

# RESIDENT INVOLVEMENT IN THE LONDON BOROUGH OF SOUTHWARK

# Research Report

Presented to Southwark Council

Mette Louise Berg March 2015







# **Table of Contents**

1.	Acknowledgements	iii
2	Executive summary	1
۷.		
	Key recommendations	2
3.	Introduction	3
4.	Social housing, Southwark's long-term housing strategy and resident	
	involvement	
	Diversity in the borough's population	6
	Diversity in the social housing stock	
	Deprivation and population density in Southwark	7
5.	Resident involvement: good practice examples	9
	Tenant Management Organisations (TMOs)	10
	Small-scale projects: Community gardens and sports projects	12
	Football projects	14
6.	Barriers to resident involvement and how to overcome them	14
	Employment, socio-economic, and life-style factors	
	Socio-demographic and socio-cultural factors	
	Capacity, skills, and reputational issues	
	T&RAs and tenants' halls	
	Lessons from other social housing providers	19
7.	Conclusions and recommendations	19
Αp	pendix	22
	About the research	22
	Interviews conducted and events attended	
	Notes	

# 1. Acknowledgements

Research for this report was conducted by Mette Louise Berg (COMPAS, University of Oxford) with assistance from Ahmed Kabba and Sylvia Velasquez. Ben Gidley (COMPAS) contributed to research and writing. The author wishes to thank the many Southwark residents and volunteers who gave their time to help with the research and talk about their experiences. The author also wishes to acknowledge the helpful comments by Stephen Douglass, Stephen Gaskell, Brian O'Neill, and Darryl Telles (Southwark), and Ole Jensen (COMPAS) on draft versions. The research was funded by an ESRC Impact Accelerator Account Knowledge Exchange Fellowship, October 2014 – June 2015. During the fellowship Mette Louise Berg has been a 'researcher in residence' with the London Borough of Southwark, which offered extensive support and assistance with the research, and whose officers were generous with their time and expertise. The author especially wishes to thank Claire Linnane and John Morteo in the Chief Executive's Department for support throughout the research. The financial support of the ESRC is gratefully acknowledged. Any errors or shortcomings remain the author's.

# 2. Executive summary

Southwark's first long-term housing strategy was agreed in January 2015. It includes a pledge to build 11,000 new council homes for rent by 2043, with the aim of improving access to affordable, good quality housing in the borough. The pledge responds to the borough's substantial housing needs, which reflect London-wide challenges: The population is growing and the demand for affordable homes far exceeds supply.

Southwark is a 'super-diverse' central London borough characterised by ethnic and linguistic diversity, high demographic churn amid overall population growth, and increasing socio-economic stratification. These characteristics add up to a dynamic and challenging environment in which to foster resident involvement and resilience. The challenge is even greater in a context of central government cuts to local authority funding. Southwark's new long-term housing strategy offers an opportunity to think innovatively about how best to engage residents and make the most of Southwark's diversity.

The report highlights innovative, inclusive, and sustainable ways of fostering resident involvement from strategic and long-term developments for lasting change (Big Local, Tenant Management Organisations) to small-scale initiatives (community gardens, football projects).

The report also considers barriers to resident involvement, which are multi-causal, diverse and mutually interacting, including:

- I. Employment, socio-economic, and life-style factors (anti-social working hours, lack of time, social isolation, isolation between estates)
- 2. Socio-demographic and socio-cultural factors (population churn, increasing language diversity and language barriers, mistrust and fear of authorities and other residents)
- 3. Capacity, skills, and reputational issues (lack of familiarity with involvement structures, lack of experience in setting up constituted groups and accessing funding, council seen as remote)

There are many successful examples of innovative resident involvement in Southwark. There is potential to scale out larger projects, i.e. seeking to extend projects to more estates and wider areas; and to scale up smaller projects such as football training and community gardens. This should be done in a way that seeks to tie projects in with strategies to up-skill volunteers and get residents into employment, as well as promoting inclusion, improving public health, and resident well-being, consistent with the Fairer Future promises as set out in the Council Plan.

It is important that the council continues to engage with residents across a range of different organisational platforms, including Tenant and Resident Associations (T&RAs), but also through schools, youth clubs, and community organisations, and via social media, to ensure that as diverse a range of residents as possible is reached.

# **Key recommendations**

- I. The council should continue to work in a strategic manner with voluntary and charitable groups in the borough to mutually support projects and initiatives;
- 2. The council should draw on the considerable experience and insights of TMOs across the borough;
- 3. The council should continue to engage with residents via T&RAs where they exist, and to support collaboration between T&RAs;
- 4. The council should seek alternative and creative funding sources and income streams to support its resident involvement initiatives.

#### 3. Introduction

Southwark's first long-term housing strategy was agreed in January 2015. It includes a pledge to build 11,000 new council homes for rent by 2043, with the aim of improving access to affordable, good quality housing in the borough. The pledge responds to the borough's substantial housing needs, which reflect London-wide challenges: The population is growing and the demand for affordable homes far exceeds supply.

Housing is about more than just bricks and mortar. As well as providing homes, housing is linked to economic and social well-being, and to educational and employment indicators for residents. Housing is integral in shaping the local economy and social fabric through providing homes for people on a range of incomes. Council housing specifically provides homes for many people in low-paid and part-time work, as well as for key workers. In a context of rising house prices, urban regeneration, and central government welfare cuts, affordability of housing is a contentious issue in Southwark as in London as a whole. Southwark's housing strategy is therefore not only of concern to the many people for whom the council provides a home whether as tenants or leaseholders, but is also important to those on the council housing waiting list, to the many residents who live in close proximity to council housing, to people who work in the borough but who are unable to afford to live there, and to others, including especially children and young people growing up in the borough.

Resident involvement is integral to Southwark's housing strategy, based on ample evidence showing that more resident involvement in managing estates creates higher levels of satisfaction among tenants, as well as having a positive impact on residents' feelings of belonging.<sup>2</sup> The importance of resident involvement is reflected in Principle 3 of the housing strategy.

# Principle 3 – We will support and encourage all residents to take pride and responsibility in their homes and local area.

- Enabling council tenants and homeowners to take greater control over their local housing services, and supporting the development of tenant management organisations.
- Working with local housing associations to promote resident involvement and a more consistent Southwark wide service standard.
- Providing advice and assistance to private landlords and tenants on their respective rights and responsibilities.
- Working in partnership with local residents to tackle antisocial behaviour where it blights neighbourhoods and people's lives.
- Providing advice to private leaseholders on their options including the right to manage their blocks or estates.<sup>3</sup>

Since the 1980s, the council has lost housing stock, mainly through right to buy. Accordingly, the proportion of council estate residents who are either private tenants or leaseholders has risen. During the same period, the population in Southwark has diversified in terms of ethnicity, languages, and national origins. The combined effect of these two developments is that residents in council housing have become more diverse with regard to tenure as well as across a range of other indicators.

Tenant & Residents' Associations (T&RAs) have traditionally been the main vehicles for the Council's resident involvement initiatives. While the number of T&RAs has remained relatively stable over time, and while some T&RAs are thriving, many T&RAs are finding it difficult to attract younger people, recent immigrants, and members of black and minority ethnic groups. As a result, T&RAs are not always representative of the diversity on their estates. Many existing T&RA volunteers have been active in the tenants' movement for decades and are keen to recruit new members,

There are 293 council estates in Southwark and 126 registered T&RAs; this represents a slight decline since 2005, when there were 134 T&RAs. In the same period, the council has lost stock through right to buy.<sup>5</sup>

but find it very difficult. There is a strong sense of decline among volunteers, to the extent that many expressed concerns about the future viability of T&RAs. There is accordingly a need to assess resident involvement strategies, and especially to consider ways of involving young people and residents belonging to otherwise under-represented groups.<sup>4</sup>

The shortage of T&RA volunteers reflects wider issues. Residents in council housing in the borough and across London are among the most deprived (see section 4 below). The decrease in stock combined with an increase in demand means that the council is increasingly only able to house vulnerable residents and those most in need. They will often be tenants who do not have the resources, including the time, energy, and confidence to become involved. It is however important not to romanticise the past in terms of involvement, and to be realistic about the level of involvement that can be expected. There are real and substantial barriers to residents becoming involved, including socio-economic conditions and changes in employment patterns and family structures (see section 6). Additionally, not all residents wish to be involved in housing specific involvement initiatives. Some residents are already involved in other ways, e.g. with faith groups, and are not interested in involvement through their estates. They may not identify as residents of particular estates, especially if they have newly settled in the area, or are letting privately on short-term contracts. Young people may be better reached via social media, or through schools or youth clubs, as they themselves have told council researchers. Others may not wish to be identified with the estate they live on whether because of negative stereotypes of council housing or for other reasons.

Residents have a strong preference for personal contact with council officers that it can be difficult for the council to meet especially in the current funding context. This challenge is also shared by third sector organisations and registered social landlords who told the researchers that they too are struggling to involve residents, even when they provide services that respond to documented needs, or when offering opportunities that residents themselves say they would like. There is wide consensus among charities and registered social landlords that the most effective and sustainable way of engaging residents is through personal contacts and on-site presence, but that is resource demanding and not always possible, or only to a limited degree.

Against this background, and in a context of urban regeneration, Southwark seeks to support and develop greater community resilience and independence among its residents.<sup>8</sup> The report is intended to support this aim.

The research has looked at examples of resident involvement across the borough with a view to disseminate examples of inclusive, innovative, and sustainable practices on council estates, as well as

on estates owned by registered social landlords (Family Mosaic and Hexagon Housing), and on City Corporation and Peabody estates (through Big Local). Additionally, the researchers sought out good practices of involvement led by charities and the voluntary sector in the borough, including T&RAs, Southwark Group of Tenants Organisation (SGTO), Big Local, United St. Saviour's, Bankside Open Spaces Trust (BOST), Pembroke House, Crystal Palace Development Trust, Latin American Women's Rights Services, and Social Life.

Since the 1990s, some housing estates in the borough have been run by Tenant Management Organisations (TMOs). TMOs enable tenants and leaseholders in social housing to take collective responsibility for managing the homes they live in and are thus examples of substantial and meaningful resident involvement. In annual satisfaction surveys of residents, TMOs consistently score higher than council managed estates on all key performance indicators for both leaseholders and tenants, with TMO leaseholders considerably more satisfied than council leaseholders.<sup>9</sup>

Southwark is recognised as a best practice local authority vis-à-vis TMOs, and is committed to the development of more TMOs across the borough. <sup>10</sup> The commitment is underpinned by community engagement exercises which showed 'significant appetite among council tenants and homeowners for more resident involvement in housing management' and for more tenant management initiatives. <sup>11</sup> The research has therefore also specifically looked at resident involvement in TMOs.

The report begins with a brief description of social housing in Southwark and its significance. It then considers diversity and indices of deprivation in the borough in general and for social housing residents in particular. This context is important for an understanding of the conditions and challenges of resident involvement strategies for the council as well as its partners in the voluntary and charitable sector.

The report then moves on to present the research findings. Firstly, it details four case-studies of good practice, namely: Big Local, resident involvement in TMOs, community gardens and allotments, and football projects. The report then considers barriers to involvement and suggests ways of overcoming them. Finally, the report sums up the findings and makes recommendations. It is hoped that the insights and examples provided will prove helpful in designing resident involvement initiatives to support the Council's housing strategy, appropriate for the particular challenges facing Southwark.

# 4. Social housing, Southwark's long-term housing strategy and resident involvement

Social housing is concentrated in central London. Southwark is the largest local authority social landlord in London, and social housing is a distinctive feature of the borough's urban geography. In April 2012, over 40 per cent of the total housing stock in Southwark was social, compared with 24 per cent across London as a whole, but in both relative and absolute terms it has decreased since the 1980s, mainly through right to buy sales. Meanwhile, the private rented sector in Southwark has expanded as can be seen in chart 1 below; this is consistent with patterns in other central London boroughs.<sup>12</sup>

Chart 1: Housing stock in Southwark 1981-2012

Source: HIP Returns, HSSAs and ELASH 1981-2012. The other local authority stock consists of properties owned by the City of London and Lewisham Council which are within Southwark.

How many people live in social housing in Southwark?: In 2011, the council housed just under 90,000 or about a third of all residents in its own stock, including TMOs, with a further 34,000 in non-council social rented stock, out of a total population of 282,500 in the borough as a whole.<sup>13</sup>

#### Diversity in the borough's population

Historically, the population of what is today the London Borough of Southwark has been mainly white and working-class. Ethnic, socio-economic, and linguistic diversity has increased since the postwar period, first with the arrival of Caribbean migrants, and more recently with an acceleration of immigration from more different regions and countries of origin, as well as increasing stratification in socio-economic terms. As well as being ethnically and linguistically diverse, Southwark's population is also growing and youthful, with 58 per cent aged 35 or under. Residents in council housing tend to be relatively older than the borough average; this is likely to increase as those in council housing are less likely to move than residents in other forms of housing.

Diversity in Southwark: More than 120 languages are spoken in Southwark; about one in ten households have no members with English as their first language; three quarters of reception-age children in the borough are from black and minority ethnic (BME) groups. More than half of live births in the borough in 2011 were to foreign-born mothers. New and growing demographic groups in the UK including 'white other' and 'mixed' ethnicities, and African and Latin American ethnicities represent a relatively larger share of Southwark's population compared to the national average. <sup>16</sup>

#### Diversity in the social housing stock

Architecturally, the social housing stock in Southwark is very diverse, with styles including Victorian terraced houses, post-war red brick apartment blocks, and 1960s concrete high rises. There is also

enormous variation in the size of estates from very small estates to large estates of several thousand residents. Some council estates have high proportions of leaseholders and private renters living next door to council tenants. Finally, some estates have their own T&RA or residents' halls while others do not. This is an important factor for residents in terms of their opportunities for self-organisation.

Given this diversity, the experience of living in council housing is not the same for all residents, and residents themselves are, as noted above, increasingly diverse across a number of characteristics including also tenure type.

## Deprivation and population density in Southwark

Compared to the national average, London has a more unequal distribution of household income, with those in social housing concentrated in the lowest household income quintile, and owner occupiers in the highest.<sup>17</sup> As a central London borough with a high proportion of residents in social housing, this inequality is also reflected in Southwark. The borough is one of the twelve most deprived in London, while also being home to many affluent residents.<sup>18</sup> The job market in the borough reflects the same inequalities with the proportion of people in managerial or professional jobs above both the London and national averages, while residents in council housing (in Southwark and across London) are disproportionately likely to be claiming out-of-work benefits, with many affected by the so-called 'bedroom tax'.<sup>19</sup>

Within the borough, the wider surroundings of council housing estates differ substantially, from affluent

and leafy Dulwich in the south of the borough, to the densely inhabited and relatively deprived central parts in Nunhead, Livesey, Peckham and Bermondsey. Northern parts of the borough are within walking distance of the City, and centres of financial, political and cultural power. This proximity, in combination with wider economic and social changes, including regeneration, means that the socio-economic profile of residents is changing with more professional, managerial and relatively affluent people moving in.<sup>20</sup> As a result of these trends, the borough is increasingly marked by stark and visible juxtapositions of wealth and deprivation among its residents.

Figure I below is a map of Southwark showing the combined score for deprivation as measured by income, education, health, employment and other indicators, highlighting the spatial clustering of deprivation in the north and centre of the borough,

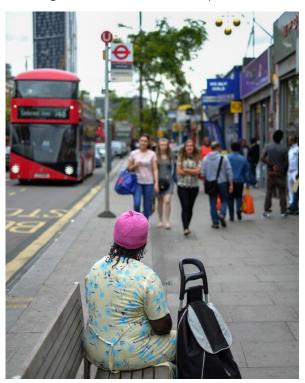
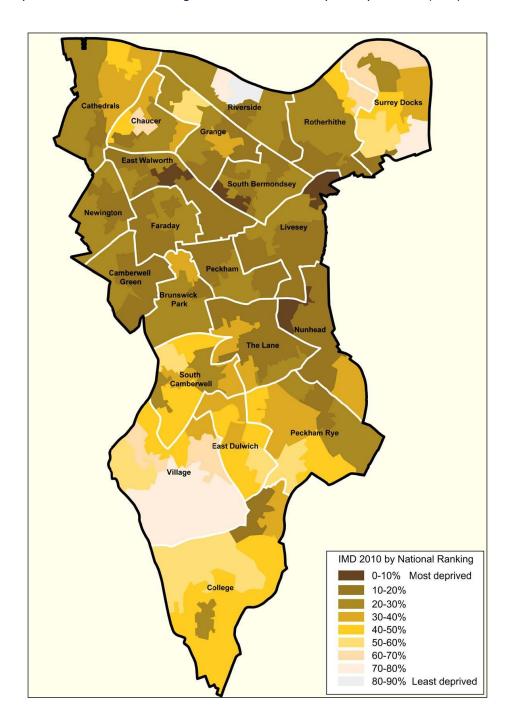


Photo: Simon Rowe / CACAO

with additional clustering in the south around the Kingswood Estate, a council housing estate. The map shows a clear link between social housing and deprivation with the least deprived areas being those with the highest incidence of home owners.

Figure 1. Map of Southwark according to the Index of Multiple Deprivation (IMD).21



To sum up, Southwark is a 'super-diverse' central London borough. Super-diversity is a term increasingly used in academic and policy literature to indicate not only ethnic diversity, but diversity across a range of interacting indices, including country of origin, language, religion, migration channel and immigration status, and gender, age, and generational profiles. <sup>22</sup>The borough additionally has high levels of deprivation, with stark contrasts between poverty and affluence, a high population density, and high demographic churn amid overall population growth. In these respects, the Southwark context is similar to that of other central London boroughs, <sup>23</sup> constituting both a dynamic and a challenging environment in which to foster resident involvement and resilience. The challenge is even greater in a context of central government cuts to local authority funding, which affects the council's ability to deliver services.

In the following section, the report highlights innovative, inclusive, and sustainable ways of fostering resident involvement from strategic and long-term developments for lasting change, such as Big Local and TMOs, to small-scale initiatives, such as community gardens and football projects on individual estates.

# 5. Resident involvement: good practice examples

#### Big Local – working for lasting change in Bermondsey

The Big Local in Bermondsey is a 10-year community development initiative started in 2011 with a total £1 million fund. Building on a history of community regeneration in the area, and working with five estates in South Bermondsey, Big Local has emerged as the catalyst for local initiatives in the area. It is identified as good practice here because it focuses on T&RAs in social housing, but goes beyond this in developing a range of activities beyond the housing sector, and because it represents a successful model of deploying external funding to meet local need.

From the late 1990s onwards, the Neighbourhood Renewal Fund (NRF), and later the Pathfinder Programme, succeeded by the South Bermondsey Partnership, targeted the UK's most deprived wards and brought significant regeneration funding into Southwark. In 2011, the council secured funds from the 'Big Lottery Fund' - £100,000 per year over a 10 year period - in order to continue the partnership under the auspices of two local organisations, Bede House and Time and Talents, but also building on cooperation with a wide range of local organisations, statutory agencies, religious communities, and the local business community. Southwark Council is represented on the board.

The South Bermondsey estates where Big Local has been focused were picked because they had high indices of deprivation, and were relatively isolated estates, with lower levels of community cohesion than other nearby estates which had already been the focus of regeneration activity. The partners were able to work with local residents, building their capacity and offering them skills training, re-animating local T&RAs, and started to make connections across postcodes and estates, overcoming inter-estate and generational divides.

As well as working with local businesses, Big Local also works with the community wing of Millwall FC, Millwall for All, to engage young people from the different estates together in common sports activities (see also football case-study). It has set up community gardens on several estates, and has worked in a targeted way to include different age groups and generations in a range of projects and activities with a view to help local residents find employment or support them in setting up their own businesses, thus creating a lasting legacy.

In recent years, Big Local has taken on the running of the St George's Day festival in South Bermondsey, identified as a promising practice in community cohesion by the European Union's EU-MIA (European Migration Integration Academy) in 2013, which identified the following features of the work:<sup>24</sup>

#### What makes it work?

- Strong local stakeholders: There are some very well-established and highly respected local counterparts in Bermondsey that can take the work forward. There is also a strong narrative of community, in particular among older residents.
- Capacity building: The long-term perspective characterising community engagement initiatives has allowed for a focus on capacity building and empowerment of local stakeholders. Accordingly, some of those who were recipients in the early part of the partnership are now stakeholders in their own right.

#### What makes it innovative?

- Local ownership: Significant in the context of partnership development is the manner in which the role of the council has shifted from key implementing partner to a largely advisory role in relation to the new partnership and the implementation of the Big Local.
- Long-term, bottom-up approach: Consulting local residents on the kinds of initiatives they would like to see, building relationships and establishing trust.
- Working to build inclusion: The St. George's Day Festival has been recognised as an innovative way of combating far-right movements at the local level. Rather than 'just' another celebration of diversity, the festival is an inclusive way of celebrating something that is perceived as a very English symbol the English flag and, in the process of doing so, make participants feel that they have a stake in it.

For more information on Big Local in South Bermondsey, see here: http://localtrust.org.uk/get-involved/big-local/south-bermondsey.

#### **Tenant Management Organisations (TMOs)**

TMOs have existed since the 1990s. They give residents on council housing estates the right to manage their own estate, and enable them to make decisions about how their estate is run. They are user-run, local and neighbourhood-based. Larger TMOs usually have paid staff, including estate managers and repairs staff, but also rely on resident volunteers. Resident handymen can do most repairs quicker than council repairs services, and TMO residents across the country tend to have higher satisfaction ratings for repairs than residents on council managed estates. TMOs also provide other services in a way that residents prefer, including personal relationships between residents and estate managers, especially in smaller TMOs, and less bureaucracy associated with resident involvement (see e.g. football example below). Recognising the value and important contributions a TMO can bring, Southwark supports the development of more TMOs in the borough where residents wish to pursue it.

#### TMOs in Southwark

In early 2015, there were 14TMOs in Southwark, managing around 4,000 homes in total, with more in the pipeline. The smallest TMO manages a mere 40 homes, while the largest, Leathermarket JMB (Joint Management Board), manages over 1,500 units. Leathermarket JMB is the first TMO in the country to become completely self-financing, giving residents full control over planning, services, and stock investment.<sup>25</sup>

TMOs do not automatically ensure more or better resident involvement, and some of the challenges experienced on council managed estates are the same on TMO estates. To illustrate, those who become involved may not be representative of all residents, there can be tensions between tenants and leaseholders, and, just as on council estates, not all residents on TMO estates want to become involved.

The process for setting up a TMO is not always suitable or appropriate for all estates, whether because of the complexity involved or the resources required to pursue the TMO route, or simply because it does not appeal to a majority of residents on an estate. The council accordingly seeks to promote a range of approaches to resident management of housing services, some of which are more light-touch approaches adopting some, but not all features of TMOs.<sup>26</sup>

Some of the council's TMOs have existed for a number of years and have accumulated considerable experience in involving residents and delivering services, which could potentially support and inspire not just other TMOs or residents considering the TMO route, but also tenants who wish to remain council managed.

#### Browning Estate TMO:

The Browning Estate in Walworth is an interwar estate of 432 units, in the process of taking over management of a further 65 nearby street properties. Browning has been a TMO since the mid-1990s. The estate is managed by a team consisting of the estate manager, Masood Hussain, two housing officers and two handypersons, all based on the estate. Residents therefore know where to go and who to talk to about repairs or other issues. Between them the handypersons carry out 80 per cent of all maintenance and repair jobs (the remaining, larger jobs are done by the council repairs service). Most repairs are sorted within a day and satisfaction levels are high.

The TMO is run by a management committee elected by residents, which includes both leaseholders and tenants from the estate. Most committee members are in the 40-55 age range and a majority are women, who also make up two thirds of estate residents.

The estate manager ensures that the monthly management committee meetings last no more than an hour and that they focus on strategy rather than minutiae. All committee members receive free tablets to which all meeting documents are sent. There is a high attendance level at meetings, with additional observers also attending. Committee members are offered training, equipping them with transferable skills, including presentation and project management skills, and many have seen their confidence boosted. All residents receive a regular colour-print newsletter about developments on the estate, keeping them informed of what is going on. Together, these initiatives have generated considerable appetite among residents for becoming involved, and ballots for management committee members are contested.

The committee has been able to make substantial efficiency savings, mainly on repairs and maintenance, helping free resources to spend on projects on the estate as decided by residents. These have so far included landscaping, hanging flower baskets, raised beds, and a new lick of paint for eight out of 15 blocks. A new IT suite is about to be opened in the estate management offices, providing Internet access for residents. The TMO is further planning to launch a Browning app enabling residents to report anti-social behaviour issues and repairs from their mobile telephones.

The manager and resident handymen have instituted annual MOTs of all homes enabling them to anticipate repairs and to do them in a planned rather than an emergency fashion, which saves money as well as disruption for residents. In turn, the MOTs have helped identify elderly and vulnerable residents who tend to under-report repairs, and helps alert the estate manager to other needs as well.

The TMO also keeps a budget for traditional involvement activities, including fun days and a seaside trip, both free of charge, and Christmas vouchers for elderly residents. The fun day tends to engage with young families, especially mothers, on the estate. Community allotments on estate green space have helped build community spirit and pride and have engaged young people as well. A football project (see box below) has engaged children and young people. Over time, the TMO has built relationships with local businesses and residents on neighbouring estates, who are also invited to fun days. As a result of these activities, problems associated with graffiti and anti-social behaviour issues have gone down on the estate.

Masood Hussain is clear: 'We're not social services or the NHS, but we have built up links to those services to be able to signpost residents as needed. ... We're not just a housing service; it's about services to the community, about the community taking control.'

#### Small-scale projects: Community gardens and sports projects

Community gardens and sports projects are small-scale easy-to-implement projects that are popular with residents, and which can supplement and support larger, more strategic programmes of resident involvement. They have the potential to recruit residents who might not otherwise be involved, and can provide a path toward more formal involvement and skills training. There is a great deal of variation in these projects in terms of aims and objectives, e.g. some football projects simply seek to get kids 'off the streets', while others are more ambitious and link football training to numeracy and literacy training, with a view to getting young people onto a path to formal employment. Equally, community gardens vary in scope, organisational structure, size, and degree of resident involvement.

#### Community gardens

Community gardens have a long history in the UK. The contemporary community gardening movement began in the late 1960s with a renewed interest in green spaces in cities. <sup>27</sup> Today, there are community gardens across Southwark, enabling people living in small flats and with limited open and green space around them to transform unused spaces on their estate into gardens. Many have been supported by the council's Cleaner, Greener, Safer funding.

Community gardens come in different forms, but are always set up in consultation with residents. To illustrate, Bankside Open Spaces Trust (BOST), a charity which operates in the SEI area, does extensive outreach work, including door-knocking and events to recruit volunteers before establishing a garden; it also works with T&RAs where they exist. This approach enables BOST to recruit new people who have not previously been involved on their estates.

Many residents in social housing have lived in flats all their lives and do not have experience of food growing, or lack the confidence to get started. BOST produces attractive, easy-to-understand posters and leaflets about what to do when in gardens, and organises monthly workshops on different themes to teach residents gardening skills.

In some community gardens, all beds are communal, on others individuals or families have their own beds. Some community gardens harvest produce to sell, e.g. in the form of herb boxes for local restaurants, as seen in the gardens on estates managed by Leathermarket JMB. Others produce exclusively for their own consumption, or give away surplus produce to neighbours.

Because of Southwark's industrial past, food growing has to be in raised beds with imported clean soil. Raised beds have the further advantage that they make it easier for people with mobility issues to tend to the plots. BOST has found that the construction phase can be a way of involving teenagers, who are otherwise difficult to recruit. Children are often excited about sowing and growing plants, and once involved they can help look after the beds and plants. On one of the Big Local estates in South Bermondsey, children are actively involved with a community garden, and through them their parents. The garden has transformed a previously unattractive and unused plot into a green and pleasant space, with benches and tables for picnics that residents use in the summer months for informal get-togethers.

Community gardens can successfully bring people of different ages, backgrounds and nationalities together around the shared interest of growing food. Gardening can thus form a basis for people to learn about different backgrounds and cultures. Language barriers can be overcome through a shared interest in gardening, as residents learn about different vegetables and food from each other. An evaluation of BOST's gardening projects found that residents thought that vandalism, anti-social behaviour issues, and dog muck problems had reduced as residents feel a sense of ownership and pride in their garden.<sup>28</sup> It also found that residents who are involved with community gardens 'feel fitter, happier, eat more

fruit and vegetables and ... have forged lasting friendships and connections with neighbours hardly known to them before.'29

A South Bermondsey resident who was involved with a Big Local community allotment said that he had lost two stones after joining the allotment. He found out about it via a leaflet he received through the letterbox. Previously, he had spent most of his time at home as a carer. A resident in Elephant and Castle talked of his enjoyment at eating fresh, homegrown food from his estate community garden, which was supported by Cleaner, Greener, Safer funding. He had subsequently become involved in work to support and enhance bio-diversity on the estate and was hoping to involve local schools.



Photo: Simon Rowe / CACAO

#### Football projects

There are football projects on many estates across Southwark, and just like community gardens, they vary in scope and size. Some football projects aim primarily to provide opportunities for children and young people to exercise regularly. Others are more ambitious, using football to get residents involved, then link it with skills training. Involvement in football is not always successfully translated into broader engagement, but when used strategically, football projects, like community gardens can lead to broader, positive change. E.g. Big Local works with Millwall for All to provide not merely football training but also literacy and numeracy training for young people. Selection to play on the team is based on commitment to the team and turning up on time.

#### Lockwood Football Academy and Browning Estate TMO

Local resident Scott Lockwood, who grew up in the area around East Street market, had for some time felt that community values were in decline. After his sister was mugged in the street and nobody intervened to help her, he decided to do something. As an FA qualified coach, Scott thought that regular sports sessions would be a good way of bringing children and young people of different areas, social backgrounds, religions, gender and ages together, helping them to get to know each other in a fun and safe environment. Scott already had extensive contacts through his work in a local pre-school, and with Southwark Community Games, but needed a venue. He approached the Browning Estate TMO and was promptly offered the use of the estate sports ground.

The first football training session took place in June 2013 with 47 children turning up ranging in age from 3-16, prompting Scott to increase the training sessions to three days a week with each age group having its own weekly session; a year later the number of regular participants was 72 per week of whom about 35 per cent are from the Browning Estate, with the rest coming from across the local area, and some from further afield. All coaches are professionally trained to Football Association standards, have had their criminal records checked, and are first aid qualified. About 10 per cent of the regulars are girls, and more girls are encouraged to join through visits from professional women players.

As well as playing football and participating in tournaments, the children also help out with litter-picking and fundraising for local charities. Parents comment that the training has not only taught their children football skills, but has improved their concentration and communication skills. Their children have also made more friends after joining. This in turn has made them more confident around the local area and they have a stronger sense of belonging as a result. Parents feel the community spirit has been strengthened and that they now know many more people locally than they did before. Scott Lockwood is looking to set up a 50+ football team to get more adults in the area exercising, and has applied for Cleaner, Greener, Safer funding to improve the fences around the pitch.

#### 6. Barriers to resident involvement and how to overcome them

As well as a dynamic and challenging socio-economic context as discussed above, specific barriers to involvement emerged during the research. They are substantial, often multi-causal and related to wider structural factors. They have been grouped into three categories:

- I. Employment, socio-economic, and life-style factors (including anti-social working hours and lack of time, social isolation, isolation between estates)
- 2. Socio-demographic and socio-cultural factors (including population churn, increasing language diversity and language barriers, mistrust and fear of authorities and other residents)
- 3. Capacity, skills, and reputational issues (including lack of familiarity with involvement structures, lack of experience in setting up constituted groups and accessing funding, frustration with the council)

Importantly, different types of barriers to involvement can interact and mutually reinforce one another. E.g., anti-social working hours can make it difficult for those who speak little English to attend language classes thus making it more difficult for them to become fully involved. Or, lack of familiarity with formal involvement structures may interact with mistrust and fear of authorities to discourage someone from involvement with their local T&RA.

What follows is a detailed discussion of barriers to resident involvement. These barriers are not unique to Southwark and in many ways typify the challenges of operating in a super-diverse, central London context. However, although not unique, there are often specific localised opportunities to overcome the barriers, which are explored in the following section.

#### Employment, socio-economic, and life-style factors

- Anti-social working hours and lack of time. Many local residents work part-time, in low-paid jobs, with changing, unpredictable and anti-social working hours making it difficult to plan ahead and to attend meetings. A Bermondsey born and bred resident who is very active with Big Local and herself juggles several part-time jobs, thought that this pattern had become especially significant since the 1990s. Alternatively, as a Peckham T&RA volunteer pointed out, some people have to work long hours to make ends meet, and therefore do not have the time to become involved. Additionally, changing life-styles and family structures mean that it can be difficult for many, e.g. single parents, to be involved in a sustained manner. For these groups, it may be more realistic to aim for occasional help with events, e.g., fun days and similar.
- Social isolation, anxiety and depression. Anecdotal evidence of a high incidence of low-level depression and anxiety among residents emerged in the research. As well as residents themselves mentioning it in interviews, voluntary sector workers and Resident Services Officers saw anxiety and depression as a wide-spread issue in the communities they serve. Many thought the incidence of anxiety has worsened with welfare cuts. These observations are supported by evidence from research at the national level which has found a high incidence of ill health among social housing tenants. Residents suffering from ill health or anxiety are unlikely to become involved, but there are health and social benefits associated with involvement. E.g., becoming involved in community gardens can be a first step towards breaking social isolation, and has wider positive social and health benefits.
- Isolation between estates. T&RAs can appear to be isolated from each other, even on neighbouring estates. In light of the scarcity of new volunteers, there is scope for merging T&RAs to pool resources and volunteers, and to ensure good usage of T&RA halls. A

number of T&RAs in Peckham have already taken steps in this direction, and have created a network to support each other. They hope to expand it to cover the borough as a whole. As one volunteer said, T&RAs face similar problems and it can be helpful to get together to discuss shared issues and ideas. Another good example of cross-estate involvement is the SGTO-organised SE15 Summer Fest in 2014, which brought together residents from across the SE15 area. As the landlord, the council is in a good position to support such bottom-up cross-estate initiatives, including offering 'carrots' for T&RAs that wish to merge. T&RA peer-to-peer support might help new T&RAs and volunteers, and T&RAs that cover larger patches could in turn help break down barriers between neighbouring estates as seen on Big Local estates. SGTO could play an important role in facilitating more communication on good practice between T&RAs, and could be encouraged to help facilitate T&RA mergers.

# Socio-demographic and socio-cultural factors

- Churn on estates. Some areas within the borough have high turnover rates of residents, especially for units that are sub-let to private tenants. Residents who do not consider their stay long-term are less likely to become involved in their local area, and this may in turn act to de-motivate the long-term settled who do not know their neighbours anymore.
- Language barriers. Linguistically, Southwark is a super-diverse borough and it is clearly not possible to translate all council material into all languages spoken among residents. Yet some targeted translation can be effective (and this is indeed already council practice) and might encourage those who speak little or no English to become involved. Latin American Women's Rights Service has identified poor mastery of English as a significant barrier for Latin Americans to become more involved in formal structures as well as securing access to better-paying jobs and education, but many migrants do not have the financial means nor the time to attend language courses. Community gardens and sports projects can overcome language barriers, but it is challenging to involve people in more formal structures unless they have language proficiency and the requisite confidence. The council can seek to overcome this barrier through working with community brokers (see below) and community organisations, and through actively recruiting staff, volunteers and interns with a range of language skills.
- Mistrust and fear of other residents and authorities and persistent anti-social behaviour issues. Mistrust manifests itself in many different ways and affects not only those who are disinclined to become involved because of it, but also those trying to overcome it, e.g. T&RA volunteers whose efforts may be misconstrued. Some residents may have prior negative experiences with authorities, including from their homelands, which make them reluctant to engage with anything that is associated with formal institutions and structures. To illustrate, one T&RA volunteer and resident in Peckham said residents on her estate were reluctant to answer the door when she went door-knocking to tell people about the T&RA. She related this to what she believed to be a high incidence of unauthorised and irresponsible sub-lets by leaseholders, and mistrust between people of different nationalities on her estate. Another T&RA volunteer on the same estate related reluctance to become involved to anti-social behaviour on the estate that discouraged residents from becoming involved. A resident on a different Peckham estate that does not currently have a T&RA had found her neighbours hostile to the idea of setting one up because they thought only 'busy-bodies' would want to become involved. Activities that foster trust among residents, such as fun

days, or the Summer Fest mentioned above, can help overcome fear and mistrust, as can the work of Resident Services Officers who often develop relations of trust with residents over time. In this context, it is important that officers remain focused on facilitation and support to residents, including those who are unfamiliar with administrative procedures, and do not resort to 'council-speak' as one resident called it. Residents may be more likely to become involved with T&RAs if their role and purpose is clearly explained (ideally in different forms and across different media to reach as many as possible) and if residents are made more aware of exactly what can be achieved. T&RAs should be encouraged to clearly communicate past successes and achievements in their material to new residents (e.g. through the Welcome Pack, see below). Community brokers with specific cultural and language skills can also help overcome mistrust especially if they are also offered support and up-skilling. Their role can be crucial in reaching 'hidden communities'. A good example was seen on one of the Big Local estates where a resident who was trusted within her language community and often sought out for advice in an informal capacity, has become involved in a more formal manner, and has also been offered training on giving advice. It is however also important to appreciate the pressure that community brokers can be under, and to recognise that they can easily turn into 'gatekeepers', potentially leading to risks of exploitation, and lack of representativeness and access.

#### Capacity, skills, and reputational issues

- Lack of familiarity with conventional involvement structures, such as T&RAs. Not all residents are familiar with conventional involvement structures, whether because they have recently settled in the country or the borough, because they do not have experience with active T&RAs, or because they think T&RAs are not 'for them'. To illustrate, research by SGTO as well as by the council, has shown that only a minority of young people know what a T&RA is. The newly introduced Welcome Pack and 6-week interview with new residents includes information about the local T&RA where they exist, and is aimed to help T&RA volunteers reach new residents. In the same vein, the Welcome Ceremony organised by the council for the first time in September 2014, aims to introduce residents to opportunities for involvement. The council's 'community conversations' also reach a wider group of people than those volunteering in T&RAs.
- Lack of experience in setting up constituted groups and accessing funding. Groups most in need are often the least likely to organise in formal groups and apply for funding. Such groups may not know how to fill in forms or do not have the capacity to do it. Additionally, they may not believe they are able to make a change anyway. This can easily become a self-perpetuating cycle that makes certain avenues and funding streams seem inaccessible to many people, unless interventions are designed to support groups who lack the experience and skills to deal with funding application procedures and the bureaucracy needed to set up constituted groups. United St. Saviour's charity recognises that it is a real barrier to involvement. They offer help and support with grant writing as well as with the administrative procedures of setting up a constituted group as necessary if they are approached by a group of residents with a good project worthy of funding. United St Saviour's also attends meetings of local groups, including T&RAs, to make sure residents are aware of funding opportunities, and has produced a funding guide covering all of Southwark. Big Local takes

the same proactive approach and has facilitated a new T&RA that covers several estates where none existed before. Other charities and organisations in Southwark, including Community Action Southwark, also provide training and support to volunteer groups. The council's recent revision of its T&RA model constitution in which the required number of committee meetings annually will be lowered from ten to six per annum, is also a positive step, making it easier for volunteers to keep T&RAs running.

Council seen as remote or unresponsive. Residents have a strong preference for personal relationships with council officers and locally-based services, which it is difficult to meet in the current funding context for local authorities. Some residents feel that the council's resident involvement structure is complicated and that it is difficult to work out who to talk to. To contextualise, Internet access for social tenants is estimated at about 60 per cent so e-mailing or Internet-based information is not always easily accessible for all volunteers. Some residents feel frustrated with the council repairs service, an issue which was evidenced in interviews with both tenants and leaseholders, despite a steady increase in satisfaction ratings for the repairs service in recent years. Perceived or actual shortcomings on repairs, including experiences with the repairs service several years ago, can have a knock-on effect on involvement. This is the case not only for council tenants or leaseholders; repairs are also a difficult issue for registered social landlords. In the experience of the Residents' Involvement Manager at Hexagon Housing, repairs can become stumbling blocks for involvement. In the words of one long-standing T&RA volunteer from Peckham, frustration over repairs can eat up a lot of time at T&RA meetings and can undermine motivation to become involved. On TMO estates, repairs tend to be dealt with quicker, leaving residents more satisfied. TMOs often deliver services, including repairs, in a more personalised and direct way, and TMO residents know where to go and who to talk to if they need any repairs done or have other housing-related issues they need help with. These aspects of TMOs should be communicated clearly to residents on estates considering the TMO route.

To sum up, there are significant barriers for Southwark residents to become involved related to the borough's demography, diversity and wider socio-economic environment. Other central London boroughs face similar barriers and challenges. Below, the report considers specific challenges associated with tenants' halls, and lessons from other registered social landlords.

# T&RAs and tenants' halls

Where T&RAs do function, they often rely on a small number of highly committed individuals, often middle-aged or elderly women who have been involved for many years. Many of them told the researchers they were 'desperate' to attract new and younger volunteers, and felt they had 'tried everything.' It is important that the valuable work of these residents continues to be appreciated and that they are supported in what they do, as seen in e.g. the council's Housing Heroes Awards. It is also necessary to acknowledge that young people, more recently arrived immigrants and residents of black and minority ethnic groups sometimes do not see T&RAs as being 'for them,' and that both the council and SGTO actively disseminate good practice examples of how to involve a diverse range of volunteers to T&RAs.

Halls are seen as important assets by residents and many are used extensively by local groups. Many estates and halls have benefitted from Cleaner, Greener, Safer funding, and the refurbishment

programme in recent years. Halls can provide a welcome income stream for T&RAs, but it can also be demanding for a small group of volunteers to run halls. To illustrate, a hall on an estate in Bermondsey that is intensively used by faith groups and for weddings and other events, is managed by an elderly woman, a long-standing volunteer for the T&RA. While she was proud of the many compliments she received for her effective management of the hall, it did often require her to check the hall at awkward times including late at night after functions. Many T&RA volunteers expressed concern about the future of residents' halls, and the scope for involvement if they are closed down. While the council has a legitimate interest in making sure halls are used, it could consider ways of easing the burden of managing halls on already stretched volunteers, for example through encouraging more sharing of these facilities.

#### Lessons from other social housing providers

Southwark is the largest provider of social housing in the borough, but a number of registered social landlords (RSLs) also provide housing in the borough. This section presents evidence from Family Mosaic and Hexagon Housing on their resident involvement initiatives and activities. RSL estates tend to be smaller than council estates, and council housing residents tend to be more deprived than those in housing provided by RSLs. It is important to acknowledge that even so, RSLs face similar challenges as the council does, and they have similar menus of involvement options for their residents.

Time vouchers' given on the basis of time volunteered are popular with Family Mosaic residents, allowing residents to 'buy' the time of another volunteer. E.g., if a resident mows someone's lawn, they can then spend their time credit on someone doing their weekly shop. Scrutiny panels are very popular with residents on Hexagon Housing estate as are estate champions. Estate champions are residents on estates who provide a link between Hexagon and residents in the absence of resident caretakers. To illustrate, they can make it easier to identify repair needs in communal areas as well as help report and monitor the quality of repairs. Additionally, there is scope for offering skills training for estate champions that can be helpful for residents' CVs. Resident inspectors are residents trained to be involved in inspecting estates, and choosing contractors. This works well for Hexagon Housing and is motivating for residents. Hexagon Housing also has a Residents' Forum, which again is very popular with residents to the extent that not everyone who wants to can be involved. The residents' forum meets six times annually to discuss policy reports, e.g. concerning repair issues and value for money. The Forum thus provides a link between residents and Hexagon's board.

#### 7. Conclusions and recommendations

Like other central London boroughs, Southwark is super-diverse in terms of languages, nationalities, ethnicities, and faiths represented among its residents. The borough is characterised by high population density, demographic growth and churn, and high levels of deprivation co-existing side-by-side with affluence. Taken together, this provides a dynamic as well as challenging environment in which to foster resident involvement. The policy intent of the long-term housing strategy offers an opportunity to consider innovatively how the council best engages its residents and makes the most of super-diversity. At the same time, it is important to recognise that increasing diversity and urban regeneration in themselves bring complex, dynamic, and interacting challenges to address.

Resident involvement is a central aspect of Southwark's long-term housing strategy, and is central for improving the welfare and resilience of Southwark residents as well as fostering community cohesion. There are many successful examples of innovative and inclusive resident involvement in Southwark, from the very small-scale and estate-based, to larger, strategic developments of bigger patches. The report has shown examples of such involvement practices, and discusses barriers as well as opportunities to facilitate sustainable involvement. Men and young people appear more difficult to engage than women and older people, but it is possible to involve more diverse groups. In general, the council needs to be mindful that initiatives and involvement strategies foster inclusiveness, and that they are sustainable in the longer term. It is important that the council continues to engage with residents across a range of different organisational platforms, including T&RAs, but also through schools, youth clubs and community organisations, and via social media, to ensure that as diverse a range of residents as possible is reached.

There is potential to build on the considerable experience of council officers, partners in the third sector and volunteers, especially to seek to scale out larger projects, i.e. seeking to extend or replicate

projects to more estates and wider patches; and to scale up smaller projects such as football training and community gardens so that wider benefits are reaped. This should be done in a way that seeks to tie projects in with strategies to up-skill volunteers and get residents into employment, as well as promoting inclusion, improving public health and resident wellbeing, all of which is consistent with the council's Fairer Future promises as set out in the Council Plan.



Photo: Simon Rowe / CACAO

# Key recommendations

I. The council should continue to work in a strategic manner with voluntary and charitable groups in the borough to mutually support projects and initiatives. It should make sure it supports long-term 'developmental' projects of larger patches such as Big Local where it can. In doing so, it should seek complementarity with more ad hoc projects (e.g. community gardens, sports projects). The council could consider prioritising specific areas in the borough based on deprivation scores and satisfaction surveys (e.g. focus on those with highest deprivation scores and least satisfaction). The council should seek to optimise opportunities for linking involvement to formal and non-formal learning for residents so that it leads to up-skilling, employment, and better health for residents;

- 2. The council should draw on the considerable experience and insights of TMOs across the borough, making sure that residents on estates which consider the TMO option learn about challenges and opportunities directly from existing TMO residents and managers;
- 3. The council should continue to engage with residents through T&RAs where they exist. The council should support and encourage closer collaboration between T&RAs, as well as offering incentives for T&RAs of neighbouring estates to merge or to organise more of their activities together, not just as a way of pooling resources, but also to break down barriers between estates. In this regard it is important that council officers focus on facilitating involvement and that T&RA volunteers are supported in their work. The future of T&RA halls should be appropriately considered, particularly in the context of challenges for existing volunteers who run them;
- 4. The council should seek alternative and creative funding sources and income streams to support its resident involvement initiatives. This is especially important given the on-going cuts to local authority funding. The research found lots of evidence of good use of Cleaner, Greener, Safer funds for facilities that are genuinely valued and used by residents, and which can boost smaller projects. Over the longer term, partnerships, such as those underpinning Big Local, will be key to ensuring targeted interventions in areas of greatest need, especially where such innovative partnerships can gain access to other sources of funding, such as the lottery. Also, future pots such as the Community Infrastructure Levy, despite some limitations in use, may provide another source of funding for involvement initiatives.

#### **Appendix**

#### About the research

Research for this study was carried out in the period October – December 2014. The report is based on qualitative, semi-structured interviews and meetings with council officers, officers from registered social landlords operating in Southwark, officers from charities and other organisations working on housing issues in the borough, and Southwark residents. It is also based on a review of existing literature and reports on resident involvement. Research participants were identified with the help of council officers, and officers of SGTO, Big Local, and other organisations. Most interviews were conducted by Mette Louise Berg (COMPAS, University of Oxford), who was 'researcher in residence' with the council during this period on a part-time basis, funded by a Knowledge Exchange Fellowship from the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC), and author of the report. Ben Gidley (COMPAS, Oxford) provided expert support. Ahmed Kabba and Sylvia Velazquez assisted with interviews.

Efforts were made to ensure that residents from estates of different sizes across the borough, incl. differences in built environment, tenure mixes of residents, and different experiences of regeneration were interviewed. It was decided early on, not to conduct research on the Aylesbury Estate, because of several ongoing research projects on the estate, and the very specific issues that residents there are facing. All residents were promised anonymity in the study.

The research was approved by the University of Oxford Central University Research Ethics Committee.

#### Interviews conducted and events attended

#### Council officers

Zayd Al-Jawad, \$106 and CIL manager, Chief Executive's Department

Zoe Bulmer, customer resolution manager, Housing and Community Services

Kevin Dykes, senior development officer (inclusion), Housing and Community Services

Jackie Fearon, area manager, Housing and Community Services

Nele Glang, volunteer, Housing and Community Services

Tasneem Husain, community involvement worker, Housing and Community Services

Masood Hussain, Estate Manager, Browning Estate TMO

Rahala Khalida, community development worker, Housing and Community Services

Jessica Leech, resident participation coordinator, Housing and Community Services

Hannah Ndungu, Resident Services Officer, Housing and Community Services

Brian O'Neill, resident involvement manager, Housing and Community Services

Lee Page, manager, Tenant Management Initiatives, Housing and Community Services

Louis Rotsos, capacity and partnerships coordinator, Housing and Community Services

Natty St Louis, rough sleeper street population coordinator, Chief Executive's Department

Darryl Telles, neighbourhood manager, Housing and Community Services

#### Organisations

Matthew Allgood, grants officer, United St Saviour's Charity

Nicola Bacon, founding director, Social Life

Cris Claridge, chair, Southwark Group of Tenants Organisation (SGTO)

Ann Clayton, community engagement manager, Big Local

Nicola Desmond, Bankside Open Spaces Trust

Tatiana Garavito, acting director, Latin American Women's Rights Services

Brian Hughes, residents' involvement manager, Hexagon Housing

Helen (Hej) John, Bankside Open Spaces Trust

Ahmed Kabba, campaigns officer, SGTO

Rebecca Knowles, Kingswood Community Shop coordinator, Crystal Palace Community Development Trust

Scott Lockwood, director, Lockwood Football Academy

David McLean, research officer, SGTO

Jemma Mouland, research and performance analyst, Family Mosaic

Grisel Tarifa, director of projects, Pembroke House

Mike Wilson, projects officer, Pembroke House

#### Residents from the following estates:

Avondale, Bells Garden, Browning TMO, Buchan, Caroline Gardens, Kingswood, Leathermarket JMB, Ledbury, Mawbey, Oliver Goldsmith, Pennack Rd., Rockingham, Styles House TMO, Wessex House.

## Meetings and workshops

SGTO group meeting, Draper House, 22/10-2014

Housing strategy stakeholder workshop, Cambridge House, 5/11-2014

Housing Officer group meeting, Southwark Council, 29/10-2014

Latin Quarter scoping workshop, InSpire at St Peter's, 19/11-2014

Tenants' Conference, Salvation Army College, 8/11-2014

#### **Notes**

- 1. For a positive view of changes in Southwark, see http://www.economist.com/blogs/blighty/2013/09/mapping-gentrification. For a more critical view, see http://www.theguardian.com/society/2014/oct/07/southwark-london-regeneration-urban-renewal-social-cleansing-fears; http://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/davehillblog/2014/feb/02/southwark-council-aylesbury-estate-regeneration.
- See e.g., Rachel Newton, Lessons for Localism: Tenant Self Management (2012), Urban Forum, http://www.york.ac.uk/media/ chp/documents/2012/lessonsforlocalism.pdf, and Audit Commission and Housing Corporation, Housing: Improving Services through Resident Involvement (2004), http://archive.audit-commission.gov.uk/auditcommission/sitecollectiondocuments/ AuditCommissionReports/NationalStudies/Resident\_involvement\_Report.pdf.
- 3. The four guiding principles of the housing strategy are: I. We will use every tool at our disposal to increase the supply of all kinds of homes across Southwark; 2. We will demand the highest standards of quality, making Southwark a place where you will not know whether you are visiting homes in private, housing association or council ownership; 3. We will support and encourage all residents to take pride and responsibility in their homes and local area; 4. We will help vulnerable individuals and families to meet their housing needs and live as independently as possible. See: http://www.southwark.gov.uk/info/200141/housing\_strategy.
- 4. The council's Community Engagement Division is conducting its own research on how best to involve young people.
- Numbers provided by council officers, accurate as of late December 2014 (number of estates) and March 2015 (registered T&RAs).
- 6. In 2013-14, over 18,000 were on the waiting list for social housing. The housing waiting list is organised according to bands, to make sure that those most in need get housing first with additional priority given to applicants actively contributing to the community. See Housing and Community Services Annual Report to Tenants 2013-14, and http://www.southwark.gov.uk/info/200052/looking\_for\_a\_home/754/homesearch/2.
- 7. For an example of negative stereotypes, see http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2864211/Clinton-Cards-accused-mocking-working-classes-Christmas-card-Santa-live-council-estate-Christmas-card.html.
- 8. In this context, resilience can be defined as residents' capacity to respond and adapt positively to change and cope effectively with adversity in a condition of on-going stress, such as that caused by economic recession, the retreat of public services, and benefit cuts. For a detailed discussion of resilience and its importance in terms of 'getting more for less', and helping to buffer communities against public sector retrenchment caused by cuts to local authority funding, see Deborah Platts-Fowler and David Robinson, Neighbourhood Resilience in Sheffield: Getting by in Hard Times (2013), http://www.shu.ac.uk/research/cresr/ourexpertise/neighbourhood-resilience-sheffield.
- 9. For figures from Southwark, see Findings from the 2013 Annual Satisfaction Survey (the most recent report at the time of writing). The Southwark figures are consistent with findings nationally, which show that residents in TMOs are more satisfied with the services they receive than are council tenants, see Office of the Deputy Prime Minister, Tenants Managing: an Evaluation of Tenant Management Organisations in England, 2002.
- 10. See Increasing Tenant and Homeowner Participation in the Delivery of Council Housing Services, October 2013.
- 11. Independent Housing Commission Conclusions and Next Steps Following Community and Stakeholder Engagement, p. 2.
- 12. For numbers and trends across London, see Housing in London 2014:The Evidence Base for the Mayor's Housing Strategy, p. 11; http://www.london.gov.uk/sites/default/files/Housing%20in%20London%202014%20-%20Final\_1.pdf
- 13. See Investing in Council Housing: Options for the Future; Independent Housing Commission Conclusions and Next Steps Following Community and Stakeholder Engagement, p. 1; Key Southwark Housing Data February 2013, p. 12; http://www.southwark.gov.uk/info/10058/about\_southwark\_council; and Office for National Statistics, Neighbourhood Statistics for Southwark.
- 14. For an overview on Southwark's population, see http://www.southwark.gov.uk/info/10058/about\_southwark\_council. On population growth, see Next Steps on Developing Long Term Plans for the Delivery of New Council Homes, paragraph 98. On the role of international migration as share of the population in Southwark, see The Migration Observatory London Census Profile: http://www.migrationobservatory.ox.ac.uk/briefings/london-census-profile. On Southwark as a super-diverse borough both in a national and a London-specific context, see Sarah Poppleton et al. Social and Public Service Impacts of international Migration at the Local Level, Home Office, July 2013 https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\_data/file/210324/horr72.pdf. See also Census 2011 figures on Southwark.
- 15. Investing in Council Housing, p. 34.
- 16. See sources in note xiv.
- 17. See Housing in London 2014:The Evidence Base for the Mayor's Housing Strategy, p. 30; http://www.london.gov.uk/sites/default/files/Housing%20in%20London%202014%20-%20Final\_I.pdf
- 18. Key Southwark Housing Data January 2013.
- 19. Investing in Council Housing, p. 32-33; http://www.housing.org.uk/media/press-releases/new-data-shows-how-many-london-families-are-really-being-hit-by-the-bedroom/; Housing in London 2014: The Evidence Base for the Mayor's Housing Strategy, p. 33; http://www.london.gov.uk/sites/default/files/Housing%20in%20London%202014%20-%20Final\_1.pdf.
- 20. See http://www.economist.com/blogs/blighty/2013/09/mapping-gentrification.
- 21. The Index of Multiple Deprivation (IMD) is a combination of a number of indices measuring different aspects of deprivation to give an overall score for the relative level of multiple types of deprivation experienced in every neighbourhood in England. Map produced by London Borough of Southwark, Supplementary Planning Document.
- 22. See Steve Vertovec, Super-Diversity and Its Implications, Ethnic and Racial Studies 30(6):1024-1054, 2007; Mette Louise Berg, Ben Gidley, and Nando Sigona (eds.) Ethnography, Diversity and Urban Space. Abingdon: Routledge, 2015.
- 23. See Sarah Poppleton et al. Social and Public Service Impact of International Migration at the Local Level. London: Home Office, July 2013.
- 24. See http://www.eu-mia.eu/content\_view.
- 25. Numbers provided by council officers, accurate as of December 2014.
- 26. Increasing Tenant and Homeowner Participation in the Delivery Of Council Housing Services, 22 October 2013.
- 27. See http://www.bbc.co.uk/gardening/today\_in\_your\_garden/community\_about.shtml.
- 28. Food Growing and Wellbeing in SE1: An Évaluation of the Edible Bankside Project, 2014.
- 29. Food Growing and Wellbeing in SE1: An Evaluation of the Edible Bankside Project, 2014.
- 30. Anne Power et al. The Impact of Welfare Reform on Social Landlords and Tenants, Joseph Rowntree Foundation, 2014, http://www.jrf.org.uk/sites/files/jrf/Welfare-reform-impack-FULL.pdf.
- 31. See ESRO, Hidden Communities reports.

