will be renovated by a construction company. Another example is the Gak-Gebouw in Geuzeveld, a former office tower that was converted into studios and student flats.

Design

There are interesting design lessons to be learnt from Amsterdam.

Regarding refurbishment, projects such as the Dudokhaken show how the outdoor space within a modernist structure can be revaluated by simply clearer designations of space. With a low fence, the communal areas have been clearly framed, with ground floor dwellers putting out chairs and plants. Additionally, one storey has been added, as well as paned staircases with elevators.

In another interesting example in the Kolenkitbuurt, the ground floor, formerly consisting of storage units, was turned into apartments with small open terraces that enliven the street.

These cases show that a high quality of living can be achieved in modernist designs. However it is important to note that all of these more extensive refurbishment initiatives went along with the partial or full sale of apartments.

Within the new built, a play with levels – with raised, communal inner courtyards – and a strong focus on the animation of ground floor zones can be observed. In most cases, these would be dwellings with direct access and a small front garden area that, within Dutch tradition, would be quite well used and appropriated.

Social mix is a thread that runs through all levels of design. Various ways of mixing have been explored in the past years in an almost social engineering approach. Tenure mixing has been undertaken on the scale of the staircase, within the building, sharing one courtyard, or within the same street. Groot (personal communication, 5 April 2017) explained that, due to past experiences, the preferred scales of mixing have now settled towards the block or the street, but the general commitment continues.

Whereas the communal aspect is prioritised for designs in Vienna, a strong focus in Amsterdam is the public realm as integrative space. It is designed to actively attract and provide for a multitude of users – to be used and appropriated.

School areas are thereby specifically addressed. As places where many different population groups come together, the concept is to facilitate public life around them – with public seating, play and sports areas.

Due to the spacious layout of Nieuw West, the re-evaluation of the existing green-blue infrastructure plays a further important role.

Public space as facilitator of integration



Fig.5.47 Play facilities are omnipresent in the public realm (Photo: author)



Fig.5.48 The spaces around schools - as hubs where many people come together - are designed to be used also outside of school hours. Sports facilities and lawns connect between the school, right, and housing, left. (Photo: author)

'Viable'



Fig.5.50 Public space in the Overtoomse Veld that caters for many different users and their needs - shopping, gastronomy, informal play and seating (Photo: author)



Fig.5.51 Tables allow for a different set of uses than simple benches (Photo: author)



Fig.5.49 Enhancing the attractiveness of the existing green-blue infrastructure is a major part of the regeneration strategy (Photo: author)

Main design principle

Using integrative public space as backbone for development; making use of schools as local centres

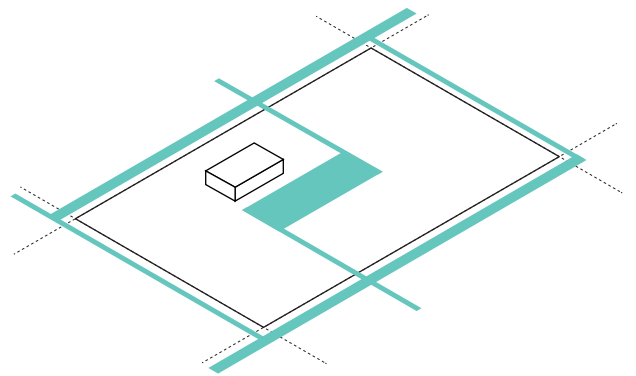


Fig.5.52 Markets are an important place to meet up in Slottermeer (Photo: author)

Applied levels of social/tenure mixing:

pepper-potted



within staircase



within block



within building



within street/NBHD





Fig.5.53 Overtoomse Veld: sports and play as integral part of the public space within the district, and - typically Dutch - appropriating the street as extension of the living room (Photo: author)



5.3 EVALUATION

In summary, different attitudes to planning and regeneration can be identified among the three cities. In London, the regeneration approach is decided case by case for each estate, but under the political pressure of densification and asset management. Planning is focussed on guidance and negotiation, but restricted by limited local authority capacities. In Vienna, a strong financial, regulatory, institutional and cultural framework - committing to renovation without tenant replacement - streamlines the individual regeneration and refurbishment schemes. Amsterdam's approach has been guided by large scale development plans, now followed by a more flexible and context dependent approach based on the collaboration of the involved actors and spatial visions. Despite – or because of – these differences, a series of lessons can be learnt for London.

(1) Affordable housing – Staying in the city

Both Amsterdam and Vienna are characterised by a large affordable housing sector that caters for broader population groups than only the lowest income groups. In addition, both cities dispose of some form of rental regulation, ensuring that the private rental market stays accessible for the middle class. Even though the situation is worsening in both Vienna and Amsterdam, such regulations have prevented the cities so far from developing similar affordability crises to London.

Whereas in both the Netherlands and (to a lesser

extent) Austria – similar to the UK – the central government promotes austerity politics, the municipality in both cities has the power to deviate from national directives.

Regarding urban or estate regeneration, the objectives behind the strategies largely influence the outcome regarding the continued affordability of the housing stock. In Vienna, urban renewal policies were designed to maintain affordability levels and not result in a dispersion of the existing community which has been fairly successful to date. Urban renewal in Amsterdam, in contrast, included the sale and demolition of affordable housing as strategy for social diversification. After the crisis, this approach has been re-evaluated and the city now strives for maintaining similar levels of affordable housing.

A higher degree of control over the land, with Amsterdam's land lease system or Vienna's 'Wohnfonds' as land allocation body is beneficial and can help the public sector to impose conditions on the new built. It can further avoid land speculation, which in London drives the viability down and allows for a lower share in affordable housing in new built developments.

Furthermore, in both cities, strong actors are present that are committed to the delivery of affordable housing and are given the necessary capacities. In fact, regarding affordable housing development, both cities hardly rely on private sector partners. In Vienna, the partners are the municipality-owned 'Wiener

Lessons for (1) Affordable housing:

Pre-requisites for affordable housing provision:

- *determination on the part of the public authority*
- *capacity to deviate from national austerity directives*
- *land ownership/control*
- *large presence of developers with a social interest*

Affordable housing provision is supported via

- *rent regulations in the private market*
- *loans or grants for regeneration & new built*

Lessons for
(2) Resident engagement:

Mechanisms to ensure a smooth regeneration process:

- giving residents the possibility to take part in policy and plan making = co-determine the objectives early on
- giving residents the possibility to object
- having institutions in place that support and engage residents before and after regeneration

Wohnen' and housing cooperatives. In Amsterdam, the housing associations played a double role until recently, also having private market development capacities. The urban contracts (Kaderafspraken) are an example of a relation between developer and public authority that is based on mutual commitment.

In both Amsterdam and Vienna, these bodies are given financial support for new built as well as regeneration – via loans, low land prices or direct construction subsidies. It is furthermore important to note that particularly extensive refurbishment, even under supportive financial conditions, generally involves either partial sales or rent increases to some extent.

(2) Resident engagement – Shaping the city

Whereas Amsterdam is a well-cited example of collaborate decision-making, the building renewal process in Vienna can be intransparent and implemented without a large degree of resident involvement. However, strong regulations support the rights of the residents.

An important mechanism to de-escalate conflicts is the opportunity for residents to object to regeneration schemes. In Vienna, this is facilitated by the 'Schlichtungsstelle', and in Amsterdam, regeneration requires the approval of 70% of the residents.

Additionally, both Vienna and Amsterdam have district facilities that offer resident support independent of regeneration schemes such as Vienna's 'Gebietsbetreuungen' and Amsterdam's 'Buurtzorg' as well as a general presence of contact persons from the housing association in the district. They provide residents with counselling and serve as community centre.

At the same time, as the staff generally have an overview of the particular issues in the area, they can provide the planning authority with useful information and act as mediator during the regeneration process. However, it is important to note that the existence of these institutions does not guarantee a conflict free process, but they set the foundations for a better relation of trust between the actors.

In Amsterdam, the inclusion of people in plan making, but especially the urban contracts are quite exemplary - giving people not only a stake in developments that immediately concern their homes, but also larger agreements on housing policy. Stakeholders, in return, are more likely to buy into urban goals if they have been involved in the planning.

(3) Good design for all – Using the city

There can be lessons learned in both cities regarding refurbishment, innovation and design for mixed communities.

Examples in both cities show that demolition is not the only efficient tool to reevaluate stigmatised areas, and that refurbishment can support a high quality of life in modernist environments. This can be achieved, as seen in Amsterdam, with a simple re-programming of space – adding a fence, adding functions - or transformation of ground floor storage units into apartments, shops or communal facilities. In Vienna, where the focus lies on building repairs and thermal improvements, soft urban renewal showcases how façade transformations can improve the appearance of the building and the addition of storeys used to gain additional income. However, as mentioned above, particularly more extensive refurbishment requires financial support or will be co-financed via rent increases or dwelling sales.

Innovation appears to be valued in the design cultures of both cities. To adapt with our changing society, new living environments are explored. In Amsterdam, this includes the creation of spatial visions and testing of new and different concepts – be it the creation of new islands or exploration of bottom-up developments or different levels of social mix. An important prerequisite for these approaches are solid monitoring and analysis mechanisms. In Vienna, the legacy of the ‘red’ 1920s still informs urban and housing development. With mechanisms such as developer competitions or themed settlements, further knowledge is gained to inform standard practice later on. Additionally, enough room and support is given to housing cooperatives that develop new ways of communal living.

Regarding design for mixed communities, lessons can be drawn both from Vienna’s focus on the communal sphere – expanding into the building itself - as well as Amsterdam’s approach to use public space as means for social integration. What is common in both approaches is that space is designed according to the needs of its users: to offer a variety of spaces for different user groups and, most importantly, to facilitate and not restrict appropriation. This can be achieved by simple mechanisms, such as the provision of tables, shelters, table tennis and other sports or play elements in both communal and public spaces. At the same time, a balance of small scale elements with larger, more flexible areas such as lawns or squares allows for different uses. Mixed use – be it community centers, cultural facilities or shops and restaurants – naturally complete the offer. Communal gardens, small ponds or nature areas are another old, but successful way to engage communities with their surroundings.

Lessons for (3) Good design for all:

General

- exploring the potentials of refurbishment but being aware it requires financial support
- setting up solid analysis and monitoring structures

Mechanisms to stimulate innovation:

- using planning mechanisms such as vision development or developer competitions
- giving enough room and support to bottom-up initiatives

Design for mixed communities:

- designing communal and public spaces to facilitate not restrict use
- using design as tool for engagement and community building

Note on transferability

In order to consider how these lessons are applicable for London, it is crucial to reflect on their cultural and political differences.

Firstly, London has special governance structure. Whereas in Vienna and Amsterdam, the municipality holds most planning and implementation powers, the GLA as comparable city-wide governance layer in London is in a much weaker position. National government in England takes a high interest in the development of its capital due to London's vast influence on the national economy and therefore retains a strong stake. Taxes are collected by local authorities, which also are responsible for housing delivery and development control. The GLA therefore has limited implementation powers for its policies, and is dependent on (limited) central government funding which makes it difficult to deviate from central government policies. London's size, administrative structure and variety of actors can make the coordination between actors, as practised in Amsterdam, more complicated.

The UK has the strongest neoliberal tendencies within Europe, and this largely affects planning in London. The current climate of austerity differs from Vienna and Amsterdam where, despite recent political changes and decreasing resources, estate regeneration still relies on some form of public financial support. This goes along with a different perception of the role of the public sector: the analysis has shown that in the UK, the public sector and local authorities in particular are seen as partner and facilitator of private sector development. This is rooted in national policies

as well as planning culture, and might stem from the perceived failures of council built housing in the past. This does, however, not necessarily reflect the opinion of all parts of the society or local authorities themselves. Still, lessons that would rely too strongly on directly re-strengthening local authorities are unlikely to find favour in government and thus are less relevant for transfer. The same goes for large scale public funding.

Another cultural value observed in London are the strong design ideals which promote a return to traditional forms such as the Victorian townhouse. This, and the desire for skyscrapers and landmark buildings on the other hand, congregate into a mental bias against the modernist design of council estates. Hence, there might be a cultural preference of demolition over refurbishment, in contrast to Amsterdam and Vienna where these topics seem to be regarded from a more pragmatic perspective.

Other important differences are size and global city status. In London, there is a greater income disparity as well as a greater appetite for investment and speculation. However, these characteristics apply increasingly also to most larger cities including Amsterdam and Vienna.

These differences have to be considered in the development of recommendations specific to the context of London. However, this does not mean that the current culture and planning system cannot change. Long term changes proposed that address these issues.

LONDON

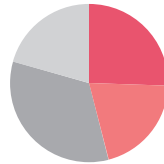
VIENNA

AMSTERDAM

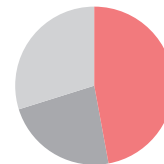
SOCIAL HOUSING SECTOR



comp. small; affordability issues in the private sector

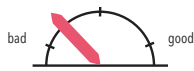


large and broad



large; increasing affordability issues in the private sector

CONDITION OF THE HOUSING STOCK



often bad condition, maintenance issues

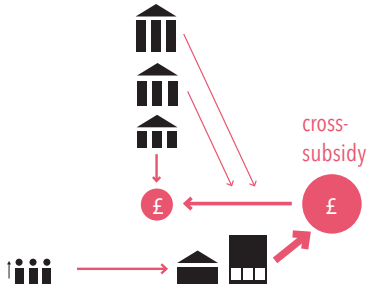


social housing stock relatively well built and maintained; issues in the private rental stock

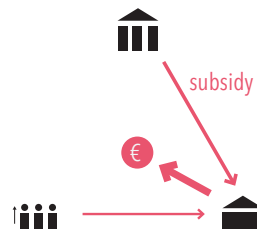


varies

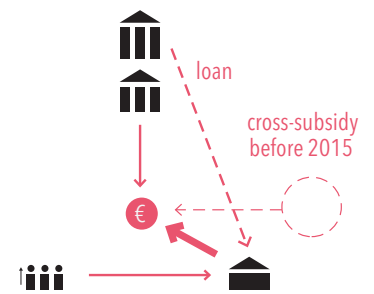
FINANCING OF REGENERATION



varies; partnership and cross-subsidy

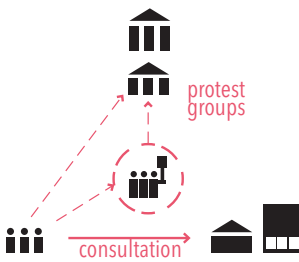


~1/3 public subsidy; 1/3 working capital landlord; 1/3 rent increase

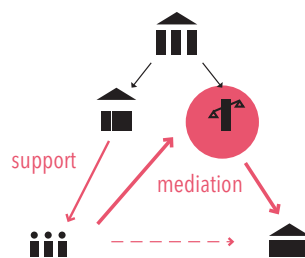


loan guarantee fund, housing association working capital, rent increase

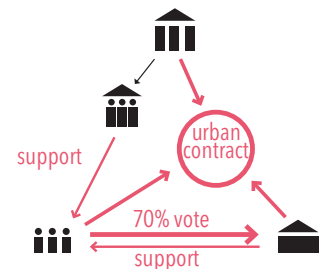
RESIDENT ENGAGEMENT



culture of consultation; but politically heated climate



mediation; some transparency issues



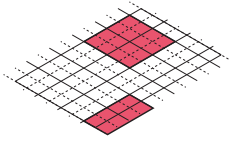
participation

LONDON

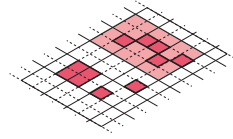
VIENNA

AMSTERDAM

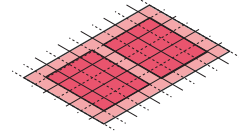
SCALE OF REGENERATION INITIATIVES



one or several estates; varies according to estate size



building (block renewal)

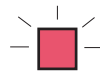


district/neighbourhood

PREFERRED REGENERATION OPTION



demolition/reconstruction or refurbishment



refurbishment



demolition/reconstruction or refurbishment

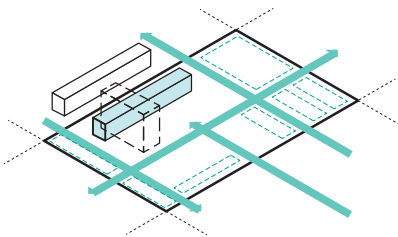
REGENERATION OBJECTIVES

varies: densification, tenure diversification, asset management, improvement of the building stock+ living conditions of residents

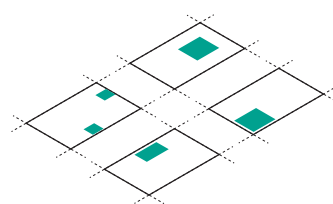
improvement of the building stock without replacement of the original population

changing: tenure diversification, improvement of the building stock+ living conditions of the residents; increasingly densification

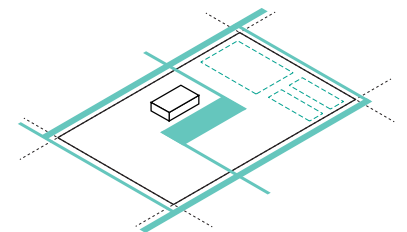
DESIGN FOCUS



spatial integration

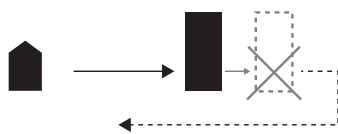


community space



public space

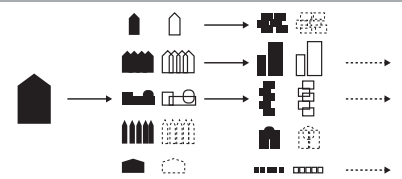
GENERAL DESIGN ATTITUDE



nostalgia?



evolution



vision

6 RECOMMENDATIONS

186 Introduction

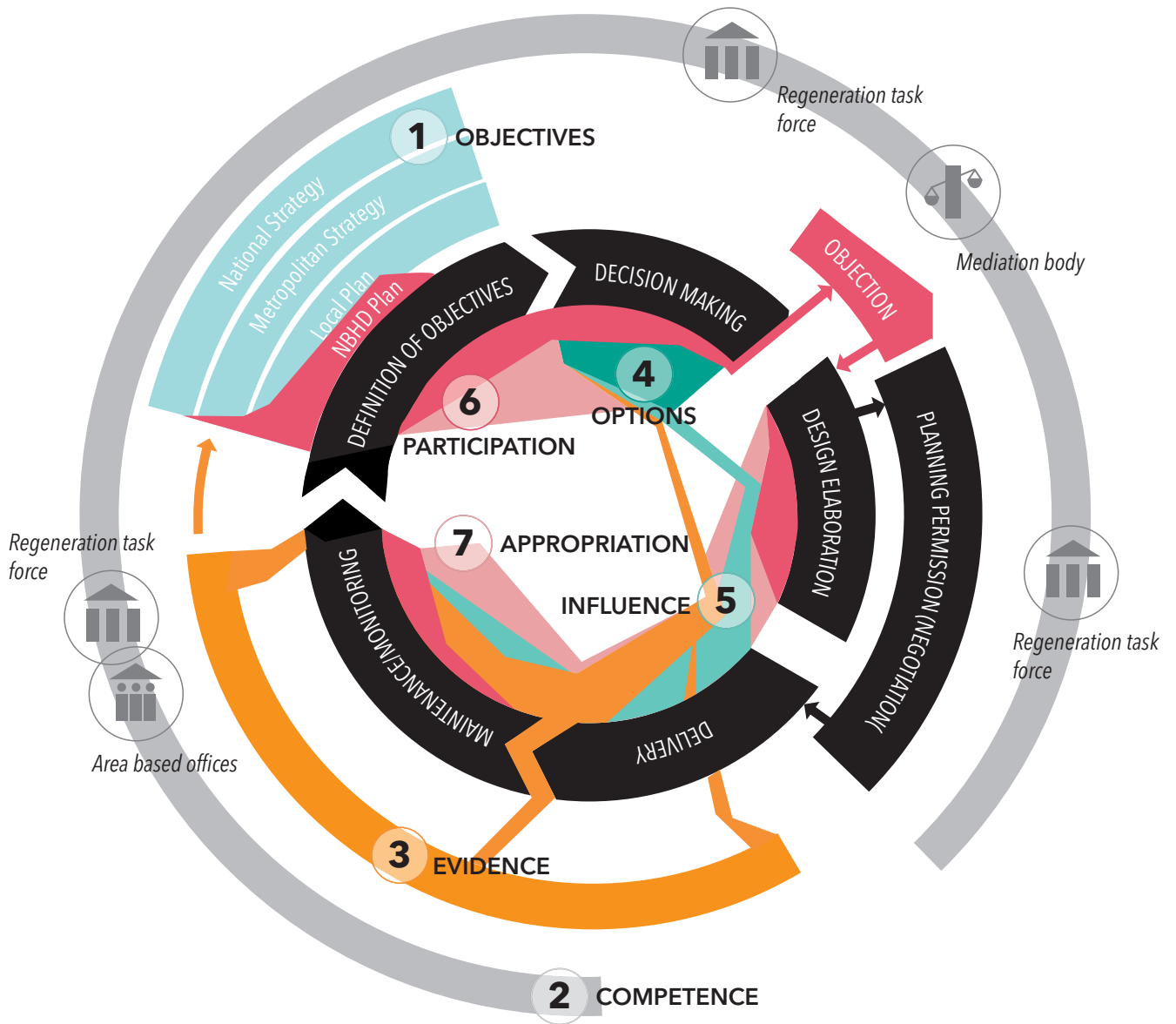
188 Recommendations



Fig.6.1 Residents of the Haggerston Estate, Hackney. Photo shot for a documentary about its regeneration and the mass displacement of its residents. (Photo: Zimmermann, 2013)



HOUSING POLICY AND FINANCING



INTRODUCTION

This chapter represents the output of the research and will provide recommendations for London derived from the analysis and lessons learned from other cities. Thereby, I intend to answer the main research question:

In the context of London's housing crisis, how can council estate regeneration better integrate the needs of lower income groups?

To guide the proposal, I refer back to the objectives in respect to the needs of lower income groups outlined in this thesis:

- > The regeneration of council estates should not result in a net loss of genuinely affordable housing.
- > The engagement of residents in a meaningful way should be supported. A fair regeneration process is not only an objective in itself but also the means to achieve more socially sustainable regeneration.
- > The estates should be re-designed in a way that contributes to the liveability of a city, but especially responds to the needs of lower income groups over a long term.

The recommendations are targeted towards the planning authorities on national, metropolitan and local level, as well as designers. They relate both to the individual estate regeneration process and supporting mechanisms to assist the decision-making on project level.

The recommendations and their interrelations are illustrated on the opposite page. It is not the intention to block developments with strict regulations, but to give recommendations that contribute to the building up of an environment that supports balanced and just development.

The analysis has shown, however, that more just estate regeneration probably cannot be achieved by changing policies alone but implementation stands and falls with financial viability of the scheme and the capacities of the different actors to implement it. This point touches upon political and economic aspects and is addressed in the pre-face.

PREFACE: HOUSING POLICY AND FINANCING

As the research has shown, estate regeneration is interrelated with, and dependent on, multiple political and economic factors including housing policy, national budgeting and fiscal regulations. While detailed recommendations on these issues exceed the limitations of this thesis, they crucially influence the regeneration approach and therefore ought to be mentioned.

Recommendation 1: National government

Revise housing policy that impacts the maintenance and future regeneration of council estates.

Strained local authority budgets are an elementary issue that stands at the beginning of today's problematic situation. Since a long time, local authorities, particularly those with a large social housing stock, have struggled to properly maintain their estates – with the management of RTB leaseholders further complicating the task. When the estate is regenerated, buying back leasehold properties in the case of may severely impact the viability of the project. On the other hand, if stock is transferred to housing associations, they tend to demand higher rent levels (and are encouraged by the central government to do so with the 'affordable rent' product). At the basis of estate regeneration hence often has to stand a trade-off between the financial capacities of the local authority and the possibility to maintain genuine affordability levels.

A **re-evaluation of mandatory Right-to-buy**, particularly in estates that are likely to undergo regeneration, can help to increase the viability of future schemes and avoid further complications.

Specifically in the region around London, the national government should additionally consider **returning to income related rent settings**, or at least avoid affordable rent level as condition for funding. This does not mean that that a higher variability in affordable rent levels should be given up, but the return to social rent levels should represent a major share within the 'affordable rent product'. **Stricter rent regulations in the private rental sector**, as practised in Vienna and Amsterdam, could furthermore help middle class households to better access housing outside of the supported sector.

Recommendation 2: National government and/or GLA

Support actors with a long time interest with grants or loans.

A further issue is little amount of government funding available, requiring all the delivery of most regeneration schemes to be more or less market driven. Local authority self-development capacities, as explained in chapter 4, are particularly restricted due to limited borrowing headroom and access to other funding sources. This furthermore represents a significant barrier towards refurbishment as

regeneration option, even though it is considered a resident-friendly alternative that is pushed forward by the London Tenants Federation and other protest groups. It offers fewer possibilities to lever into private finance without selling off parts of the estate or raising rents, and is higher taxed than demolition and reconstruction. The Dover Court Regeneration illustrates how infill solutions can help to raise funds for overall estate improvements, but this approach is limited to smaller scale solutions and proves difficult if very large investments are needed. High dependence on the private sector on the other hand, as seen in the Heygate case, does not only affect the outcome but can also impact the local authorities' ability for neutral decision-making and mediation.

In contrast to London, the private market in Amsterdam and Vienna hardly plays a role in the delivery of social housing or its regeneration. The strong presence of third sector parties with a long term interest, housing cooperatives in Vienna and housing associations in Amsterdam, can build up effective competition to the private sector. Furthermore, the public sector strongly financially supports regeneration in both cities.

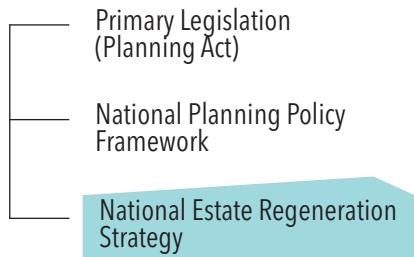
Whereas the aim in London/the UK is to effectively reduce reliance on public money, the research clearly indicates that sustainable and just outcomes are simply a lot more difficult to achieve this way. Especially under high economic pressure and in a system that is based on negotiation, the outcomes

are more uncertain. **Additional public investment or loans**, particularly for refurbishment, can greatly facilitate the achievement of just outcomes. In the allocation of grants, actors with a long-term interest should be favoured over short-sighted profit seeking. These are primarily local authorities and housing associations, but also community-led or smaller scale house builders. Even though there might be a resistance towards going back to large scale local authority building programs, the possibility for self-development is one way to gain negotiation leverage and decrease absolute dependence on the private sector. The national government therefore should **increase the HCA borrowing headroom and equate local authority self-development with other delivery methods** in the allocation of funds.

1 OBJECTIVES

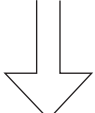
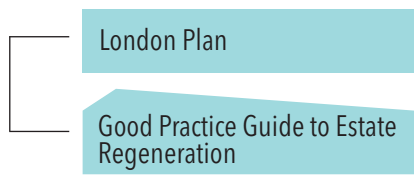
National Government

- > Shift from output to outcome related targets in national policy and reevaluation of asset management objectives
- > avoid identifying densification as goal for estate regeneration



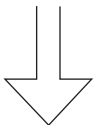
GLA

- > Shift from output to outcome related targets in the *London Plan*
- > avoid referring to densification as goal for estate regeneration



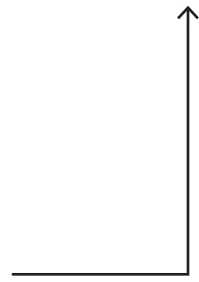
Local Authority

- > Shift from output to outcome related targets in the *Local Plan*
- > Create spatial visions for the area



Local Authority

- > Early and transparent definition of objectives for the particular estate in collaboration with residents
- > Putting them on record in *Resident's Charter*



1. OBJECTIVES

Recommendation: National government and GLA
Support local authorities in their decision-making by re-evaluating the objectives for estate regeneration in national and metropolitan strategies.

One crucial premise for more just estate regeneration is a re-evaluation of the objectives. The regeneration of a council estate should be primarily about the improvement of the well-being and opportunities of its occupants – it is about maintaining and delivering decent housing at genuine affordability levels, promoting design that responds to the resident's needs and meaningfully integrating residents in the planning process.

The case studies have shown that in practice, the objectives naturally vary in every scheme and depend on local circumstances: increasing the number of social rented dwellings in the Dover Court Estate, and creating an upmarket local centre at the site of the Heygate Estate. Estate regeneration, hence, is used to attempt to solve an additional set of issues that is not directly connected with the condition of the estate and the wellbeing of its residents. Schemes are increasingly driven or justified by superordinate political goals such as meeting densification targets, creating mixed communities or managing assets that are reinforced by national and metropolitan policy.

In Vienna, on the other hand, genuinely affordable housing is an absolute policy priority. This sets a strict and clear framework for soft urban renewal – in the private as well as the social housing sector – within

which the original population can stay on after the regeneration. This ambition releases, and is based on, a set of supportive mechanisms ranging from funding to strict protection of the tenant's rights.

While intrinsic cultural values cannot easily be changed, **current policies need to be adapted and re-thought in terms of their actual impact.** Hence, at the beginning of more just regeneration stands **giving the right brief to local authorities** to guide their decisions on how to regenerate the council estates. It requires long-term thinking and a **shift from output to outcome related targets** on all levels of governance: Are the policies contributing to the desired outcome in a qualitative sense? Are densification and the creation of mixed communities still strategies to achieve a more just environment, or have they become the objective themselves? Who will benefit if the area moves upmarket?

The provision of genuinely affordable housing therefore needs to be given a higher significance, and the creation of liveable neighbourhoods prioritised over viability and financial profit – already in the policy documents. If there is no political will on higher levels of governance, estate regeneration might continue to be a contentious issue in which the outcome highly depends on the capabilities and motivation of the individual local authority – that are naturally lower with a higher percentage of vulnerable population groups to handle. Asset management of local authorities at the expense of their most vulnerable population groups is a strategy that should no longer indirectly

2. COMPETENCE

be supported by the national government. Similarly, social or tenure mixing is not necessarily an objective to strive for if lower income groups do not benefit proportionally.

Before the DCLG's National Estate Regeneration Strategy as well as the Draft Good Practice Guide on Estate Regeneration by the GLA, there was a lack of official strategic guidance directly related to estate regeneration. Their publication hence represents an important step in the right direction, but the objectives they formulate are problematic and potentially contradictory. Both guides therefore should **clearly state that densification might be a strategy, but is not a goal of estate regeneration**. As the Centre for London (2016) states, the potential for densification on council estates is overstated. It can make a contribution, but the delivery of new housing should also be explored elsewhere. The guidance should furthermore reinforce the improvement of the living conditions of lower income groups as primary goal, in which the maintenance of genuine affordability levels precedes other considerations.

From there on, planning, monitoring and delivery mechanisms can be adapted to better support this.

Recommendation: National government or GLA
Support planning capacity of local authorities by setting up institutional support structures – regeneration task force, urban renewal offices and conciliation body

Pursuing the goals elaborated- ensuring a fair regeneration process and just outcomes – requires sufficient capacity not only for implementation and delivery, but also planning itself. Local authorities in their double role as planning authority and landlord/potential developer play a crucial part in this.

They find themselves, however, in a financially and ideologically difficult position that needs to be addressed. A major complaint among my interview partners were insufficient resources, staff, time and skills within local authorities to properly execute key planning tasks such as plan making, monitoring, decision-making, negotiation and encouragement of qualitative and innovative design. For the management of very complex and long-term estate regeneration schemes such as the Heygate Estate, this can become particularly problematic.

Both Vienna and Amsterdam dispose of strong institutional capacities within the municipal administration. At the same time, they draw on the collaboration with other actors or institutions. In Amsterdam, housing associations act as partner and co-planner of the municipality and play an important role in monitoring and research. Additionally, the city

provides and commissions a series of area-based offices and social initiatives that engage the local population. Similarly, Vienna's area renewal offices ('Gebietsbetreuung') offer support and counselling to local residents and help to coordinate larger block renewal initiatives. The 'Wohnfonds' allocates land and coordinates the development of new affordable housing. A furthermore interesting institution in Vienna is the conciliation body ('Schlichtungsstelle') to mediate disputes between renters and landlords regarding regeneration initiatives.

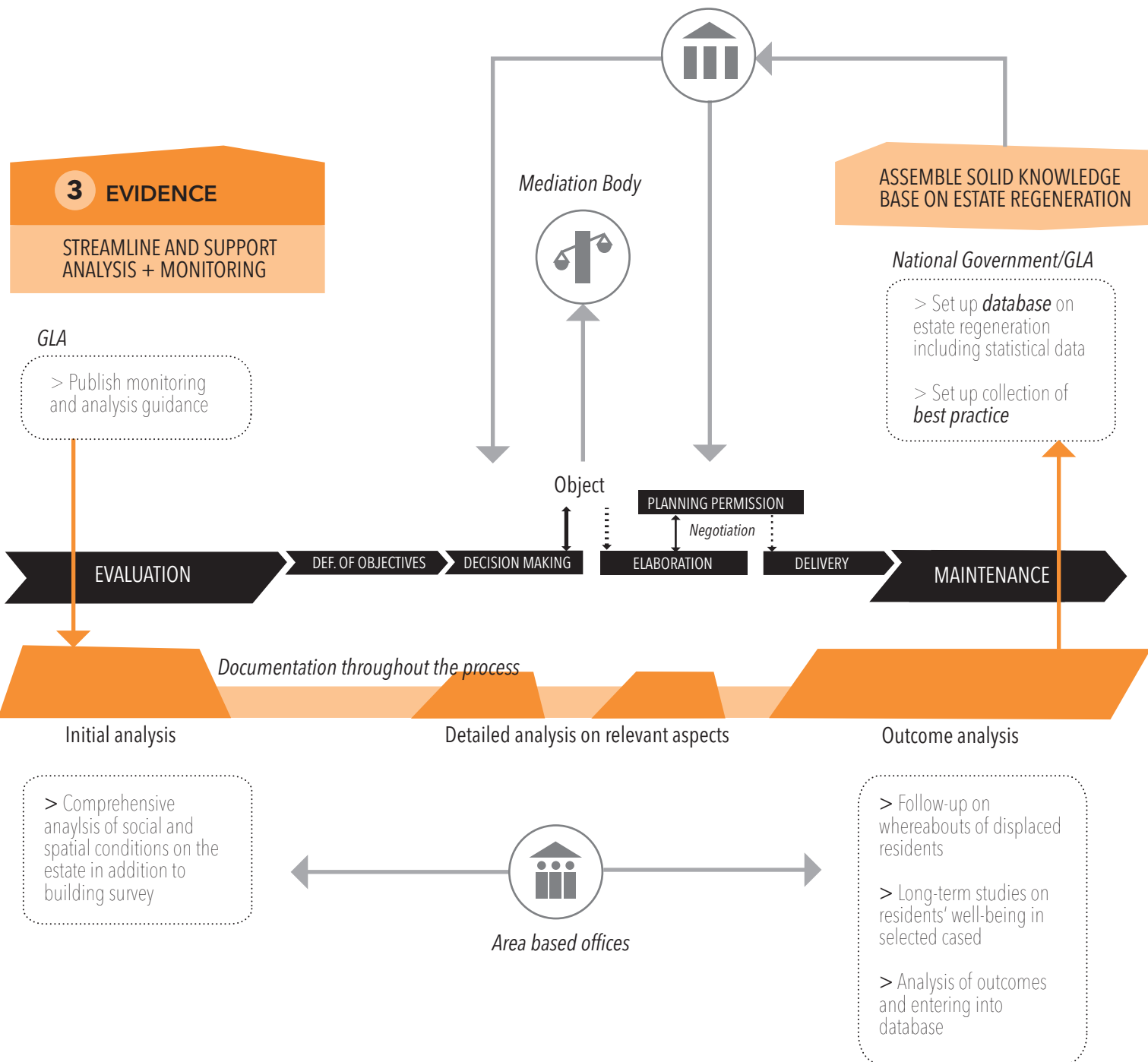
While long term capacity building is needed, the setting up of similar institutions can support local authorities during the estate regeneration process and potentially help to avoid protests, delays and problematic outcomes in future schemes.

A first step could be the setting up of a **Regeneration Task Force** - a consortium of experts from a variety of fields including planning, design, economy, law and sociology - to provide local authorities with targeted and individual advice beyond the guidance. It could be initiated by the GLA or DCLG, and actively step in where additional planning capacity is needed in the estate regeneration process, be it option appraisal or negotiation with the private sector. The task force therefore could play an important role in balancing out varying resources within local authorities and supporting where additional capacity is needed most. Additionally, it could support monitoring exercises and draw together knowledge from various cases. It could be set up as private sector body, commissioned

by the GLA or financed via a general levy on planning. Also a **conciliation body** and **area based offices** are institutions worth considering to set up. Advocacy for estate residents in London is currently largely provided by protest groups. While their work is of great relevance, they are voluntary organisations, relatively low in resources and in some cases pursuing their own political agenda. Neutral mediation institutions could help attenuate the politically explosive climate and help the authorities to re-gain resident's trust. Area based offices could ideally collaborate with the Regeneration Task Force for monitoring exercises and engage with residents prior to and beyond regeneration schemes. During the regeneration process, they could - already familiar with the local community - facilitate between developers, local authorities and residents.

2 COMPETENCE

Estate Regeneration Task Force



3. EVIDENCE

Recommendation: National government, GLA, Local authorities

Set up adequate structures to monitor and evaluate social impacts of estate regeneration.

To inform both policy making as well as decision-making in the individual estate regeneration process, it is important to build up a solid knowledge base about the impacts and outcomes of regeneration projects.

Currently, there seems to be a knowledge gap in which policies and decisions risk to be based assumptions rather than clear evidence. Solid data is lacking on elementary facts such as the amount of council estates in London and their actual densification potential - it was estimated for reports such as Centre for London's 'Another storey' and IPPR's 'City villages'. Information on where residents have (been) moved after regeneration, let alone data on their well-being, is rarely available. Much information particularly about the impact on residents has been gathered by groups such as 35% Southwark, for instance on the Heygate Estate, filling a gap within institutional monitoring. Insight into some planning documents was hard earned via 'Freedom of Information' requests - naturally, a lack of transparency does not contribute to an attenuation of conflict but rather reinforces a maze of sometimes contrasting statements and mutual accusations.

At the same time, there is active interest in the issue by many different parties ranging from governance

and planning institutions to universities, journalists, activist groups and the general public. The making of both the DCLG as well as the GLA Guide have drawn together experiences from experts including local authorities, developers, designers and resident institutions which is a useful starting point.

To follow up on this requires measures on several levels: Individual regeneration schemes must be more consistently and transparently monitored; the gained information methodically synthesised and made available.

A **city-wide or national database for estate regeneration** could be initiated by the GLA or DCLG and monitored by the regeneration task force. Local authorities and housing associations could be required to fill in project data including information on financing, partnerships and contracts as well as data on the whereabouts of residents if they could not stay on the estate. This allows an evaluation of the impact of different approaches and the continuous share of information across borough boundaries.

However it is also important to assess social and spatial criteria that are harder to measure and quantify. This includes the well-being of the residents and the useability and appreciation of space. Regarding this, lessons can be drawn from Vienna's social space analysis as this tool combines social and spatial elements, statistical data with field work. **Guidance on a similar clear analysis methodology** can help to streamline and compare monitoring exercises within different local authorities before and after

regeneration.

It starts with the gathering of resident's experiences, understanding the conditions on the estate before regeneration to inform option appraisal and decision making. These efforts should ideally be repeated at several stages throughout and beyond the process: during the design period, during the construction, after completion of each phase and again periodically in the following years.

Universities, the regeneration task force or other consultancies could additionally assist with an in depth and **long-term supervision of particular issues** such as impacts of regeneration on resident's mental health in selected cases.

The results can be synthesised into a **collection of best practice**. Best practice cases are already a popular part of guidance in the UK, and many documents I consulted feature their own list of cases. Bringing these together in one place, backing them with methodological research and statistical data, and making them accessible online with regular updates could further improve this tool.

4. OPTIONS

Recommendation: **Local authorities, Regeneration Task force in collaboration with residents and area based offices**

Adopt a thorough and open-ended option appraisal process including an impact assessment on residents as mandatory step.

In order to deliver solutions that are feasible, achieve sustainable outcomes and enjoy the support of the local community, the different alternatives need to be considered thoroughly and in an open-ended process without set presumptions for or against certain options. It includes the choice of the regeneration option (refurbishment, demolition, etc.) and the actors for its delivery.

The option appraisal in London is a well-discussed and more formalised part of the planning process than it seems to be the case in Amsterdam and Vienna. In Vienna, a clear preference of refurbishment as well as pre-defined delivery structures frame decision-making. Due to the role of housing associations, delivery structures are also quite defined in Amsterdam, but decisions appear to be taken more informally in negotiation between housing associations, residents and the municipality.

In London, on the other hand, there is a greater complexity of potential stakeholders and delivery routes to consider. Each has implications on the feasibility and desirability of the different regeneration options. Good practice in London includes the exploration of several design options in consultation

with residents. The 'Altered Estates' report (2016, p.10) summarises the recommendations as follows:

- > Undertake an initial desk exercise to establish the viability in principle of options to be tested.
- > The range of options should be wide and as distinct from one another as possible, enabling alternatives - including redevelopment versus refurbishment or the degree of densification necessary to generate cross-subsidy - to be evaluated. The range should include the costs and benefits of doing nothing as a baseline comparator. Minimal intervention and meanwhile uses are alternatives that should also be evaluated - the benefits can be unexpected.
- > Recognise the connection between options appraisal and the stakeholder engagement process [...]. Establish appropriate appraisal criteria for each stakeholder group and appraise options against these separately.
- > Use one of the many tried and tested appraisal methodologies. Make sure that non-financial and non-quantifiable costs and benefits are appropriately considered as well as empirical measures. Embrace holistic measures of success, as well as purely empirical and financial ones.

It furthermore emphasises that a transparent presentation of what and what not is feasible, which decisions have already been taken, "builds confidence in decision making and dispels myths" (Altered Estates, 2016, p.12).

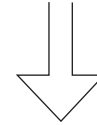
For the Dover Court Estate, the appraisal process helped to identify possibilities to achieve not only the council's strategic goals of delivering more social rented housing, but also find a consensus among the residents. After regeneration, both families and elderly will be able to move to more appropriate dwellings. An inconsistent or intransparent approach on the part of the local authority, on the other hand, can do great damage. As the Heygate Estate case shows, pre-defined political goals favouring a certain regeneration option might render the appraisal process obsolete - causing frustration among residents for being consulted on options that already had been decided.

It is therefore not necessary to re-invent the process, but contribute to a **wider application of good practice**. The option appraisal needs to be given enough time and resources and could therefore be **supported by the regeneration task force** if required. Financial viability is crucial, but putting the criteria of *affordable housing delivery*, *meaningful resident engagement* and *good design for all* first can stimulate a more creative and open-ended appraisal process. The question changes from 'What is financially reasonable?' to 'What measures can be explored to achieve these goals?'

The **requirement of including a formal impact assessment on existing residents** in the planning application could help ensure that this process is taken seriously. This can be written down in the London Plan, and enforced when schemes are referred to the Mayor.

National Government/GLA

> Requirement of Impact Assessment on residents (in national *Planning Act* or policy in the *London Plan*)



4 OPTIONS

5 INFLUENCE

Local authority + designers + residents

> Allocation of appropriate resources and time to thorough appraisal of all options
 > Spatial exploration of all possible options and consultation with residents
 > Appraisal according to financial and non-financial criteria (assessment of each option's viability, potential to contribute to strategic objectives and impact on different stakeholder groups)

Local authority + designers + residents

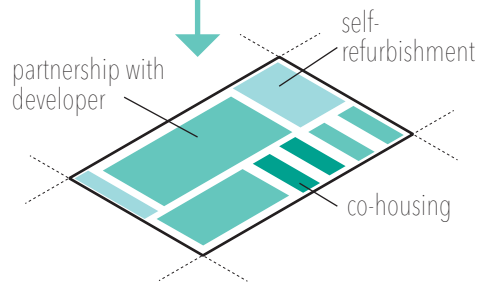
Alternative:
 > Exploration of a developer competition system to stimulate innovation and collaboration

Local authority

> Self-development where possible
 > Setting up of local authority housing companies

Local authority + developers

> Solid contractual base for partnership agreement
 > Retain land ownership in the process; explore options for land lease system
 > Explore collaboration with multiple delivery partners



5. INFLUENCE

Recommendation: Local authorities, Regeneration task force

Give preference to delivery options that allow the local authority to retain a large degree of influence over the outcomes throughout the process.

At the same time, collaborate with actors with a long-term interest and give space to community-led and co-housing initiatives.

Local authorities need to reclaim their task of protecting the needs of vulnerable population groups in the estate regeneration process. Islington, in this context, generally prefers to retain control over developments. The council has therefore largely avoided partnerships with the private sector and, until now, adopted a self-delivery approach to regenerating its estates. Southwark's dependence on the developer Lend Lease, on the other hand, put it in a weak position when the terms were re-negotiated after the decanting of the Heygate Estate had already been put forward.

Land ownership, strict regulations and collaboration with committed actors allow the municipalities of Vienna and Amsterdam to retain influence on affordable housing developments. In Vienna, developers that want to make use of renovation subsidy or build on land allocated by the 'Wohnfonds Wien' via developer competitions are bound by strict and un-negotiable affordability conditions. In Amsterdam, the strong planning culture, tight collaboration with the housing associations, but

particularly its land lease system facilitate a very high degree municipal influence on urban development.

In order to avoid regeneration schemes that are largely profit driven, the recommendation is that local authorities should **retain land ownership** where possible. This is naturally the case in self-development, but does not exclude possibilities for partnership with the private sector by leasing the land to developers.

More generally, agreements between the parties should be clearly defined early in the process. As DCLG's 'National Strategy for Estate Regeneration' advises, they should include **fixed provisions for changing market conditions or deadlocked decisions** to avoid re-negotiations when the project is already under way. The regeneration task force can support local authorities with its expertise, in formulating contracts and jumping in negotiations.

To provide opportunities for new ways of thinking, a **competition system** similar to Vienna's developer competitions could be developed as alternative to the option appraisal process. In this way, developers could be stimulated to not only financially bid, but propose integrated solutions for the regeneration of an estate, based on a neighbourhood plan or a clear brief developed in collaboration with residents. The brief can set out expectations, for example a general preference of refurbishment, as well as fixed, non-negotiable criteria on for instance affordability levels. Instead of putting effort into proving that the expectations on affordability and spatial quality are

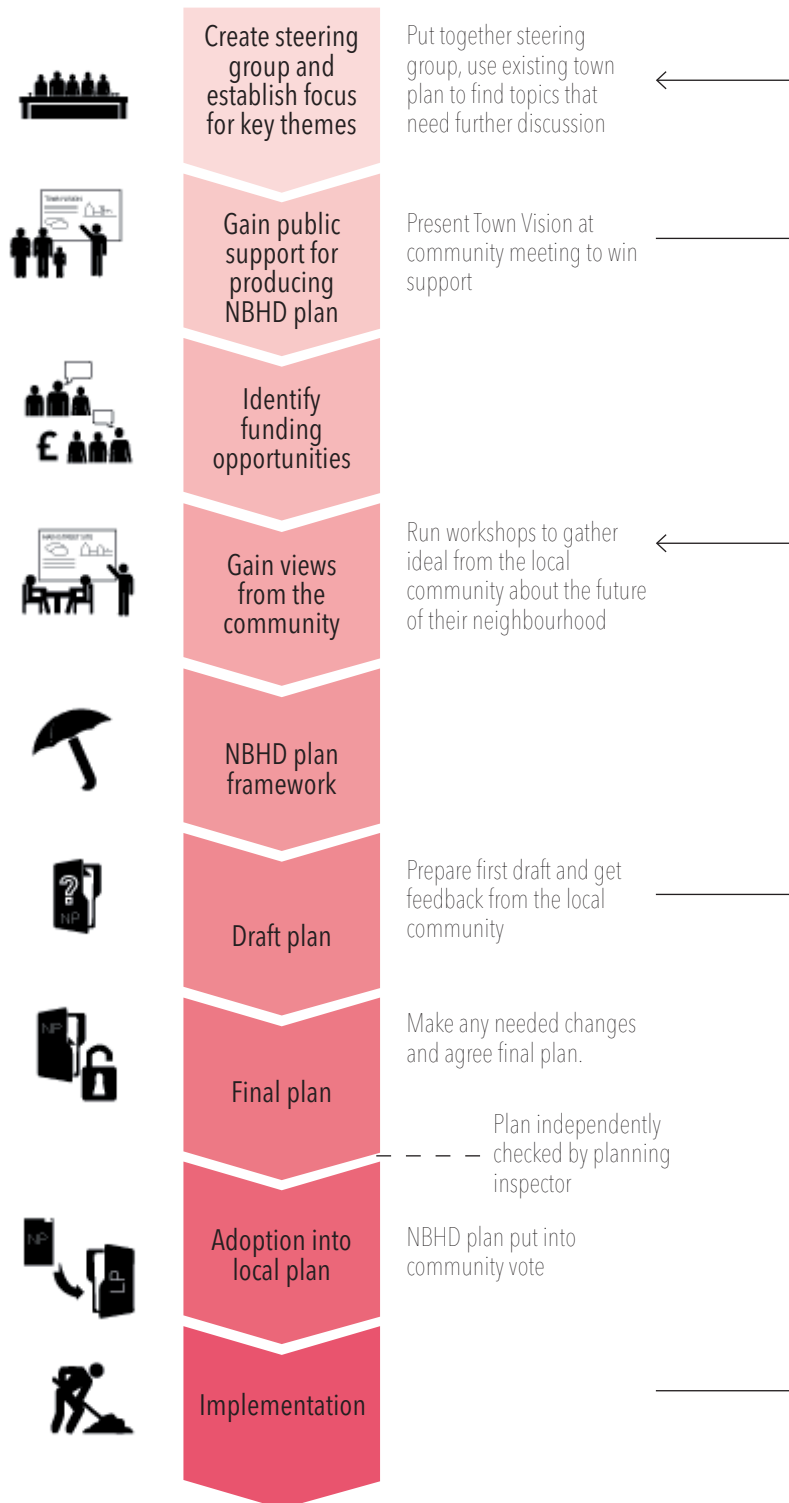
Fig. 6.2 Steps to creating a neighbourhood plan

(Redrawn from Integreat, 2017)

un-feasible, developers would find themselves in the position having to come up with ways to achieve these.

As this process cannot be undertaken on behalf of a public authority, local authorities shall consider transferring their land to a council owned housing company to facilitate this.

In this context, especially for larger scale developments, the possibility of **collaborating not only with one large but several smaller actors** should be considered. This could alter unequal power relations – as seen between Southwark and the multinational Lend Lease – and better integrate smaller housebuilders and **community-led solutions** for in sub-parts of the scheme. Especially the latter can be beneficial for the entire neighbourhood, as in Amsterdam and particularly Vienna, co-housing projects account for much social innovation and positively contribute to their neighbourhood with the strong engagement of their residents and cultural and communal initiatives.



Using neighbourhood planning in regeneration areas: giving increased support

Local authority: Initial analysis and structural inspection of the estate, ruling out unfeasible options



Involve area based offices to engage and support interested residents & communicate the opportunities and limitations for the NBHD Plan

Set up regular meetings and discussion between steering group, local authority and area-based office

Involve area based offices to engage help setting up workshops to access a large variety of people

Get feedback from the local authority

Framework for future estate regeneration in the area

Recommendation: Local authorities, conciliation body, residents

Allow residents to influence key decisions – making use of the neighbourhood planning process to define regeneration objectives and giving them the possibility to formally object to the conciliation body.

The meaningful inclusion of residents in the regeneration process is one of the three key objectives set out in this thesis. In both case studies, residents were consulted in various ways and several stages of the project, but, particularly in the case of the Heygate Estate, had no influence on key decisions in the end. This issue is also taken up by most guidance documents including the Mayors 'Draft Good Practice Guide of Estate Regeneration' and DCLG's 'National Estate Regeneration Strategy'. Both recommend the setting up of a resident's charter to define and fix objectives and engagement methods prior to the process. A major discussion revolves around giving the residents the possibility to object and potentially block a scheme: The national guidance supports a clear 'Yes/No' ballot vote on the demolition of the estate whereas the GLA fears that this would stop too many developments.

In both Vienna and Amsterdam, residents can object schemes: in Vienna by appealing to the conciliation body; Amsterdam requires a 70% vote in favour of demolition. In Amsterdam, additionally, early engagement of residents plays an important role in plan making but also policy making with the

6. PARTICIPATION

'Kaderafspraken'.

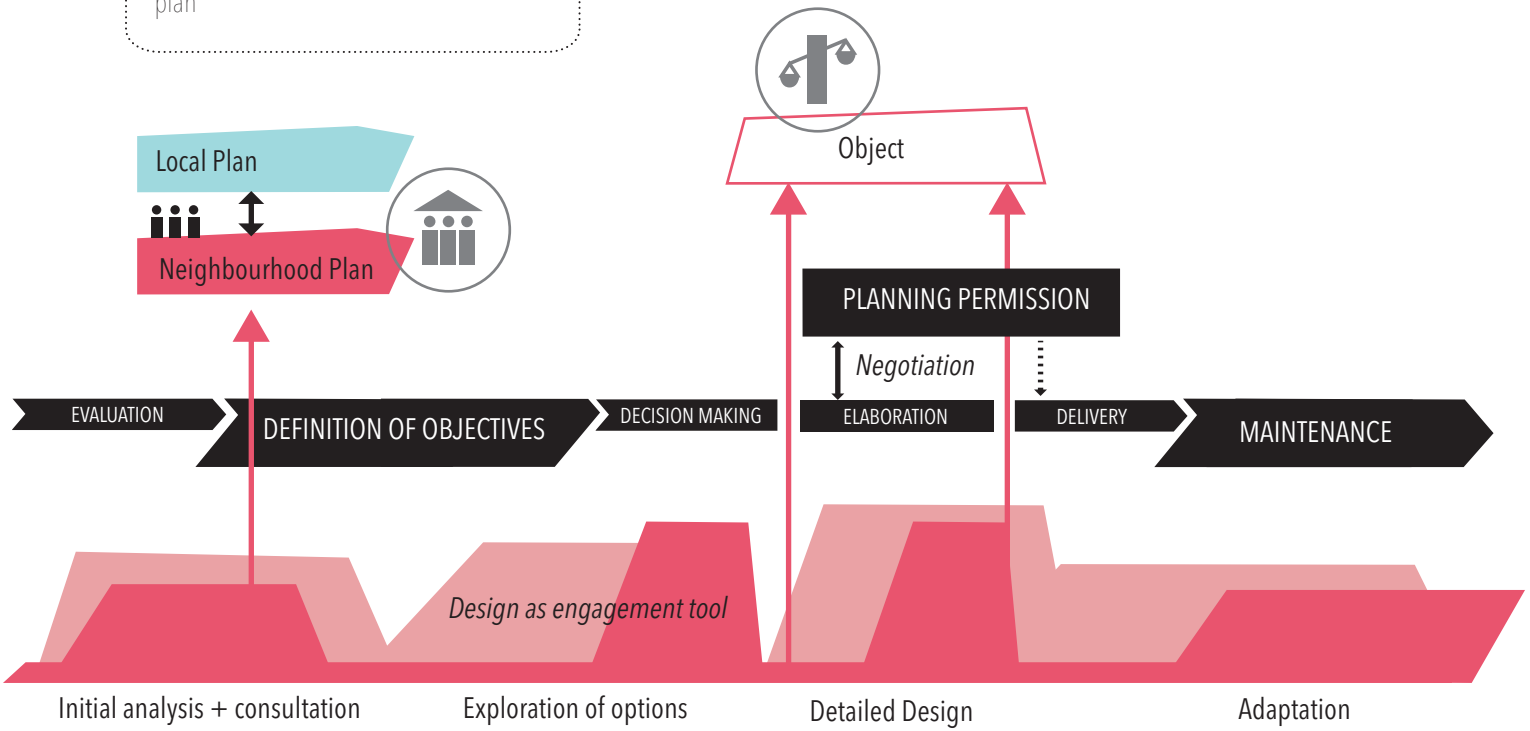
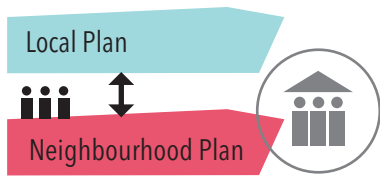
While the collaborative definition of goals is more difficult in London due to the complexity of actors, the tool of **neighbourhood planning** could be integrated in the estate regeneration process. While being promoted by the national government as way to localise planning and bring decision-making closer to the people (Watt, 2016), it is currently rather applied in wealthier or less central areas where no big changes are expected (J. Abbot, personal communication, 23 February 2017). This is due to the fact that it "must not act as an impediment to growth" (Minton, 2013, p.32) and has to comply with local plan – and therefore the regeneration strategies of the local authority. This is a missed opportunity particularly for estate regeneration. Neighbourhood planning, promoted and resourced by both national government and GLA, could provide a useful framework to set up a collaborative vision for the area a council estate is located in and build up a relation of trust and shared interests.

Regarding the possibility to **object** a regeneration scheme, the setting up of a **conciliation body**, as recommended above, represents a useful alternative to the ballot vote. Particularly due to the built-up mistrust of residents that might, as the GLA fears, in fact block many schemes, this mediation institution allows for renegotiation between the different parties and can take a neutral decision.

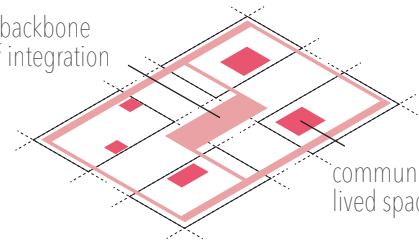
6 PARTICIPATION

Local authority

- > Using neighbourhood planning as engagement tool in regeneration areas
- > Stronger integration of neighbourhood planning in the development of the local plan



public space as backbone
and facilitator of integration



community areas as
lived space

Local authority + Designers + Residents

- > Using design as engagement and conflict management tool
- > Designing spaces that facilitate and not restrict use
- > Allowing for unconventional solutions

7 APPROPRIATION

7. APPROPRIATION

Recommendation: **Designers, local authorities**

Take inspiration from Amsterdam and Vienna - adopt a forward oriented attitude and design to facilitate not restrict appropriation.

The current planning system in the UK is criticised to neither stimulate innovative design nor effectively ensuring long-term quality in construction. In an effort to dispose of the legacy of modernist council estates, the problems of the future are created with designs that respond to market demands rather than the needs of the population.

In Vienna and Amsterdam, subsidised housing is used as opportunity to explore new ways of living together. Also in London, there is a high degree of creativity and interest in the topic, but planning better needs to lever in that potential.

Design, similar to resident engagement, needs to be part of the process much earlier. It should play an integral role in both the definition of objectives - potentially neighbourhood planning - and the appraisal of options. At the same time, it needs to stay part of the process and be included in subsequent monitoring exercises. As explained in the 'Evidence' section, not only statistical data, but also the interactions of people with and within the space need to be captured.

To design spaces that better respond to the needs of the variety of user groups in mixed communities, London can take inspiration from Amsterdam and Vienna without neglecting its own history and values.

It is about **creating spaces that facilitate, not restrict interaction and appropriation.**

The desire for privacy and protection is such a big city as London is understandable – the current approaches of promoting private outdoor space and defensible space in front gardens are a good way to achieve that. Similarly, current efforts to re-integrate the estate in the surroundings, re-connecting pedestrian networks and using tenure blind materials are useful to break the spatial and social insulation of council estates. Returning to traditional street patterns – where possible – and promoting a varied mix in building typologies supports adaptivity and longevity of the urban form.

At the same time, also the public realm should reflect the mixed typology and cater for various population groups - especially, when the declared policy goal is to deliver mixed and balanced communities that support the integration of lower income groups.

In the line of Vienna's communal areas, **shared spaces can become lived spaces** and to some extent make up for the small dwelling size in affordable housing. Designs should therefore not only consist of decorative planting and benches, but also include both larger, multi-useable surfaces and elements that can be appropriated such as tables, shelters, gardening, play and sports elements that are accessible to all inhabitants. The resident community can furthermore be supported with facilities within the buildings, such as shared rooms and light staircases. A higher intensity of use, however, gives more potential for conflict. Therefore, better **monitoring** structures are required to which tenant organisations, but also

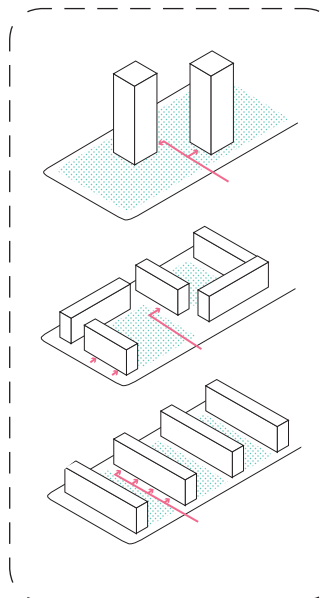
the area based urban renewal offices could contribute. In this context, the design process can become a tool for engagement and community building – asking residents what they want in their environment and collaboratively designing it. Use agreements during this process can then be useful to prevent later conflicts of use.

A further way to prevent conflicts is to **avoid tenure mixing within the building**. This might appear contrary to the goals of integration, but experience in both Amsterdam and London has shown that different expectations on the use and financial capacities for management and maintenance can become problematic over time. Groot from the AFWC (personal communication on 5 April 2017) emphasised that integration of different social groups is hampered if they are constantly fighting each other. Social mix within the building can work, but requires increased monitoring, clear arrangements and commitment from all sides. Furthermore, one tenure form per building makes future regeneration easier.

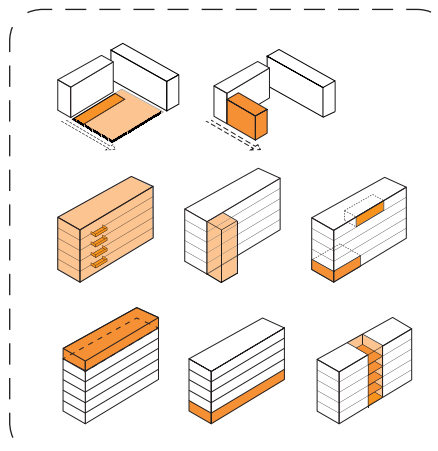
If the **public space** then becomes the **main arena for integration within mixed communities**, it should – similar to communal spaces - also reflect the notions of useability and appropriation. Inspiration can be drawn from Amsterdam, where public institutions such as schools, community centres, shops and cafés, but also sports facilities, play elements and informal seating attract very different user groups. In this context, particularly small and affordable shops are important for lower income groups. This more flexible typology can add another layer to the traditional British network of squares and streets.

These principles are valid for both refurbishment and demolition and new build, and are summarised in the diagram:

Reminder: basic council estate typologies:



Reminder: refurbishment measures & community spaces within the building



Transformation of groundfloor into shops

Addition of private gardens for ground floor apartments

Small interactive elements

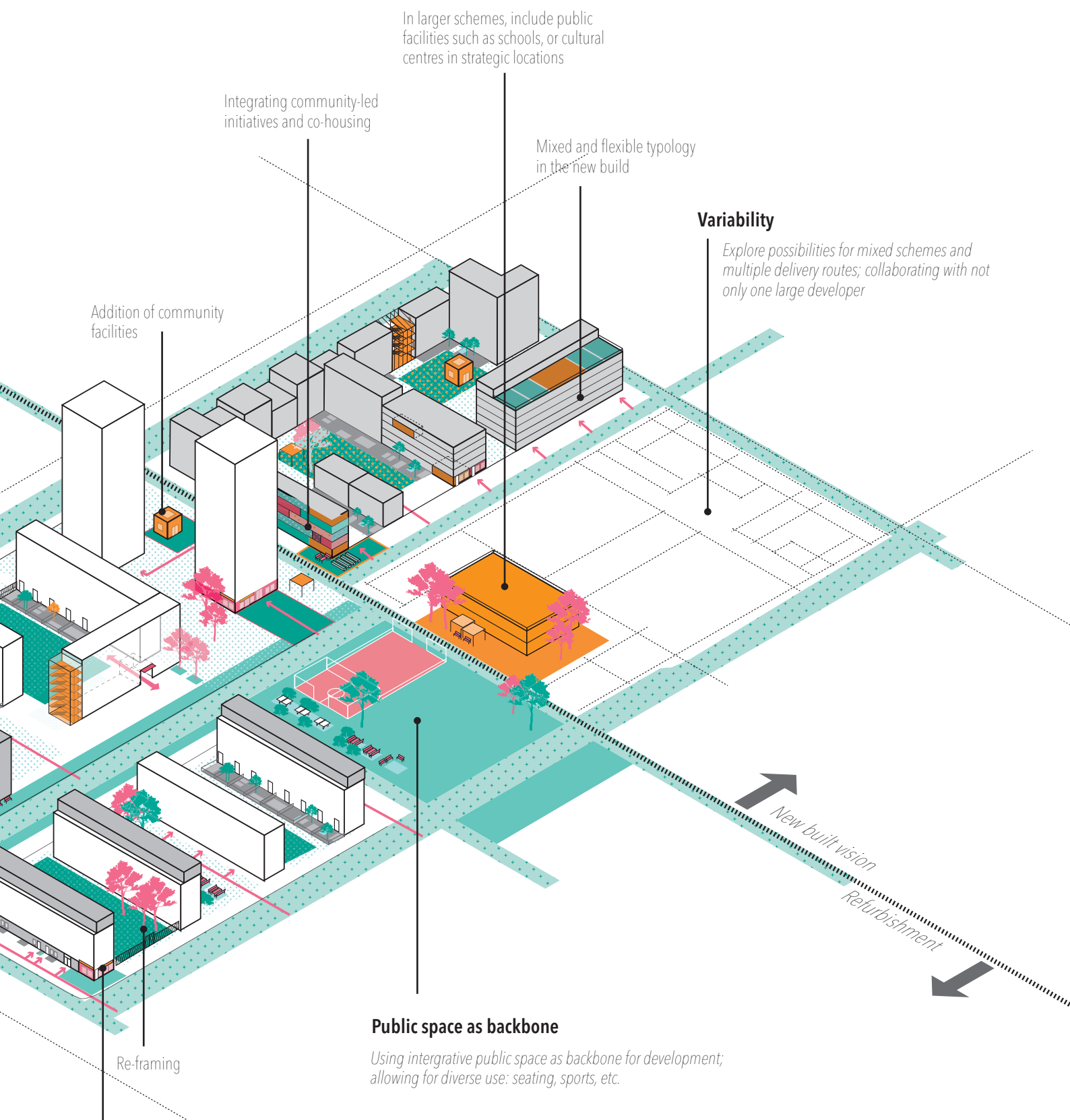
Recommended level of social mix

within block



within street/NBHD





REFLECTION

The image shows a dark, textured surface, possibly a piece of paper or a book cover, with a prominent vertical reflection line on the right side. The surface is covered in fine, light-colored fibers and dust. There are several dark, vertical scratches or smudges on the left side, and a small, bright orange-brown spot near the center. The overall appearance is aged and worn.

Fig.X.3 (Photo: Mattia Marinoli, 2013)

GENERAL REFLECTION

Reflection on the initial objectives and outcomes

The subject of this graduation project originated from the desire to learn more about the driving forces behind London's urban development. Having lived in London myself, I experienced the effects of the housing crisis – horrendous rents, congested public transport, etc. – as well as ongoing over-gentrification processes in which lively districts are consumed by market-oriented real estate development. The effects on lower income groups, however, became clearer during the initial research and motivated me to further investigate the topic of social housing. The regeneration of council estates then emerged as one topic of pressing relevance. While particularly in London's heated market environment, council estates are crucial to retain access to housing for lower income groups in central areas, current regeneration practice causes a net loss of affordable housing (London Assembly, 2015). This often goes along with the dispersion of the original population. Estate regeneration, as this research has shown, is increasingly driven by densification and asset management strategies that might have little to do with an improvement of the living conditions of current residents.

The aim of this research was therefore to contribute to the search of methods to achieve more socially balanced development within these regeneration processes – in particular, to explore the role planning and design can play to ensure that the needs of lower income groups are met. To investigate approaches taken in other cities can provide valuable lessons. Therefore, social housing regeneration in Amsterdam and Vienna - two cities well-known for housing and justice (Fainstain, 2010 and Förster, 2000) - is studied in addition to London.

Originally, the envisioned end product consisted of policy and design recommendations for London. In order to be able to propose changes, it was essential to me to understand the reasons and motives behind the current practice, and see where - and why - existing policies and planning tools are working or failing. This analysis has shown that there currently are policies in place to protect lower income groups, but the issue rather lies with the capacity or willingness of the actors to implement them. This can however vary largely among the different local authorities, as the cases in Islington and Southwark have illustrated. Also in Vienna and Amsterdam, regeneration schemes are, naturally, facilitated by funding mechanisms, but are also shaped by the specific local circumstances and cultural values.

Neither policy makers nor private sector actors or designers can hence act independently. They have to navigate within a complex system characterised by a multitude of interrelations and dependencies. Still, planning and design have a crucial role to play. The focus of the recommendations therefore shifted towards capacity building within the planning process as general theme. This involves supporting planning competence among local authorities, setting up monitoring structures to develop a solid knowledge base, and building up participatory approaches for plan making and design.

Reflection on the relationship between research and design

Ultimately, it is the physical realm in which rules, policies and guidance interact with the lifeworld of the people. The quality of design and its adequateness for lower income groups was part of the evaluation criteria from the beginning. However, being deeply involved in the analysis of more abstract political and economic forces, it was not easy to bring these two poles together. Especially during the site visits to the three different cities, the interrelation between cultural values, economic forces, policies and the physical space then became more evident. Planning and design in Vienna, drawing from the socialist legacy built up in the 1920s, prioritises affordability and the provision of community spaces, whereas in London, the impact of economic necessities/logics may drive the density up and produce investor-oriented urban patterns that in fact contradict local design ideals (this point is further elaborated in the 'Evaluation' section of chapter 4).

In this thesis, design is primarily used as research method, but enhancing its role as tool to create visions and engage residents in the planning process plays an important role in the recommendations. This requires a vertical and horizontal dialogue between policy-makers, designers and residents to better inform decision making on the base of outcome, not output related targets.

Learning lessons FROM London

Whereas for this thesis, lessons for London are drawn from Amsterdam and Vienna, these and other cities can also learn a great deal from London. London has the strongest neoliberal tendencies within Europe and therefore represents a useful case study about the impacts of the current political trend across many countries. In both Vienna and Amsterdam, I witnessed discussions about reforming the planning system with proposals displaying similarities to methods already practised in London. These are for instance de-regulation and planning gain mechanisms – generally a greater reliance on the private sector – that in fact largely contribute to the problems identified in London. On the other hand, cities can also learn positive lessons from London. They range from resident participation tools that are, despite the issues, quite widely applied, to context sensitive regeneration and infill solutions.

METHODOLOGICAL AND PERSONAL REFLECTION

Reflection on the choice of the graduation studio

The Complex Cities group researches how planning and design can resolve territorial conflicts within an integrated and multidisciplinary approach. In line with the mission of the studio, this project analyses planning methods and the roles and interests of the involved stakeholders. The broad focus of the research group, drawing on planning theories as well as political, economic and social sciences, provides a useful base for the research of such complex topics like estate regeneration which cannot be understood from only one angle.

The methodology used in this thesis was informed by the studio's approach to evaluate spatial patterns in relation to governance and actors involved in the decision making. The combination of stakeholder and policy analysis proved to be a critical part of my research. Furthermore, especially the international lessons chapter draws on the available expertise on international comparative studies.

Research process: Challenges and limitations

The first challenge of this research project was the selection of a topic. From the personal motivation to learn more about London's housing crisis and a broad interest in planning, I started reading papers and newspaper articles, eventually narrowing the topic down to estate regeneration.

Within this topic, the next step consisted of formulating an analysis framework that would allow me to understand the complexity of the topic but would be manageable within the given time frame. However, it was difficult for me to set limitations due to the various interrelations with other topics, such as housing policy, and the investigative research approach: wanting to understand why regeneration is undertaken the way it is required an open approach in which unexpected conclusions could be taken in. Hence, its ambitious scope was from the beginning on the major challenge of this thesis.

One important step was to identify the key criteria according to which the outcomes of regeneration schemes could be evaluated – affordable housing delivery, meaningful resident engagement and good design for all. From there on, an investigation of the London case could be undertaken, spanning across the scale of an individual scheme to national politics. While the focus was on planning and

design mechanisms, the nature of the topic required to become familiar with a set of related issues such as housing and land policies. Helpful methods in focussing the analysis were the estate regeneration survey and especially the case studies. Building up the analysis from the project scale up to the governance level, I could identify the relevant policy documents and actors to be studied further. This also led to a refined problem statement. As estate regeneration in London is undertaken in a multitude of different ways, more case studies would have been useful, but were not feasible. Therefore, I chose two cases that were very different from each other – a large scale controversial project and a comparatively small infill approach - to illustrate the range of possibilities within London's planning framework.

The field trip brought a major leap forward in the analysis. The visit of regeneration projects helped me gain an understanding of the design practice, and conversations with residents gave a glimpse into the daily life on these estates and personal experiences of regeneration. Above all, the expert interviews and conversations with residents provided me with input that could not have been gained from written sources. However, the London analysis also grew very extensive and took longer than anticipated in the time planning.

As a result, the international comparison chapter had to be narrowed down. Rather than undertaking a comprehensive analysis of the planning systems in the other two cities, I started off by focussing on specific key points that had emerged from the London analysis where it would be useful to see alternative approaches. In this stage as well, the respective site visits were crucial steps for the research progress. From this, I could evaluate the respective regeneration approaches that were successful under the local conditions and could therefore be of interest to London, and drew a comparison between the regeneration approaches of the three cities.

From there on, a collection of possible recommendations was developed. Again, at this point, the challenge was to narrow down the proposal that had been developed under consideration of various aspects on different levels. For the sake of developing a clear and communicable strategy, it was necessary to draw the line between 'context' and 'content' again and focus on actions directly related to planning and design. At the same time, it was important to stay aware that, as mentioned above, the change of policies alone might not be effective due to the influence of economic constraints, cultural values, etc.

The formulation of recommendations therefore required a transfer and adaptation process from possible to likely approaches within the political context of London. For instance, re-strengthening negotiation capacities of local authorities could be proposed either by raising national grants, or the setting up of arms-length organisations or task force bodies. It proved to be challenging to find a

balance between realistic recommendations that reflect the constraints, and not losing the visionary and creative aspect. As a more detailed design testing of the recommendations was not possible within the time frame, I hope this thesis can act as inspiration to take this topic one step further.

Personal reflection

Personally, these ten months have been incredibly challenging, informative and enriching. I had the opportunity to travel to three different cities, visit interesting housing projects and talk to experts and residents. I gained deeper and comparative knowledge about housing policy, planning mechanisms and economic structures that usually only would have played a smaller role in my degree. However, they fundamentally affect the implementation of urbanism projects, and an understanding of the politics behind urban development will be useful in my later career.

Structuring, compressing and transmitting the extensive amount of information were the biggest challenges of this research. I am pleased with all the knowledge I gained, and happy to have had the opportunity to learn how to undertake such an investigative research from beginning to end.

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LONDON

Andrew Beharrell, Tricia Patel

Pollard Thomas Edwards

- Personal communication on 20th February 2017 -

Keywords: Guidance, mixed communities, regeneration practice, resident engagement, density, Dover Court Estate

THE BRITISH PLANNING SYSTEM AND THE ROLE OF GUIDANCE

- The British planning system is based on negotiation rather than rules, which is its strength and its weakness: it takes very long and the outcomes are more unpredictable

- Guidance supplements strict rules and standards – but: applying guidance requires judgement (skill and time) which thinly stretched local authority planning department don't necessarily have

- Example: London Housing Design Guide

> Useful work, as it pulls together the guidance available before in one place (each council or housing association had their own guidance)

> But: this guidance is now often applied too strictly and used like rules, and better or more innovative designs are more difficult to justify

> Example: location of living room in maisonettes, or single exposure

> Consequence: designs become very homogeneous

- Planning issue

> Logjam in planning permissions waiting to be built

> Often slow planning system accused, but actually construction sector is in crisis: the sector is not attracting enough young people

- Conclusion: Local authorities need more capacity and resources; and the building sector needs to be improved

MIXED COMMUNITIES

- London is still an extremely mixed city, with an extraordinary mix of people with different incomes, ethnicity, age groups within every borough (counter-example: Paris with its banlieues)

- Historically, social mix worked effortlessly

> Neighbourhoods were mixed, without policy being in place

> In the 1970s, when London was depopulating, councils were buying street properties and converted them into subsidised homes -> fully integrated tenure blind mix as ideal situation

> Council housing, and housing associations (when the movement started ~40/30 years ago) were accommodating a wide range of people, working people on modest incomes

- However, achieving social mix has become more problematic and difficult in the recent years

> London's success led to more, also international, demand on the housing market

> The difference between people living in market and subsidised housing has become bigger due to residualisation of the social rent sector (priority of housing the poorest as capacity shrunk) as well as increasing income gaps

- Mixed and balanced communities policies

> Introducing market housing into mono tenure estates was a deliberate and useful policy for good reasons: changing the social mix was an effective way of diluting concentrations of poverty within so-called 'sink estates'

> However, now that grant support is largely gone, tenure mix has become an economic necessity to generate cross-subsidy

DIFFERENT APPROACHES TO ESTATE REGENERATION – POSSIBILITIES WITHIN THE CURRENT FUNDING SITUATION

- A mixed funding system (public subsidy and private sector cross subsidy) worked well in the past (example: Packington Estate): it allowed genuine involvement of the existing community and accommodated them in better homes, achieve a complete physical transformation of the space (in terms of the urban structure and social and physical integration in the surroundings)

- What is important is subsidy in the beginning, to de-risk the early phases and allow for proper consultation and option appraisal

- As balance from private market to government investment changes, schemes like this have become more difficult and the percentage of market housing becomes higher: this is what people are currently protesting about, but there are few other ways of funding regeneration at the moment
- To generate enough money you need enough private market sales: schemes are getting denser and often less compatible with the surrounding environment
- A solid option appraisal (as outlined in the Altered Estates Guide, and practiced by PTE at the moment on various estates) is essential
 - > Properly and objectively examining all the options, including option of doing nothing (=including maintenance work to keep buildings in basic working order)
 - > Options can range from: doing nothing and minor refurbishment, major refurbishment (for instance, adding flats on top or converting ground floor stores into flats, heating improvements), infill, partial demolition, full regeneration through redevelopment
 - > Each option studied with cost appraisal, architectural input, resident input
 - > This approach was the norm in the 80s and 90s and has become less common, but still practised now; both the National Estate Regeneration Strategy as well the Mayor's Guide to Estate Regeneration put that approach forward
- A committed client (such as Islington in Dover Court) is the key to a successful project

RESIDENT ENGAGEMENT

- It is seldom possible to provide everything on the wish lists of existing communities and make everybody happy; there will be a trade-off (if the trade-off will be too great, doing nothing might be a better option for now)
- There will be different opinions across the residents, therefore it is important to gather opinions from all groups on the estates (TRAs might not be representative for all the residents) and bring them together so they can become aware of each other's issues and create empathy

(example: overcrowded families vs underoccupied flats for elderly)

DENSITY

- Density and design
 - > Referral to principles set out in 'Superdensity' report
 - > Densification is not an absolute good, a balance needs to be achieved: higher density that still allows for an integrated public realm, recognisable streets and squares, front doors on the street
 - > Maximum that should usually be considered in estate regeneration: 350 dwellings/ha
 - > High rise structures that exceed these densities are more difficult to manage, do not accommodate diversity as easily, risk impoverished, shady and windy public realm – a successful design is possible but much harder to get right
- Densification
 - > There is a need for densification, but over-densification in central areas is not an ideal way
 - > Other option: brownfield densification, but difficult and expensive compared to green field development
 - > However, lack of political acceptance of alternatives: green belt as 'sacred cow'
 - > Reviewing Green Belt Land (some of it is scrubland that is not very attractive) and allocating small part to housing could solve some of London's Housing needs, but that would cost many, mainly conservative, votes
 - > These restrictions put more pressure on inner city already built up land

THE DOVER COURT PROJECT

- (summary of key points, as Tricia talked me through the project in detail, including design solutions for the specific spaces)
- Initial conditions of the estate
 - > The estate was generally popular and well located and connected to public transport
 - > Potential for improvement of pedestrian connections

through the estate, and especially around bus stop in Southgate Road

> Some pathways not well lit or overlooked, unclear front/back situations, underused garages, lacking bin storage, much underused green space, lack of play facilities, parks used by dog owners

> Community need: more and larger family units as well as better dwellings for the elderly

- Planning process

> Driving force: The Council was looking for opportunities for new homes on the Estate and appointed PTE in 2009

> The aim was to create more homes (but not at all cost) and improve the public realm of the estate

> Local lettings scheme to make sure the existing community benefits

> A variety of options was produced and consulted with the local authority and the community

> Initial concept started from North/South pedestrian axis; public realm at the heart of the project with attractive planting and seating

> Scheme completely self-funded by sale of market units, as property prices in the area are so high

- Important to leave public realm improvements not for the very end and have people living in a construction site for years

- Needs of renters were put first - Homes for rent: integrated, oriented towards the green space (as they are family homes etc.); homes for sale: odd and small sites, suitable for 2 bedroom apartments (if you are a buyer, you have more choice in general)

- Tenure blind

- Emphasis on communal space: shared balconies overlooking the park for elderly; gardens for family homes

- Importance of front gardens as defensible space

- Ball court as example of working extensively with residents

- Community room at Threadgold House with play located off the street; better connections to bus stop

- Issue of parking

Duncan Bowie

Westminster University

- Personal communication on 22nd February 2017 -

Keywords: Housing policy, national and metropolitan politics, driving forces for estate regeneration, guidance

CENTRAL GOVERNMENT POLITICS

- Role of CG politics

> Even if local authorities are making decisions that are problematic, it is necessary to understand the context in which these decisions were taken, and the potential alternatives

> Therefore: Important to have knowledge about national housing policies, taxation and funding to understand estate regeneration in London

> Current situation is at its worst and local authorities are in a very difficult position to provide social housing (Even under Thatcher 1000 new social rent homes were built, under Major publically funded social housing program)

> The National Government created the housing crisis, and disempowered local authorities and the planning system

- Austerity politics: reduction of financial support for local authorities

> Before, about 70% of local authority budget came from the central government

> Now: CG Intention of ending financial support by 2020 and have local authorities completely self-financing --> How to get resources in?

> Councils cannot raise their local tax by much: 2 or 5% limit (but would need 60% tax increase to keep their statutory services like child care and adult social care going)

- Outcome

> Government will play no redistributive role anymore (disadvantaged areas will be further disadvantaged, and local authorities will be forced to move upmarket at the expense of the original lower income population)

- > Councils might go bankrupt
- Impact on housing
 - > Housing no longer statutory responsibility - duty to advise and assist, not to provide housing - and consequently no absolute priority
 - > Therefore, housing and land assets are used to keep the rest going: new development is supported not in order to house more people, but in order to raise money from New Homes Bonus and business/council tax
- Right to buy
 - > Political issue; home ownership as political goal, and parties in England fear to lose votes if they abolish the program (but abolished in Scotland and Wales)
 - > Popular, and useful for the individual in terms of upward social mobility, BUT:
 - > Problems for the home owner: Problems to finance the maintenance; legal obligation to contribute to repairs but no possibility to choose by whom and for which price
 - > Problems for the council: Time and resource intensive to manage the leaseholders; financial loss (buying out leaseholders can put financial pressures on a regeneration scheme)
 - > Paradox: state pays twice – to subsidise the sale of the apartment, and then to buy it back at higher value
 - > Future developments: White paper in February 2017 saying that local authority housing companies output might also fall under RTB (used as loophole to prevent RTB); Introduction of RTB for housing associations but compensation out of local authority funds - but will probably not be implemented)
- Promotion of local authority asset management
 - > Background (this way of thinking has long history): report published by cabinet office under Brown government that explicitly questions the concept of social housing in central high value areas especially in Inner London and suggests that local authorities should manage their assets more

effectively (= selling them off and providing housing in lower value areas)

> 'Asset management' as ideological position with the aim to reduce public subsidy and make local authorities more self-sustaining

> This approach has been implemented to large extents and will be continued; was never questioned in City Hall even under Livingstone regime

> Issues: short term strategy; dismisses issues of housing needs and economic needs of low income households in central areas to keep service economy working

- Affordable rent program

> Abandon of social rent program in 2010

> 'Cameron government destroyed any public sector commitment to social housing provision'

> 'Affordable rent' on 80% of market rent levels: in London this is in most cases not affordable

> Focus on maximising output numbers of affordable housing (even if the units are less affordable), rather than focussing on the provision of genuinely affordable and family sized units

> Pushing for home ownership and support of the middle class (Example: starter homes initiative also classified as affordable)

> Provision of social rent levels only possible as local authority investment (Mayor Johnson aimed for half of the affordable rents 50%, half of them 80% of market value; Khan aims for some rents at even lower levels)

DRIVING FORCES OF ESTATE REGENERATION

- Historic perspective in some London boroughs: moving areas of primarily social housing upmarket

> Due to aim for more social and tenure mix or to cross subsidise other activity (example: E&C in order to finance investments in Peckham)

> However, moving upmarket is now seen as an end to

itself not as means to an end, without thinking if it actually benefits the residents and the trickle-down effect appears

- Attempt to reach housing targets (in quantitative terms)
- Main driver:
 - > Releasing the potential of high value land in order to bring more resources into local authorities (see above: austerity politics and promotion of local authority asset management)
 - > A number of local authorities acknowledge that (however not publically): 'going for growth' because it is the only way to get money into keeping their statutory services running in absence of government subsidy
- Outcome
 - > Redevelopment becomes preferred option in estate regeneration (many estates with physical problems could also have been regenerated via refurbishment and infill)
 - > Residents may become sacrificed to a wider purpose

ISSUES OF ESTATE REGENERATION

- Not much Inner London social housing stock left because much was sold under RTB
- Funding and financing
 - > Generous national funding schemes in the 80s and 90s, but not replaced when they ran out
 - > Continuity issue (example Aylesbury: funding deals fell apart)
 - > Current system of government investment is loans to private developers (no grant or subsidies) -> but that only helps developers' cashflow
 - > Only funding possibility now is private sector cross-subsidy (which means increasing density)
 - > Abandon of social rent program in 2010 (see above)
 - > Result: Replacement homes are at higher rents than before, which makes them unaffordable for some groups
 - > Issues for councils how to deliver the 'right to return' especially for secure tenancies: Providing similar rent levels?

Similar dwelling sizes?

- > Therefore, councils would want to reduce number of people who want to return -> lesser financial problem because you don't have to provide housing at affordability and security levels from before
- > RTB (see above): Buying back leasehold properties put financial pressure on regeneration schemes and amounts to high percentages of the budget (Example Aylesbury: large amounts of NDFC used to buy back leaseholder property and not to fund social programs or the actual physical development)
- Local authorities
 - > deskilled and lack capacity and development teams
 - > NG sees the role of the local authority to 'enable the market', and regeneration as well as new development should be market-led
- Stakeholder arrangements with the private sector
 - > Due to lack of government funding, councils increasingly seek partnership with the private sector
 - > Issue 1. advantageous negotiation position of the private sector (Private sector disposes of skills and resources that are not available in the public sector; councils do not have the power to maintain the contractual agreement that it enters into -> when the economic situation changes, developers will stock up demands; council has to compromise because backing off is very problematic (Example Heygate: once the deal was closed Lend Lease would start to renegotiate the terms and threaten to pull out))
 - > Issue 2. Blurry lines between private and public sector interests (Local authorities appoint private sector managers to run such schemes; planners paid by private sector: „not illegal but dubious in terms of interests“; staff movement between the private and public sector: people being brought into Local authorities from private sector to manage these projects because that is the expertise needed or senior planning officers move on into private sector jobs)

> Issue 3: Lack of continuity is problematic especially for long term projects (someone puts the deal together, and others have to implement it)

- Tenants

- > Some councils have purposefully run down estates by deferring maintenance before regeneration (Example: Heygate, Aylesbury: actually no structural problems), resulting in tenants living in derelict buildings
- > Councils giving out dates and promises to people that are not justified (example: Aylesbury), affecting how tenants can plan for the future
- > Physical and mental health impacts of forced dispersal, living in insecurity etc. (need for more research on this topic)
- > Temporary tenants have no right to be rehoused (example: West Hendon, Barnet)
- > New affordable rents climb as area moves upmarket – which it does inevitably after regeneration – and lower income people get squeezed out of the area especially as housing benefit cap comes in

- Leaseholders

- > Very active, it is often them who lead protest campaigns
- > Even though compensation offered by councils is at higher value as what they paid, the amount is not sufficient to stay in the area
- > CPO purchase: unusual example Aylesbury as case where Central Government sympathetic to leaseholders

- Political hot topic

- > Political heated discourse about the topic of affordable housing
- > Some protest groups may use issues for their political agendas, to discredit local authorities; campaigns not necessarily held by estate residents but students, squatters, ...

EVALUATION OF METROPOLITAN POLICIES AND THE NEW GUIDANCE

- London Plan

> London plan is pushing intensification everywhere; focus on hyperdensity intensification in central London and opportunity areas

- > First London Plan: Policy to have 100% replacement housing on site, but requirement of having 50% of all additional units do be affordable would make estate regeneration schemes unviable, so this condition was left out
- > Concerns that schemes would be too polarized, therefore introduction of shared ownership and other intermediate forms of affordable housing (if justified by effective demand in the borough and demonstrated that appropriate in terms of the needs for more balance in the development)
- > What happened was that developers and las took view that they would just replace the social rented by shared ownership -> loss of social rented social housing

- Mayor's Good practice guide

- > In his candidature, the Mayor gave commitments that are hard to deliver
- > GLA dependant on funds from central government and the conditions under which it grants these funds ("they have done a good negotiation now and got more money out than before and a bit more flexibility on rented housing")
- > Relatively weak on commitments (also expresses in language: 'could, should') but strong on values (rehousing tenants, ...): says what should be done without giving guidelines on how
- > Implementation powers of the Mayor: financially support estate regeneration (which has not happened in the past) and impose certain conditions; BUT: fund minimal; increased planning powers (Schemes referred to the Mayor now from 50 units onward (dropped from 150) -> he could turn down schemes that result in a loss of social housing; BUT: unlikely he will stop to many schemes
- > Khan's assumptions: Khan "thought estate regeneration (=densification) would solve the housing crisis" and "assumed that 80% of new housing will come from high

density development which inevitably will be private sector led"

> Does not support resident ballot vote: As residents are not confident anymore that their rights will be protected in a regeneration scheme, this might stop much development, But: "Resident engagement is useless unless you give them the right to veto"

- National Estate Regeneration Strategy

> Stronger than GLA guide

> More aware of issues impacting on tenants (as opposed to leaseholder issues that had been prominent in the GLA guide); suggests compensation for residents and not just leaseholders

> Reinforces the importance of sound option appraisals

> BUT: Only best practice guidance, not enforceable: "all it does is saying to local authorities: Be a little more sensitive in how you do it"; encouraging but not increasing any statutory duties

> Impact: Councils may review their proposals (due to requirement to rehouse more tenants on site) but that might make schemes unviable

> Backstory: influenced by several documents (under Cameron Savills was commissioned to write report about the potentials of estate densification, notion of 100 sink estates (index of deprivation, ignoring the fact of RTB tenure diversity), looking which were in high value areas are therefore should be redeveloped; Calcott report: regeneration by 'creating value' = bringing in different social groups)

> Viability for the developer vs. affordability for the residents; "no understanding that the more value created the less affordable the units will be"

SOLUTION IDEAS

- "you can review policies as much as you like, if you cannot implement them (=financing and holding the line on negotiations) it won't have

any use"

- What is mainly needed: changes in housing and social policy at national level, not necessarily the planning system

> CG assessment of needs and accordingly allocation of resources

> Fundamental change in mindset needed, with the public sector being on the lead in the use of public money instead of commissioning the private sector

> Shift government approach to back in the 1940s (1947 Housing Act): Change funding regime, Change planning powers, Support local authority land ownership and site acquisition; profit share between private and public sector

> 'public policy for public goods'

> Abolish RTB

- Retain public landownership

> Not sell off public assets

> BUT: not selling means getting no receipts, and self-developing costs money (that is difficult to raise for local authorities) and requires skills and capacities

> If selling them maintaining freehold of land

- Support local authorities

> Private sector should assist in the provision, but not determine the service

> If council can build directly it should (but they might not get CG funding support)

> Need more freedom to raise money on the market

> Invest in in-house skills and capacities

- Resist unnecessary development in Inner London Estates

> Most estate redevelopment schemes (apart from the smaller scale infill solutions and hidden homes schemes; but these are not significant in the overall increase of the housing stock) should not happen

> Focus on refurbishment, not redevelopment in Inner London estates unless there are serious structural problems; only go forward with regeneration scheme if there is much

broader public policy benefits, and ensure that existing residents are not un-proportionally disadvantaged

> Importance of solid option appraisals to find right approach for each estate

- Explore suburban intensification strategies

> Incremental densification on low density suburban estates rather than high density Inner London estates

> Ways to capture the knock on effect of increasing values due to infrastructure investment such as Crossrail

> Land ownership is critical, as land prices are so high and make up a large amount of the development sum

> Issues: much of it has been sold under RTB = expensive to buy back; property values are lower = less profit from market sales for cross subsidy, so more government support would be needed; making suburbs more accessible leads to house price inflation and international speculation = lower income households working locally are squeezed out, as the area becomes more attractive to commuters who are richer and therefore less affordable

- Community led solutions: "if the council has land it should not hand it over to another organisation" but provide for lower income groups who need the support the most

Nick Bailey

Westminster University

- Personal communication on 22nd February 2017 -

Keywords: Guidance, building capacity, community engagement, social mixing

EVALUATION OF THE NEW GUIDANCE

- Mayor's good practice draft

> Step in the right direction, as there was no official guidance for estate regeneration before

> Useful document, as it raises the right issues: for example, no loss of affordable housing, no displacement of tenants

> The issue was raised that the language was not precise enough for the LTF; however this is just a first draft to send out principles and further steps forward will come eventually

- National Estate Regeneration Strategy

> Cameron's idea to regenerate sink estates came out of nowhere, and there was no coherent government policy and guidance behind it -> now this has been done

> Main goal: intensification and densification on council land that can be built on cheaply

- Which guidance is needed?

> Stricter national policy is needed; the current one is vague and weak so implementation comes down to negotiation on local level

> Regulation or guidance on local level in itself does make a big difference, it depends on the quality of the staff in local authorities to enforce them and negotiate successfully

VIABILITY

- As private developers have maximum leverage in the English system, the issue of viability is critical

- Viability and sustainability as key concepts of national planning policy (as set out in NPPF) -> 'a project as to be viable to be acceptable' (but viability in this market led system includes profit margins for private developers as hardly any public money is involved)

- in order to offset the costs for social housing refurbishment, private housing has to be built

CURRENT SITUATION IN ENGLAND

- Housing is a disaster: not enough, expensive, low quality construction

> Also: no long term maintenance or management plan; developers build to sell it off quickly

> Lack of commitment to maintenance

- Culture of negotiation drives quality down
- Much housing is built for the market and not for people: Britain as investors paradise
- Housing associations have changed and are becoming more like private developers
- Building approach turned almost 180° from local authority provision to now almost entirely market provision
- One reason for the current housing crisis is that Local Authorities were prevented from building for a long time, which cut off a major source of new housing (but now, again, there is more council building going on)
- However, neoliberal approach trying to get private sector to build
 - > public sector responsible for negotiation, guidance, advice, legislation, but delivery is with the private sector
 - > spirit of the age: giving permissions, deregulating, to make it easier for private sector – building is seen to be held up by slow planning process, negotiations, too many restrictions; and incentive is to reduce bureaucracy
 - > on the other hand: 80 or 90% of planning applications are approved anyway, and much is stuck post planning
 - > possibility to make planning permissions expire sooner (at the moment after 3 years) to speed up process, but that might be seen as too interventionist within the current planning culture – ‘restricting instead of stimulating the private sector’
- after the financial crisis, many small house builders stopped, and only the big developers are still building -> problematic development!
- Cultural determinism on home ownership, as it promises stability and continuity
- Housing benefits
 - > State is paying a fortune
 - > But might in the end only subsidise private landlords
 - > It would be better to invest in new building which might then reduce scarcity on market and drive down rents and property prices
 - > Biggest issue: high land prices

COUNCIL ESTATES

- Many of them have been built very badly, have not been very popular and were stigmatised
- Bad maintenance over the last years
- In newly regenerated projects emphasis on landscaping and public realm
- Heygate Regeneration
 - > Not a very typical scheme
 - > Southwark did a bad job in negotiating the conditions
 - > Generic design
- More positive example: Kings Cross redevelopment (however also here renegotiation from 50 to 30% affordable housing after crisis, but generally solid and transparent strategy)

THE ROLE OF COMMUNITY LED DEVELOPMENTS

- No large developments in London; examples in the city: ST Clemence Hospital Community Land Trust, Coin Street development
- Complicated, legal and financial problems, take long time
- But (as opposed to Duncan Bowie’s more strategic view) small scale interventions can add up and deliver much innovation and experimenting; people in self-build housing are very committed to their neighbourhood and stay there for a long time
- Example: neighbourhood planning
 - > created a lot of innovation, identified some infill sites and enabled more housing than would have been created in a traditional planning system
 - > will cause less opposition as people can set the conditions for new housing themselves

MIXED COMMUNITIES

- Commissioned to do Good Practice Guide in 2006, but rather focussed on New Build
- Conflicts between different social groups arise more, the larger the social and socio economic differences are; having common local connections is important: that makes the case in London more complicated

- Generally: should reflect mix of wider social area, but there is no blue print
- Concept works well for new build, more complicated in estate regeneration where there is already existing community
- On the one hand: argument of deconcentration of poverty
 - > In 'sink estates', the poorest people, often immigrants, were allocated the worst types of housing, and further lacking social skills to organise themselves
 - > in this case, it is better to have these concentrations on a smaller scale
 - > On the other hand: no evidence that different social groups really mix; and original population might not benefit appropriately due to gentrification processes

Jerry Flynn

35% Southwark initiative

- *Personal communication on 22nd February 2017* -

Keywords: Heygate Estate, personal experience, resident engagement, housing policy, guidance, Southwark urban development

PERSONAL EXPERIENCE OF THE HEYGATE ESTATE REGENERATION

- Family moved from nearby substandard private rented house to a Heygate low rise maisonette flat in 1974; parents continued to live there
- Living conditions
 - > Ok, ordinary working class South London council estate; no chronic problems but diversity of opinions among the residents (good, bad, indifferent)
 - > No severe structural issues but usual council estate problems (lift or heating sometimes failing)
 - > Mostly maintenance and management problems
 - > Low rise central blocks ok; people in highrise slabs might

have been unhappier

- > 'Anti-social behaviour' problems similar to any estate
- > Stigmatisation: social housing as 'space that breeds anti-social behaviour and crime)
- > Helping the parents with the documents etc.
- > Involvement in 2007 when the situation was becoming problematic

THE REGENERATION PROCESS

- 1997 plans to redevelop the estate; intention:
 - > No net increase in affordable housing, no intention to do anything for the community other than maintaining status quo for residents
 - > Gentrification and mixed communities (to 'civilise' the others, achieve educational attainment, and achieve better targets on social economic indices)
- Respectable, legitimate opinion poll was undertaken among the residents
 - > Consulted (=no veto, but asking for opinion) on 6 different options ranging from full demolition to leaving things as they are (the latter indicating that estate was still habitable)
 - > Good response rate for a postal questionnaire
 - > True reflection of feeling on estate (1/3 as it was, 1/3 demolished and rebuild, 1/3 part demolished, part refurbishment); 63% wanted to stay/come back to estate
- Poll and stock condition survey disregarded when the council chose the option of demolition
 - > "Carried out other consultation that had different answers"
- Other consultation
 - > Residents were consulted on plans and gave positive feedback even though the new houses were not intended for them; later used as signs of approval from the residents and justification for future plans
- The first masterplan
 - > Ambitious
 - > Proposal: rebuilding the estate including new housing for

people moving back in

- > Tripartite structure: community, council and developer (Southwark Land Regeneration), nothing could go forward without all parties agreeing
- > Main advantage: community had real power (power of veto) - which it properly did not use wisely
- > Local community invested a lot of effort and time (becoming trained, attending meetings, reading documents); over 100 community groups involved in umbrella organisation
- > Local TRA took leading role; but cliquey and site of political conflict between parties without putting forward the needs of all the residents despite having put in much effort
- > Not unusual that TRA is not representative, not many people want to devote such time
- > TRA then left umbrella organisation and set themselves outside
- > Arrangement collapsed in 2003 due to differences between the parties

- New arrangement

- > Simple partnership between local authority and developer (Southwark drafts plan setting out conditions and developers would bid to deliver this)
- > Community did not have the same kind of power

- The decanting

- > Starting from 2007
- > Residents decanted to other local authority stock (all over the borough – putting strain on waiting lists!) at a time when the 'Early Housing' rehousing sites were not built nor even a planning application submitted
- > The residents were given the right to return to replacement housing in the local area, but the long time frames and limited numbers make that option unrealistic
- > Until now only completion of 600 homes in the local area
- > It became apparent that the local authority had no interest in residents

- The regeneration agreement

- > Local plan states a minimum of 35% of affordable housing; the framework agreement requests a leisure centre on the plot of the Heygate
- > When the regeneration agreement was signed, Lend Lease started to renegotiate the terms
- > Council not prepared to negotiate for issues of the community (leisure centre was built on adjacent land additionally provided by the council; only 25% affordable housing; innovative multi-utility services company given up)

- Financing model

- > No public funding (at the time you had to show net increase in social housing which was not given)
- > Off plan sales of dwellings overseas for upfront cash
- > But: these buyers have no interest into the place, place making, living quality, public realm, which affects the design

- Attitude within the council

- > Project went through several government changes
- > 2003 when first scheme collapsed to Lib Dem - 2007 to Tory when agreement was signed - 2011 Labour
- > That frequent change was problematic for the development, and lead to rushed agreements; developers took advantage of the political pressure
- > However, across the parties general agreement with the basic (and socially problematic) principles of the regeneration, no opposition within or between the parties at institutional level (some individual councillors working with protest groups)
- > Conclusion: elected government parties might not be ideal to guide such projects as political pressure and frequent change puts them in a weak position under London market conditions

PROBLEMATIC DEVELOPMENT OF HOUSING ASSOCIATIONS

- Grew out of cooperative movement, out of the need of people
- Political changes have deregulated Housing associations to more

liberal bodies, and they have to work in the heated market environment
 -> need to address the issue on that level
 - Do not have shareholders and have to invest profit back into housing again, but they are allowed to set up profit making companies
 - Have undergone similar changes as banks: leveraged their assets, adopted the same kind of financial criteria and practises of commercial developers

WHAT SHOULD CHANGE?

- Give more powers back to Local Authorities
- National parties should come up with national policy: control the market: land tax, stamp duty (impact on top end of the market)
- House and land prices must come down
- Ballot votes should be mandatory at each milestone in a regeneration process
- Clear the confusion about the multitude of different rent types that are all classified as affordable
 - > Originates in CG government favouring middle class support (-> see intermediate rent levels), reducing capacities for social housing (New element build to rent: prominent in Old Kent opportunity area, championed by the mayor etc.)
 - > Focus on headline figures rather than provision of housing according to the needs of the population
 - > Lack of open political discourse about these issues, deals being locked behind closed doors

EVALUATION OF THE NEW GUIDANCE

- GLA guide weaker than NDC
- But at essence they are the same: emphasise need for estate regeneration and put therefore any estate in the frame for redevelopment (even though this is written especially for sink estates)
- Up until now: regeneration exception rather than rule, now it becomes rule
- One issue: firms like Savills assist policy making -> shows influence that private developers have over government policies
- No real difference across political spectrum about desirability of doing

this needs to be rethought!

- Paradoxon: no regeneration/densification plans in more affluent areas such as Dulwich

CURRENT ACTIVITIES OF 35% SOUTHWARK

- Observing progress of the Heygate development, specifically the profit sharing
 - > Profits needs to hit are certain level before Southwark gets half
 - > Identified some problematic clauses in the regeneration agreement (if there is trading of properties then Southwark would not get benefits of these trades, but they don't think this is the case at the moment)
- Viability assessments
 - > FOI requests on publication
 - > Discovery of strange practises: putting profit margin in the costs (if profit gets higher it become more unviable) -> intention to make the risk seem higher to demand higher profit margins; playing down revenue side
 - > This happened at all viability assessment at Heygate
 - > Success: policy changes to make viability public and set standards
- Aylesbury
 - > Small Success in redefinition of s106 agreements
 - > Success in COP lawsuits (leaseholders might be even more disadvantaged than tenants to be rehoused in the borough)
 - > Usually, CPO processes to gain information and not to win
- Old Kent Road observation
 - > no particular estate under immediate threat
- Canada Water AAP observation

Jon Abbott

Southwark Council

- Personal communication on 23rd February 2017 -

Keywords: Heygate Estate / Elephant&Castle, planning gain, Southwark urban development, land policy

EVALUATION OF THE PROJECT

- So far satisfied with progress: successful changes in road network, leisure centre

- 1600 affordable homes finished/under construction/planning consent across opportunity area

- Criticism is not a proper retelling of the story

> People were not forced out of the borough; they had a lot of choice: they could either stay with the council on existing property elsewhere in the borough or they could move into a new property built with a housing association (some at E&C, some further away)

> People were not forced out, rather long term negotiation process; only 3 CPOs

> Southwark does not share some protest group's rigid interpretation of affordable housing -> more flexible view that allows for different types of affordable housing

> Reaction to criticism on profit sharing:

> Council does not have the same motivations as private developer, in time of recession it was necessary to make a trade-off

> additionally: if you push land values too high, viability for affordable housing is driven down

> long term schemes like this impose a big risk on private developers and they assume a higher profit share

> now the council is slowly getting back investment costs (~30million to buy back leaseholders and emptying the estate) as Lend Lease is starting to pay back for land values; investment will be back in in the next years

MOTIVATION BEHIND E&C DEVELOPMENT

- Creating a new centre for Southwark in its most accessible location: huge opportunity due to location and availability of public land -> therefore choice of demolition

- Creating new homes, retail and jobs, diversifying tenure and social mix (as Southwark has a large council housing legacy)

- Reproviding dwellings for the Heygate residents elsewhere in the opportunity area/borough

- Conservative government had exhausted local authority resources by the end of the 1990s, and much of the stock needed refurbishment and was run down at the time the Heygate project was initiated -> need to start targeting investment

PLANNING PROCESS

- 1998: very open brief for private sector, presenting problem and opportunity

- Choice of partner, but in the end dissatisfaction with scheme: car based proposal, shopping centre

- 2002 arrangement dropped, relaunched on the basis that Southwark will prepare a plan setting out a clear vision (with Fosters), and on the basis of that finding developer to implement (=refine design and build)

- Document launched in 2004, the search for private partner started - choice of Lend Lease for Heygate site and set of Housing Associations to build out replacement housing on satellite sites (about 600 homes primarily for Heygate residents)

- 2007/08 financial crisis, in the process of signing regeneration agreement -> need to set up new commercial agreement to allow scheme go forward in a very different economic environment (finally signed in 2010)

> Issue: once you embark on a scheme you have to keep going (dangerous to keep site empty, upfront investment already taken)

> 25% affordable housing agreement due to recession, and grant that was no longer available under coalition government from 2010

> Was a decision taken under great pressure, which is often overlooked by protest movements

- Meanwhile decanting process was already going on

PLANNING GAIN NEGOTIATIONS

- Now simplified with CIL as set tariff figure on floorspace (was seen as untransparent way of decision making)

- Affordable housing stays under S106 agreements

- Viability assessments now have to be published

- Issue with current planning system in free market model: relying on developers to deliver public goods that before had been provided by the state (open space, infrastructure, schools, housing, consultation)

- If you work with the private sector you have to accept their business models and conditions: off plan selling as upfront cash after crisis instead of loans with banks; E&C scheme microcosm for all these issues

FUTURE APPROACHES TO URBAN DEVELOPMENT AND ESTATE REGENERATION

- Currently: refurbishment initiative and small scale infill approach on garage sites; but this is also closing down opportunities to redevelop the sites more comprehensively

- Taking step back from wider estate regeneration schemes for a while as a set of problems arises

> Politics around estate regeneration have become so difficult

> Cashflow issues with upfront investment when no government support is provided and local authority budgets are slashed

> Practical issues within new guidance: you cannot start until you have re-provided houses somewhere on site in which people can move in upfront- where to find that space when London is so dense?

> Southwark residents will oppose to stock transfers to Housing Associations and will vote against it

- Concern: this situation is blocking opportunities to create better cities

- In the public eye, planning reduced to affordable housing provision,

without acknowledging the other responsibilities

- Good opportunity would be densification of suburban estates in strategic location, but currently difficult to finance that

- To take pressure from Inner London, it should be allowed to build where there is lots of demand: along the ring motorway; but some of the land is Green Belt Land (-> outer boroughs have conservative voters, so the problem of densification is pushed into inner city labour councils)

- In new opportunity areas (Old Kent Road and Canada Water), Council estates will not be involved, but the focus lies on development of brownfield land and existing light industrial sites

> However, changing land use designations means changing land values, and foreign investors are currently buying up land in these areas on the basis of the new tube extension

> The value created by infrastructure investments is not captured by the public sector, even though it relies on this value uplift to fund these projects (-> in order to get land value back in, you have to build higher)

> A model that happened in the past was to create a special entity to buy up land beforehand, and sell it back to developers once the infrastructure has been put in; but now the entire process is left to the private sector

> In the future, it is unlikely to see powers shifting back to the public sector; more likely are complex financial and taxing mechanisms to capture land values (similar approach to the US)

> The current model to finance development is problematic, and the reason for which the housing market has become so polarised: private led developments only pay for a small amount of affordable housing, by creating units that only very few can afford -> there is not much offer inbetween
> Current idea: support private sector rent to fill niche that has not been provided by traditional sector and allow for more flexible form of affordable housing

- Community-led schemes:

- > Low potential for community led schemes due to highland values in London and requirement of local authorities to get best value for their land
- > Neighbourhood planning not very relevant in high pressure or opportunity areas where it has to comply with other plans; rather used in suburban or countryside areas where not much development will happen anyway

Alistair Gale

Islington Council

- Phone interview on 5th March 2017 -

Key words : Dover Court Estate, Islington urban development, resident engagement

PLANNING PROCESS DOVER COURT ESTATE REGENERATION

- Criteria to redevelop the Dover Court Estate within New Build initiative
 - > Islington Council New Build Programme: main priorities of the Council was to develop new and genuinely affordable social housing
 - > Process started 10 years ago: Site finder survey, identifying infill and small scale redevelopment sites within the council's assets, specifically housing estates (such as low rise blocks 'underusing' land, garage sites)
 - > Especially garage sites redevelopment was policy driven: support of other modes of transport, these sites are underused/attract anti-social behaviour/lack of resources to maintain them
 - > Identification of wide range of opportunities over the borough from one house to larger developments
 - > Dover Court development way beyond originally identified opportunities
 - > Selection criteria Dover Court: Density, amount of open

and amenity space within estate, opportunities for public realm improvements (to help new housing fit in and give obvious benefits to existing residents), number of garages (unused and in disrepair)

- Financing

- > Sale of private units
- > Rental income over 30 year period
- > Borrowing against assets for upfront cash
- > However: one of the last schemes that got through being funded in that way, and this proportion of social housing will not be provided in the future (now 70/30, then probably 50/50)
- > Reasons: local authority budget cuts and rent reductions on existing council stock -> less money to put into future social rent and new build programme
- > Government grants have generally not played a big role in the council's regeneration schemes, as they did not want to meet certain conditions associated with these grants (such as private public partnerships and the delivery of affordable, not social rent)

- Stakeholder arrangement

- > Lovell : contractor according Islington's framework, charged with developing and delivering design
- > No partnering agreement, Islington prefers to retain full control over developments

ISLINGTON APPROACH

- Strong political will and commitment to housing its population as labour run council (other councils have chosen other approaches, either because of political will or conditions such as very high proportions of social housing and need for tenure diversification); some Local Authorities might be more interested in demonstrating that estate regeneration cannot be done in a certain way instead of finding ways to make it work
- However, current arrangement is under growing financial pressure
- In house capacities

- > Growing confidence, Over 10 years built up modest team with ambitious program
- > Some internal architects working on smaller schemes
- > Other local authorities: may be behind, don't have that experience, time and resources or willingness to embark on Islington's way of working and will be more inclined to work with a developer

- Future development

- > Running out of sites for small scale regeneration and infill for densification, but aim to continue densification to deliver new affordable housing (Not easy task as the borough is already very dense) -> therefore new focus on existing housing stock that is underused or does not deliver good quality housing
- > In the future, this will only be possible within larger developments of estates where buildings do not meet the required standards, are too costly to maintain, poor structure beyond refurbishment in terms of getting value for money, have a low amount of leaseholders... -> looking at redevelopment options that can simultaneously improve social cohesion and design, alleviate misuse and anti-social behaviour, bring wider community benefits + similar or higher levels of social housing will be retained
- > Council has set up committee and is seeing consultants to develop strategies for delivery: joint ventures, setting up own housing company, partnerships
- > Priority for council: retaining maximum level of control on developments on their public land

- Useful document, as it sets out the GLA's expectations

COMMUNITY LED DEVELOPMENT

- Works best to engage community but retain experience and expertise with the council
- Community led schemes take longer and are more complicated to deliver, and priorities might not be in line with council (example: car users and garage sites)
- Strong policy and political will are necessary to overcome initial hurdles and get project going
- Can be successful on small scale, but on bigger schemes too much guidance and input from experts is needed that in the end the scheme becomes less community led
- Andover Estate: council supported community, but in the end the project was leading nowhere and was not very feasible and sensitive from planning perspective

GUIDANCE

- Deputy mayor of London used to be the executive member in Islington for housing and development -> A lot of the political agenda setting in Islington is now to some extent rolled out across London as part of the GLAs way of delivering regeneration
- Example: expected process of thorough option appraisal and preference for partial regeneration instead of full redevelopment

VIENNA

Andreas Novy

WU Wien

- Personal communication on 22th March 2017 -

Keywords: Red Vienna, housing policy, neoliberalism

SOZIALISTISCHES ERBE

- Im internationalen Vergleich stellt Wien noch immer einen Nachzügler, eine Ausnahme dar: Hält am Wohlfahrtsmodell fest, das in der Nachkriegszeit überall in Europa dominierte
- Egalitäre Stadt, positiver Einfluss auf die Lebensqualität
- Insbesondere im Bereich des Wohnbaus
 - > Unitary model: öffentlicher/sozialer Wohnbau als Wohlfahrtsmodell für breitere Bevölkerungsgruppen
 - > Umfassende Versorgung auch der Mittelschicht, und nicht nur Fürsorge für die ärmsten Bevölkerungsschichten (/ = UK: Fürsorge und Residualsystem)
- Ausgeprägte Verwaltungsstruktur: Anfänge 20er Jahre
 - > Rotes Wien: Dezentralisierung der Macht des Bürgermeisters auf amtsführende Stadträte
 - > „Silostruktur“ hat sich erhalten: jeder Stadtrat hat sein eigenes „Reich“ (Wohnbaustadtrat, Stadtplanungsstadtrat)
 - > Kritik: Bürokratie, hoher Verwaltungsaufwand, Koordination zwischen den Stellen = Vom optimalen Ansatz einer vernetzten Verwaltungsstruktur noch viele Verbesserungsmöglichkeiten
 - > Positiv: Wien verfügt noch über die Verwaltungsressourcen für klassische stadtplanerische Aktivitäten und integrierte Ansätze, die in anderen Städten schon weggebrochen sind, Institutionen, die an die Gesamtheit der Stadt denken

NEOLIBERALER RICHTUNGSWECHSEL WIEN

- Annahme in Publikation in 2001, aufgrund folgender Entwicklungen
 - > Grundlagen für gleichwertige Lebensbedingungen im institutionellen Gefüge erodierten in den letzten 30 Jahren
 - > Austeritätspolitik seit den 1980er Jahren:

Einschränkungen in den verfügbaren Mitteln

> '96 Einstellung des Gemeindebaus; sozialer Wohnbau weitestgehend von Genossenschaften übernommen

- Institutionelle Umstrukturierung

> Auslöser: Maastricht-Kriterien (Senkung der Staatsdefizite)

> Keine wirklichen Privatisierungen, aber marktwirtschaftlichere Funktionsweise

> Stadeigentum wurde ausgelagert in privatrechtliche kommunale Betriebe (verblieben aber im Eigentum der Stadt); als Eigentümer trägt die Stadt Gewinne und Verluste

> Betroffene Stellen: Stadtwerke, Wiener Linien, Wiener Wohnen; Fonds Soziales Wien (Sozialbereich), Krankenanstaltenfonds (Gesundheitsbereich)

> Reduktion der vormalig ausgeprägten Verwaltungsstruktur

- Aktuelle Existenzgefährdung des Wiener Modells

> Sparen, Aufgabe öffentlichen Eigentums geht schrittweise an die Substanz

> Entwertung der Steuereinkommen: seit 2008 haben sich die städtischen Einnahmen nicht vergrößert

> Fulminantes Bevölkerungswachstum und Anstieg des Sozialhilfebudgets: 2015 +40.000

> Unterwanderung der bundeseinheitlichen Sozialhilfe durch andere Bundesländer (Maßnahme gegen Flüchtlinge): mehr Sozialhilfebezieher werden nach Wien ziehen

> Stadt müsste zusätzlich intensiv in Neubau und die dazugehörige Infrastruktur investieren, aber es fehlen die Mittel

> Möglichkeiten der Wohnunterstützung: kommunaler Selbstbau, Unterstützung des sozialen (Genossenschafts-) Wohnbaus und der zugehörigen Infrastruktur, Unterstützung des allgemeinen Wachstums

> In allen Bereichen werden massive Investitionen gebraucht die nicht da sind (Beispiel: niedrige Tarife, Erfolg und Überlastung der öffentlichen Verkehrsmittel)

> Ergebnis: es wird an verschiedensten Ecken gespart, was zu einem Vertrauensverlust der Bürger und

demokratischen Erosionsprozess führt
 > Im schlimmsten Falle könnte alles lawinenartig zusammenbrechen; oder man bekommt noch die Kurve (zusätzliche Einnahmen oder Einschnitte)
 > Tendenzen sozialer Polarisierung: Mittelschicht weicht ins Private aus

Gemeindebauten, Unter Sozialhilfegrenze:
 Mindestsicherung (=Mietskostenzuschüsse aus dem Sozialhilfebudget)
 > Migranten: EU-Bürger und Asylbewerber dürfen in den Gemeindebau, aber man muss mindesten 2 Jahre in Wien gelebt haben (Aktion gegen Asylbewerber; sozial problematisch); besser gestellte Migranten oft im Genossenschaftswohnbau
 > Die wirklich benachteiligten wohnen in Substandardwohnungen im privaten Mietmarkt

WIENER WOHNEN (GEMEINDEBAU)

- Verwaltungsänderungen
 - > nicht mehr Magistratsstelle, sondern Aktiengesellschaft die zur Gänze der Stadt Wien gehört
 - > Zuständig für die gesamte Gemeindebauverwaltung (Sanierung, Instandhaltung, Reinigung, Konfliktregulierung)
 - > Zusammenarbeit mit Wohnpartnern
 - > Hoffnung/Vorteil: mehr Flexibilität und Kosteneffizienz
 - > Nachteile: Betriebswirtschaftliche Logik - Einsparungen, Kostenerfordernisse, insbesondere im sozialen Bereich (Bsp.: weitestgehend Aufgabe von Hausbesorgern), Reduzierung auf das ‚vorgeschriebene Minimum‘; Tendenz die Mieter als Kunden zu sehen und Mieter mit Problemen als „lästige Kunden die man lieber loshätte“; Rückzug von sozialintegrativen Aufgaben; Betreuungsarbeit an das Sozialamt übergeben
- Finanzierung
 - > Aus den Mieten allein, Mieten unter dem Marktpreis
 - > Grund: Die Stadt muss keinen Gewinn erwirtschaften (Einnahmen nur zur Selbsterhaltung); Relativ geringe Ausgaben (Wohnungen stehen ja schon, nur die notwendigste Instandhaltung wird unternommen)
- Sozialer mix
 - > Mittelschichtsförderprogramm: 1/4 der Einwohner wohnt im Gemeindebau (auch Kritikpunkt, aber Voraussetzung für soziale Durchmischung)
 - > Mieten gleich (unter Marktniveau), unabhängig vom Einkommen
 - > Geringverdiener: Erleichterter Zugang zu

GENOSSENSCHAFTSWOHNBAU

- Andere Funktionsweise als englische und niederländische housing associations (30.000 Genossenschaftsbeitrag, und dann billige ‚Mieten‘: Hybridform in Eigentümerstruktur, aber gelten als ‚social housing‘)
- Beitrittskriterien: bestimmte Einkommensspanne (Mindesteinkommen um Sockelbeitrag zahlen zu können, Maximaleinkommen) wieder eher Mittelschichtsförderung
- Historisch gewachsen aus Parteiorganisationen
- Status als gemeinnützige Organisation
 - > Privilegien: Wohnbauförderung
 - > Auflagen: Mietpreise, Wohnqualitäten; Gewinne müssen reinvestiert werden

WOHNBAUFÖRDERUNG

- Aus dem Bundesbudget
- Objektförderung (eines der wenigen Länder) anstatt Mietskostenzuschuss
- Neu: man will wieder Gemeindebauten bauen = Trendwende (Regierungsabkommen von 2000 Gemeindebauten)

KRITIK AM WIENER SYSTEM

- Mittelschichtsförderung
- Aggressive Sozialstaatspolitik für die Mittelschicht (SPÖ und FPÖ): Abgrenzung nach unten, Verteidigung der Sozialleistungen für jene,

die schon im System sind

- Die Bedürftigsten fallen durch das Netz; Integrationsprobleme für alle die aus dem Mainstream fallen (+Probleme mit Obdachlosigkeit)

DAS IDEALE SYSTEM

- Aufbau auf den Errungenschaften des Roten Wien

> Großer „zivilisatorischer Fortschritt“, Idee einer Stadt für alle

> Auch damals kein großes Budget vorhanden, aber Priorisierung von Investitionen in Infrastruktur und Verbesserung des Lebensumfeldes der Menschen: Freizeit-, Kultur- und Bildungsangebot, zusätzlich zum Gemeindebau, ermöglichten ein gutes Leben mit relativ wenig Geld

- Reinterpretation des Roten Wiens: Grün-rotes Wien, Sozialökologisches Projekt

> Sozialintegration des roten Wien unter Bedingungen ökologischer Beschränkungen

> Neuer, kleinerer und erschwinglicher Wohnraum (flexiblere Bauvorschriften)

> Fokus auf das Wohnumfeld (nicht das ganze Leben spielt sich in der Wohnung ab): Feierräume, Gästezimmer

- Umverteilungsmaßnahmen

> Ziel: Kluft verringern, gleiche Lebenschancen für alle; als Teil der Gemeinschaft leistet jeder seinen Beitrag

> Luxussteuern etc.: Autoverkehr, Drittautos besteuern, Wohnraum und Immobilien besteuern (Einkommens- und Vermögenssteuer schwieriger einzuführen)

> Städtebauliche Verträge (wenn Investoren etwas bauen wollen müssen sie etwas für die Allgemeinheit beitragen)

> Kein Österreichweites Mietrecht, da unterschiedliche Bedürfnisse Stadt und Land

Daniel Glaser

Gemeinde Wien/IBA Team

- Personal communication on 23rd March 2017 -

Keywords: Soft urban renewal, housing policy, rent regulations, resident engagement, developer competition

SANFTE STADTERNEUERUNG

- Das Stadterneuerungsinstrument wurde in einer Zeit entwickelt in der Wien stark geschrumpft ist

- Akteure der Sanierung

> Bewohner (Mieter)

> Eigentümer (Privat, Wiener Wohnen, Gemeinnützige Bauvereinigungen)

> Stadt Wien: Wohnfonds Wien

- Wohnfonds Wien

> Gegründet in den 80er Jahren: Fonds für Stadterneuerung und Bodenbereitstellung

> Von der Stadt Wien kontrolliert, wickelt die Fördervergaben ab

> Finanziert sich selbst durch Beiträge und durch Grundstücksverkäufe: Billiger Aufkauf von meist

landwirtschaftlich und gewerblich genutzten Flächen die dann mit Preisaufschlag (aber noch zu leistbaren Konditionen) an geförderte Bauträger zur Verfügung gestellt werden

> System funktionierte lange Zeit gut, da der Fonds noch große Grundstücksreserven aus den 80ern hatte, als Grundstücke extrem günstig aufgekauft wurden

> Jetzt ist es schwieriger Grundstücke zu erwerben; es gibt zum Glück noch viele Reserven; und es ist auch immer wieder der Fall dass die Stadt Wien dem Wohnfonds Flächen überschreibt (Lagerplätze, Bahngelände)

> Zuständig auch für Qualitätskontrolle des Gebauten

Sanierungsablauf

- > Eigentümer möchte sanieren, bewirbt sich um Wohnfonds (Kontrolle Angemessenheit der Preise, Notwendigkeit der Maßnahmen; streng und vielleicht zu viel geprüft)
- > Bewirbt sich für Baugenehmigung zentral (MA 37 baurechtliche Prüfung)

MIETRECHT

- starker Schutz der Mieter
- Wohnungsseitige Renovierungsmaßnahmen (Heizsystem, Böden, Trittschalldämmung, Lüftung; Eingangstür und Fenster nicht) kann man als Mieter zu Eigenkosten (?) durchführen oder ablehnen
- Allgemeinbereich (Treppenhaus, Aufzug, Rauchfänger, Dach, Fassade, Fenster) ist Verantwortungsbereich des Eigentümers: Eigentümerpflicht, das Haus zu erhalten und laufend Verbesserungen zu machen; alle 30-40 Jahre größere Sanierung
- In Wien wird in bestehende Mietverträge nicht eingegriffen
 - > Können nicht wie in Deutschland (jährlich um bis zu 15%) an die ortsübliche Vergleichsmiete angepasst werden
 - > Wertgesicherte Mieten: dürfen nur um Inflationsniveau angehoben werden, auch wenn das Mietniveau, z.B. durch freifinanzierte Neubauten, rascher ansteigt: Mietniveau steigt in Wien sehr flach
 - > Aber: Mieterhöhung durch Sanierung darf man umlegen; der Sanierungsanstieg kann für jemanden, der schon lange in der Wohnung lebt prozentual sehr stark ansteigen

FINANZIERUNG VON GRÖßEREN SANIERUNGSMASSNAHMEN

- Eigentümer muss Rücklagen bilden, Erhaltungs- und Verbesserungsbeiträge erheben (Fonds für laufende Verbesserungen)
- Durch sehr niedrige Mieten (und bewusst niedrige Erhaltungsbeiträge) im sozialen Wohnbau wird aber sehr wenig angespart, deshalb geht sich das für größere Sanierungen nicht aus
- Sanierungsförderung des Wohnfonds Wien: je nach Förderschiene werden 1/3 bis zur Hälfte der Kosten abgedeckt
- Die restlichen Kosten werden auf die Mieter überwälzt
 - > Kalkulation auf m², umgelegt auf 10-15 Jahre, dann

wieder zurück auf Originalwert

- > Je nach Sanierungsart Mietsteigerungen pro m² Wohnfläche von ca. 2,5€ Neu vermietete Wohnungen starten bei Höchstmiete
- > Wenn ein Mieter die neue Miete nicht zahlen kann: Wohnbeihilfe (wenn Miete zu stark steigt und Mieter sehr einkommensschwach ist), Ersatzwohnungen
- > Die meisten Mieter können sich die Erhöhung schon leisten; haben sehr lange in sehr günstigen Wohnungen gewohnt und müssen jetzt in den sauren Apfel beißen

BEWOHNERBETEILIGUNG

- Rolle der Gebietsbetreuung
 - > Früher: Herantreten an Hauseigentümer und Anreize zur Sanierung geben/erklären
 - > Heutzutage sind die Eigentümer größer und professioneller und brauchen diese Form der Beratung nicht mehr: deshalb kaum eine Rolle mehr in der klassischen Sanierung, manchmal nicht Mieterinformation vor Ort, aber eher im kleinen und privaten Bereich
 - > Wiener Wohnen und große Genossenschaften haben selbst die Kapazitäten und das Know-How um Mieterbetreuung zu machen
- Ganz unterschiedlich, von jedem Eigentümer anders gehandhabt
 - > Bei einer Sanierung von Wiener Wohnen meist auf Informationsbasis
 - > Bei Neubau wird das von Bauträgern unterschiedlich gehandhabt
 - > „In größeren Projekten (ab 200/300 Wohnungen) macht so etwas schon Sinn“, Vermieter informieren dann ganz gezielt und versuchen auf die Wünsche der Mieter einzugehen
 - > Dies geschieht oft auf einem Level, wo es keine Frage der Kosten ist: wie genau der Innenhof gestaltet wird etc.
- Früher spielte Bewohnerbeteiligung eine Rolle, um mehr Punkte bei der Bewerbung um Wohnbauförderung zu bekommen und deshalb

vorgereicht zu werden (ca. 1 Jahr); Aber: früher gab es mehr Anträge und der Fördertopf war beschränkt, heute gibt es zu wenige Anträge und zu viel Geld, weshalb die Punktebewertung keinen Effekt mehr hat
- Bei größeren Baugebieten bietet die Stadt Beteiligungsmaßnahmen an (insbesondere Aspern oder Sonnwendviertel)

- > weniger als Mitgestaltung sondern eher als community building
- > Stadtteilmanagement in Zusammenarbeit von Stadt und Gebietsbetreuung
- > Erfahrung: Eingewöhnungsphase im neuen Stadtteil, erstmal wenig Interesse an Partizipation, nach zwei Jahren formen sich dann oft Mieterbeiräte*

- Auch manche Bauträger betreiben Moderation und Nachbarschaftsbildungsmaßnahmen: Ansprechpartner vor Ort von Zeit zu Zeit, Organisation von Festen, Unterstützung der Gründung von Vereinen, die Gemeinschaftsflächen betreiben und bespielen

- Grundsätzlich: meist als Angebot top down formuliert mit dem Ziel etwas auszulösen was sich selbst dann trägt

- Mieterbeiräte

- > Form der Mitbestimmung im Haus, wird gewählt
- > Vorteil: ein einziges Gegenüber und Ansprechpartner für den Eigentümer, erleichtert Verwaltung und Kommunikation
- > Es gibt das Recht einen zu gründen, aber es ist keine Pflicht

KONFLIKTREGULIERUNG

- Wenn Bewohner finden, dass die Sanierung unnötig oder die Mieterhöhungen zu hoch sind, können sie zur Schlichtungsstelle gehen und Einspruch erheben

- Schlichtungsstelle

- > Service der Stadt Wien (MA 50), gratis
- > Versucht zwischen Bewohner und Eigentümer zu vermitteln
- > Prüft Maßnahmen und Kosten („sind die Rücklagen richtig gebildet worden?“)
- > Trifft Entscheidungen zur Angemessenheit der Sanierung;

Ergebnis bindend

> Oft wird in dem Prozess dann nachverhandelt (z.B. community center wird nicht renoviert)

> Wenn Mieter das Ergebnis nicht akzeptiert, kann man vor Gericht gehen, allerdings ist das mit Kosten verbunden

- Problematik

> Unterschiedliche Wahrnehmungen und Zeitfenster Mieter und Vermieter

> Vermieter: langfristiges Interesse am Zustand des Gebäudes; möchte nicht alle 5 Jahre Kleinstreparaturen durchführen

> Mieter: individuelle Interessen, Kostenersparnis; eher bremsend meistens

> Aber oft sind die Mieter, die Protestieren, nur wenige Einzelleute; dann muss abgewägt werden

ABRISS VS. SANIERUNG

- Abriss im geförderten Bereich sehr selten, nur die Baustruktur extrem schlecht ist und die Sanierung zu viel Geld kosten würde (im Privatbereich anders)

- Wiener Plattenbauten: späte 60er, 70er: von guter Qualität; wenn bautechnisch alles gut ist sind Mängel im Sozialraum kein Grund das wiederzuentwickeln

- Kommentar zu London (Redevelopment, um den Stadtraum zu verbessern): Es ist wichtiger durch kleinere Interventionen im öffentlichen Raum am Image zu arbeiten (Beispiel: als die sanfte Stadterneuerung begonnen wurde, waren die Gründerzeitlichen Viertel nicht sehr attraktiv, und alle wollten an den Stadtrand ziehen; durch Investitionen insbesondere auch in den öffentlichen Raum wurde das Image verbessert und diese Gegenden sind heute sehr gefragt)

GEGENWÄRTIGE SITUATION DER STADT WIEN

- Stadtwachstum: man muss in den Neubau investieren, und alles was in Sanierung ausgegeben fehlt im Neubau

- Neues Gemeindebauprogramm läuft an

> aber vor 2020 wird nicht viel fertig

- > finanziert über Wohnbauförderung auf bundeslandebene
- > Durchgeführt durch stadteigene Wohnbaugesellschaft WIGEBa Wiener Gemeindebauerrichtungsgesellschaft
- > WIGEBa kann bei Ausschreibungen flexibler agieren (als z.B. Wiener Wohnen als Teil der öffentlichen Verwaltung)
- > Unterliegt nicht dem strengen Bundesvergabegesetz im öffentlichen Sektor=Keine Möglichkeit der Nachverhandlung (es gibt einen Zuschlag, und das muss gebaut werden)
- > in der Privatwirtschaft wird mit den ersten drei Baufirmen verhandelt, nachgeschärft, ausdetailliert; dann ‚last and final offer‘ und Vergabe
- > Weiterer Vorteil: Personalflexibilität (Stadt Wien starke Dienststellenpläne, „Verwaltung reduzieren“)

INNOVATION

- Wohnbau ist kein Feld für Stararchitekten, die müssen sich woanders ausleben; im Wohnbau geht es um andere Dinge:
 - > softe Lösungen, weniger um die Fassade - Programmierung wichtiger als gestalterische Aspekte
 - > Zusammenleben, innovative Grundrisse, neue Wohnformen
- Innovation wird an den privaten Sektor gegeben, und vom öffentlichen kontrolliert und bewertet: Bauträgerwettbewerbe
 - > Davor: Wohnbaumittel aus Kontingenten verteilt, zugewiesen an gewisse Bauträger um Wohnbau zu betreiben
 - > Nicht sehr innovationsfördernd; Bauträger: „Wir wissen wie die Leute wohnen wollen, wie man das bauen kann“
 - > Nicht sehr transparent; Unterstützung eingefahrener Strukturen
 - > Deshalb: 1995 Einführung der Bauträgerwettbewerbe: Als Bauträger musste man sich von da an für ein Grundstück bewerben und hat das nicht mehr automatisch bekommen
 - > Anwendung für alle Grundstücke die die Stadt Wien über Wohnfonds für sozialen Wohnungsbau bereitstellt
 - > Instrument für Genossenschaftsbau; für den neuen Gemeindebau fungiert die WIGEBa als Bauträger, deshalb

nur Architekturwettbewerbe)

- > Ausschreibung beinhaltet Anzahl Wohnungen sowie z.T. bestimmte Themen(z.B. junges Wohnen, interkulturelles Wohnen) (Ein solches Thema macht das Projekt nicht gleich zur Themensiedlung); besonderes Augenmerk Leistbarkeit
- > Bewusst offene Ausschreibung, , aufgrund der Erfahrung: je konkreter die Anforderungen, desto mehr Checklistmentalität
- > Es wird erwartet, dass sich Architekten und Bauträger dann etwas interessantes dazu einfallen lassen
- > Der Gewinner gewinnt verpflichtet er sich mit Wohnbaufördermitteln zu bauen und die Auflagen zu erfüllen (= Mindestanzahl geförderte Wohnungen, 35 Jahre Kostenmiete)
- > Kein Ausschluss von privaten Investoren: Ziel der Ideenförderung, Anreize für den gemeinnützigen Sektor; aber nachteilig für die Soziale Nachhaltigkeit: Gemeinnützige werden auch nach 35 Jahren leistbaren Wohnraum anbieten, Private nicht

- 4 Säulenmodell

- > Architektur, Ökologie, Ökonomie, Soziale Nachhaltigkeit
- > Jedes Projekt von der Jury anhand dieser Säulen beurteilt; man versucht Balance zwischen den Säulen zu finden
- > Bsp. Soziale Nachhaltigkeit: Beteiligungsmöglichkeiten, community building, Gemeinschaftsräume, Dachterrasse= was ist an diesem Standort zu vernünftigen Kosten möglich?

- Jury

- > Bauträgerwettbewerbsjury und Grundstücksbeirat für 4 Jahre bereitgestellt, Hälfte wechselt alle 2 Jahre
- > Vertreter von Architektur, Landschaftsplanung, Soziologie, Bauökologie, MA50 (Förderstelle), Wohnfonds Wien, Baudirektion, Investor/Bauträger; Experten zu jeder Säule, zu Spezialthemen punktuell Experten

- Vorteile

- > Übertragung von Wissen, Eingliederung von Erfahrungen in die Standardpraxis (jedes Jahr werden Ergebnisse

publiziert, und man orientiert sich daran)

> „Wettbewerb der Qualitäten“ anstatt Preiswettbewerb (von Anfang an ausgeschlossen, da festgesetzt ist: der Wohnfonds wird dieses Grundstück zu maximal 300€/m²

Wohnnutzfläche verkaufen; d.h. der Bauträger bewirbt sich für dieses Grundstück mit einem Projekt und ist sicher, dieses Grundstück zu einem fixen Preis zu bekommen)

> Konditionen der Leistbarkeit sind nicht verhandelbar

- Kritik/Problematik (u.a. auch aus IBA Talk)

> Manchmal ist die Qualität der Bewerbungen nicht ausreichend; oder nur der erste Platz gut

> Kein breiter Wettbewerb, nur 3 oder 4 Bewerber

> Eingefahren: immer die gleichen Bewerber mit ähnlichen Konzepten; immer die gleichen Architekten ‚die mit Bauträgern gut können‘: neuer Standard der nicht mehr diskutiert wird

> Trennung von Kostenschätzung und Design: Architekten sind nicht an den Baukosten der Gebäude beteiligt und somit geht Know How verloren

> Bei alten Gebäuden, die jetzt eigentlich saniert werden sollen ist das schon ausfinanziert, da kann man ohne Beitrag einziehen

> Personengesellschaft die sich dadurch auszeichnet dass jeder Kopf eine Stimme hat, aber unabhängig von Einzahlbeitrag

- Zahlen

> 78 Gemeinnützige

> 180.000 Wohnungen

> Bauen ca. 5000 Wohnungen im Jahr

- Einfluss auf Stadtentwicklung

> Wenn man langfristig bezahlbaren Wohnraum abliefern will braucht man Akteure die mit wenig Rendite bereit sind Wohnbau zu betreiben: das sind Öffentliche oder Gemeinnützige Bauträger

> Gemeinnützige Bauträger ideal, da diese flexibler sind und schneller auf Marktänderungen reagieren können; als Stadt ist es unmöglich 7.000 Wohnungen im Jahr zu bauen
> in Wien gibt es mit dem Gemeinnützigen Investoren die bereit sind mit 1,5% Rendite Wohnbau zu errichten, und einer Abschreibungszeit von 35 Jahren

> Das führt dazu, dass man ‚günstiger‘ und leistbarer bauen kann

> Es ist im Interesse der Stadt, solche Akteure zu fördern, um dem privaten Sektor Konkurrenz zu machen (Die sagen, z.B. in Deutschland: „Wir könnten Wohnungsnot lösen, aber wir brauchen Grundstücke, Steuererleichterungen etc.; und wenn keine Alternativen da sind, muss man diesen Forderungen nachkommen, da Politik diese großen Zahlen braucht)

> Wenn die gemeinnützigen Partner ausreichend vorhanden sind, hat der öffentliche Sektor Druckmittel: „entweder ihr akzeptiert diese Bedingungen, oder ihr baut gar nicht, weil wir euch die Genehmigung nicht erteilen“: Als Stadt hat man über Baurecht/Bebauungs- und Flächenwidmungspläne viel Spielraum

GEMEINNÜTZIGE BAUTRÄGER

- Gemeinnützige Bauvereinigungen: Aktiengesellschaften, GmbHs, Genossenschaften, privatrechtliche juristische Personen

- Unterwerfen sich dem Wohnungsgemeinnützigkeitsgesetz und können sich dann gemeinnützige Wohnbauvereinigung nennen

- Rechte:

> Körperschaftssteuerbefreit

> Verbesserter Zugang zu öffentlichen Grundstücken

- Pflichten/Auflagen:

> Gewinnbeschränkt: dürfen maximal 3,5%

Eigentkapitalrendite haben (gegenwärtig 1,5%)

> Baupflicht (müssen Geld wieder in Wohnbau rückinvestieren)

> Maximalgehälter von Aufsichtsrat etc.

- Besonderheit Genossenschaften

> Mieter müssen einen Aufnahmebeitrag zahlen

DESIGN ZUR FÖRDERUNG DES NACHBARSCHAFTSZUSAMMENHALTS

- Gestaltung wird überbewertet; gute Nachbarschaften können in ungestalteten Wohnbauten entstehen
- Wichtiger: Programmierung – „Wo schaffe ich welche Räume die von den Bewohnern genutzt werden können?“ (Innenräume, Gemeinschaftsanlagen, öffentlicher Raum)
- Weniger ist mehr, sonst wird zu viel Nutzung vordeterminiert
- Notwendig: gewisse Robustheit der Materialien
- Interessantes Beispiel: Sonnwendviertel Helmut Zilk Park – Bäckereiterrasse als Treffpunkt der Nachbarschaft
- Sozialer Mix
 - > Konflikte gehören in einer Nachbarschaft dazu; Konfliktvermeidung sollte nicht ein Gestaltungsgrundsatz sein
 - > Soziale Homogenität führt zu weniger Konflikten, ist aber kein Charakteristikum urbaner Vielfalt

Reinhard Seiß

Urban plus

- Personal communication on 24th March 2017 -

Keywords: Housing, Vienna urban development, planning practice, criticism

WIENER WOHNBAU

- ‚Good practice‘, was sozialpolitische Komponente des Wohnbaus angeht
- Positiv: Es wird leistbarer Wohnraum modernisiert und errichtet
 - > Diese wichtige kommunale Aufgabe wird gut erledigt
 - > In Wien hat Wohnbau als Sozialpolitik eine lange Tradition, die sich nicht einfach wegschieben lässt und für die es auf politischer Ebene noch ausreichend Unterstützung gibt

- ABER:

- > Dies ist auch dem Erbe von rund 220.000 Gemeindebauten zu verdanken, die die untersten Einkommensschichten auffangen können
- > 1990er: Einstellung des Gemeindebaus und Überantwortung des Neubaus an den privaten Sektor (wenngleich mehrheitlich mit öffentlichen Förderungen und zeitlich befristeten Preisbindungen); Privatisierungen von Gemeindebauten waren in Diskussion
- > Viel Geld fließt vom öffentlichen in den privaten Sektor durch nicht immer transparente Kooperationen, Grundstücksdeals etc. mit „Günstlingen der lokalen Szene“
- Neoliberale Tendenzen auch in Wien vorhanden, kein Hort unbedingter sozialdemokratischer Politik (Beispiel: Sell an Lease Back-Geschäfte in Wiens öffentlichem Verkehr)
 - > „Diese Dinge werden nicht groß diskutiert, dabei gäbe es in Wien einige Sümpfe trocken zu legen“
- Aus stadtplanerischer Sicht ist der Wiener Wohnbau jedoch recht mittelmäßig
 - > Defizite und Mängel neuer Wohngebiete nicht nur Versagen der Wohnbaupolitik, sondern auch der Stadtplanungspolitik: kaum einmal ein Anspruch, den in großem Umfang produzierten (und geförderten) Wohnbau mit urbanen Qualitätsvorstellungen zu verknüpfen (Nutzungsdurchmischung, Unabhängigkeit vom Auto, Freiraumqualität)
 - > Wohnen funktioniert, aber an allem darum herum herrscht großer Aufholbedarf
 - > Seestadt Aspern: Der erste Versuch, nach 20 Jahren der „Ignoranz stadtplanerischer / städtebaulicher Qualitätskriterien“ erstmals wieder ‚Städtebau‘ in einem Stadterweiterungsgebiet zu praktizieren („Nebeneinander von guten Entwicklungen, die überfällig waren, und „Altlasten“ des Planens und Bauens in Wien, die noch immer den Wohn- und Städtebau bestimmen“)

PLANUNGSPROZESS

- Städtebaulicher Planungsprozess

- > Nicht die Regel, aber allzu oft / immer wieder: Investor möchte etwas bauen; Stadt hat keine Vorstellung, was sie dort möchte, und ist deshalb gezwungen zu RE-agieren (meist mit anschließender Rechtfertigung und Sanktionierung von Investorenwünschen, siehe oben); aktuell passiert dies z.B. beim Hochhausprojekt am Gelände des Wiener Eislaufvereins in der UNESCO-Weltkulturerbezone
- > Bei diesem konkreten Beispiel wurden ein kooperatives Planungsverfahren und ein Architekturwettbewerb vom Investor „inszeniert“, und zwar so, dass auch ganz bestimmt das ‚richtige‘ rauskommt
- > In der Folge wurden bei diesem Projekt die fragwürdigen Ergebnisse der gesteuerten Entwurfsprozesse von der Stadt bereitwillig als Grundlage für den Flächennutzungsplan übernommen, Kritiken und Einsprüche werden mit fadenscheinigen „Argumenten“ wegdiskutiert; übergeordnete Konzepte, die dem Projekt im Wege stehen, nachträglich angepasst / neu verfasst, sodass es keine Widersprüche mehr gibt.

- Wohnbau

- > Auch die Stadt stellt Grundstücke bereit, auf denen leistbar sozialer Wohnbau betrieben werden kann; Ankauf von Grundstücken zu diesem Zweck durch den Wiener Wohnfonds
- > Aber auch die Bauträger kaufen Grundstücke: Der von ihnen bezahlte Grundstückspreis bestimmt dann faktisch die städtebauliche Dichte, da es im geförderten Wohnbau einen Maximalwert der anteiligen Grundstückskosten pro Quadratmeter Wohnfläche gibt: sprich, auf teurem Grund muss höher / dichter gebaut werden, damit dieser Maximalwert nicht überschritten wird. Eine weitere Spielart, die Grundstückskosten (nicht immer transparent) aufzuteilen, ist der in den letzten Jahren üblich gewordene Mix von geförderten und freifinanzierten

Wohnungen in ein und demselben Bau. Eng gestaffelte Sozialwohnungen im Sockel dieser Häuser bilden dann oft das „Podest“ für großzügige freifinanzierte Wohnungen darüber mit attraktiven Terrassen, Sonne und Ausblick.

> Dieses Modell wird als Bemühen um eine soziale Durchmischung der Wohnbauten argumentiert

- Es braucht eine bessere Bodenpolitik, um dieses Dilemma zu lösen!

> Aber das Gegenteil ist der Fall: mangelnde Transparenz, keine Effizienzanalyse im Wiener Wohnbau sowie am Grundstücksmarkt für den sozialen Wohnbau (z.B immer wieder mal ein günstiger Grundstücksankauf durch eine dubiose Gesellschaft und kurze Zeit später der teure Weiterverkauf an einen Wohnbauträger, der diese Kosten natürlich auf die Mieter / Käufer umwälzt; Kritiker vermuten, der Wohnbauträger hätte die Liegenschaft auch schon früher selbst günstig erwerben können ...)

> Besser: vormaliges niederländisches/Amsterdamer System: Kein privates Bauland; rigorose Handhabung von Grundstücksspekulation und Vermeidung übermäßiger Bodenpreissteigerung im Wohnbau; Umwidmung zu Wohnbauland wurde nur dann gewährt, wenn das Grundstück bereits im Besitz eines gemeinnützigen Bauträgers war (=Verkauf zu Preisen vor Wertsteigerung durch Flächennutzungsplanänderung)

> Wien/Österreich verfügen aber über keine effizienten Instrumente in dieser Richtung

KRITIK AN DER WIENER PLANUNGSKULTUR

- Mangel an Transparenz, Stringenz und Seriosität seitens der Politik, an Professionalität und Sachorientierung: „kein Bewusstsein für Qualität und Redlichkeit“

- Seit 2007 („Wer baut Wien?“) hat sich im Wesentlichen nichts geändert

> Es geht um (egoistische) wirtschaftliche und politische Interessen, aber es gibt kaum eine Qualitätsorientierung mit der Ambition, etwas ‚gut‘ zu machen

> Stadt wenig proaktiv: städtebauliche Entwicklung von

- Investoren bestimmt; Richtlinien werden im Nachhinein angepasst und verändert
 - > Verbesserungen entstehen meist nur nach wiederholt negativen Erfahrungen (obwohl man längst wüsste, wie man etwas besser machen müsste)
- Sehr situative, teils auch willkürliche Stadtentwicklung, aber großer Aufwand seitens der Stadtverwaltung, den Eindruck einer großen Stadtplanungskultur zu erwecken
- Mangel an Umsetzungswille der eigenen Konzepte („Ablenkungs- und Selbstberuhigungsmanöver):
 - > Stadt Wien verfügt über stadtplanerische Konzepte für alle möglichen Bereiche und auch über relativ starke finanzielle Förderschienen, aber es fehlt an Ernsthaftigkeit
 - > Kein Rückgrat der Politik, im Städtebau und Wohnbau, die postulierten Qualitätsvorstellungen auch tatsächlich umzusetzen
 - > Stadtplanerische Parole: Alles ist möglich! (zb im aktuellen Hochhauskonzept)
- Zudem: keine räumliche strukturelle Vorstellung der Stadt
 - > „Politik hat seit 20 Jahren keine konkreten, geschweige denn verbindliche Konzepte und Qualitätsvorstellungen mehr entwickelt“
 - > Kein stringentes räumliches Leitbild oder brauchbares Hochhauskonzept (à la München oder London's Sichtachsen), lediglich diffuse Andeutungen
- Mangel an demokratischer Kultur
 - > Defizit in Wien/Österreich; nicht auf dem Stande anderer westeuropäischer Staaten
 - > Wiens Partizipationsrichtlinien (erst von den Grünen eingeführt) „auf dem Stand der 1970er“: Information, moderierte Veranstaltungen (= „PR“), Ausstellungen, z.T. auch Projektpropaganda
 - > Keine Ergebnisoffenheit in Bürgerbeteiligungsprozessen
 - > Aber: kein Bewusstsein des Mangels seitens der Akteure
- ‚Selbst-Jurierung‘
 - > „In Wien hat es eine große Tradition dass man sich selbst

kontrolliert“

- > Experten in Stadtplanungs- und Wohnbaubeiräten in Wien alle wirtschaftlich mit der Stadt verbunden (Wiener Bauträger; Architekten, die in Wien bauen; ...)
- > Gremien tagen hinter verschlossenen Türen
- > Besseres Beispiel: Gestaltungsbeirat in Salzburg: tagt öffentlich; ausschließlich mit Experten besetzt, die nicht wirtschaftlich mit der Stadt verbunden sind
- Befangenheit‘ der Politik
 - > „Zusammenarbeit“ mit Investoren, statt neutrale Rolle als Vermittler zwischen Bauherrn und Betroffenen
 - > „Zusammenarbeit“ mit Medien (umfangreiches Inseratenaufkommen der Politik und der Immobilienwirtschaft schafft günstigen Wind für Planungs- und Wohnbaupolitik sowie für Großprojekte)

KRITIK AN WIENER AKTEUREN UND MECHANISMEN

- Architektur

- > Beispiel Slim City: „Architekten missverstehen Aufgabenstellung im sozialen Wohnbau und forcieren ihre eigenen künstlerischen Ambitionen und eine eitle Hinwendung zum Äußerlichen
- > Wesentlicher Antrieb: Etwas Neues, nie Dagewesenes zu bauen – „Der Zwang, selbst im sozialen Wohnungsbau Baukunst zu schaffen, führt zu absurden Lösungen, die selbst die alten Konventionen wie ‚Licht, Luft, Sonne‘ ignorieren“; und die Medien heben sie dann auch noch auf Podest (womit das Kalkül aufgeht: Bauen fürs Feuilleton anstatt für die Bewohner)

- Baugruppen

- > Breitere Baugruppenbewegung seit ca. 5 Jahren
- > Positive Vorreiterprojekte, zeigen die Mittelmäßigkeit des herkömmlichen Wohnbaus auf, sind deutlich sach- und menschenorientierter als viele architektonische Allüren / bauwirtschaftliche Banalitäten und Ignoranzen im klassischen Wohnbau

> Anfänge: Mitbestimmungsprojekte von Ottokar Uhl, Wohnhof Ottakring, ...

> frühe Best Practices: Sargfabrik und Miss Sargfabrik, autofreie Mustersiedlung

> jetzt: 2 Projekte Nordbahnhof; 6 Projekte in Aspern; künftig auch im zweiten, nun folgenden Teil des Sonnwendviertels

- Bauträgerwettbewerbe

> Kritik: Es treten oft die immer selben Architekten an, die mit den Bauträgern gut können

> Positiv: Das Instrument wurde in den letzten Jahren immer wieder erneuert; positive Versuche, es zu verbessern, auch in städtebaulicher Hinsicht

- Rolle der EU

> In Österreich werden EU-Richtlinien oft auf eine eigene Weise interpretiert; Bsp.: Umweltverträglichkeitsprüfung

> Politik sorgt dafür, dass EU-Vorgaben nicht ganz so streng erfüllt werden müssen

> Um die für eine UVP maßgebliche Größe eines Projekts kleiner zu machen, werden Projekte in Teilstücke aufgeteilt

> UVP-Prüfer werden hierzulande kaum einmal etwas

finden, dass die Projektumsetzung verhindert, wenn es von der Politik bereits beschlossen wurde

> Beispiel: Einkaufszentrum auf grüner Wiese nördlich von Wien (G3 in Gerasdorf)

WAS MUSS SICH ÄNDERN?

- Nicht unbedingt die planerischen Instrumente; man müsste die eigenen Instrumente und Konzepte nur respektieren und umsetzen

- Mehr Redlichkeit, Sachlichkeit, Transparenz nötig (es fehlt an der grundsätzlichen Bereitschaft zu Qualität)

- Verbesserte Bodenpolitik (s.o.)

- Radikalerer Umgang mit spekulativen Investments; Investments aus Bürobauten in den Wohnbau umleiten (durch attraktivere Steuermodelle etc.)

- Größere Ernsthaftigkeit in der Diskussion von Projekten im Vorfeld

(Beispiel Schweiz): Anrainerrechte, Markttauglichkeit, stadtstrukturelle Effekte, ...

- stärkere Nutzungsorientierung und Fokus auf Haltbarkeit und Langlebigkeit

BEISPIELPROJEKTE

- Jüngstes kontroverses Projekt: Intercontinental Hotel / Wiener Eislaufverein

> Am Heumarkt, in UNESCO Weltkulturerbezone

> „Hochhaus, für das es keine Notwendigkeit gibt außer den Begehrlichkeiten des Investors“; keine inhaltliche, stadtplanerische und städtebauliche Grundlage

> Planerische Rechtfertigung im Nachhinein

> Projekt widersprach dem Wiener Hochhauskonzept, wurde aber seit 2012 mit Unterstützung der Stadt verfolgt, Architekturwettbewerb unter fragwürdigen Voraussetzungen

> Erst im Nachhinein wurde 2014 ein neues

Hochhauskonzept beauftragt, dem der Bau nicht widerspricht, wodurch die Planungen nachträglich gerechtfertigt wurden

> „Skandalös, wie die Stadt mit Prinzipien der Stadtplanung und ihren eigenen Instrumentarien umgeht“, Indikator für die grundlegenden Mängel der Wiener Planungskultur

> Was fehlte, war ein breiter und öffentlicher

Diskussionsprozess, statt dessen wird „verschlagen herumargumentiert“

> „Sündenfall der Grünen als Hoffnungsträger einer anderen Planungskultur“, Entfremdung der Parteispitze von ihrer Basis

> „Willfähigkeit“ von Universitätsprofessoren, die als Auftragnehmer dieses Projekt unterstützen und rechtfertigen

- Sonnwendviertel

> Erste Entwicklungsphase: „städtebauliche Banalität / Wüstung“, „Dinosaurierstädtebau“; Mangelnde Nutzungsdurchmischung

> Konzentration der einzelnen Funktionen in gesonderten Quartieren rund um den Hauptbahnhof, Büro- und

Hotelviertel, Wohnviertel, Einkaufszentrum, großer Park,
 ...: Monofunktional

- > Im Wohngebiet wenige Erdgeschosslokale, von denen einige leer stehen (Problem: 2.5m Erdgeschosshöhe unattraktiv für Einzelhandel, Dienstleister und Gastronomie)
- > Verkehrsaffiner öffentlicher Raum: Beidseitig beparkte Nebengassen trotz Tiefgaragen, zu breite Hauptverkehrsstraßen
- > Unnutzbare wohnbezogene Freiräume
- > Determinierende ‚Gestaltung‘ von Restflächen statt simpler, freier, mehrfach beispielbarer großzügiger Flächen
- > Grund: Kontrolle, Konflikt- und Lärmvermeidung, übertriebene Bebauungsdichte, Ende des Denkens der Wohnbauträger an ihren Grundstücksgrenzen; Versuch der Renditemaximierung des Bodens (ursprgl. im Eigentum der ÖBB, die Geld für die Errichtung des neuen Bahnhofs brauchte); veraltete Planungsgesinnung, verkehringenieurslastige Planung; Ignoranz und kurzfristige Bauträgerinteressen (EG-Nutzung als Verkomplizierung und potentieller Ruhestörfaktor)
- > Stadt forderte keine höhere Qualität ein
- > Zweite Entwicklungsphase: Fokus auf Baugruppen und von Bauträgern errichtete, multifunktionale Stadthäuser
- > Ziel: Nutzungsdurchmischung
- > Nutzungskonzept für die Erdgeschosszone als Eingangskriterium für den Bauträgerwettbewerb: Bauträger müssen bereits einen (Vor-)Vertragspartner an Bord haben, der die Erdgeschosszone bespielt
- > Hoffnung: Beginn einer längst überfälligen Kooperation zwischen Wohnbau und Städtebau

Freiraum

> „Offenbarung zynischer Architektenallüren“: Design über Nutzbarkeit; Stadt lässt soetwas durchgehen

- Donaucity

- > „Investorenstädtebau“, vergleichbar mit Londons Docklands
- > Ursprünglicher Masterplan wurde nicht umgesetzt
- > Projektverlauf: Areal von Stadt an private Entwicklungsgesellschaft der Investoren übertragen – zu Pauschalpreis (dervon einer maximalen Bruttogeschossfläche ausging)
- > Qualitätsansprüche der Stadt beschränkten sich lediglich auf eine Nutzungsaufschlüsselungen (%an Kultur, Wissenschaft, Wohnen, Büros,); aber „Städtebau bewusst offen gehalten, um Kreativität der Architekten nichts in den Weg zu stellen“
- > Was passierte: Geschossfläche wurde überschritten (ohne dass die Stadt Nachzahlungen forderte), Nutzungsaufschlüsselung ignoriert (kaum Kultur und Wissenschaft)
- > Im Nachhinein Masterplan von Dominique Perreault, der das Gebaute rechtfertigt

- Aspern Slim City

- > Winzige Abstände zwischen Baukörpern: Verschattung und Mangel an Privatsphäre
- > Dreieckige, auf einer Seite zugemauerte Balkone; Laubengangerschließung wird durch spröde „Gestaltung“ zu simplem Fluchtweg anstatt zu zusätzlichem attraktivem

AMSTERDAM

Kees Visser

Gemeente Amsterdam

- Personal communication on 30th March 2017 -

Key words: Urban planning, financial crisis, urban renewal, Nieuw West, resident engagement

URBAN PLANNING IN AMSTERDAM

- Plan making before the crisis

- > Urban renewal plans for urban renewal areas (several in Nieuw West): analysing social problems, housing, urban space – where to take action
- > Uitwerkingsplan = 'Masterplan': indication of open space design and demolition and refurbishment of specific buildings

- Governance changes

- > 2010 Merging of districts: creation of Nieuw West (Bureau Parkstad became obsolete)
- > Legal changes for housing corporations (Rijksoverheid): Not allowed to invest in private housing anymore = need to rethink projects
- > Changes in aim: HAs want to build social housing again as they cannot invest in private housing anymore

- Plan making now (since 2014)

- > 2014 Local authorities do not make local plans anymore, instead larger structural planning
- > Amsterdam 2040 central structural vision as main planning document
- > Koers 2015: Local government plan, Goal: Amsterdam needs 50.000 new houses until 2025 = new framework to revise plans accordingly
- > Main focus: New built districts like Ijburg, old industrial areas like Westhaven
- > Intensification/Densification (demolition and new build) takes up only small part

> District plan: No local plans anymore (such as the renewal plan for Nieuw West)

> Nieuw West is developing area visions (for Geuzeveld, Jacob Geelbuurt, ...) – but stay within policies of the Structuurvisie and have to be approved by municipality

> These visions are rather used as flexible guidance than fixed plans

> Beeldkwaliteitsplan: spatial guidelines for new built and renovation within cultural heritage area, open space masterplan

- Collaboration between different actors

> On different scales and levels

> City-wide agreements: Kaderafspraken: Agreement between residents, housing corporations and municipality (Topics: Housing policy, minimum requirements on resident participation for different phases of plan making and construction)

> Project level: more concrete collaboration between municipality and representatives of the concerned housing corporations

> If residents are not satisfied and feel the principles of the Kaderafspraken have not been fully implemented, they can report to the 'Klachtencommissie'; otherwise first contact points for complaints would be the project group, housing corporation or district council

- Tender procedure

> Municipality is required to undertake tender for unbuilt land it wants to develop

> In the case of plots designated for social housing: Generally, housing associations will decide among themselves who will apply (only one application!); this stands in relation with the municipality that wants housing corporations less spread out, not 10 corporations in one area

> In case of mixed tenure development (most): Either: different parties apply for sub-pieces; or: developer and housing corporation would work together, corporation apply

- for social, developer for the rest
- Stimulation of social housing construction
 - > City owns land and leases it to developers
 - > For social housing the rent is less than middle class housing = stimulation to also build social housing
- Stimulation/Control of building quality
 - > Bouwbesluit: regulations from Rijksoverheid: minimum standards for housing
 - > When giving planning permission, municipality checks application on these standards
 - > In the past, Amsterdam had its own regulations but is not allowed to have that anymore
- Stimulation of innovation
 - > Municipality can set requirements in the tender document
 - > For example: zero-energy standards, housing categories, materials
 - > Proposal has to fit within 'Bestemmingsplan' (land use, program, building height) and the municipal policies and goals
 - > Brief can be open ("We have a piece of land, give us suggestions!") or define already building shape, heights etc. where strategically relevant
 - > However, how much the municipality can demand depends on the location (there is a lot of demand to build in the centre, in Nieuw West expectations cannot be set that high)

NIEUW WEST BEFORE/AFTER CRISIS

- Before crisis
 - > At the time the IJburg was created, there was the concern that more and more people would leave Nieuw West and the area would become more deprived: housing corporations and the municipality decided to take action
 - > Creation of Bureau Parkstad to coordinate development
 - > Overall Plan Richting Parkstadt 2015: vision of large scale demolition and restructuring

- > Monitoring: traffic light reports: what is the state of this area - social and physical components? Is it worse compared to other areas in Amsterdam?
- > If so, investment is needed - better schools, open spaces, playgrounds, social activities, but also better houses
- During crisis (2009/10)
 - > Plan split up into small projects; many projects stopped; projects got smaller
 - > Housing corporations at that time were unable to invest in large scale renewal, the private sector was not interested in building: More focus on self-building and refurbishment
 - > SB (socialist party) in government: preference for renovation
- End of the crisis?
 - > Since 2010: taking up of plans that were previously determined (Jacob Geelbuurt, etc.) with in new frameworks
 - > "Money is coming back in" - As market is recovering, the opportunities for community housing and self-built become less: "city follows the money"
 - > Increasing housing need, supported by municipality and Koers 2025 makes demolition and densification more attractive; discussion between municipality housing corporations who still have a preference for refurbishment

HOUSING/URBAN REGENERATION

- Financing
 - > Renovation as well as demolition and new build paid for by the housing corporation
 - > Subsidies especially for renovation (20% of the costs)
 - > Rents rise: Agreement on level of rent rises in social plan together with resident committee (70% have to agree - when they are not, there is no renovation...); Rent increases a little every year - new people moving in: the starting rent is at maximum level
 - > Municipality invests in open space
- Impacts of restructuring on residents

- > Rehousing for secure tenants: No automatic rehousing!
- > Policy in social plan: People should be able to return to at least the same district (maybe even their own area, but that process would take longer)
- > People get approx. 1-1,5 years to find a new home themselves
- > As renewal household they would get priority in the allocation of new dwellings in Amsterdam or the near area
- > Corporation can only start demolition when all people are rehoused; if only few people are left housing corporation will become more active to find new houses
- > Legislation: If the tenants cannot find a home themselves, the housing corporation has to make a proposal for two reasonable and suitable replacement homes; if they are declined, the tenants can be forced to move

- Difficulties

- > 1 or 2 person households have it easier to find a replacement home, because they are often not committed to stay in one specific area
- > More difficult for elderly and families (but they get more support from housing corporations)
- > Worked quite well in the past (most people were able to get a new house in Amsterdam or the near area), but now it became harder
- > Large scale demolition and selling of social housing became a problem: less homes available now that the need rises
- > People don't move that much anymore: lower turnover rates
- > Waiting lists increase due to urban renewal priority households

- Reaction:

- > 2016 new policy/agreement between housing associations and municipality that the number of social housing should not decrease anymore
- > For Nieuw West, this means further densification, as the

- municipality still wants an increase in middle class share
- > But this will not be enough; there needs to be an increase in social housing!

JACOB GEELBUURT

- Nearly all dwellings will remain social housing, the original plan wanted more tenure diversification
- Main actors
 - > Alliantie, Stadsdeel Nieuw West, municipality of Amsterdam, residents, schools
- Planning process
 - > Urban renewal plan from before crisis
 - > Plan making for the neighbourhood started again in 2009; Spatial visions by architects commissioned from both Alliantie and Nieuw West
 - > Plan finished in 2012 (2013 adopted by district government and Alliantie; Low level agreement, but plan was held flexible)
 - > Especially housing corporation legal restructuring changed situation
 - > Application with municipality only in 2016 (forgotten before, but official adoption needed for grant)
- Resident engagement
 - > In earlier stages undertaken by both Alliantie and district government who commissioned each a participation officer
 - > At the moment, Alliantie is consulting with residents commissions about renovation plans
 - > Mechanisms:
 - > First consultation: listening to residents wishes and comments and adjust accordingly
 - > Municipality focuses on big meetings for whole open space on area
 - > Small meetings involving the local schools, especially about new playground
 - > 'Living teams': group of 10-15 people form a commission with whom Alliantie is talking about the renovation plan and

social plan

- > 70% of residents need to agree
- > People can suggest their ideas
- > Wishes of the residents: Differs among sub-area - residents in small scale want renovation and stay there; booklet in the other area says demolition and new houses but now everyone; most residents like the open spaces as they are (green, trees, enough parking spaces)

- Strategy

- > West part
- > Low rise social rent family houses; inhabited by many elderly; Silent and almost dull neighbourhood
- > Renovation: internal (energy, heating, kitchen, floorplan) and external (fenced and garden sheds)
- > Secure tenants can stay, temporary residents had to move out
- > More extensive renovation and layout changes only undertaken in empty dwellings
- > School area
- > Issues: pupils would behave badly towards residents
- > New school, construction of new dwellings
- > Refurbishment of one building; residents can directly move into newly constructed: good solution!
- > East part
- > Half open blocks, more social problems than in the west: more families, diverse cultural backgrounds, language problems, low incomes
- > Chosen for demolishing, but in 2015 plans changed for renovation; still unsure (Housing corporation renovation policy vs. municipal densification targets - Amsterdam wants more middle class in the area, but also no loss of social housing)
- > Original spatial concepts for new build: more private (and closed off communal) space, safer; better connections to park area; but unsure what will happen

Jeroen van der Veer, Cathelijn Groot

AFWC

- *Personal communication on 4th April 2017* -

Keywords: Housing policy, housing associations, financial crisis, resident engagement, social mixing

CHANGES IN THE HOUSING SYSTEM SINCE THE CRISIS

- Social housing sector becoming more means-tested
 - > Limit of access since 2011: Maximum income 35.000/year (temporary increase to 39.000 in Amsterdam for families)
 - > Reason EU ruling (housing associations either "state or market")
 - > Limit of access to social housing in 2011 limit access to social housing
- Changing roles of housing associations
 - > Background: Scandals and issues in the housing association sector
 - > Example 1: SS Rotterdam, high refurbishment costs
 - > Example 2: (main problem) Vestia lost 2,3bn in derivatives : via solidarity fund all housing associations had to compensate
 - > High salaries of directors (more than 300.000€ per year)
 - > Land that housing associations had bought could not be developed during crisis due to low demand
 - > Criticism on cross-subsidy in some cases: social housing used as backup to borrow money to develop the market units and not the other way round
 - > Resulting negative image of housing association within politics and the general public (even though most were not involved in these scandals)
 - > Parliamentary inquiry in 2014: Conclusion: housing associations should stay to their core business and provide housing for lower income groups instead of undertaking

various (also market) activities

> Housing Act 2015: Market and social activities of housing associations have to be separated; Cross-subsidy is not possible anymore

> The 'market part' has to be completely market driven (the associations have to make a return on investment, etc.); 'Market test' is required: if a housing association wants to develop market housing in an area, it has to prove that no other party is interested in that area (which is difficult as now in Amsterdam many market parties are interested): private market construction of housing associations will be very limited

- Landlord Levy

> Tax housing associations have to pay the national government (1.7bn, will rise to 2bn)

> Internationally very strange tax: taxing social renters while simultaneously subsidising owner occupiers by complete tax deduction of the mortgage interest rate

> Background: Financial austerity (reduction of national deficit); As housing associations had gotten richer due to increasing property value of their stock, government wanted to tap into that money (no housing market rationale behind it, "easy money")

> Effect: Housing associations have less possibilities to invest in sustainability and new construction because the tax limits their budget; Housing associations are forced to increase the rent to make up for the tax – whereas on the other hand the national government wants them to provide for lower income groups = Paradox!

> Currently future under negotiation, but abolition is unlikely

- Change in social rent regulations

> Background:

> Social rent setting: Max. 711€ per month, most rents will be below

> Housing associations had to increase rents to pay for

landlord levy

> Rent increase led to an increase in rental allowance paid by the national government (in fact: expenses 3.5 billion € vs. 1.7 income landlord levy)

> 2016 Ruling: 95% of all low income people searching for an apartment have to find one below the threshold of the rental subsidy (628€ for large households and 586 for smaller households)

> This puts a cap on many rents: Rents between 628 and 711 only go for the group between the income limit for housing subsidy (30.000 for families and 22.000 for singles) and the maximum income to access social housing

- Change in the national point system for rent setting

> Three rent levels: social rent up to 711€, middle rent up to ~1000€, market rent above

> 2011: popularity introduced as factor in rent setting; in whole Amsterdam you received extra scarcity points due to the high demand

> 2016: property valued introduced as factor for rent setting; determine 25% of the rent nationally but as property values are higher in Amsterdam this determines a higher percentage of the rent

> In the past, it was not possible to acquire enough points to liberalise a small dwelling within the ring of Amsterdam, but now many private rented dwellings will be rented on the free market when they become empty and therefore no longer form part of the affordable housing stock

- Summary: limited scope to manoeuvre for housing associations, but there is the determination of both municipality and housing associations to further develop the stock!

COOPERATION BETWEEN MUNICIPALITY AND HOUSING ASSOCIATIONS

- General relation: tight cooperation between municipality, associations and tenants

- Kaderafspraken

> Most important document of housing policy in Amsterdam

- > Cooperation agreement with the tenants organisation and municipality since 1994
- > Prepared by representatives of several sectors (civil service municipality, people from evaluation, housing associations, tenants organisation) and accepted by municipal council
- > Currently: affordability as main issue
- > Implementation lies with every party; general commitment of all three parties, continuous discussion; but no sanctions or the like in case of nonfulfillment of the conditions

- Land rent

- > The municipality owns most of the land and leases it to developers
- > Asks a lower rent price for social housing – price will increase if building is sold

NEWEST DEVELOPMENTS

- Crisis is overcome

- > Crisis started in 2008, but lowest level in the building sector was around 2012 (housing market was a lot behind because investment decision and construction takes a lot of time)
- > 2014 was the first year to get better; now completely out of the crisis (rise in housing prices of 20% a year, a lot of building interest in Amsterdam)
- > Situation of housing associations: Financial situation has improved a little since the crisis - despite landlord levy and new restrictions possibility and desire to invest in new building
- > But: larger importance of market parties in construction, particularly regarding middle rent and owner occupied dwellings (in the past, housing associations were responsible for 70%, in the future rather 30 or 40% of all new housing construction)

- Aim for 'dynamic equilibrium'

- > Background: Diversification of tenure stock in Amsterdam has progressed in Amsterdam since the 1990s

- > Now, there is in fact a gap in demand and supply of social rented housing: about 52% of Amsterdam's population falls within the income limits of social housing, but the stock is only about 40%
- > This gap is currently filled with affordable private rented housing which is decreasing especially in the centre
- > General need for more housing due to growth of Amsterdam
- > Aim to keep social housing at the same level and not decrease it anymore; housing associations would even like to build more
- > This represents a direction change on municipal level whereas the national agenda still aims for further diversification of the stock and the support of market actors
- > Set in Kaderafspraken: New construction has to at least equal selling and demolition; 75% of the housing should have a rent below the threshold of rental subsidies
- > Implementation of that agreement
- > Agreement on city level, no definite restrictions for a particular plot or area: no fixed, particular mechanisms or regulations that prohibit a net loss of social housing in a specific area that is redeveloped
- > Approximate goal: about 35% social housing in every buurt (difficult to introduce in traditionally higher value areas)
- > No obligation to replace social housing on site in case of regeneration
- > Constant negotiation between municipality and housing associations
- > Recently more agreements that go further: selling less, more construction (build 1200 social rented dwellings per year and they want to double that)
- > However, the municipality does not provide enough locations for new construction
- > Wish of the alderman who wants change neighbourhood without sending people away (=maintain same level of

social housing and add other tenure types)

REGENERATION PRACTICE

- Demolition versus refurbishment

- > Before the crisis: focus on demolition and rebuilding of market housing in renewal areas; during the crisis: turn to refurbishment; self-construction and self-refurbishment
- > Today: depending on the circumstances – in general, try to demolish less, but aim for increase of dwellings numbers (including social!) and densification; unclear how this will develop in the next years
- > Maintaining the social housing stock, as opposed to transformation, is the new goal: dynamic equilibrium (But: overall goal for the city, not applied to specific plots or districts)
- > Most of the more innovative renovation projects have included sales and are now owner occupied

- Selling

- > Housing associations try not to sell dwellings where there are urban renewal plans expected, keep control from a strategic point of view
- > Housing associations are generally free which properties to sell (however respect Kaderafspraken, and pay land rent fee to municipality)

- Rehousing

- > All displaced tenants get the status of urban renewal candidates, go ahead of all other dwelling seekers
- > Have to be rehoused but not necessarily in the same neighbourhood, some also choose to leave
- > Financial compensation of about 5500 euros for refurbishment of their house
- > Current problem: 'Closing off of the housing market for newcomers' - rents at the lowest level will not be available in the future for incoming tenants; On average a new apartment in Amsterdam would be 100€ more expensive
- > Difficult to find a home within the ring of Amsterdam;

- Liveability

- > Before, housing associations were expected to also invest in the public realm, now this amount is restricted (it is possible to deviate from it but then you have to make a specific agreement on the local level about liveability)
- > 125€/dwelling, in Amsterdam they say 175 maximum to invest in public realm
- > Municipality comes up for the rest

SOCIAL MIXING

- Mixed tenure projects

- > In the past: strong commitment to social mix, mostly all tenure types developed by one housing association
- > Today: City of Amsterdam and housing associations still have a preference for mixed neighbourhoods
- > But: Such projects will become more difficult due to changed role of housing associations
- > "Now it is all a big puzzle, and they are trying to figure out how to do it": If no private developer is interested, the housing association can still develop both market and social housing (what is happened in Nieuw West, because of the assumption that no one else is interested); Otherwise: collaboration with private developer (land rent: housing association pays for social housing percentage, market developer for the rest = mix of payment rather than physical separation)
- > Maybe the scale of mixing will change (one building of social, one building of market, and not mixed within the same building)

- Social mixing, scale and practicalities

- > Cathelijn: Mixing always difficult, if people have to line together who don't want to live together or would not naturally mix; especially as the social housing tenants have no real option to choose where they want to live
- > The organisation of activities helps, but is no permanent solution

- > Mixing within the building: Used to be general practice; In the existing stock this can also be a natural process as housing associations sell dwellings (since the end of 1990s about 27000 dwellings were sold)
- > Different opinions among Jeroen and Cathelijjn (Jeroen: Usually it works, especially in the centre there are many mixed buildings (smaller buildings function better than large units); different categories (such as elderly and big families) are rather source of conflict than different tenure types); (Cathelijjn: experience of conflicts and liveability issues, particularly in vertical mix (=same staircase); often different lifestyles among different tenure types/social groups)
- > When mix develops over time, it's more smooth, but when you start with a mix in a new building then it's harder - have groups clashing from the beginning
- > Shared courtyard: Can be also problematic (cases in Osdoorp where a fence was put in subsequently)
- > Important: start with good arrangement before people move in, and monitor these agreements are followed upon (Wijkbeheerder – expensive but necessary)
- > Now tendency to have less mixing within one buildings =separate buildings but together in one neighbourhood
- > Social and market but with separated elevators (that is the new policy)
- > Mix on the street: maybe that will work in the future, they don't know yet