



Resituating the Local in Cohesion and Territorial Development



Case Study Report
Homelessness Project in Lewisham,
Borough of London, United Kingdom

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Abbreviations

See also Glossary in Appendix.

BME	Black and Minority Ethnic (-ity)
BAME	Black and Asian Minority Ethnic (-ity)
EC	European Commission
EFRD	European Fund for Regional Development
EGTC	European Grouping of Territorial Cooperation
ESF	European Social Fund
EU	European Union
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GLA	Greater London Authority
LAU	Local Administrative Unit
LA	Local Authority, the official name for a (municipal council) in the UK
LB	London Borough (prefix of all but one London council)
LHA	Local Housing Allowance (for which Housing Benefit can be claimed)
NDPB	Non-departmental Public Body (formerly known as a QUANGO)
NUTS	Nomenclature of Territorial Units for Statistics
PRS	Private Rented Sector
R&D	Research and Development
SGI	Services of General Interest
SME	Small and Medium-Sized Enterprises
YMCA	Young Men's Christian Association

Executive Summary

Background . The architect-designed PLACE/Ladywell modular housing scheme provides 16 ground floor community business spaces and 24 apartments for homeless and insecurely-housed families on a vacant site earmarked for future development in the London Borough of Lewisham. The scheme, which opened to residents in 2016, is planned and built as a temporary structure predicted to stand in sites under development for around four years. It was constructed to be fully demountable both as a whole and in its parts, so that it can be moved across a number of temporary sites as units or as a whole, over a total lifespan of around 60 years. In contrast with the standard image of temporary modular housing, the scheme has been designed with a colourful, upbeat exterior that gives it an appearance of permanence. Partly based on its aesthetic appeal, the scheme has been enthusiastically championed by the media and policy-makers, in spite of its low impact on numbers of homeless and insecurely-housed families in the Borough, and lack of permanence for tenants. This popularity has already influenced its replication both in three more sites within the borough of Lewisham (to be completed by 2020); and across the city of London under the auspices of a dedicated company, PLACE Ltd, part-funded by the regional governance body, the Greater London Authority.

Findings . The scheme shows that a local initiative can mobilise resources to make a positive, if limited, contribution to spatial justice, with the potential to spread to the metropolitan and national levels. It contributes to strategies addressing homelessness and place regeneration and facilitates the extension of the ‘meanwhile’ regeneration approach from temporary commercial uses for empty buildings and spaces, to residential provision on vacant land awaiting development. By contrast with new high-rise developments in the locale, the four-storey scheme is said to be viewed positively in the area. Furthermore, due to its location in a high street retail area, its ground floor business spaces have provided relatively low-cost premises for voluntary sector and business support organisations that are useful resources for the community and are also accessible to the tenants of the scheme. There is some shared, gated outdoor space provided where children can play safely and there are plans to develop the forecourt area for scheme and community use. However, it is unclear whether any attention will be paid to embedding and maintaining community connectedness in the replication schemes, which are unlikely to be similarly situated in retail locations and thus include ground floor commercial spaces. There also appears to be little likelihood of local influence in the replication schemes, for the very reason that part of their *raison d’être* is to achieve economies of scale by creating a single model that is adaptable to a range of sites.

Outlook. Research with tenants taking place in 2018 has suggested that the benefits of high-quality homes with space standards that exceed the London requirement, should be balanced with the sense of insecurity engendered by the temporary nature of the scheme. Likewise, the main challenges for the scheme as regards its impact on spatial justice may lie in its temporary nature as well as its targeting of several broader goals beyond the needs of homeless tenants and the local community, including developing the capacities of the modular housing industry to build mass housing. All such goals are likely to outweigh the capacity of such schemes to be responsive to and connected with the needs of intended users and local communities. But it may yet be possible to build in modifications to the model that elevate the scheme’s contribution beyond what is primarily a temporary design impact, to real benefits for tenants in building social capital and integrating with local communities, and for the latter in gaining a new community resource.

1. Introduction

The action and its location: The London Borough of Lewisham is a relatively deprived South London Borough that is classified as falling within Inner London (see Figure 3.1.1 below). The PLACE/Ladywell scheme is situated in the aptly-named Lewisham Central Ward, roughly in the middle of the Borough (see Figure 3.1.2), at the street-facing edge of a large vacant site formerly used for the council's Leisure Centre. That street is Lewisham High Street, a main retail and transport thoroughfare, and the site is at the south of an area defined by the borough council as Lewisham's 'town centre' (LB Lewisham, 2014). This is however a run-down area, characterised by pubs, family-run shops, economy stores and food outlets, located at some distance from the borough's main retail sites, which are at either end of Lewisham High Street. The architect-designed PLACE/Ladywell scheme nevertheless adds a strong note of high-quality design and vibrant colour to its surroundings, as well as including 24 flats providing temporary accommodation for homeless families, and 16 ground floor business spaces at affordable rents, as well as individual desk space for start-ups and microbusinesses. There has been considerable turn-over in the tenancies and types of organisation on the ground floor, and the kinds of organisations that endure may be those that do not rely on passing footfall, such as online retailers, niche services and locally-established NGOs. The development of the ground storey of PLACE/Ladywell for local retail may be constrained by the low footfall on this part of the High Street, and also by Lewisham's Town Centre Plan, which has stipulated that any commercial use for this site should not compete with the Lewisham Shopping Centre to its north, which is also where the former Leisure Centre for the borough has been moved.

Main themes: the main themes of this action are: **homelessness; regeneration; and 'meanwhile' uses.** *Homelessness.* In terms of homelessness, the housing crisis in London has reached record levels, with 56,500 London households in temporary accommodation in 2018 (HCLG, 2018). Local Authorities (the UK name for municipal councils) have a statutory obligation to rehouse families who are homeless or about to become homeless if this is not through their own choice (see definition of **Homelessness** in the Glossary, item 7.4 in the Appendix).¹ Due to a rapid reduction in the amount of social housing available to those on low incomes for a combination of policy and financial reasons, councils are often obliged to place families facing homelessness in Temporary Accommodation from the **Private Rented Sector**.² This is both costly (requiring local councils to use Discretionary Payments to subsidise the housing benefit available through the national welfare system), and precarious, in that tenants have no enduring right to stay there. The PLACE/Ladywell action aims to address Lewisham's homelessness in such a way that placing a small number of homeless families in temporary accommodation becomes cost neutral for the Local Authority. Adding the accommodation provided by three further replications that are taking place across the borough (a London council's catchment area), this action will potentially address the needs of around 200 families in the borough every four years. During the period of the research the flagship example provided by PLACE/Ladywell has inspired other local authorities in London seeking to improve provision for their homeless families to develop a London-wide regeneration scheme, aiming to demonstrate and

¹ At the time this action was planned, and up to the recent Homelessness Reduction Act (2018), Local Authorities were entitled to prioritise the needs of homeless families over those of single homeless adults, although there are now clearer duties to both groups.

² Councils' Council's ability to use the Private Rented Sector, including Bed and Breakfast accommodation, as Temporary Accommodation for homeless families is a shifting and complex area of policy that is explained in Rugg (2016) and Rugg and Rhodes (2018).

promote good quality, well-designed and cost neutral, temporary housing across the city.

Regeneration. Lewisham is one of the more deprived Local Authorities in London, ranking as the 10th most deprived out of 32 (standard) London Boroughs and 26th most deprived out of 326 Local Authorities in England in 2015 (Data London, 2015). For the past decade Lewisham has been undergoing a programme of regeneration (LB Lewisham, 2008) and this has accelerated in the last decade, based on factors such as expanded population growth forecasts London-wide, prompting increased housing and employment targets, as well as plans to extend the London Underground system to Lewisham within the next 10 years (TfL, 2018). Unusually for the UK, the Local Authority retains a high proportion of its council housing under its own ownership; although management, including that of the residential units at PLACE/Ladywell, is devolved to Lewisham Homes, an arms-length management organisation (**ALMO** – see Glossary in Appendix 8.4). Current regeneration of three council housing estates in the borough is also organised by Lewisham Homes.

Meanwhile uses. Temporary uses of urban space, ranging from hours, weeks and months, up to several years' duration, have increasingly been applied to vacant retail and business space in locations where spatial and market factors have weakened the capacity of a place to attract commercial tenants (see Madanipour, 2017; 2018). In the UK and elsewhere, this has been enthusiastically taken up as a way to keep commercial buildings in operation while reanimating and maintaining footfall in urban centres that have lost out to edge- or out-of-town large-scale retail. Often known as “pop-up shops”, these include short-term lets at reduced fees in disused buildings for start-up businesses, community interface portals and social enterprises; and sometimes vacant land is also made available for temporary food outlets and restaurants, entertainment venues and community spaces. Lewisham uses the term “pop-up village” for PLACE/Ladywell, whose originality lies in its deployment of vacant land awaiting development for residential, as well as commercial uses.

Main actors: *At the local level* the main actors involved are Lewisham Borough Council, in particular the Housing and Planning Departments and housing placements team, who allocate tenants to the PLACE/Ladywell flats. The management of the commercial space on the ground floor is split between the social enterprise Meanwhile Space, which manages two thirds of the commercial premises; and the (EU-funded) business advice, skills and grants organisation DEK, which manages the remaining third of the ground-floor commercial premises. The accommodation in PLACE/Ladywell is managed by Lewisham Homes; as mentioned earlier, this is the **ALMO** which manages all of Lewisham's council housing. While responsible for the design of the building in 2016, the architects, Rogers Stirk Harbour, appear to have little continued involvement, although the scheme continues to feature prominently on their website. Their building contractors for this scheme have continued responsibilities for construction issues.

At London level, regarding the London-wide PLACE Ltd initiative, the main actor is the company called PLACE Ltd (used here as an acronym for ‘Pan-London Accommodation Collaborative Enterprise’). PLACE Ltd was announced when this study was already underway, and was inspired by the model of PLACE/Ladywell. It is set up as a limited company with the aim of creating a replication scheme that commissions and acquires modular temporary accommodation for an expanding number of participating London boroughs. PLACE Ltd was an initiative of the association called London Councils, through which the 33 London Councils collaborate on communications to national and regional government, specify services and administer grants. London Councils runs London Ventures, an innovation programme which part-finances the PLACE Ltd company. PLACE

Ltd has invited the precision-built modular housing industry to tender bids for further PLACE/Ladywell type modular temporary schemes appropriate to a range of London sites. Other significant stakeholders include Crisis, the main national charity focused on homelessness – although more focused upon the needs of another category of homeless people, namely single homeless adults who heretofore were not a priority for council support. Shelter is the main national charity focused on housing advice and support, while Homeless Link is the national membership charity for organisations working directly with people who become homeless in England, developing services and campaigning for policy change to mitigate homelessness.

Main beneficiaries: two main groups are direct beneficiaries of the scheme: homeless families in Lewisham (or those at risk of homelessness), who are eligible for allocation to the scheme's accommodation; and SMEs, start-ups, social enterprises and NGOs in Lewisham, which are eligible for the relatively low-cost commercial premises on the ground floor of PLACE/Ladywell. Also affected by the scheme are local area residents in Lewisham Central Ward and adjacent Ladywell Ward, in terms of the building's contribution of a well-designed and relatively low-rise edifice to a neglected area of the High Street; and, until December 2018, its hosting of a 'safe haven' location for young people, in the form of the Good Hope Café run by the 'For Jimmy' charity.³ Micro-enterprises and start-ups benefit by the scheme's provision of multiple low-cost, short-term work desks with wi-fi in both the DEK-managed and the Meanwhile Space managed sections of the ground floor commercial premises.

Academic discourse: There is a growing literature concerning the 'cleansing' or 'clearances' of low-income people from London through estate regeneration (e.g. Lees and Ferreri, 2016; Minton, 2017). There is considerable academic and academic-informed literature on the negative physical and mental health impacts on vulnerable households of living in insecure and often poor quality Private Rented Sector accommodation (see Diggle et al., 2017; Rhodes and Rugg, 2018; Shelter, 2017a). This is the kind of housing that PLACE/Ladywell aims to improve upon, yet the only published academic study of PLACE/Ladywell so far has emphasised the idea of 'precarity' and its impacts on mental health, to which the tenants are subject through the employment market and the temporary nature of the scheme (see Harris et al., 2018).

Policy discourse: The main national policy discourses to which the action responds are the following: adopting the precision-built modular housing model for newbuild in London and nationally, based on carbon efficiency, cost efficiency, partly due to construction time savings, and adaptability to different kinds of site (GLA, 2017; DEFRA, 2017). Different uses of modular housing, including retro-adding top-floor modular extensions to existing buildings, are being promoted and steered by a new Non-Departmental Public Body, Homes England, launched in Nov 2018. Homes England describes itself as 'the government's housing accelerator' (HE, 2018).

EU programmes: The scheme is not funded from EU funds but has been broadly influenced by EU policy. For example, the new regional-level London Plan (GLA, 2017), which has influenced the replication of the action across London, makes several references to EU spatial and cohesion policy. This new London Plan is likely to have influenced Lewisham's replication plans for PLACE/Ladywell in the Borough. The DEK organisation,

³ A ground-breaking charity that sought to bring about change after the murder of a young boy, Jimmy Mizen, in Lewisham in 2008. One of 'For Jimmy's main aims is to provide places where young people experiencing threat on the streets can take refuge and get help: <http://forjimmy.org/building-safe-havens>.

which is located, and manages offices and workspaces making up around one third of the ground floor commercial space in PLACE/Ladywell, is funded through the European Regional Development Fund, and runs the £2million DEK Growth Programme, which helps develop creative and digital small and medium-sized businesses (SMEs) in Lewisham.

2. Methodological Reflection

Stakeholder involvement. There have been two major barriers to stakeholder involvement encountered so far, which have meant that it has not yet been possible to create a stakeholder involvement group in line with the RELOCAL case study guidelines, although several important stakeholders have been reached through the interview process (see Stakeholder Interaction Table, Appendix 8.2).

The first obstacle to forming a group has been that it has so far not been possible to develop consistent communications with the authority responsible for the scheme, nor with its lower-level ward councillors for the Lewisham Central and Ladywell Ward levels. For example, there was a four-month delay between first contact and interview with a major gatekeeper and source about the scheme. Regarding several key stakeholders, no reply has yet been received to contacts, even where the contact has been brokered through a mutual connection.

The standard reasons for these delays and lack of contact in a post 2008 context are related to the pressures on Local Authority staff and those of its associated housing management organisations due to reducing resources that relate to repeated and ongoing austerity-driven council budget cuts and a contracting workforce. A more case-specific explanation relates to the sensitive timing of the study, falling as it does in the early months of both borough-wide and cross-London replication programmes.

There is also likely to have been some impact from the framing of the study as an EU study in the information sheet and through the study's focus on justice issues, which marks it out as relating to a kind of policy and discourse usually associated with the UK's membership of the European Union. This may be significant in a study that does not directly benefit from EU funding because the study questions may seem peripheral to the impetus and course of the action. Furthermore, the way the study's timeframe coincides with the Brexit process has meant that competing pressures are increasingly felt, particularly as preparation for a 'no-deal' Brexit has come to seem more relevant over the study's timeline.

Given that the timeframe within which a preliminary stakeholder group for the study would have been meaningful has now passed we therefore aim to include stakeholders through organising a formal stakeholder involvement end-event relating to WP8, ideally to take place after Brexit.

Flexible use of the interview guide. There has been a considerable variety and degree of specialisation among types of stakeholder interviewed for the study – which included an expert in precision-built housing construction, a specialised social inclusion NGO and a small business operator. In practice this has necessitated a flexible use of the interview schedule designed for this study. In several cases much of the interview has been taken up with an exploration of the interviewee's work and focus, before any attempt is made to relate these to the study's spatial justice focus. All interviewees were nevertheless made aware of this focus both through the initial contact email and prior to the interview questions, and at least some of the justice-related questions in the interview guide have been covered in all interviews.

3. The Locality

3.1 Territorial Context and Characteristics of the Locality

Name of Case Study Area	London Borough of Lewisham
Size	35.15 km ²
Total population (2016)	298,903
Population density (2016)	8,504 per km ²
Level of development in relation to wider socio-economic context <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Disadvantaged within a developed region/city? Disadvantaged within a wider underdeveloped region? 	Disadvantaged within a developed region/city
Type of the region (NUTS3-Eurostat) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Predominantly urban? Intermediate? Predominantly rural? 	Predominantly urban region
Name and Identification Code of the NUTS-3 area, in which the locality is situated (NUTS 3 Code(s) as of 2013)	Lewisham and Southwark (UKI44)
Name and Identification Code of the NUTS-2 area, in which the locality is situated (NUTS 2 Code(s) as of 2013)	Inner London – East (UKI4)

Table 3: Basic socio-economic characteristics of the London Borough of Lewisham

3.1.1 Population expansion, deprivation and homelessness

Homelessness in Lewisham arises from a complex nexus of phenomena including adverse housing policy, social deprivation and population expansion (and even, to some extent, as is explained in later sections, from regeneration). This section briefly explores these phenomena in London and in Lewisham, and in order to indicate the multiple nature of vulnerabilities likely to be encountered by homeless families in the borough.

An expanding population. Over the last 36 years for which figures are available, (between 1981 and 2017), the population of London has grown by 29.6 percent, and the population of Lewisham by 26.9 percent. Much of this growth in Lewisham (24.2 percent, consisting of 90 percent of the total increase) occurred in the last 20 years for which statistics are available (1997-2017) (ONS, 2018a). Over the same 20-year period, the population of Great Britain grew by only 17.1 percent. Furthermore, population projections suggest that in line with the rest of London, Lewisham will expand by a further 18 percent in the next 20 years, so that by 2037, the Borough's population is expected to have grown by around 20% from its current level, to reach 357,800 people (ONS, 2018b).

Population expansion results from internal and international migration as well as natural increase (greater longevity, increased birth-rate). By comparison with the England average Lewisham is a very young Borough, with a quarter of the population aged under 20, and population growth largely driven by the birth-rate: there are some 5,000 live births in Lewisham per year (LB Lewisham, 2017:6). But Lewisham's Poverty Commission reports that this is the second most ethnically diverse borough in London (LB Lewisham, 2017:6) and taken alongside figures reported by the Oxford Migration Laboratory, showing the rising proportion of the Borough's population who were born outside the UK

(rising from 23.9 to 33.7 percent between the two last censuses), this appears to indicate that migration is also a significant component of population increase in Lewisham (Krausova and Vargas-Silva, 2013).⁴ Most of this migration is from outside the EU. Although the share of migrants who report London as their region of destination peaked at 45 percent in 1998 and has steadily declined since then to just less than 30 percent in recent years (ibid.), nevertheless, in both 2001 and 2011, London had the highest number as well as proportion of non-UK born residents out of all the regions of England and Wales (ibid.).

For those arriving in the locale from other parts of the UK and from other countries, this may be the only part of London where they have relatives and connections, so it is important for them to be able to access housing locally. Figures from 2017 show that 'Family' was by far the most important reason for migrants coming to London (43 percent of non-UK migrants). Although asylum was only the fourth main reason, coming after Employment and Study, the largest proportion of UK asylum seekers (53 percent of the total) end up settling in London, even if it was not their place of residence at first arrival in the country (Kone, 2018).

This demographic picture suggests that some households in Lewisham who ask for help from the council when they become homeless are likely to have accrued multiple vulnerabilities across their life course before arriving in the borough.

Deprivation and regeneration. Based on the Index of Multiple Deprivation (IMD), many of London's neighbourhoods lie within the 20 per cent most deprived areas in England (GLA, 2017: 93). At the lowest level for which statistics are collected in England, the Lower level Super Output Area (LSOA), 37.5 percent of these areas in Lewisham have been found to be in the lowest 20 percent in England.

Related to this picture of deprivation, Lewisham, and Lewisham Central Ward where PLACE/Ladywell is situated, are currently undergoing relatively intense regeneration. A GLA map provides an up-to-date picture of planning permissions by Borough. Lewisham's total of 627 current permissions is considerably below the current median number of permissions per Borough, but close to the current approximate mean. Within the Borough of Lewisham, the ward of Lewisham Central, where PLACE/Ladywell is situated, has the highest number of planning permissions in the Borough.⁵ According to the GLA's London Development Database (which claims to be updated with new planning permissions and development on a monthly basis), Lewisham has two major regeneration schemes ongoing since 2014: the first of these is the Lewisham Gateway development, of homes, offices and retail space near Lewisham Shopping Centre (large indoor Mall) at the top of Lewisham High Street between the A20 and Lewisham Train Station. This development began in 2015 and is part of the massive London regeneration programme known as the Thames Gateway. The second is the Excalibur Estate Regeneration to the South of the Borough, which began in 2014. The Excalibur estate was the location of Lewisham's previous large-scale scheme of prefabricated housing, erected by German and Italian prisoners of war from 1947-8. It endured long beyond the intended maximum for such schemes due to the popularity of the scheme with residents. However, only six houses from the original 187 remain, and the site is the location of a densified residential redevelopment.

⁴ As it is for London more widely (where non-UK born people increased from 27 to 37 per cent of the population) (Krausova and Vargas-Silva, 2013).

⁵ Four of these are commercial and 78 are residential. At the time of writing in February 2019, 23 have not commenced, 10 have commenced, and 49 are completed.

Lewisham's own "New Homes, Better Places" initiative (2012) set a goal of building 500 new council homes on infill sites in partnership with Lewisham Homes, the Housing Association which manages PLACE/Ladywell flats, between 2012 and 2018, using its Housing Revenue Account funding, which has become less restricted since this initiative was first introduced. Conversely, however, from July 2015, social rents were required by government to be reduced by one per cent a year for four years: which, while good for tenants, removed £25m of investment capacity for the council, according to its own update on the initiative (LB Lewisham, 2018). The council subsequently sought to follow a diversified strategy to deliver new affordable homes in the borough, which besides PLACE/Ladywell and the Excalibur estate regeneration included Heathside & Lethbridge, and Deptford sites, bringing its total of regenerated homes to 1,902, of which 495 are classed as "affordable" (but see **Glossary** in the Appendix to understand the wide application of this term in London) (LB Lewisham, 2018).

In the interview for this study, Lewisham's Housing Strategy manager mentioned a build-to-rent scheme as part of the aim to seek new approaches to affordable housing – although again, the rent levels that make such schemes viable under the present financing regime are not those that are affordable to families or single people on low incomes unless they collaborated in flat-share arrangements – making such schemes feasible mainly for young, single, professionals rather than families.

One of the issues for us is that our allocations policy is based on social housing, there's a large gap in the middle between people who will never qualify for social housing and people who can be adequately sustainably housed in the market. In the last 10 or 15 years that group has grown considerably and we need to think about what allocation or otherwise, what sort of intervention are we making in that space for people? So, our build to rent project is building affordable private rented accommodation for working people, low income working people, and that's one step into it. [Interview 1, London Borough of Lewisham].

Homelessness. There is a widely-perceived spatial injustice between London and the rest of the UK because the housing crisis is so much more acute in London than in the rest of the country; including a far greater per capita homelessness and proportion of households in temporary accommodation. For example, in June 2018, the number of households in Temporary Accommodation in England was 79,880 (including 123,130) children, and of these households, 54,540 (68%) were placed by London local authorities (Wilson and Barton, 2018: 3). London has the highest rate of homelessness of any English region, with 1 in 53 people either in temporary accommodation or 'rough sleeping'. This is more than five times the rate of the region with the second highest rate, the West Midlands, which has 1 in 278 of its population in this situation (Shelter, 2017: Table 1).

Homelessness is closely related to the rise in **Private Rented Sector** housing as a form of tenure, a sector which has up to the present been only weakly regulated. At the 2011 census, private-rented sector (PRS) tenure was the second largest form of tenure in London after home ownership and rents in London have increased at a faster rate than in any other region of England (Rugg, 2016). Households in the Private Rented Sector who are temporarily unable to pay rent because of unemployment, or -who cannot afford a rent rise or disagree with a landlord, for example, over repairs, can very easily find themselves facing eviction and applying to the council for Temporary Accommodation. Traditionally, Temporary Accommodation subsidy was delivered through the national housing benefit system but due to the acute demand on the private rented sector in London, and the lack

of restraints on its ability set rents as high as it chooses, London boroughs have become committed to supplying the substantial shortfalls between the subsidy provided and the market cost of temporary accommodation through discretionary payments (LB Lewisham, 2017; Wilson and Barton, 2018). The costs borne by Local Authorities for providing temporary accommodation to families are therefore correspondingly high in London.

The housing crisis that affects London also prevails in the Borough of Lewisham. Lewisham had the 12th highest rate of homelessness of the 33 London Boroughs (including City of London), and government homelessness statistics show that more than 75% of homeless households in the London Borough of Lewisham are from an ethnic minority. The cost of housing is an important factor in Lewisham's poverty rate, so while Lewisham has a higher than national average income, "the cost of housing is such that 27% of Londoners and 31% of inner London residents (including Lewisham) live in poverty after housing costs are taken into account, compared with 21% nationally." (LB Lewisham, 2017: 14). It is not just high rents that lay behind these statistics: although not high for London, house prices in Lewisham are still 14 times the median salary in the Borough (ibid.: 23); home-owners who cannot meet their mortgage repayments may also find themselves seeking council support to find **Temporary Accommodation**. However, the bulk of homeless families come from the private rented sector, which is reported to be the fastest growing tenure in the Borough (Lewisham, 2017: 6). Although as discussed, rents are below the inner London average they are increasing rapidly – by a proportion of 40% between 2011 and 2016, with the result that many tenants pay more than half their income in rent. Furthermore, there is a strong likelihood that rents cannot be met during periods of unemployment, because the median market rent in the borough also exceeds the maximum Local Housing Allowance (LHA) (see Glossary in Appendix 8.4) – the amount that can be claimed as Housing Benefit.

This housing and financing context underlies both the need and the cost-effectiveness of a scheme such as PLACE/Ladywell.

3.1.2 The location of PLACE/Ladywell in Lewisham Central Ward

The action is situated in Lewisham Central Ward of the London Borough of Lewisham, at the south of the area defined by the council as Lewisham Town Centre, which is mid-way along Lewisham High Street. The High Street is a long road which is a key south London bus route that links Lewisham Shopping Centre with Catford Broadway.

As is typical of London, the borough of Lewisham is a patchwork of gentrified and disadvantaged areas: Figure 8.3.3 shows the pattern of deprivation in the borough. The site of PLACE/Ladywell is typical of these conditions, located in the neglected central section of a long traffic thoroughfare, Lewisham High Street. This part of the High Street is characterised by pubs, family-run shops, economy stores and food outlets. It has few features to attract visitors who do not live locally, being almost equidistant from the large covered mall of Lewisham Shopping Centre at its northern end and the busy transport and commercial hub of Catford Broadway at its southern end. However, the exact location of PLACE/Ladywell also faces perpendicularly onto the eastern end of Ladywell Road, which runs west towards the prosperous Ladywell parish, characterised by ample greenspace, well-preserved Victorian and Edwardian housing stock interspersed with modern offices. Ladywell's historical and current success is probably related to its parkland but also its regular overland train to central London, within 30 minutes of most of London's main employment centres. It is no more than 20 minutes from London Bridge, which links to two major underground lines (the Jubilee Line and Northern Line).

Figure 7.3.2 in the Appendix gives the boundaries of Lewisham Central Ward, with a label showing the location of PLACE/Ladywell. The ward of Lewisham where PLACE/Ladywell is situated is an area of deprivation sandwiched between the more prosperous Ladywell and Blackheath wards. The site is also at the southern edge of an area defined as Lewisham Town Centre in the Local Town Centre Plan (2014). Lewisham Town Centre is described in the plan as well-connected by road and public transport to central London, London Docklands and the suburbs (LB Lewisham, 2014: 6). It is also described as positioned on key radial and orbital roads providing access to central London, the Kent countryside and coast.

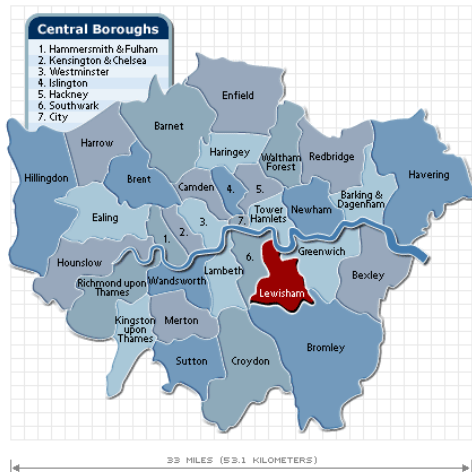


Figure 3.1.1 Map of London showing location of London Borough of Lewisham, (including its relation to the employment centres of the central London Boroughs).

Source: London Borough of Lewisham

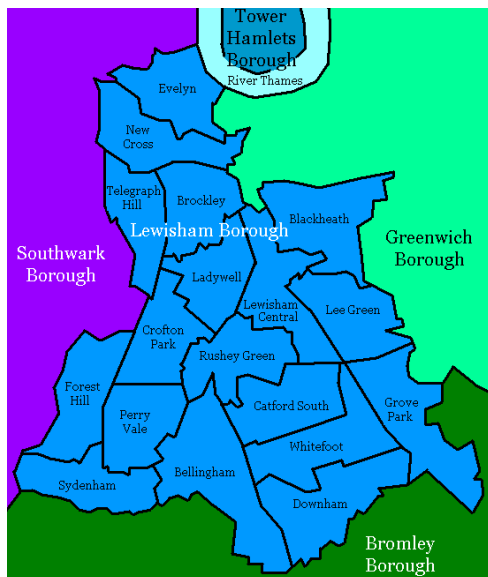


Figure 3.1.2 Map of London Borough of Lewisham, showing location of Lewisham Central Ward (in the upper part of which the PLACE/Ladywell scheme is situated, in between the more prosperous wards of Ladywell and Blackheath).

Source: London Borough of Lewisham

3.2 The Locality with regards to Dimensions 1 & 2

Analytical Dimension 1: Perception of spatial (in-)justice within the locality

Some interviewees and those spoken to informally for the study are aware of the mixed nature of the locality – physically unprepossessing and in need of regeneration, but close to a wealthier South London enclave – Ladywell. Part of the intention for PLACE/Ladywell was to take advantage of this proximity by attracting uncharacteristic uses for this part of Lewisham High Street to the commercial office space on the ground floor of the building. It is possible that part of the intention in situating architect-designed temporary housing in this location is to provide a strong visual link between this part of Lewisham High Street and Ladywell Road, thus increasing the potential of the council's land behind PLACE/Ladywell as a site for large-scale new housing development. To some extent this worked when launching the commercial area of PLACE/Ladywell as a maker's market in 2016, but the lack of footfall meant this did not endure:

it was more something that we wanted to test, and we tried really hard and we gave it our best, like it's just not fair for those businesses. And it was... and it got to the point where we told them (inaudible - background noise) a lot of those makers(?) and private(?) businesses they don't make enough money, but they look very (inaudible - background noise) so we see a lot of local authorities go like, "I want a shop with local (several inaudible words - background noise)". But actually, to sustain that you need a massive population of high spenders, so people with a lot of disposable income, so that works really well. In comparison we have similar thing in Walthamstow that is very successful and those guys did really well, and the local community can support those businesses; the local community here could not support these businesses, so yeah. [Interview 10].

Due to the scale of London and people's use of the city for employment, entertainment and retail, a greater role is played by the major road network and public transport system than it might be in a smaller town or city. The topography and scale of a Borough such as Lewisham, with a population that would qualify it as a city in its own right, if it were not part of London, mean that access to transport routes is critical.

Lewisham is relatively well-connected for transport across London – which is important because the Borough itself has a low jobs density and 60% of those in employment work outside the borough (LB Lewisham, 2017: 11). However, there are currently clear differences in connectivity between the north and south of the Borough, that appear to be related to the manifestations of deprivation in those areas. As described in the Poverty Commission report,

In the north of the borough, high housing costs and low incomes combine to produce high levels of deprivation, but there are good connections to the rest of London. In the south, housing tends to be marginally more affordable but incomes are low and residents are more likely to be unemployed and in receipt of out-of-work benefits. [...] There is a significant overlap between poor transport accessibility and concentrations of deprivation in the borough. (LB Lewisham, 2017: 19).

PLACE/Ladywell is on bus routes that run between Catford Broadway and Lewisham Shopping Centre (mall) and also those that run from Lewisham High Street to Ladywell

train station, so these streets are well known. This is an important factor in the location of a local NGO in PLACE/Ladywell (see Interview 2 quote in Analytical Dimension 4, below).

The eastern end of Ladywell Road currently shares the run-down appearance of the central section of Lewisham High Street onto which it abuts, opposite PLACE/Ladywell, including empty shop fronts, neglected front gardens and signs to off-street builders' merchants. It also has a large evangelical church and a defunct Victorian mansion with boarded up windows. The latter, however, known as the Lewisham Play Tower has been earmarked for redevelopment as an 'arthouse' type cinema [Interview 1]. This is likely to extend commercial footfall east from Ladywell towards Lewisham High Street and may attract new businesses and retail to the area.

The light and spacious Good Hope Café in the ground floor of PLACE/Ladywell until the end of 2018 (when it closed for good) was a community resource that was sometimes used by businesses in PLACE/Ladywell, until it changed its discount policies and became too expensive for them [Interview 9].

Analytical Dimension 2: Tools and policies for development and cohesion

Although interspersed by quotes from the study's interviews, much of this section draws its understanding of tools and policies for development and cohesion from the policies themselves. This relates to the difficulty in obtaining interviews from those with policy-related local knowledge, at both the local authority level and the lower ward councillor level, as noted in the section on Methodological Reflections. Two main aspects of policies are relevant to this case study, namely national housing policy, in particular the constraints on local authorities in terms of building and retaining social housing; and regional and local planning policy.

Housing policy

Some of those interviewed for the study saw housing policy and particularly policy in relation to social housing, as a major factor in widespread housing precarity, housing-related poverty and homelessness – these being the main factors behind the creation and replication of PLACE/Ladywell.

[...] the solutions are wide ranging and they include legislative change, they include improvements to housing supply and welfare reform as well as specific interventions that are targeted at groups of homeless people. [Interview 3,].

we think, not just our analysis but the broader evidence base suggests that what we've got to do is tackle those structural problems that are causing housing insecurity and homelessness, and that's about investing in more affordable supply, it's about tackling the problems in the private rented sector in a more strategic way and enabling resource in local authorities to enforce the powers that they have. [Ibid.].

Housing policy in the UK is highly complex and rapidly evolving in the current climate of accelerating rent rises and housing shortage. Barker's recent review of the UK housing crisis and what can be done about it finds no simple solutions (Barker, 2014). A brief cameo of the situation is since the peak of social housing in 1979, when 32% of households in the UK rented their home from the council (Boughton, 2018), successive governments have eroded the capacity of councils to maintain and build social housing, to

the extent that in most Local Authority areas, social housing (which includes council-owned and housing association housing), is a minority tenure. Of the policies that have diminished the stock of social housing and prevented new homes being built at social rents in the UK, the most significant is undoubtedly the “right to buy” scheme, mainstreamed by Margaret Thatcher’s government in the 1980s, whereby tenants of council housing can apply to buy their homes at a significant discount from the market price, but with no obligation to maintain the cost low for the next owner (Broughton, 2018). The impact of “right to buy”, still felt today, is that however much a council invests in building homes for its population, a significant number of them are bound to be transferred to the private sector, including buy-to-let landlords, and thus they will no longer be available for low-income households. If this were not a high-volume phenomenon, then some advantage might be seen in it in relation to reducing the segregating effect of large estates, where disadvantage is concentrated and can generate place stigma.

Some councils took advantage of the option of devolving their social housing to the ownership of Housing Associations to avoid losing social housing to right to buy, but a recent change in the law⁶ has permitted Housing Associations to release properties to right-to-buy (known in this case as ‘right to acquire’) in the same way, meaning even further diminution in social housing stock.

The second main policy that has constricted the ability of councils to build social housing to meet local needs is legislation reducing the amount councils can borrow to build social housing, introduced under the Coalition government in 2012. While this restriction on the so-called Housing Revenue Account was recently relaxed, so that councils can borrow to build social homes again, in the interim, many councils had devolved building to external agencies that still had the legal right to borrow to build, and have not retained the legal instrument of a Housing Revenue Account. By contrast, councils are free to borrow to invest in the private commercial property sector, meaning some councils have in effect become developers, using revenue from private newbuild to finance maintenance and infrastructure for social housing. Many current council estate regeneration schemes, as well as council support for Community Land Trusts, incorporate private rented (and sometimes, for sale) housing to cross-subsidize smaller quantities of social housing on the regenerated estate.

The reduction in the amount of social housing due to these and a number of other policy factors has meant that access to such housing has increasingly become prioritised for those most in need. This has included people on low incomes or who are unemployed, asylum seekers, people with substance abuse, mental health and other health problems that restrict their ability to earn, and older people. The residualisation of social housing in this way has made it a more problematic tenure where nuisance and exploitation can arise from people’s difficult circumstances and chaotic lifestyles. At the same time, secure and permanent social tenancies were removed in the 2016 Housing and Planning Act, meaning that new tenancies are mainly limited to five years, there is no longer any long-term right to the tenancy and people’s eligibility for the housing is up for review after the tenancy period has expired (Parkin and Wilson, 2016)

Lewisham has a long history of radical housing initiatives, including the famous self-build council houses introduced in the 1980s by the architect Walter Segal (Wainright, 2016). A new affordable self-build scheme is among its current demonstrator projects (LB

⁶ Through the Housing and Planning Act, 2016.

Lewisham, 2018). The importance of housing as an issue for Lewisham Council can perhaps be related to the first change of holder of the devolved Mayor of Lewisham post since it was first introduced in 2002 being taken by the councillor responsible for the Borough's housing strategy, Damian Egan.

In his foreword to the strategy, Councillor Egan states:

[...] living in London has simply become unaffordable for many. [...] Recent changes to the grant regime to support affordable homes and ongoing welfare reforms have combined to create a huge increase in the numbers of people facing homelessness. As the demand for private rented property has increased so too have the rents which ordinary Londoners struggle to keep up with. We have reached a crisis point and something needs to change. (LB Lewisham, 2015: 3).

The strategy has the following four main objectives, of which Key objective 1: Helping residents at times of severe and urgent housing need, is the most relevant to this study. Lewisham's last homelessness strategy ran up to 2014, and after this seems to have been absorbed within Key Objective 1. The strategy notes that the rise in homelessness in Lewisham is strongly related to the increase in evictions from the private rented sector (ibid.: 15), and highlights how the costs of dealing with this drain the Council of essential resources:

The financial burden of providing temporary accommodation when other forms of housing are simply inaccessible can also have a devastating impact on our ability to provide other Council services. The cost of homelessness affects everyone. (Ibid.: 15).

The strategy notes one cause of rise in pressures on tenants in the borough:

Since 2010, the Council has seen a decrease of 53 per cent in the number of properties available for letting. These 'lets' are the social rented properties available, and the decrease in lets represents the loss of social housing through Right to Buy, as well as residents living in social housing choosing to stay in their homes longer due to disincentives to moving such as higher 'affordable' rents, fixed term tenancies and the costs of moving. (Ibid., 16-17).

Planning policy

In terms of spatial planning, several interviewees mentioned the significance of The London Plan. The London Plan is the statutory Spatial Development Strategy for Greater London and its associated regulations. Currently undergoing the process known as Examination in Public, the Plan is a material consideration in planning decisions which gains an increasing amount of weight as it progresses towards formal adoption. The current London Plan will be the third such⁷ and once adopted, will replace all previous versions, comprising part of the statutory development plan for Greater London. In drawing up the new London Plan, the Mayor has had regard to all relevant European Union legislation and policy instruments, including the European Spatial Development Perspective (GLA, 2017: 3).

Mayor Sadiq Khan, elected in 2016 as a new Labour Mayor for London (replacing the

⁷ The previous ones being the 2004 Plan produced by London's First Mayor, Ken Livingstone and the 2011 Plan produced by the second Mayor Boris Johnson.

former Conservative Mayor Boris Johnson) introduced his New Plan with an emphasis on social inclusion (GLA, 2017: XIII). Khan's introduction goes on to note that London faces a new wave of growth, meaning that solely to meet demand, at least 66,000 new homes need to be built every year – along with space for tens of thousands of new jobs. The approach Khan's administration applies this challenge is called 'Good Growth': "delivering a more socially integrated and sustainable city, where people have more of a say and growth brings the best out of existing places while providing new opportunities to communities" (GLA, 2017: XIV). The plan is specific about numerical targets and its goal is set to roughly double the current rate of homebuilding. The Mayor states he is also keen to expand collaboration between London Boroughs as way of achieving this and that he has sought specifically in this plan to create integration between its main policy areas. The Plan's policy on Meanwhile Use makes it clear that the PLACE Ltd London initiative responds to (and/or perhaps inspired) this policy.

Meanwhile housing can be provided in the form of precision manufactured homes. This can reduce construction time and the units can potentially be reused at a later date on another site. (GLA, 2017: 160-161).

Lewisham Core Strategy 2011 and Town Centre Local Plan 2014

Lewisham's adopted Core Strategy sets out a spatial strategy for the borough up to 2026 and also sets the scene for the town centre local plan (LTCLP). The Core Strategy identifies Lewisham town centre (see Figure 8.3.2 in the Appendix) as a Regeneration and Growth Area and the Lewisham Gateway Site as one of five Strategic Sites that are central to achieving the Strategy. The Core Strategy aims to ensure that by 2026 Lewisham's town centre graduates from its current designation as a Major town centre in the London-wide retail hierarchy and achieves Metropolitan town centre status. This LTCLP then sets out how the borough aims to achieve this goal.

Within this latter plan, the PLACE/Ladywell site, at that time still occupied by Lewisham Leisure Centre, was one of the town centre plan's six designated policy areas (see Figure in Appendix). Policies for the area included the following requirements: (a) promote the conservation and enhancement of the multiple heritage assets in the Policy Area through sensitive development and environmental improvement, (b) support efforts to increase the hub of community facilities in Ladywell Road, in particular, to bring the Ladywell Play Tower building back into active community use (c) promote development that contributes to the Lewisham Low Carbon Zone target to reduce CO2 emissions of 20% by 2012 and a 60% reduction by 2025 (d) All developments should provide a mix of uses suitable to an edge of town centre location and ensure active frontages to streets.

The policy specific to the Ladywell leisure centre site notes that the Council will seek to bring forward a comprehensive development of the Ladywell Leisure Centre site and adjoining land where appropriate for a mix of uses including housing and retail, subject in the case of the retail element to it having no demonstrable adverse impact on the Primary Shopping Area (LB Lewisham, 2014: 58).

4. The Action

4.1 Basic Characteristics of the Action

Action and its replication	2010-15	2016-2020	2021 -
PLACE/Ladywell, Lewisham Central Ward, London Borough of Lewisham	2014: Lewisham Town Centre Local Plan identifies Lewisham Leisure Centre site as a one of six key locations for redevelopment. August 2014, Lewisham Borough Council approaches architects Rogers, Stirk Harbour to create a pop-up village for the site left vacant by the demolition of Lewisham Leisure Centre. 2015: Lewisham Housing Strategy (2015) identifies need for council-controlled temporary housing for families threatened with homelessness in Borough.	Tender for PLACE/Ladywell construction won by RSH and SIG contractors; building completed. First tenants move in; makers' market in commercial ground floor premises. Makers' market proves unsustainable, replaced by charity, fashion and furniture businesses and café. Planning permission in place for the building up to 2020.	This is the end of the current planning permission for the building and the earliest date at which the scheme may be demounted and moved to another site within the Borough. This will depend upon the progress of masterplan and development initiation on the larger site. Some impact may also be from what are now known to be the higher-than-projected costs of demounting the scheme.
PLACE/Lewisham: 3 other place schemes in London Borough of Lewisham	N/A	Perceived success of PLACE/Ladywell leads to three more sites for PLACE schemes being identified in the Borough. Next schemes expected to be open for resident occupation by 2020.	
PLACE Ltd/London: multi-borough collaboration on PLACE replication	N/A	Contract for the first schemes in other London boroughs put out to tender 2018; decision by early 2019.	First schemes expected to be open for resident occupation in 2020.

Table 4.1 A timeline for the action, its Lewisham replication and London-wide replication

Sources: Rogers Stirk Harbour, 2016; London Borough of Lewisham, 2016; London Councils 2018; interviews and email communications for the study.

The PLACE/Ladywell scheme represents a collaboration between the high-profile architects' practice Rogers Stirk Harbour, with the contractor SIG, commissioned by the London Borough of Lewisham in partnership with project manager AECOM. The scheme, described by its creators as a Pop-Up Village, includes temporary residential accommodation for families classed as homeless in the borough on floors 1-3 and a ground floor of commercial premises, in line with its location in line with other shops and businesses on Lewisham High Street. The construction occupies a narrow, street-facing strip of a larger site owned by the council but left vacant pending redevelopment. All units exceed the current London space standard requirements by 10%, helping the Council to meet an existing shortfall in high quality temporary accommodation whilst it develops new build and estate regeneration programmes across the Borough (see Regeneration subsection in Section 3, above).

The scheme is not the first such project for the architects: this was the Y-Cube in Mitcham, in the South London Borough of Merton. Y-Cube, opened in September 2015, provided 36 studio-sized apartments for single homeless adults, moving on from hostel accommodation. It was a collaboration between the London Borough of Merton and the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA), an organisation which runs hostels for tourists as well as homeless people. Y-Cube was similarly strong on design quality and visual impact and well-received in the media and architectural profession (RIBA Journal, 2016).

The architects' website notes three key objectives for PLACE/Ladywell. Firstly, to provide 24 homes for homeless families currently living in poor quality temporary accommodation. Secondly, to create community commercial space at the ground floor level. Thirdly, to infill a prominent site on the high street which had been left empty following the demolition of the Ladywell Leisure Centre and act as a catalyst for future regeneration (RSH, 2016).

The Mayor of Lewisham emphasised the scheme's role in reanimating vacant regeneration sites:

This scheme may offer a solution to an all too common problem that plagues many development sites, which often sit unused while complex regeneration plans are put together. (Sir Steve Bullock, Mayor of Lewisham, cited in ASPB, 2018).

Communication materials produced on the scheme by Lewisham Council promote it as meeting the following additional aims:

- Creating flexible structures for a range of future uses
- Enabling on-site decant on regeneration schemes, so no one has to leave their neighbourhoods
- Mainstreaming new approaches to construction as the public sector returns to house building (ASPB, 2016: Slide 27).

A further factor emerges from a video clip about the scheme on the Lewisham Homes website: the council not only saves the cost of subsidising 24 families in temporary accommodation (or 48 if, as predicted, average stay before moving to permanent housing is only 1.5 to 2 years); but gets access to their rent or housing benefit. It is claimed these savings mean the scheme will pay for itself in 8-10 years (Egan, 2016; Olutoye, 2016). Tenants' rent is set at the **Local Housing Allowance** level (see Glossary in Appendix 8.4),

which when the scheme opened was set at £1,150 per month (ibid.). While this alignment means that the cost of rent can be met through the national Housing Benefit payments, it also means that should tenants earn enough to become ineligible for housing benefit, they would need to earn more than 85% of the mean Lewisham income of £2,700 in order to be spending less than half of their income on rent. If, however, as the architects claim, the energy efficiency of the schemes means that energy costs are reduced to around £30 per month, this might yet be more affordable than equivalently priced rental housing in Lewisham. (At around £360 per year, this would be well below standard costs for supplying a family home with energy in the UK).

The temporary housing development had a maximum procurement budget of £4,980,000 and received planning permission to remain on site for between 1-4 years. The volumetric construction technology is said to provide “high quality, energy efficient accommodation and means that the development can be built faster and cheaper than if traditional methods were used.” (RSH, 2016). The Alliance for Sustainable Building Products quotes a cost of £1,200 per m² (ASBP, 2018).

The building is arranged into three blocks divided by two external cores with colours identifying different elements. The 24 two-bedroom apartments and four community/retail units were constructed in a factory in Nottinghamshire as 64 fully fitted out units, before being transported by road to site and lifted into place. Balconies and lift/stair cores are also manufactured and installed on site as separate components. According to the architects’ website “This modern construction method and tenure blind approach to the design was intended to allow for a low-cost reconfiguration of the building elsewhere” suggesting that these may become homes for sale in the future. Furthermore, “In the long term the buildings may find a permanent site, or may be divided up to create smaller projects according to site availability.”

The units are manufactured from standard timber components using simple technologies and then fitted out with bathroom, kitchen, flooring and all finishes in the factory. Each unit takes approximately one month to be completed in the factory, and a full floor (of 16 units) takes only one week to install. From preparatory ground works to practical completion the construction programme took nine months (RSH website). In all only two years elapsed between the idea of the scheme and its realisation (ASBP, 2016).

The off-site manufacture approach is said to provide further advantages. The programme time is significantly reduced, resulting in lower construction costs, a key factor for the council. Waste is minimised, and in addition to the use of timber as the primary construction material, the building is said to be far more sustainable than a traditional building, although learning from this pilot project suggests that unanticipated environmental and economic costs are likely to arise when the building is moved, due to the necessity of demolishing and recreating linking structures such as stairwells on-site [Interview 1, Interview 5].

The replication actions in Lewisham and across London are still in the early stages and it is not anticipated that the first homes will be open to residents until 2020. The design and construction of the replication schemes across London were put out to tender in 2018, with a public announcement of the contract award due in early 2019. It is unlikely that the contract will go to the same architect and construction company as were behind PLACE/Ladywell. It is also unlikely that replication schemes will include ground floor commercial premises, as these were required for planning permission due to the location of the PLACE/Ladywell scheme, rather than being intrinsic to the model.

4.2 The Action with regards to Dimensions 3-5

Analytical Dimension 3: Coordination and implementation of the action in the locality under consideration

Decision-making capacity: Lewisham has a complex governance arrangement. It is one of only four (of the standard 32) London Boroughs with an elected Mayor. The same Mayor, Sir Steve Bullock, represented the Labour Party and served four continuous terms up to 2018, when he stepped down to make way for a new Labour candidate, the former head of Lewisham's Housing Strategy, who replaced him in 2018. Bullock, who took the role in 2002, was one of the first Local Authority Mayors under a new form of devolved local government introduced by the Local Government Act 2000. Although supportive and acting as an ambassador for the scheme, contrary to first impressions, the elected mayor of Lewisham is not thought to have had any great influence on its creation or development.

Unusually for England, which dissolved most regional governance bodies in 2011/12, Lewisham is also governed at a higher level by a regional body, the Greater London Authority (GLA). The GLA has its own elected Mayor, and is a Mayor and Assembly-led devolved city government body extant since 2000. In 2016, the political leadership of the GLA shifted from Conservative to Labour, and the new Labour Mayor introduced a new London Plan which emphasises social inclusion and social justice. Nevertheless, it is Lewisham's role in London as site of growth and regeneration that is emphasised in the draft new London Plan. It notes that: "Lewisham will grow in function and population and has potential to become a town centre of Metropolitan importance". (GLA, 2017: 35). It identifies an 'Opportunity Area' in Lewisham seen as having an employment capacity of 6,000 and minimum new homes capacity of 8,000 (GLA, 2015: 35).

At the local level, Lewisham Borough council provides over 800 services from an annual council budget of around £240million. The borough has 301,000 residents and it is projected that the population will expand to around 357,800 people by 2037 (ONS, 2018b). But in line with the contraction in all council funding in the UK, the Council's budget has seen a cut of £165 million in the last 8 years, with further reductions expected.

At a lowest level of governance, the Borough of Lewisham is also divided into 18 different wards, each with three local councillors elected by residents (totalling 54 ward councillors). Ward-level Local Assemblies – such as that for Lewisham Central Ward – are ideally placed to mediate between Lewisham council and local neighbourhoods and the residents of PLACE/Ladywell, in particular as the new Lewisham Borough Mayor has initiated a consultation on local participation in the Borough, as reported in the most recent published Lewisham Central Assembly minutes (Lewisham Central Ward, 2018). But generally speaking, **the influence of local power** seems limited in this setting. It is not clear that the local level has had any more than a one-off, limited consultancy role at the scheme's inception. Furthermore, although PLACE/Ladywell falls into Lewisham Central Ward, a communication from a contact in the ward⁸ described the neighbouring Ladywell Ward councillor as having had more involvement with the scheme.

Since the scheme opened to residents in 2016, places have been allocated through the

⁸ Dated 28 November 2018.

council's own placements scheme in its Housing Department. The process of selecting families for a flat at PLACE/Ladywell is said to be according to the council's standard allocation principles [Interview 1, Local Authority]. The allocations are managed by the council, but the residential accommodation is managed in common with all Lewisham council housing by Lewisham Homes.

The following policy sectors are implicated at Lewisham level: housing strategy, housing management, planning, poverty, business support. Of these, now that the scheme is built, the main sectors involved are housing and business support. In terms of **structures of coordination**, these sectors do not appear to be working together on the scheme, but all have a separate and discreet role.

As noted, earlier management of the scheme is divided between three separate organisations: the Meanwhile Space social enterprise, the DEK business growth agency and Lewisham Homes ALMO. **Coordination** between the three appears to be minimal based on interviews for this study. It appears there has not been much follow up at the scheme level – various problems highlighted in interview discussions and other research on the scheme are currently only partially addressed by the scheme's managers: churning of the retail space businesses, lack of organisational development support for some SMEs using the residential space, faults in construction leading to repeated water leakage and crime incidents affecting tenants and businesses.

In terms of the **distribution of power**, there doesn't seem to be any local voice for homeless or insecurely housed people at the local level and earlier research with the first tenants of PLACE/Ladywell taking place in 2016-17 notes the impact of this on the scheme's suitability for its occupants:

Several residents expressed a feeling that PLACE/Ladywell had not been designed with them in mind. One resident explained how, while she appreciated the calibre of the design, she didn't feel the open-plan layout of the flats was appropriate for her and her family, commenting, 'those things are really good for bachelors, but [not] if you've got little kids.' Ashley described the flats as 'almost like penthouses', imagining them as similar to places 'on the river' that would be rented at extremely high prices to the wealthy. Other features of PLACE/Ladywell, such as the fact it has bike racks rather than car parking spaces, also made residents feel that it was not designed for them. [Harris et al., 2018, no page numbers].

Taking up the cue in this paper, the importance of car parking for the ground floor commercial spaces was investigated with some interviewees [Interviews 2 and 9, 10] but no clear view on its importance for commercial tenants has emerged.

The lack of a user voice was also evident at London Councils level:

R: [...] is there any chance of having the homelessness charities, or representations of homeless families' input to the designs, and I was thinking about cultural flexibility?

P1 - I think given where we're at in our process, the answer at this point has to be no, but I really get your question. I think we would say that the mayor's housing design guide, which is what we're working to, those standards, were fully consulted on with a very wide range of people across the industry, including all of those groups that you're thinking of, the kind of homelessness, Shelter, Crisis et

cetera, all those groups represented. [Interview 5].

At the higher level, through which the scheme is undergoing replication across Lewisham and then across London, some stakeholders know each other because of the Local Authority career trajectory, which works across London, rather than just at Borough level. So, some actors who now work for different councils will have worked together at the same council in the past (Interview 5, PLACE Ltd). Regarding **modes of leadership**, London Councils is an association through which council leaders of the 33 London Councils work together to respond to and to shape policy and actions:

I regularly attend London Councils Housing Directors, which is a meeting that brings together all of the council directors for housing across London, and in fact I chair that meeting. And I chaired a subgroup of that meeting that was looking particularly at the supply of temporary accommodation for homeless families, because that's one of the key issues in London that brings all the boroughs together. And the idea for a modular housing scheme that could be collaboratively delivered between all the boroughs, or a number of the boroughs, was mooted at the group; we worked it up into a proposal, we took it to the GLA, the Greater London Authority, to apply for grant funding, which they agreed to provide. [Interview 5].

The scheme has received a great deal of interest and promotion in both the specialist and lay media [cited in Harris et al, 2018: no page number], but it is unclear to what the influence of the very well-known and resourced architects of the scheme (including, at least in the name of the practice, the 'starchitect', Sir Richard Rogers) have shaped the way it has been received in the media – another **dimension of power and leadership** that has perhaps been under-explored elsewhere in this report.

Analytical Dimension 4: Autonomy, participation and engagement

A degree of **autonomy** is possible to London Boroughs due to their legal role as a planning authority and their right to develop plans in line with their identification of local need. Just prior to the period of this action, the planning system in England was radically overhauled by the Conservative-led Coalition government, while further changes were introduced in 2018 and 2019 by its successor Conservative government. The new National Planning Policy Framework, introduced in 2012, and amended 2018, includes a strong 'presumption in favour of sustainable development'. Because sustainability is loosely defined, developers, can use this as a basis to appeal council decisions, using the Framework as a 'material consideration'. This increases the power of developers, to some extent reducing the council's accountability for private development in its area.

However, at the same time, the Localism Act, 2011, increased Local Authorities' options to take a more entrepreneurial approach to their own development, including social housing, as highlighted by the interviewee from PLACE Ltd:

If I would link it to anything, I would link it to two things. The Localism Act in 2011 introduced a more entrepreneurial, can-do, kind of attitude, which some authorities still haven't picked up on, and some have really gone for. So, under the Localism Act there's something called the General Power of Competence, which is an awful phrase, but what it means is in really simple terms, anything that a private company or a private individual can do, a local authority can now do unless there's legislation that says, "You shall not do this". So, it's a kind of enabling

legislation that just says, “Just do what you like, have a go, try something new”: it’s that kind of attitude that it encourages, which is so much not how local authorities used to be.

Local authorities, and again I’m going to say something kind of rude I suppose, but local authority lawyers have a reputation for being terribly risk averse, and local authority finance directors have a reputation for being terribly risk averse. And as somebody who, I like to think that I’m quite creative and I come up with ideas, in the past you’d come up with an idea and you’d say, “Can we do this?” and they’d say, “Oh, not sure about that. Where’s the guidance from the government? Where’s the legislation that says you can do that?” “Well there isn’t any”, “Well you probably can’t do it then”. And now we’ve turned that on its head, and since the Localism Act now we can say to our lawyers and our finance people, “We have a General Power of Competence. We can go and do anything we want, and unless you can tell me where it says I can’t do it, I can go and do this”. I can set up a company, I can buy and sell and trade and make things happen just like anyone else in the private sector, and that’s been very liberating and very yeah, a kind of creative environment for new ideas. [Interview 5].

The **scope of participation and engagement**, paradoxically, does not seem to have been enhanced by Localism powers in this case, and notions of place-making and local influence have not yet materialised in the evolving replication plans of PLACE Ltd (e.g. PLACE Ltd, 2018).

Going back to the Lewisham level, Local Plans in England undergo a lengthy public consultation process, which will have influenced the identification of the site and options for development in the Borough, including the PLACE/Ladywell site, but this is sometimes argued to be a very constrained version of local participation, where issues and options are pre-defined by council officers in consultation documents. **Local community participation** in PLACE/Ladywell seems to have been confined to the initial planning consultation, ward councillor interactions with the local authority [email communication from local contact], and an on-site exercise by the Local Authority, to shape policies for the commercial use of the ground floor of the building [Interview 1, Local Authority].

[...] so, in the planning process we only had one objection, which was from the Fox & Firkin pub, the other side of the road, and they didn’t object to the building, they just objected to the idea that there would be more neighbours who would probably find their music too loud and they might end up losing their live venue status. I think there were also some comments from the Ladywell Society. But actually, we didn’t really get much push back at all around consultations, local events, those sorts of things, no objections really apart from that one.

What we did once we had planning permission was that we... the site was hoarded, we got an old shipping container and dropped it into the hoarding line on the pavement and created a consultation venue around it and they served coffee out of it basically all day for a while. And it was built up in such a way that you could make... you could be consulted, you could basically say what you thought you wanted to be there, any time you wanted to walk up, put a mark up on the blackboard or write on something and stick it up, stay and have a chat with a member of the team, and that was there for six months. And that was around “What do we do with the ground floor area, which is non-residential, and what would you do with it and how could it work for you?” and that worked really well

in engaging people on a development making them feel bought into it. So it wasn't necessarily, "How big do you think it should be?" or "What colour do you think it should be?" – like that's all set; but "What should we do with it once it's finished because we're going to have a whole floor and it's available to the public and community and what would you like it to be?" That was very successful for us, and I think that did create a positive sentiment around the development. [Interview 1, Local Authority].

In terms of the **democratic legitimacy** of the management and operation of the scheme, including whether there is any input from the scheme's tenants, based on the evidence gathered by Harris et al. in 2016 and 2017, this appears to be lacking; indeed the authors found there to be considerable suspicion of the 'real agenda' of the Local Authority in creating PLACE/Ladywell, with speculation that the housing would eventually be sold for profit on the open market. It may be relevant in this regard that the newly-elected Mayor of Lewisham, Damian Egan, as one of his first actions in 2018 initiated a borough-wide consultation on participation and engagement which may seek to increase participation and engagement in the borough.⁹

One interview with a small business tenant on the scheme's ground floor indicated that businesses do not network together to have a voice with the managing bodies [Interview 9]. An interview with a managing body reciprocally indicated that due to the time pressures of simply operating effectively as a landlord for the building, which include sorting out teething troubles with the construction and operation with the contractor, there is not as much time as this organisation would like for place-making and community animation [Interview 10].

Observation of the development of the window front of the scheme over the last six months indicates there may be some cosmetic management to support the image of the scheme in the media, meaning that more niche and locally-focused kinds of businesses are being steered away from high street exposure and relegated to 'back of shop' status. Certainly, the way the businesses are presented on the online portal for the retail units emphasises a crisp, upmarket creative image [Place/Ladywell, undated] It was difficult for the researcher to find one of the NGOs renting ground floor space, as their presence was not advertised in the shop frontage. On asking the reason for this, the head of the NGO replied:

P - Yeah, when you came before, I think that sign's off now, "Go to the back", but we... I wanted to be on the front but it's not what we were offered, so, because we would actually, we would prefer being at the front particularly for Lewisham... for Time Bank it doesn't matter, but Lewisham Local to be... and with a big banner at the front "Lewisham Local", it would be better for us to be at the front, but maybe one day it will happen. [Interview 2].

This would be in line with the observation of a third sector organisation interviewee, based in a similar Inner London Borough, also located in South London, that retail areas in new developments are managed cosmetically so as to fit a particular marketable image and businesses not compatible with this kind of image are "edited out".

[the 'meanwhile' land use, the Art Park is] only going to be there for about five

⁹ The consultation (<http://www.lewishamdemocracy.com/>) was launched in October 2018 and will report in April 2019.

years and [the businesses there have] all got to leave at the end of December. So some of the businesses starting up there are certainly of that kind you know, little trendy wine bars, but one or two of them have really established themselves and now they're looking for... to stay in the area and they have been offered, so I am told, what they call affordable retail units in the new developments, which does get them up the next rung, that's good. But at the same time, we hear that they're being preferred by the developers for affordable retail units to more long-established businesses in the shopping centre. Now a lot of this again is anecdotal and hearsay, and I think you've got to take it... understand that obviously small businesses, times are harder, in competition with each other to get places so there may be a certain amount of jealousy or misinformation or gossip going around this. But I think there is an aspect of these places where you find developers cultivate the businesses that they want. [Interview 4, London Borough of Southwark].

Another factor affecting capacity for the local, grass-roots level **to participate** in area development and schemes such as PLACE/Ladywell is the pressure on the charitable sector in the UK linked with decline in both local government support and external grants. Lewisham has high rates of community involvement and volunteering, according to the Poverty Committee report in 2017:

Lewisham has strong communities, and a long history of civic activism. At present, there are over 800 active voluntary groups and more than 200 individual faith groups, with a recent survey revealing that 35% of Lewisham residents had volunteered over the past 12 months. (LB Lewisham, 2017: 27).

However, some sections of the local voluntary sector are under increasing pressure:

A significant proportion of Lewisham's charitable sector is financially vulnerable, as many organisations have had to use their reserves in the last year, and 22% not holding any reserves. While Lewisham Council continues to prioritise community activity, cuts to council budgets have impacted its grants programme, with a reduction of 15% in 2017 alone. To adapt to this new environment, 79% of Lewisham community organisations are delivering services in collaboration or partnership, with 76% of community organisations interested in co-location should the opportunity arise. (ibid. 28).

This was reflected in the interview with the NGO based at PLACE/Ladywell, where the interviewee noted the general context of cuts and diminishing public sector services placing more pressure on organisations like his own, and also mentioned having considered closing the charity down at one point [Interview 2].

Analytical Dimension 5: Expression and mobilisation of place-based knowledge and adaptability

In as much as **place-based knowledge** has influenced the development of the scheme, this appears to be mainly at the level of Local Authority officers and ward-level council officers and not drawn from lower levels, such as prospective tenants or their representatives. The exception to this is the input made by the local community to the development of the ground-floor commercial premises, which was the result of an interactive community consultation led by Lewisham council (Interview 1, Local Authority) However, as many of the original uses of the ground floor, including the 'makers market' and 'safe haven' café, have not survived after two years, this is probably

the least important influence on the way that place-based knowledge has impacted the scheme.

A more enduring shaping of the scheme in line with local place-based knowledge occurs mainly through local and regional policy documents as described in Analytical Dimension 2, such as the Lewisham Town Centre Plan and London plan

In terms of the building's construction, the government's adoption and promotion of precision-built modular design and construction appears to draw from understanding of the wide use of this approach in mainland Europe (e.g. Construction Industry Commission, 2013). Promotion of offsite building is simultaneously taking place in England (Homes England, 2018), Scotland (Scottish Government, undated), Wales (Welsh Government, 2017) and both Northern Ireland the Republic of Ireland (Kelly, 2016). There appears to be growing knowledge-sharing for the offsite industry (Offsite Hub, 2019).

Organisational learning and individual learning in relation to this scheme is facilitated in relation to the replication of the scheme both within the Borough and London-wide. Within the Borough, although the same architect and contractor will be used for the three replication schemes, it has already been noted by the scheme's initiating officer that the construction is not as demountable as intended, because stairwells and other shared functions were cast on site and would need to be demolished when the scheme is moved [Interview 1]. Not only does this appear to add a cost that was not included in the initial estimations, but it would also raise the carbon emissions of the construction to a considerable degree.

In relation to London-wide **organisational learning**, it can be said that the lead of PLACE Ltd London, currently employed by Tower Hamlets Borough, initially gained knowledge of the concept for PLACE/Ladywell through a former role at Lewisham council (Interview 5). The practical experience gained in Lewisham from creating PLACE/Ladywell has informed the model and the tender process for the London-wide replication scheme (ibid.).

In terms of the management and use of the ground floor commercial premises of the scheme, organisational and place-based learning may be supposed to be taking place within the two agencies that manage the commercial tenancies. In the case of Meanwhile Space, this is somewhat constrained by the rapid churning of staff responsible for the scheme (two were contacted over the course of this research, and there were a total of four since the scheme began in 2016 according to a business tenant of PLACE Ladywell – Interview 9); furthermore it appears that learning may not be shared between the two managing agencies, DEK and Meanwhile Space. Nevertheless, there has been a learning trajectory about the kind of business that would do well in the space, and those that did not survive [Interview 10].

Those enterprises that have survived and embedded themselves within the ground floor commercial premises seem to take a place-responsive and flexible approach to organisational development. Having a physical location in this area is seem as important:

I think what we've, certainly what we've learnt through being here is that you... okay, we've been... okay, because of the funding cuts out there and people have to kind of reduce what they're doing, or share their buildings or get rid of their buildings, what we know now from this is that you need a space, you need a physical space to meet, even as people you know, as a team you need space. You can't just say, "Oh, well it'll just happen in the air". Okay, and even though I use my house sometimes you can't expect everybody else to use their house. And it's got

to be accessible, because if it takes five buses to get here, you're going to lose... that's the beauty of being here, it's just so easy to get to and it's one floor, it's easy, it's comfortable. [Interview 2].

At all three levels, there appears to be a lack of formal coordination between levels and potentially, a lack of shared problem-solving between management and allocation organisations, although this needs further investigation.

This highlights an interesting aspect of this case study, which is the modesty of the scale of the action in the relation to the scale of the policy, media and economic context, which makes an interesting comparison with the contrasting scale of the other England case study for RELOCAL, to be further explored in the National Report. In a busy Inner London Borough such as Lewisham, a residential scheme coming in at under £5 million has the status of a mere “niche or demonstrator” project for those at Borough level (Interview 1, London Borough of Lewisham), with its main impacts operating simultaneously on an extremely small scale, for the two dozen or so business tenants and equivalent number of resident households that are accommodated by the building; and at an extremely large scale, with pictures of the photogenic architecture widely reproduced in London, national and even international media, and impacts on the development of further schemes in a borough with over 300,000 inhabitants and a city which has a population approaching 9 million. This disparity, along with a degree of fragmentation in the control and management of the scheme, appears to have resulted in the lack of a feedback loop from the small, local level to the Local Authority level since the scheme's launch. Paradoxically, a scheme such as PLACE/Ladywell, because it is temporary and experimental, but also because it has the status of ‘a small fish in a big pool’, a pool which includes large-scale, multi-million-pound regeneration projects, does not seem especially connected with the local area where it is situated, nor with local efforts at place-making and place shaping.

However, there are some indications, that organisational learning from the scheme's management organisations, in tandem with the Local Authority, is incremental and able to contribute some degree of **flexibility and adaptability** to the scheme's development. For example, a funded design and furnishing of the large, street-facing forecourt area, formerly partly occupied by outdoor seating for the Good Hope Café (now closed), is currently being negotiated by one of the management organisations (Interview 10).

5. Final Assessment: Capacities for Change

Synthesising Dimension A: Assessment of promoters and inhibitors (in regards to the action: dimensions 3 to 5)

Promoters. *The factors that promote procedural and distributive justice within the locality can be summarised as follows:*

London Borough of Lewisham, the Local Authority which led the action, has a history of innovative and radical policy, particularly with regard to housing, and is one of only four of London's 32 (standard) boroughs led by an elected mayor, so far, from the left of the political spectrum. The current Mayor, in office for less than a year, has as one of his first actions initiated a borough-wide consultation about how to achieve greater involvement for residents, local communities and businesses in local democracy. This may improve the capacity of PLACE/Ladywell users to get their voices heard.

Constraints: *The factors that constrain procedural and distributive justice within the locality can be summarised as follows:*

In common with local government across the UK, Lewisham has been subject to repeated substantial budgetary cuts since the financial crisis of 2008, and combined with the rising costs of meeting statutory obligations (in part related to impacts of recent national government strategies such as welfare reform and benefits freeze), this has led to a pared-down organisation that struggles to fulfil even basic council functions.

Synthesising Dimension B: Competences and capacities of stakeholders

Formal and Informal Empowerment. *The main mechanisms that produce or reproduce spatial injustice in the locality are as follows:*

Long-term political and economic factors have severely reduced the amount of social housing (i.e. council and housing association homes) available in the UK, at the same time as less secure forms of employment including zero-hours contracts and the gig economy have become prevalent. Post-2008 national government policies to reduce budget deficit including welfare reform, benefit freeze and cuts to local authority budgets have led to loss of staff in local government, an increased cost to local authorities of meeting statutory obligations such as advice and housing for families and other priority categories of people rendered homeless involuntarily. Until recently this was also a factor in constraining joint working between London boroughs to tackle the housing crisis.

Potential for localised action:

The potential for localised action in terms of Lewisham third sector organisations and the residents and business tenants of PLACE/Ladywell appears to be limited. However, at the regional level, the situation has reached a point of crisis which is now encouraging more joint working across London councils to tackle homelessness and also pushing political and opinion leaders, such as the Mayor of London, and the NGO Shelter, to consider the reintroduction of state-led support for people in housing need, such as a major programme of new social housing construction and London-wide rent controls.

Synthesising Dimension C: Connecting the action to procedural and distributive justice

Achievements over time and place.

The action has attempted to demonstrate a model of a new kind of housing that although in this 'meanwhile' (temporary site) version is at relatively small scale, might be built at volume in London to meet the housing needs created by accelerating population growth. While in effect pre-fabricated, unlike the standard image of factory-made housing, it has proved to be energy efficient and of a high quality (at least at the level of the unit) and of attractive design so that it does not look like the standard idea of temporary housing. In common with the systems-built housing of the post-war period it can also be built in a short time-span at relatively low cost and to good space standards and standards of building efficiency. Whether it can attain the robustness and demountability claimed by its promoters remains as yet untested.

There are several local and cross-London replication schemes spawned from this prototype but these may lack any clear way to connect with the community if not on sites requiring a commercial ground floor.

Evaluation of impact on the locality.

The scheme appears to be generally well-received in the locality and to have provided an upbeat prestige building in a run-down part of Lewisham Town Centre. In scale and height, it is broadly in character with the area, unlike the unpopular new high-rise building further up Lewisham High Street. Until its recent closure in December 2018, a strong link to the community, said to be particularly favoured by young mothers, was a ground floor community café run by an NGO that doubled up as a 'safe haven' for young people at risk of street crime or violence. Multiple pressures – including what appears to be insufficient investment in management and coordination of the commercial premises on the ground floor along with security issues for businesses and tenants in a high crime area – have so far limited the local impact of the scheme. Longer term impacts are as yet unknown.

6. Conclusions

What is being achieved in terms of delivering greater spatial justice?

The **output** of the action is 24 flats for homeless families and 16 business spaces in a central location in the London Borough of Lewisham. These flats have more space and are of better quality, and are also more secure than the kind of temporary accommodation that is available in the private rented sector. However, community spaces in the housing are external and still under development while community involvement in shaping the scheme seems confined to the use to which the ground floor commercial premises have been put, and furthermore community preferences for this part of the building have not been entirely realised.

The **outcome** of the action, however, is far wider, both spatially and numerically, and is likely to result in 300 such flats, including the three replication schemes planned for Lewisham (around 100 flats in total) and the cross-London replications planned for meanwhile sites across London by Place Ltd (a further 200 flats). Currently it seems unlikely that the replication flats will be any more linked with local community and homeless families' preferences than the Lewisham scheme, and considerably likely that they will be less so, as few will have a High Street location requiring ground floor commercial premises.

In pioneering both methods and tools for planning temporary residential uses of vacant land awaiting development, the **outcome** is likely to be greater 'meanwhile' use of vacant sites across England. In road-testing different models of adaptable, precision-built modular housing design (the PLACE/Ladywell prototype, the Lewisham replication schemes and the PLACE Ltd London replication schemes), the **outcome for London and England** is likely to be both high volume, low-rise, modular estates and of small infill, top-storey and temporary homes where the lower costs of construction mean that they can exceed superior space standards and exhibit good quality design. This will contribute to increasing London's ability to house its expanding population but may have only a minor impact for homeless and insecurely housed families.

The **relevance** of the action is probably more towards growing and developing the modular construction industry, as well as the planning system for 'meanwhile' residential uses, than to support homeless families or local communities. The relevance to the problem of homelessness is indicated by the Lewisham schemes' wider context of their location in a London Borough where 1,800 were recently reported to be in need of temporary accommodation; even when all four Lewisham schemes are in operation, at most 200 families can be given temporary housing in this way every four years. Even in the London-wide scheme of things, 400 more such spaces over four years, in the face of 56,500 homeless families, is clearly 'a tiny drop in the ocean', as one interviewee put it (Interview 3).

The **impact for the tenants** themselves is mixed: these are exceptional quality flats that give them a period of respite from the realities of London's Private Rented Sector, but at the same time they know from day one that they are only allowed them for a 12 to 18-month limited period. After this, any permanent housing that they are allocated is likely to be of inferior quality. **The impact on the local area**, in terms of the PLACE/Ladywell project, is a temporary design uplift to a neglected part of Lewisham High Street, that may even turn out to be longer term should the costs of demounting this prototype be found to outweigh the benefits of relocating it elsewhere. Through the scheme, a vacant site

earmarked for regeneration has been given an attractive design profile and the local community has benefitted from some new affordable rented premises for micro, small and medium businesses, agencies and social enterprises, although the frequent churning of uses and tenants in the ground floor suggests that model needs further development and perhaps greater (financed) support and input. Potentially the community impact may be enhanced, if the forecourt area of the scheme is developed for community activities, as planned.

However, the London-wide replications are unlikely to include commercial premises, as these were necessitated by the location of PLACE/Ladywell on a major high street, rather than forming an intrinsic part of the model. The one component of PLACE/Ladywell that included community input is therefore likely to be lost to the regional-level roll-out. **The impact of the PLACE Ltd scheme on other London locales** may therefore be minimal or possibly negative.

What are the policy changes ahead for bigger impact?

It is envisioned that several policy changes would need to take place to increase and improve the impacts of this action for homeless people and local communities, of which we here highlight three. The first would be a policy or regulatory requirement for this new kind of temporary residential schemes to be integrated with the local communities through shared spaces, such as an indoor shared community centre or premises for public sector services and relevant voluntary sector groups.

The second of these would be a change in the law to arrest the continual loss of social rented housing to the private rented and owner-occupied sectors through the 'right to buy' scheme. Combined with policy change to facilitate building of new council homes, this could ease pressures on councils seeking to support homeless families into secure accommodation.

The third relates to the recent expansion in private rented sector housing as a form of housing provision. Although it has grown immensely as a proportion of available housing due to the decline in social housing and home ownership, the PRS has not undergone significant regulation since the 1980s. Improving PRS regulation is partially addressed through a bill enacted in February 2019, the Tenant Fees Act, which comes into effect in June 2019 and restricts the charges landlords can levy besides rental and deposits. It also regulates the amounts that can be charged for late payment of rent. Further restraints on the sector, in line with the London Assembly's 2016 policy paper on the PRS, are currently under consideration (London Assembly Housing Committee, 2016; GLA, 2019).

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8. Annex

8.1 List of Interviewed Experts

Interview Number	Date	Role of expert	M/F	Duration of interview
1	29 August 2018	Head of Strategy and Programme	M	1 hour and 11 minutes
2	12 November 2018	Head of NGO based in PLACE/Ladywell	M	1 hour and 36 minutes
3	20 November 2018	Senior Policy Officer, national homelessness NGO	F	1 hour and 11 minutes
4	25 November 2018	Director of NGO focused on social housing in London Borough of Southwark	M	1 hour and 12 minutes
5 and 6	7 December 2018	Lead officer, PLACE Ltd London organisation and PLACE Ltd project manager	M, M	1 hour and 4 minutes
7 and 8	21 December 2018	Regional authority policy officer and senior policy officer, Housing and Land	F, F	59 minutes
9	5 February 2019	Manager of commercial spaces, PLACE/Ladywell	F	1 hour
10	5 February 2019	Small business entrepreneur based at PLACE/Ladywell	F	57 minutes

8.2 Stakeholder Interaction Table

Type of Stakeholders	Most relevant 'territorial' level they operate at	Stakeholders' ways of involvement in the project (What do we gain, what do they gain)
Local politicians	Administrative ward within the London Borough of Lewisham	Invited to participate in the study (ward councillors x 2) [awaiting reply]
Local administration	Local Authority (London Borough of Lewisham)	Interviewed for the study (Head of Housing Strategy x1)
Associations representing private businesses	Area manager and on-site manager.	Interviewed for the study (Manager in one of the two organisations managing ground floor commercial space in PLACE Ladywell x1; and informal conversation with on-site scheme manager working for this organisation)
Local development companies/agencies	In theory London-wide, so far a coalition of 6 London Boroughs.	Interviewed for the study (x2 – lead actor and intern in PLACE Ltd London replication)
Municipal associations		
Non-profit/civil society organisations representing vulnerable groups	1 at ward level 1 at borough level 1 at national level	Interviewed for the study (x3 – 1 local NGO based in PLACE/Ladywell; 1 social-housing focused NGO based in neighbouring borough; and 1 national homelessness NGO)
Other local community stakeholders	1 at ward level 1 at borough level (North London borough with comparable scheme)	2 contacted for study (awaiting reply)
Local state offices/representations		
Regional state offices/representations	2 at London-wide level	Interviewed for the study (x2 regional authority officers connected with PLACE Ltd London replication)
Ministries involved in (national or EU) cohesion policy deployment		To be contacted for a later Stakeholder Involvement event
Cohesion Policy think tanks (national/EU-level)		As above.
Primary and secondary educational institutions		
Colleges and universities		As above.
Social and health care institutions		
Cultural institutions and associations		As above.
Media		As above.

8.3 Map(s) and Photos

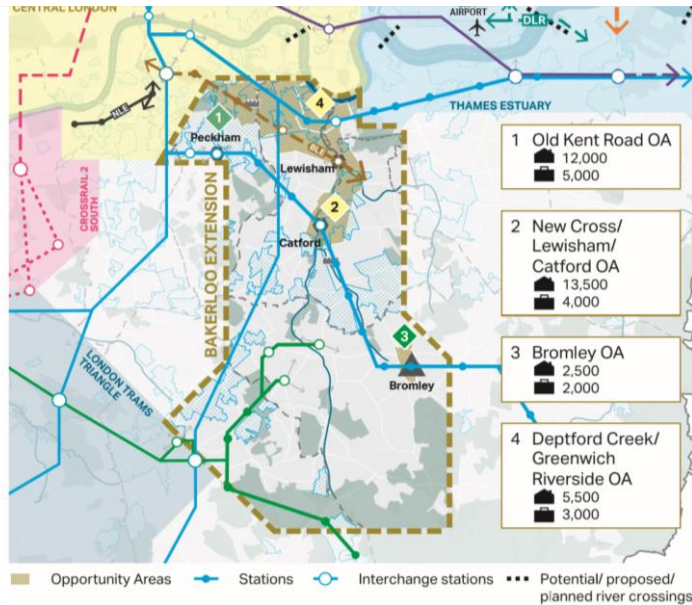


Figure 8.3.1 Bakerloo Line Extension map showing location of new stations and how they relate to Lewisham opportunity areas

Source: Transport for London

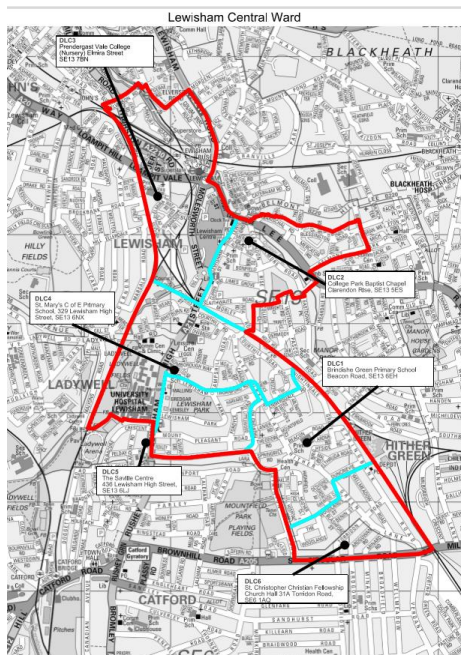


Figure 8.3.2 Lewisham Central Ward with Ladywell ward situated to the east and Blackheath ward to the West

Source: Lewisham Borough Council



Figure 8.3.3 Lewisham Town Centre Area as designated by Lewisham Town Centre Local Plan (2014) with site of PLACE/Ladywell indicated by 'Ladywell' label
Source: LB Lewisham 2014



Fig 8.3.4: Ladywell Policy Area as shown in Lewisham Town Centre Local Plan (2014), with St Mary's Church conservation area shown in lilac and listed buildings in purple.
Source: LB Lewisham, 2014b: 59.

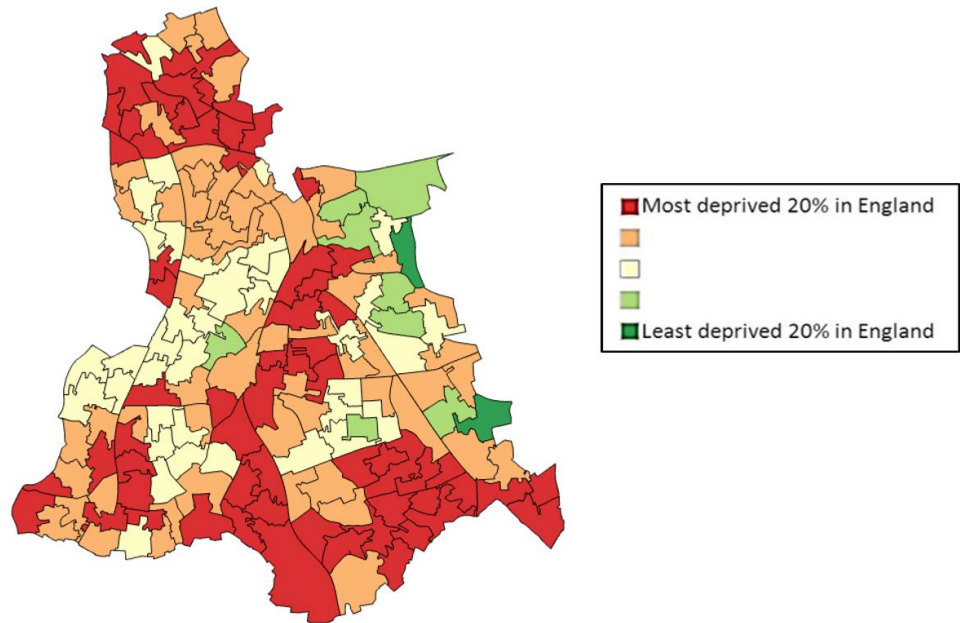


Figure 8.3.5: Rank of the smallest statistical areas in Lewisham based on 2015 Index of Multiple Deprivation, where red wards are within 20% most deprived in England and green wards in least deprived.

Source: London Borough of Lewisham, 2017: 8, based on government statistics.



Figure 8.3.6 Shop frontage of PLACE/Ladywell visible from Lewisham High Street

Source: the Authors

8.4 Additional Information

Theme	Lewisham Central	Ladywell	Blackheath	London Borough of Lewisham	Greater London
Children aged 0-15 in 2015	20%	17.9%	18.1%	20.7%	20%
Older people aged 65+ in 2015	7.4%	8.9%	10.5%	9.2%	11.4%
Mean age, 2013	33.6	34.8	35.9	34.5	35.6
% of area that is open space 2014	13.8%	25.7%	34.6%	22.1%	39.1%
Average Public Transport Accessibility level ¹⁰ 2014	5.2	4.5	4.9	4.1	3.8
Male life expectancy, 2009-2013	75.4	78.9	79.3	78.7	79.7
Female life expectancy, 2009-2013	80.8	83.1	83.3	80.3	84.1
Percentage of homes social rented, 2011	27.4%	23.6%	28.8%	31.1%	24.1%
Percentage of homes private rented, 2011	33.7%	25.2%	27%	24.3%	25.1%
Percentage of homes owned	35.1%	49.3%	43.2%	42.4%	48.2%
Crime rate per 1000 population	134.9	55	83.9	78	83.3
Theme	Lewisham Central	Ladywell	Blackheath	Lewisham (borough)	Greater London

¹⁰ Transport for London's (TfL) Public Transport Accessibility Levels (PTALs)

PTALs are a detailed and accurate measure of the accessibility of a point to the public transport network, taking into account walk access time and service availability. The method is essentially a way of measuring the density of the public transport network at any location within Greater London.

Each area is graded between 0 and 6b, where a score of 0 is very poor access to public transport, and 6b is excellent access to public transport. Research using the ATOS (Access to Opportunities and Services) methodology shows that there is a strong correlation between PTALs and the time taken to reach key services – i.e. high PTAL areas generally have good access to services and low PTAL areas have poor access to services.

(From London Data Store website: <https://data.london.gov.uk/dataset/public-transport-accessibility-levels>)

					(city)
Claimant rate of key out of work benefits (2014)	16.6%	11.7%	10.1%	14.2%	11.6%
Claimant rate of housing benefit (2015)	17.1%	10.7%	11.6%	15.4%	12.2%
Black and Asian Minority Ethnicity (BAME), 2011	51.6%	45.4%	30.2%	46.5%	40.2%
Not born in UK, 2011	41.2%	35.4%	29.3%	33.7%	36.7%

Table 8.4.1: Outline statistics, at Lewisham ward and borough level, and city-wide

Source: London Data Store, 2015

8.4.2 Glossary

Affordable housing. This is a catch-all term for both rented and for-purchase homes that are available for lower than market costs. There are considerable differences between the various types of lower-than market-cost homes and a large proportion of homes categorized as affordable, although they are cheaper than would be available in the open market, are beyond the economic capacities of those on low incomes and/or welfare benefits. The New Plan for London defines affordable housing as follows: “Affordable housing is Social Rented, Affordable Rented and Intermediate Housing, provided to eligible households whose needs are not met by the market. Eligibility is determined with regard to local incomes and local house prices. Affordable housing should include provisions to remain at an affordable price for future eligible households or for the subsidy to be recycled for alternative affordable housing provision. This is a broad definition of affordable housing and is consistent with the 2012 National Planning Policy Framework.” (GLA, 2017: 505).

Arms-length Management Organisation. Arm’s-length management organisations (ALMOs) were first established in 2002 as a way of achieving social housing investment without having to pass the ownership of housing stock out of council control; from a maximum of around 70 in 2008, they have now reduced to under 40, with a portfolio of under 500,000 properties. The creation of ALMOs provided an opportunity to give tenants a greater say in how their estates would be managed, through boards that are structured so that one-third of members are council tenants with the remaining two thirds made up of councillors and independents. Beyond improving housing standards, it falls within their remit to support financial inclusion of tenants and to regenerate neighbourhoods.

Assured shorthold tenancy (AST). This is the most common kind of tenancy in England and the majority of new tenancies are automatically of this kind. It was introduced from January 1989 and is for tenancies where property is owned by a private landlord or housing association (but the owner does not live there) and where the property is the tenant’s main home. It does not apply to the increasingly rare number of tenancies where the landlord is the local council. Assured shorthold tenancies can range from 6 months to 7 years, but the standard term in England is from six months to a year.

Council housing. Council housing is the term for rented housing provided to their populations by Local Authorities in the UK. The first estate was opened in London in 1900 and the tenure peaked in 1979 when 32% of all households in England rented their home from a Local Authority (council) (Boughton, 2018: 165). A combination of political and economic factors subsequently led to a substantial reduction in the UK’s council housing stock through three main sources: transfer of individual council homes to the private sector through the ‘right-to-buy’ scheme; transfer of estates to housing associations and ‘arms-length management organisations’, endowed with more powers to borrow and improve the stock in comparison with councils; restrictions on Local Authorities borrowing to build any new council housing. Mandatory ‘fixed term tenancies’ of between two and ten years were introduced for council tenants through the Housing and Planning Act 2016.

Homelessness. The national government website states that: “The term ‘homelessness’ is often considered to apply only to people ‘sleeping rough’. However, most [...] statistics on homelessness relate to the statutorily homeless, i.e. those households which meet specific criteria of priority need set out in legislation, and to whom a homelessness duty has been accepted by a local authority. A ‘main homelessness duty’ is owed where the authority is

satisfied that the applicant is eligible for assistance, unintentionally homeless and falls within a specified priority need group. [...] The 'priority need groups' include households with dependent children or a pregnant woman and people who are vulnerable in some way e.g. because of mental illness or physical disability. In 2002 an Order made under the 1996 Act extended the priority need categories to include applicants: aged 16 or 17; aged 18 to 20 who were previously in care; vulnerable as a result of time spent in care, in custody, or in HM Forces; vulnerable as a result of having to flee their home because of violence or the threat of violence. Where a main duty is owed, the authority must ensure that suitable accommodation is available for the applicant and his or her household."

Local Housing Allowance rates. These are the maximum amounts for which Housing Benefit is payable for those who are unemployed or unable to meet the cost of rent from their income. They are set annually for Broad Rental Market Areas, which, according to the government's website, are areas "where a person could reasonably be expected to live taking into account access to facilities and services". LHA rates are set at whichever is the lowest amount: the 30th percentile on a list of rents in the broad rental market area; or the existing Local Housing Allowance. In 2015, Local Housing Allowance rates were frozen by the government for four years, meaning many in London cannot meet the costs of rent from Housing Benefit (Shelter, 2017).

London Affordable Rent. According to the New Plan for London: "Affordable Rent is subject to rent controls that require a rent of no more than 80 per cent of the local market rent (including service charges, where applicable)." (GLA, 2017: 505).

London Living Rent. According to the GLA website, "London Living Rent is a type of affordable housing for middle-income Londoners. These homes will have lower rents, so cash you save on rent can go towards a deposit for your own home. This is part of Homes for Londoners, which brings together all of the Mayor's work to address the housing crisis."

London Shared Ownership. According to the GLA website, "Shared Ownership is a type of affordable home ownership when a purchaser takes out a mortgage on a share of a property and pays rent to a landlord on the remaining share. For example, someone might buy a 50% share in a property, and pay rent to the landlord on the remaining 50%. Purchasers then have the opportunity to 'staircase' up their share of the property, gradually increasing the proportion of their home that they own outright and therefore paying less rent on the remaining portion, until they own 100% of their home." Shared Ownership tenure is mainly provided by Housing Associations, although the conditions may vary from the above definition outside Greater London.

Market Rents. In London local market rents are determined at a level lower than the London Borough, so a Borough might for example have two or three different market rent levels pertaining within it which would then affect the level of social rents and affordable rents set within that area.

Meanwhile spaces and uses. "Meanwhile use is a loose designation for activities that occupy empty space, while waiting for another activity on site. Meanwhile uses can be as diverse as permanent uses: [...] pop-up shops, bars, allotments, art galleries, football pitches; as well as housing or workspace on a meanwhile basis. Meanwhile uses are usually defined by their short time frame, which makes them relatively affordable. Most landowners charge low or no rents for meanwhile spaces, because these spaces are second hand and time sensitive: they may need investment to be fitted out, but there is only a

short time period to recoup that investment.” (Bosetti, N. and Colthorpe, T., 2018).

Modular housing. Also known as Precision-built modular Housing and Offsite Manufactured Homes. This is housing that is transported in smaller units from the factory to the building site. Its factory construction is said to reduce costs, improve quality control and carbon efficiency and increase speed of construction (Planning Committee, London Assembly, 2017).

Private Rented Sector. This sector is growing in importance in the UK in line with the rapid diminution in Social Rented housing stock and the decline in home ownership. It is said to be relatively weakly regulated, based on 1980s policies and legislation that sought to encourage to increase the stock of property to let by making it more advantageous to landlords through new forms of letting contract, such as **Assured Shorthold Tenancies**, which may be as brief as 6 months (see above). The Private Rented Sector also includes Bed and Breakfast Accommodation let at a weekly or even nightly rate. The Private Rented Sector has long dominated in rural areas, but has expanded greatly as a form of tenure in most cities.

Social rent. According to the national government website: “Social rented housing is owned by local authorities and private registered providers (as defined in section 80 of the Housing and Regeneration Act 2008), for which guideline target rents are determined through the national rent regime. It may also be owned by other persons and provided under equivalent rental arrangements to the above, as agreed with the local authority or with the Homes and Communities Agency.” Social rents are lower than the 80% of market rents that define affordable rents.

Social housing. Social housing is all housing provided at lower than market rates, including council housing, housing provided by Housing Associations (now technically classified as Private Registered Providers), and housing provided by Arms-length Management Organisations (ALMOs).

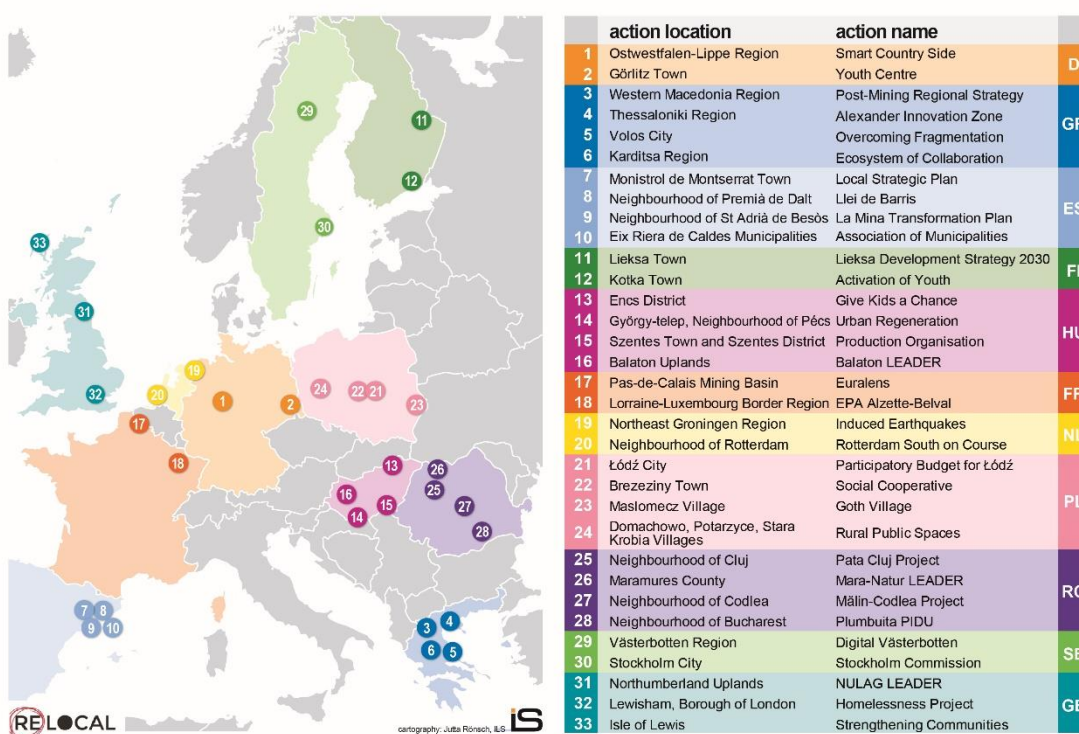
Temporary Accommodation. As noted in the definition of homelessness, there is a duty on Local Authorities in England to Local housing authorities in England to secure accommodation for unintentionally homeless households in priority need. “Households might be placed in temporary accommodation pending the completion of inquiries into an application, or they might spend time waiting in temporary accommodation after an application is accepted until suitable secure accommodation becomes available. Authorities use a range of types of temporary accommodation, the most controversial of which is bed and breakfast (B&B) accommodation.” (Wilson and Barton, 2018: 3)

The RELOCAL Project

EU Horizon 2020 research project ‘**Resituating the local in cohesion and territorial development**’ –RELOCAL aims to identify factors that condition local accessibility of European policies, local abilities to articulate needs and equality claims and local capacities for exploiting European opportunity structures.

In the past, especially since the economic and financial crisis, the European Social Model has proven to be challenged by the emergence of spatially unjust results. The RELOCAL hypothesis is that **processes of localisation and place-based public policy** can make a positive contribution to spatial justice and democratic empowerment.

The research is based on **33 case studies** in **13 different European** countries that exemplify development challenges in terms of spatial justice. The cases were chosen to allow for a balanced representation of different institutional contexts. Based on case study findings, project partners will draw out the factors that influence the impact of place-based approaches or actions from a comparative perspective. The results are intended to facilitate a greater local orientation of cohesion, territorial development and other EU policies.



The RELOCAL project runs from October 2016 until September 2020.

Read more at <https://relocal.eu>

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