The social value of regeneration in Tottenham

Report of four case studies

April 2018

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Contents

Introduction

This is the first report of a study, commissioned by the GLA with Haringey Council, to understand the social impact of regeneration programmes in Tottenham.

This report outlines the four case studies that have been carried out by the Social Life team over the summer of 2017 to explore the impact of regeneration in Tottenham.

It also considers the wider implications for monitoring the social value of regeneration, and how the impacts on local residents and communities, both economically and socially, can be better captured.

The GLA and Haringey Council asked Social Life to carry out a study assessing the social impact of the range of GLA-supported regeneration interventions in the Tottenham area. The research had two key aims:

- to gather qualitative and quantitative data on the social impact of change in the defined Tottenham area and determine the extent to which their impacts are attributable to the range of GLA-supported interventions delivered over the past five years

- to develop a framework for evaluating regeneration initiatives that can be used to assess the social impact of place-based interventions across London.

This intention was to capture the impact of the regeneration interventions on equality of opportunity and inclusion, on community life and everyday quality of life for residents, on wider social outcomes and on convergence of income and quality of life between people living on different incomes. And then to explore the wider implications for monitoring the impact of regeneration schemes in the future.

The first phase of the work audited the Tottenham programme, through desk research and conversations with officers in the council and other key agencies, to understand how impact is being measured, and how current metrics map against the expectations of those designing and delivering programmes. A theory of change workshop was carried out with Tottenham programme officers to further investigate the relationship between intended and understood outcomes, and what is being monitored.

The second phase of work included primary research in four case studies across the Tottenham programme.

The third phase of the work will draw on our understanding of impact to date, how it maps onto impact measurement, and to what extent this captures the policy intentions of the current Mayor.

This report summarises the findings of the four case studies, reporting on the impact of the Tottenham regeneration programme in particular geographic areas and on particular themes.

Summary

The research

This research has explored four case studies representing different typologies of regeneration investment and activity within the Tottenham regeneration programme. The case studies intended to explore the impact of regeneration on residents and agencies and to capture both tangible improvements to places and the built environment and to individuals' lives, as well as more diffuse benefits around wellbeing and quality of life.

The aim has been to understand the impact of the four types of regeneration for residents and agencies, and to understanding this against what is currently being monitored. The findings have informed a subsequent piece of work on social impact of regeneration activity for the GLA and Haringey Council.

This mixed methods research is based on conversations with 268 individuals through street interviews, 29 interviews with traders, 17 conversations with programme participants, 50 interviews with stakeholders across sectors, an online survey and one workshop.

Tottenham's regeneration

Residents and stakeholders report that Tottenham has many strengths; its strong local networks and community organisations, a distinctive identity and residents' strong sense of belonging. Diversity and multiculturalism were also valued.

There is a recognition of the need for regeneration to improve the environment and infrastructure, to address social needs and inequalities and tackle anti-social behaviour.

Many regeneration initiatives are broadly welcomed, including Holcombe Market, the new housing at Hale Village, support for community organisations and employment and employability interventions.

Much of Tottenham's regeneration - including major new housing developments and estate regeneration - has yet to start. The changes that are visible to residents and stakeholders are smaller and more fragmented, including public realm improvements, shop front improvements and improvements to Tottenham Green. Many residents are unaware of specific initiatives, or sometimes believe that they are the result of private sector investment.

Fears of displacement and anxieties that regeneration may not be in the best interests of Tottenham residents are common, particularly in areas where change is planned but has not yet started. Fear of displacement can be pernicious and damaging to quality of life regardless of whether actual displacement is likely.

It can be difficult for residents and agencies to separate the impact of demographic change and house prices increases in the south of Tottenham from the impact of regeneration programmes. There is some distrust of the council and its partners.

There are substantial barriers to regeneration in Tottenham that are beyond the control of local agencies and these can overshadow the impact of regeneration spending. For example, improvements to the High Road around Bruce Grove have not offset the impact of the closure of two bank branches; and the impacts of employment and employability programmes are hampered by the prevalence of poor-quality low-paid work in the area.

Tottenham Social Impact evaluation

Social Life has been asked by the GLA and Haringey Council to look at the impact of regeneration programmes in Tottenham since 2011.

We want to see how regeneration has affected residents' quality of life, wellbeing and sense of belonging, and what impact it has had on their opportunities and prospects.

We are looking closely at four examples:

- Improvements around Bruce Grove
- The new housing at Tottenham Hale
- Regeneration of Love Lane Estate
- Support for businesses and entrepreneurs.

We will use our research to help develop a framework for the GLA so they can monitor the social impact of future regeneration programmes.

Who are we?

Social Life is a small research agency based in Elephant & Castle. All our work is about the relationship between people and the places they live.

For more information contact: hello@social-life.co
www.social-life.co

Flyer used for this research in Tottenham
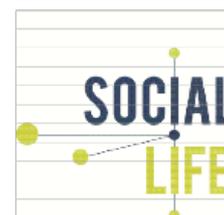
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Defining "Social Value"

This project is complex. It explores the experiences of different interventions and the impact on beneficiaries; the cumulative impact of these interventions across the Tottenham area; and the impact of regeneration investments alongside broader changes in demographics, the wider economy, the welfare safety net and other external factors.

The intention has been to establish to what extent the different interventions have boosted existing strengths within the community, and tackled weaknesses and vulnerabilities. The research also set out to explore concerns about displacement, often cited in connection with regeneration in London. The accusation is that long-standing residents are being compelled to move away from the neighbourhoods they call home because of rising housing costs and scarcity of housing. A less tangible fear of displacement, and a sense of loss, a sense that regeneration is intended to benefit more affluent incoming groups, is part of this.

Assessing the social impact of regeneration in this context is challenging and attribution of impact is often difficult. Impact is both about physical changes and measureable alternations in people's circumstances, and the more diffuse effect on wellbeing and quality of life, and how people feel about the places they live and work.

Social value is a complex concept and different organisations and experts frame it in different ways. For this project, and for a concurrent study of the social value of London's high streets also commissioned by the GLA's regeneration team[1], a definition offered by Geoff Mulgan has been used as the starting point.

"Social value: the wider, non-financial impact of programmes, for example on individual wellbeing, group social capital and area-level physical environment".[2]

It has been argued (in a seminar at the GLA in summer 2017) that value has 'prosperity', 'people' and 'place' aspects, and this makes it challenging to apply in a policy context. Within the Mulgan definition each single element - wellbeing, social capital – is multi-faceted. Together they imply a focus on individual and collective quality of life alongside changes to the physical environment. This focus on the physical environment alongside individual and collective wellbeing is central to area regeneration. Understanding this complexity is essential if we are to capture the impact of a wide range of initiatives targeted at social and economic deprivation in Tottenham.

The second advantage of the Mulgan definition is that it is compatible with concepts used by economists to think about non-economic impacts, such as public goods and externalities. It is also compatible with the evaluation frameworks laid out in The Green Book (HM Treasury 2011), particularly chapter 5 (considering unvalued costs and benefits)[3].

The policy direction of the current Mayor includes a clear focus on inclusive growth and tackling inequality. This policy direction is reflected in pronouncements from City Hall on inclusive growth, in the 2016 "City for all Londoners" strategy and in the recent draft Housing Strategy. It demands a broader consideration of impact and social value than the narrow economic and physical impacts of regeneration that are more often measured.

Regeneration in Tottenham

The Tottenham area in the London Borough of Haringey has been the focus for Mayoral investment for the past five years. The 2011 riots and disorder that spread across London and England started in Tottenham after the shooting of a local resident by the police. Tottenham was one of the main locations of disorder and damage to property and to social relations. In response to the social conditions that were seen to fuel the riots, and building on smaller-scale regeneration activity by the council and other public sector agencies, a major regeneration programme in Tottenham was launched, through a strategic partnership between the GLA and Haringey Council. The Mayor of London at the time, Boris Johnson, described Tottenham as an area *"brimming with opportunity and ripe for investment"*[4].

The Tottenham regeneration programme since 2011 has included a disparate range of interventions, at different scales and in different geographies, from shop front improvements to substantial housing developments, public realm improvements and the array of social and community-based initiatives described in the 2014 Tottenham Strategic Regeneration Framework[5].

The Tottenham Regeneration Programme

The Tottenham Taskforce was set up after the 2011 riots and was tasked with overseeing the development and implementation of a comprehensive regeneration strategy, "A Plan for Tottenham", and to hold the Delivery Board to account. It was chaired by Cllr Alan Strickland, the Cabinet member for regeneration, and involved senior elected members and officers from Haringey and the GLA, the (then) Mayor of London's Tottenham Champion, David Lammy MP, CONEL (the College of Haringey, Enfield and North East London), the Haringey Business Board, Design Council CABE, the Diocese of London, Wolff Olins, the London School of Economics. The Taskforce had no decision-making powers or budget; these remained with the borough and the GLA.

Three area-focused boards were set up underneath this structure, for Northumberland Park, Bruce Grove and Tottenham Green.

The funding package for the Tottenham regeneration programme was agreed by Haringey Council and the Mayor of London in February 2012.

In February 2012 a revenue budget of £700,000 was agreed – for staffing and expenditure.

"A Plan for Tottenham" was published in August 2012, setting out the council's ambitions for Tottenham until 2025.

Significant investment has been made in the area since 2012.

- The Transformation Challenge Award (£1 million) for North Tottenham was secured from DCLG in 2014.
- £1.67m New Homes Bonus funding, agreed in 2015, is supporting three main economic growth projects - Low Carbon Technology Innovation Hub, Haringey High Streets and New Places of Work & Business Support. This activity also included initiative in Wood Green and Finsbury Park. Resources have been secured through the Mayor of London's Housing Zones (with a £44m indicative allocation from the GLA for the Tottenham Housing Zone covering Tottenham Hale, and a £857m indicative allocation from the GLA for the North Tottenham Housing Zone).
- Transport for London is investing £20m to redevelop transport sites.

Project	GLA funding (inc capital & revenue)	Haringey Council match funding	Other match funding
North Tottenham/ Northumberland Park	£18m	£9m	-
Growth on the High Road	£2.5m	£200k	£145k from English Heritage, Diocese of London & Design for London
Opportunity Investment Fund	£3m	£1m	
Employability & skills	£1.5m	£1.5m	£1.5m from private sector
639 High Road	£3m		
Total	£28m	£11.7m	£1.6m

Tottenham regeneration programme funding allocations[6]

Like all London boroughs, Haringey and its residents face many challenges: although some housing in the borough (particularly in the east) is relatively cheap compared to the London average it is still expensive for many on low and middle incomes and house princes are increasing in the south of Tottenham [see p17]. Despite new planned house building the supply of social housing is likely to shrink as a result of changes to housing policy; many residents on low incomes, particularly working families, will be hard hit by changes to the welfare safety net; and services that support vulnerable individuals and community capacity are likely to shrink as a result of austerity. All these issues will play out in how residents respond to proposed changes and how they experience the impact of the different regeneration interventions.

Tottenham is a unique place. The scale of current regeneration activity and investment in the area was galvanised by the 2011 riots, and the particular combination of circumstances that led to those events. The history of relationships between police and institutions, and local communities; the longstanding tradition of arrival, of some migrant communities staying in the area while others pass through; and of pride in the area and its history, all contribute to a strong and particular sense of local identity and shape the everyday experience of residents.

Impact monitoring

The Tottenham programme is made up of many different actions, at different scales, funded through a variety of investment and funding streams. Although outcomes and outputs reflect programme design, they are primarily driven by the imperatives of different funders and investors. There can be a mismatch between the intentions of those who plan programmes, and funders, which plays through to monitoring regimes. Outcomes and outputs have followed external funders imperatives, rather than reflecting the intentions of the programme's originators and deliverers which have often been to meet wider social and economic aims.

The previous London Mayor's political priorities focused on employment and employability outcomes rather than wider social outcomes about social value, inclusiveness and reducing inequalities. However the design of Tottenham's regeneration programmes and the intentions of commissioners have often encompassed wider socio-economic aims, including for example strengthening local identity and increasing good quality employment. These are captured more fully in Haringey Council's own monitoring frameworks.[7]

The relationship between reported outcomes and outputs and what is expected by practitioners has been further compounded by administrative and pragmatic decisions to fund different activities from different funding pots, on occasion to simplify monitoring and reporting.

A key early task for this project was to understand the relationship between what is being monitored and the expected impacts of the Tottenham programme. Alongside interviews with key borough-wide stakeholders, a theory of change model has been used to capture the expectations of those involved in delivering and shaping Tottenham's regeneration programme.

A "theory of change" is a model that links activities and actions to results. It is increasingly being used in the UK public and third sectors to guide programme and intervention design, development and evaluation. Theories of change can help all the different stakeholders involved align their views and expectations and come to a shared understanding about what they expect.

"A theory of change (TOC) is a tool for developing solutions to complex social problems. A basic TOC explains how a group of early and intermediate accomplishments sets the stage for producing long-range results. A more complete TOC articulates the assumptions about the process through which change will occur and specifies the ways in which all of the required early and intermediate outcomes related to achieving the desired long-term change will be brought about and documented as they occur."[8]

"A theory of change is useful for measurement of impact because it identifies all the outcomes and outputs that are expected. These can then be measured, alongside any unexpected or additional impacts, to make an overall evaluation of the intervention."[9]

Theories of change are usually developed at the planning stage to guide programme design, and to set the frame for future evaluation. Theories of change are by nature overarching and bring together disparate relationships, actions, opportunities and constraints. In practice the progress of any intervention will be affected by many external factors, and in a complex world many different factors will come together to shape eventual outcomes: to quote Geoff Mulgan *"anyone familiar with systems thinking will be dubious of linear explanations, especially where complex social phenomena like homelessness, poverty or isolation are concerned"*.[10]

Developing a theory of change for the Tottenham programme

We have used the theory of change model as a tool to understand the expectations and assumptions of those delivering the Tottenham programme, in order to compare what is being monitored with the expected impacts. This is a different use of the theory of change model from the norm as we are using it as a tool to understand assumptions and expectations rather than as a way of framing the development of the programme.

The theories of change for our four case studies have been developed through interviews with Tottenham programme stakeholders, by reviewing the case study findings, and through a workshop of Haringey officers from the Tottenham programme in July 2017. Theories of change for the case studies have been developed at an overarching level, and will be important in the next stage of this project (to be reported in the second report), which explores implications for future monitoring in more detail.


Theory of change workshop with Tottenham programme team, June 2015

Standards of evidence

Different organisations – including the Social Research Unit and Nesta – have proposed different models for "standards of evidence" in evaluating social programmes. These attempt to give appropriate value to different forms of evidence, recognising that evidence gathered through different methods have different degrees of robustness and reliability. Level 5 – the "gold standard" – implies independent evaluation of not only the original initiative and at least one replication, but also that the materials are in place to guide successful future replication. The other end of the scale – level 1 – indicates that the intervention is coherent and planned.

The case studies in this project sit at level 2 of the standards of evidence. They capture data that demonstrates change, but cannot guarantee attribution because there is no control or comparison group.

Level 5
You have manuals, systems and procedures to ensure consistent replication and positive impact

Level 4
You have one + independent replication evaluations that confirms these conclusions

Level 3
You can demonstrate causality using a control or comparison group

Level 2
You capture data that shows positive change, but you cannot confirm you caused this

Level 1
You can describe what you do and why it matters, logically, coherently and convincingly

At Level 1	You can give an account of impact. By this we mean providing a logical reason, or set of reasons, for why your intervention could have an impact and why that would be an improvement on the current situation.	You should be able to do this yourself, and draw upon existing data and research from other sources.
At Level 2	You are gathering data that shows some change amongst those receiving or using your intervention.	At this stage, data can begin to show effect but it will not evidence direct causality. You could consider such methods as: pre and post-survey evaluation; cohort/panel study, regular interval surveying.

Nesta's standards of evidence[11]

The case studies

A review of documents and monitoring data, and nine interviews with key officers in the Tottenham programme and partner agencies, enabled a typology to be created of the different regeneration activities that are being used to deliver the aims of the strategic regeneration framework.

The typology is intended to guide the project, in structuring the primary research and the development of social value impact measurement options. The typology developed differs from that used by the Tottenham programme, which focuses on the seven aims of the Tottenham strategic regeneration framework.

> **The Tottenham strategic regeneration framework aims:**
>
> 1. World-class education and training
> 2. Improved access to jobs and business opportunities
> 3. A different kind of housing market
> 4. A fully connected community with even better transport links
> 5. A strong and healthy community
> 6. Great places
> 7. The right investment and high quality development

> **To be delivered through:**
>
> 1. High street regeneration
> 2. New build
> 3. Estate regeneration
> 4. Economic development

Four case studies were selected to reflect the typology of the four regeneration activities.

1. High street regeneration

This covers the High Road near Bruce Grove, including the shops near Bruce Grove station. It includes improvements to Holcombe Market, public realm improvements and alley improvements. This was chosen in preference to the High Road near Seven Sisters (including the shops on West Green Road) because impacts of regeneration spending here may be skewed by the noticeable demographic changes happening in south Tottenham.

3. Estate regeneration

Love Lane Estate and the wider regeneration around High Road West were selected. Love Lane is the most advanced of the estate regeneration schemes in the borough. The area is also included in the DCLG funded Transformation Challenge Award programme area, which funds a number of community based social and economic projects.

2. New build

Hale Village was chosen as the largest site of new completed housing in Tottenham, and because it is part of the wider Tottenham Hale masterplan.

4. Economic development

Research was carried out into the employment and employability activities funded through the regeneration programme, particularly those at the 638 Centre and the Opportunity Investment Fund.

Tottenham regeneration programme

1. High Street Regeneration
2. New build
3. Estate regeneration
4. Economic development

Plus overarching Tottenham-wide programmes on accessibility, transport Improvements.

Case studies

1. Bruce Grove & Holcombe Market
2. Hale Village
3. Love Lane Estate & High Road West
4. Employability and employment initiatives.
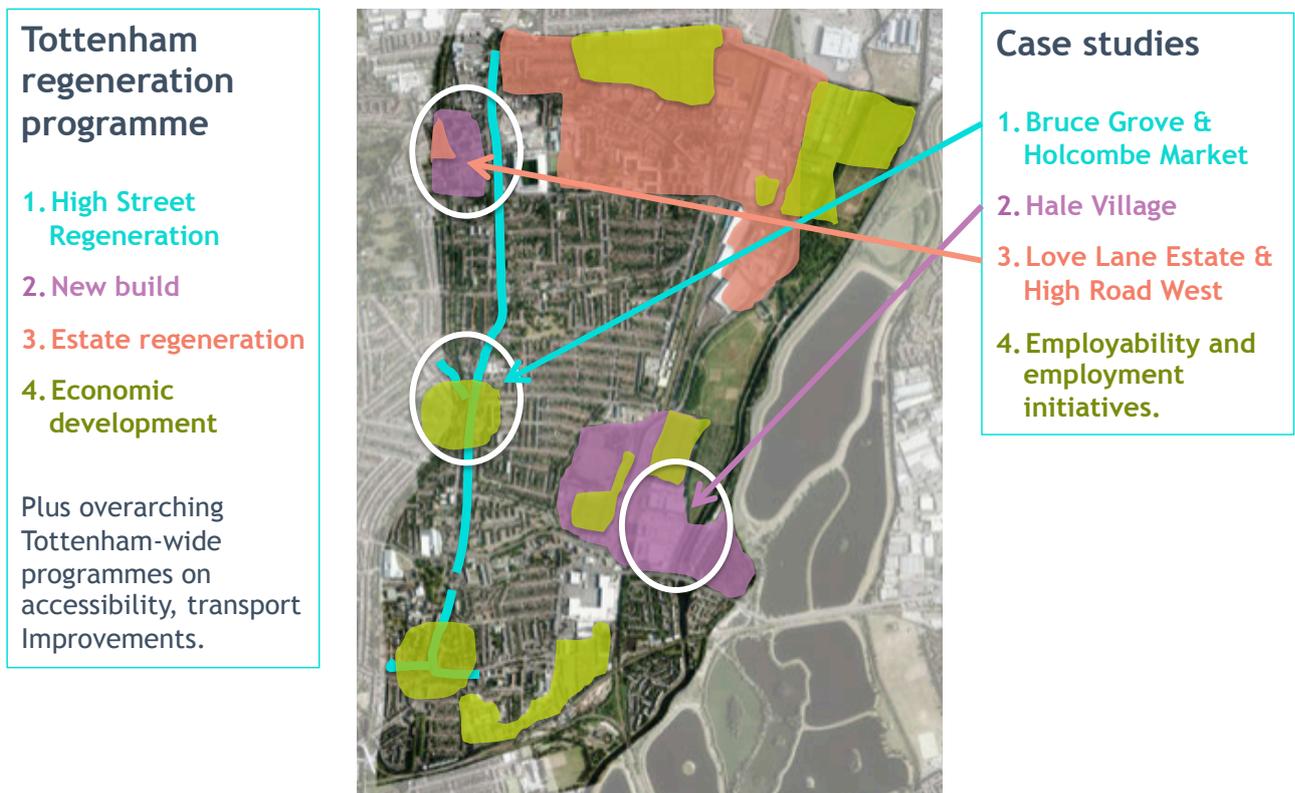
The aims of the case studies were to:

• understand the impact of the four different regeneration activities through focused research
• explore the impact of the four different regeneration initiatives against their stated targets, outputs and outcomes
• investigate the match between what is currently being monitored or evaluated and where impacts can be evidenced.

Research approach

The case studies used a mixture of methods, as no one single research method was sufficient to understand the complexity of residents' and agencies' experience of the regeneration initiatives.

These included:

Street interviews: Semi structured "street interviews" enable researchers to go to where residents are likely to be found rather than expecting them to come to a meeting or focus group. This flexible approach can be effective in those who would not usually choose to pro-actively take part in research exercises, enabling interviews to be carried out in a variety of everyday locations such as in shops, cafes, community centres and at the school gate. Street interviews can become group discussions when more than one person participates, this can be an effective way to speak to young people. These discussions are sometimes known as "pop up focus groups".

Interviews with programme participants: a small number of programme participants on employment or enterprise training schemes were interviewed face to face or through a group discussion to explore their experiences.

Semi structured interviews with stakeholders and programme participants: these one-to-one meetings included discussions with agencies that had a particular interest in the case study topics or areas, as well as individuals with an overview of the Tottenham regeneration.

An online survey: an online survey was distributed as part of the Bruce Grove case study through the Bruce Grove Neighbourhood network. This enabled the research to reach a wider group of people beyond the street interviews. In other case study areas there did not appear to be a similar online forum with good reach.

Desk research: documents were reviewed setting out past, current and future regeneration plans and other information about the four areas.

One facilitated workshop: a workshop with Haringey officers working on the Tottenham regeneration was convened, specifically to create a theory of change for the different elements of the regeneration.

 In total the case studies collected data from 268 individuals, through:

• **face-to-face street interviews with 139 residents or visitors to the area**
• **face-to-face interviews with 29 traders**
• **interviews with 17 programme participants**
• **interviews with 50 stakeholders**
• **one online survey with 24 responses**
• **10 Haringey officers attending a facilitated workshop.**

The data

Data from external sources, including government and Social Life's own monitoring data, shows that deprivation is high across Tottenham but particularly so in the north and west of the area.

The aspects of deprivation that are highest are barriers to housing and services, crime, employment and income deprivation across groups. These follow the same geographical pattern as overall deprivation, with the north of Tottenham emerging consistently as having the greatest problems.

Health deprivation is of less concern, although higher in pockets in the west of Tottenham.

Fear of crime is likely to be high across the whole area, and residents' sense of belonging is likely to be low in most of the area, with pockets where it may be lower.

The strength of local social relationships is likely to be around average, and residents' sense of satisfaction with the neighbourhood is likely to be higher than average, although there are pockets where satisfaction is lower.

House price increases between 2011 and 2016 have been high in the south and middle of Tottenham, compared to the rest of Haringey. However not as high as in Noel Park, the ward with the highest increase.

Social value of regeneration in Tottenham: case study report
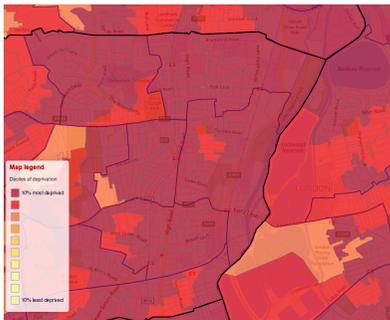

Barriers to housing &
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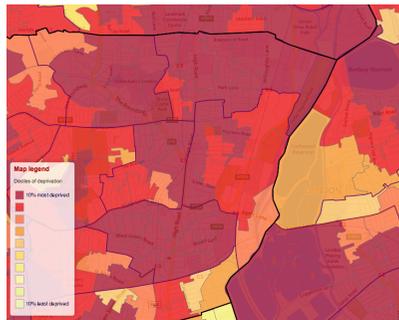
Crime domain
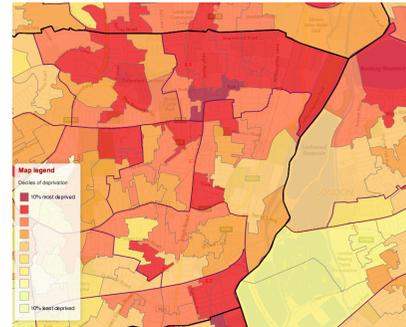
Education, skills & training
domain

IMD 2015

**Index of multiple
deprivation 2015**

Source: http://
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imd/idmap.html
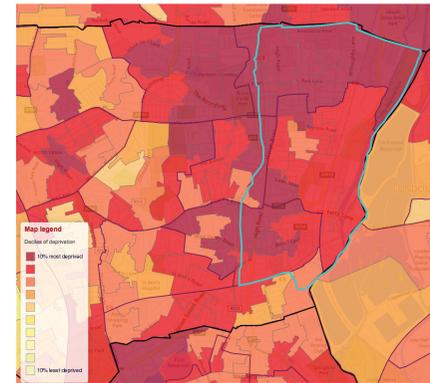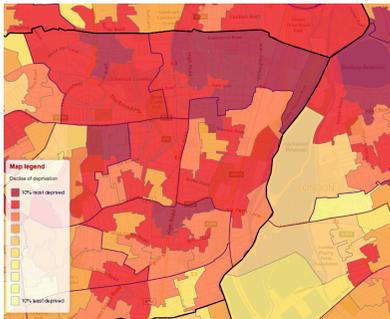

Employment deprivation
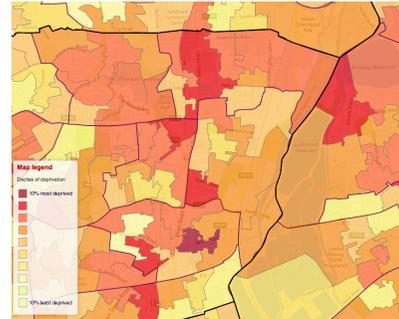
Health deprivation &
disability domain

Living environment
deprivation
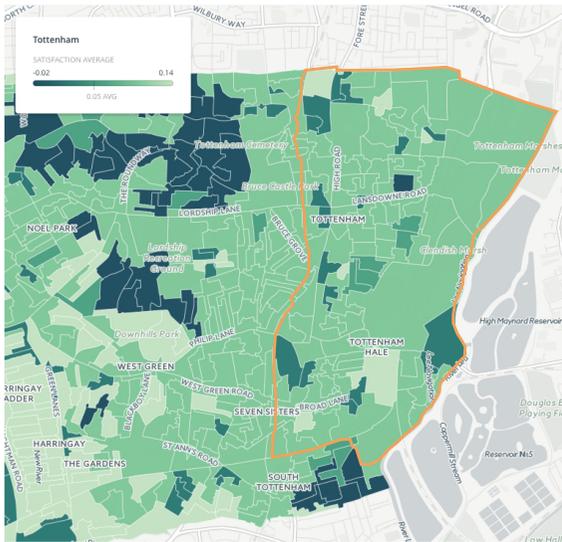
Predicted satisfaction with the neighbourhood
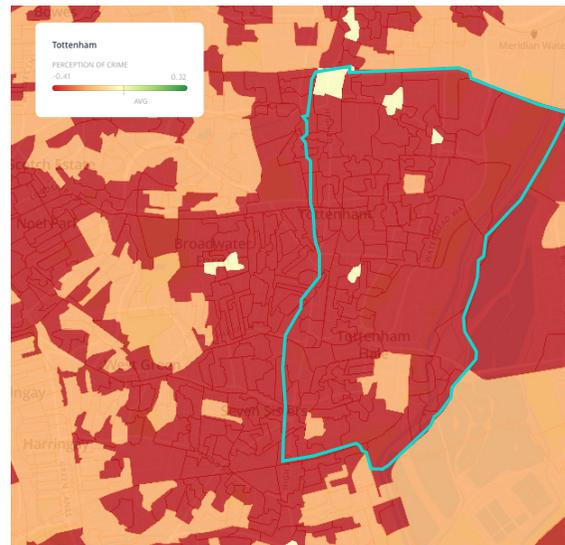
Predicted fear of crime

Social Life Community Dynamics data: predicted level of resident attitudes towards community life

Source: Social Life
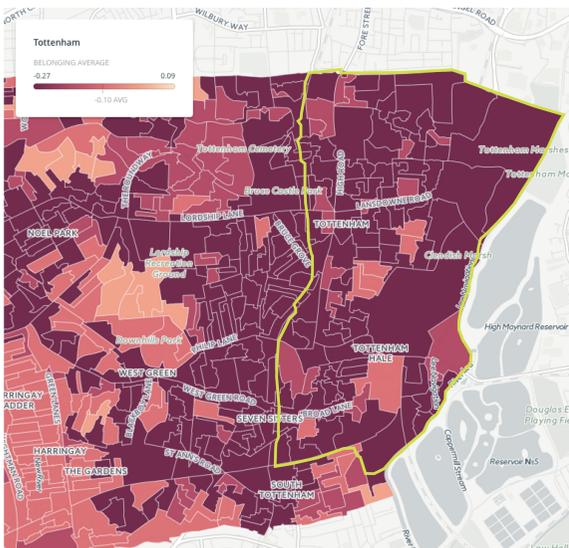
Predicted sense of belonging
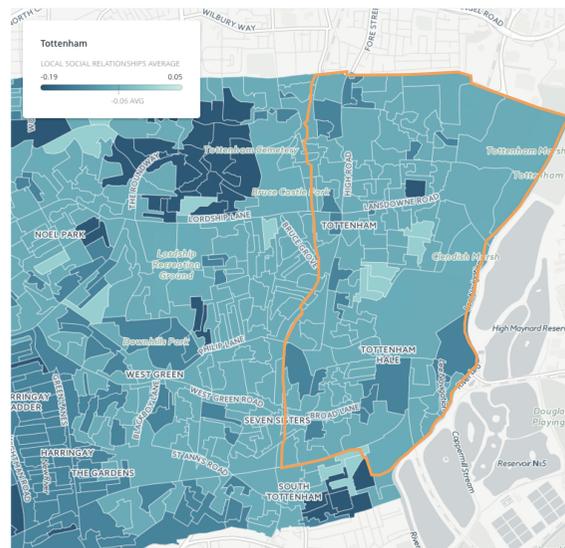
Predicted strength of local social relationships
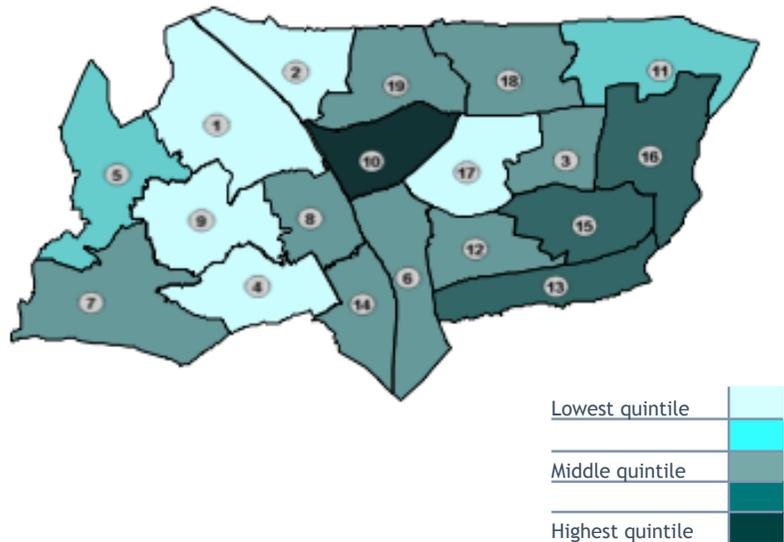
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House price increases 2011-16, by ward

Source: GLA datastore, Social Life modeling

Lowest quintile

Middle quintile

Highest quintile

1 Alexandra
2 Bounds Green
3 Bruce Grove
4 Crouch End
5 Fortis Green
6 Harringay
7 Highgate
8 Hornsey
9 Muswell Hill
10 Noel Park
11 Northumberland Park
12 St. Ann's
13 Seven Sisters
14 Stroud Green
15 Tottenham Green
16 Tottenham Hale
17 West Green
18 White Hart Lane
19 Woodside

Platform 2
Trains to Cheshunt
and Enfield Town

Case study 1: Bruce Grove and Holcombe Market

This case study focuses on the improvements to markets, retail and the streetscape around Bruce Grove station that have been brought about through the Tottenham Regeneration programme.

This case study was chosen as an example of high street regeneration. It was chosen in preference to the area around Seven Sisters station, the other main focus of high street regeneration within the Tottenham programme. The Seven Sisters area is experiencing notable demographic change as new more affluent populations move to south Tottenham, making it more difficult to discern the specific changes introduced by the Tottenham regeneration programme.

The activities and interventions that this case study explored include:

• improvements to shops on the High Road and Bruce Grove
• targeted enforcement project (also covering Seven Sisters and West Green Road)
• refurbishment of Holcombe Market
• alleyway improvements to Brook Street and Alfred Place
• shopfront improvement to Bucky's Mews
• Meanwhile N17 Design Studio
• improvements to the Bruce Grove Railway Bridge
• improvements to the public realm and Bruce Grove Station building, planned to begin within the next year
• perceptions of the wider Tottenham regeneration programme.

The project draws on the LSE Cities/We Made That "High Streets for all" report and its analysis of the value of comparable High Streets in Clapton, Lewisham and Burnt Oak.

The context

- Bruce Grove is the fifth most deprived ward in Haringey, 26th in London overall[12]
- there is a high proportion of under 20s and lower proportion of over 65s compared to Haringey[13]
- compared with London and Haringey, there is a higher than average proportion of residents from ethnic minority backgrounds, most notably Black Caribbean, Black African and Other White groups[14]
- compared to London and Haringey, there are higher numbers of unemployed residents and those who are receiving JSA benefits[15]
- median house price is £325,000, lower than the borough average of £405,000[16]
- median income was £30,340 in 2012-13, approximately £5,000 less per year than the borough average[17]
- the crime rate is around the borough average[18]
- male life expectancy is just below the borough average while female life expectancy is slightly higher than the Haringey average[19].

The key stakeholders in the area include individual residents, the council, TfL and Network Rail, the police and enforcement agencies (parking, trading standards), the Bruce Grove Stakeholders Group, the Tottenham Traders Partnership. There are active residents' groups including the Dowsett Road TRA and the Bruce Grove Residents Network. Architects John Maslin + Partners have now ceased involvement in their design studio pilot.

The case study area

Physically, the case study area is defined by the shopping areas around the High Road and Bruce Grove, rather than the wider Bruce Grove ward or the area around Bruce Castle. This includes:

- Holcombe Market, selling fruit, vegetables and fish
- shops on both sides of the High Road and Bruce Grove near the station, a long strip of mainly independent retailers with a small number of high street brands
- several alleys to the east of the High Road
- the former N17 Design Studio on the High Road
- Bruce Grove station – built in 1872 as a stop on the Stoke Newington & Edmonton Railway.

Regeneration

Bruce Grove is at the centre of Tottenham High Road, originally a Roman Road. The area was named after Robert Bruce as the area fell within his English landholdings. It is now a linear retail centre, home to many independent retailers and traders and a small number of high street multiples, including Asda, Iceland, Peacocks and McDonalds. There is little commercial activity in the evenings. There are a number of heritage buildings, mainly Victorian, however the area was significantly affected by the 2011 riots when several buildings were burnt out. At Bruce Grove, the High Road is four lanes wide.

"The prominence of the road network has a significant bearing on the 'feel' of the area: it is more like a busy highway rather than primary retail area." [20]

Before 2011, initiatives focused largely on restoring heritage buildings through the Townscape Heritage Initiative. Several shop fronts and exteriors of commercial properties were restored with funding from Heritage Lottery Fund, Haringey Council and property owners.

After 2011, the Mayor's Regeneration Fund, set up to invest in the boroughs most affected by the August riots, gave its largely single grant to the "Growth on the High Road" project. This aimed to tackle the long-term decline of the area, and respond to some of the conditions that catalysed the riots. Growth on the High Street focused on the area around Tottenham Green and Seven Sisters Station, Bruce Grove, as well as improvements to White Hart Lane station further north, and the 639 centre south of Bruce Grove on the High Road. The total investment across the programme was £28m from the Mayor's Regeneration Fund, matched by £13m from Haringey Council and £20m from TfL.

Expenditure on Bruce Grove area within the wider Growth on the High Street programme[21]
- £100,000 for Bruce Grove Heritage & Shop Front Improvements
- £540,000 capital and £25,000 revenue to bring Bruce Grove Toilets back into use
- £100,000 for a new canopy for Bruce Grove Market
- £200,000 for Holcombe Market new canopy
- £450,000 for Bruce Grove Town Centre public realm.

The regeneration of Bruce Grove has aimed to improve the quality of the external environment, through various improvements to outside spaces, including alleys connecting the High Road to residential areas and by improving enforcement against fly tipping and other blights; to improve the retail offer and diversify it, for example introducing more cafe and restaurants, reducing the number of betting shops, and growing the evening economy; and to improve the station.

"In the town centre of Bruce Grove, Holcombe Market and its surroundings are being redesigned to make the space more attractive and easier to use, bringing more activity to the isolated area."[22]

Improving retail has been critical to future plans for Bruce Grove as a shopping destination for Tottenham's existing and new populations. The aim is that Bruce Grove complements and differs from Tottenham Hale, which will target high street chains and well-known brands.

Improvements to the station aim to increase connectivity to the rest of London, to enable residents to have better access to the rest of London, for work and leisure. At present the station feels disconnected from the High Road.
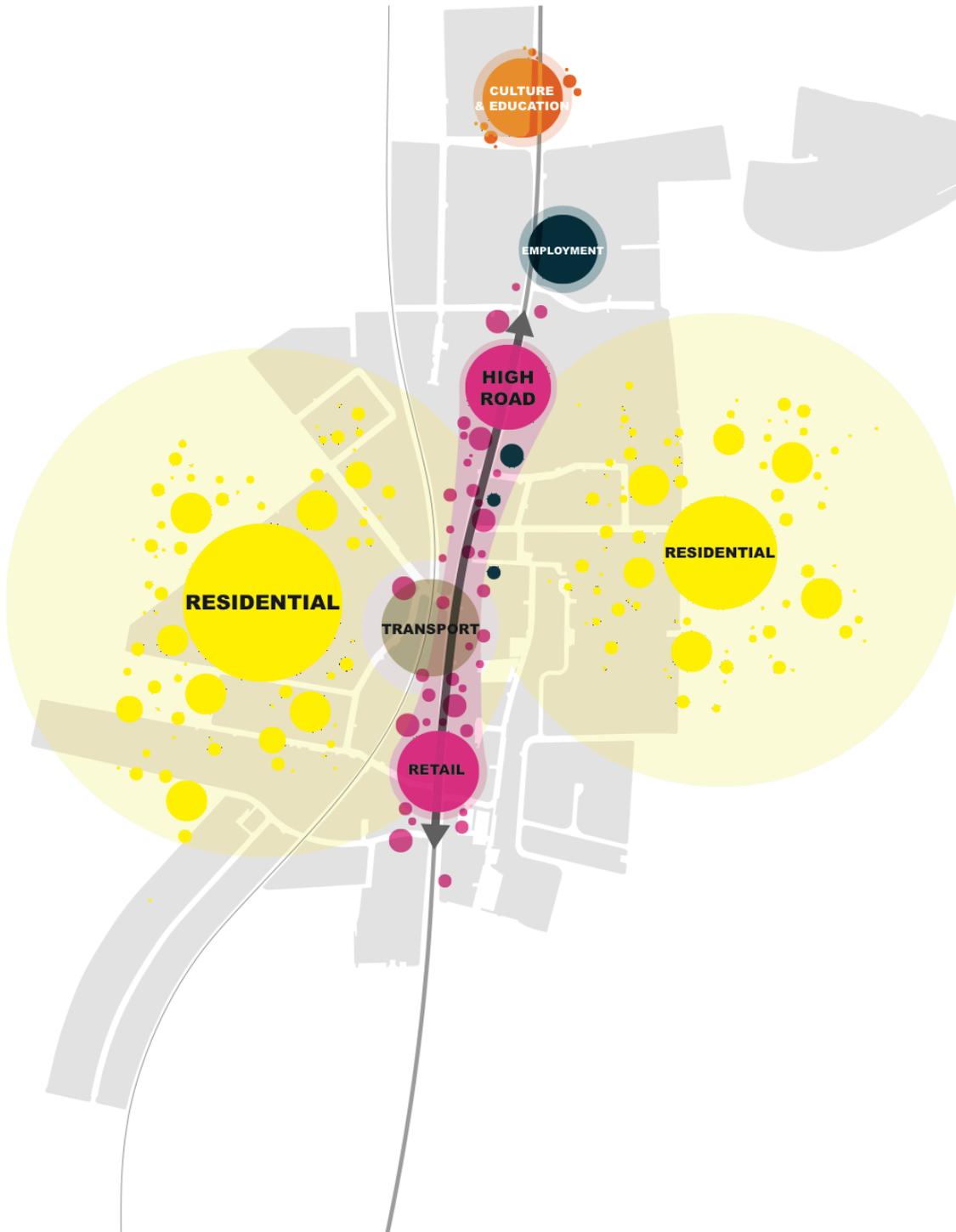
Bruce Grove masterplan: concept plan[23]

Research approach

The key aims of the research were to understand:

- how people feel about the improvements around Bruce Grove in the last five years, including the renovation of Holcombe Market; alleyway improvements; improvements to the railway bridge; and shopfront improvements
- how people feel about the wider Tottenham regeneration programme.

The research included:

- interviews with 43 people passing through or shopping on the High Road (including both residents and visitors to the area)
- interviews with 19 traders
- interviews with seven stakeholders specific to Bruce Grove, plus the findings from interviews with nine stakeholders with a Tottenham overview carried out in the early stages of the research.
- online survey with 24 responses.

Street & trader interviews

Street interviews included 35 one-to-one interviews and three pop up focus groups involving eight individuals. These were carried out over three weekdays, twice between 1pm and 6pm, and once from 10am to 2pm. Interviews were carried out on the High Road, by Holcombe Market and at Bruce Grove station.

Street interviews primarily engaged residents who use the High Road during the day as well as visitors to the area.

The street interviews investigated why interviewees came to the area, their perceptions of Bruce Grove and Holcombe Market, connections to the area and sense of belonging. Participants were also asked about their perceptions of changes to the area (specifically the railway bridge, shop fronts, the alleys, the market and planned improvements to the public realm and the station) as well as overall views about the Tottenham regeneration programme.

19 traders were interviewed, either in Holcombe Market or on the High Road. Three traders on West Green Road were interviewed to give a snapshot of their comparative experience of shop front improvements.

Online survey

There were 24 responses to a SurveyMonkey questionnaire distributed via an online residents' network, the Bruce Grove Residents' Network. This largely mirrored the street interviews questionnaire.

Stakeholder interviews

Seven stakeholders were interviewed specifically for the Bruce Grove case study. Contacts were provided by the GLA and Haringey Council, through suggestions from interviewees and through desk research. Discussions with the Tottenham regeneration team also informed the research.

Stakeholder interviews were mainly face to face, although two were carried out by telephone. They included interviews with the Bruce Grove Safer Neighbourhood Team (by phone), one market trader who was also a member of Bruce Grove Stakeholder Group, the Assunnah Islamic Centre, a representative of the Dowsett TRA (by phone), a representative of the Bruce Grove Community Ward Panel and two representatives from the Bruce Grove Residents Network.
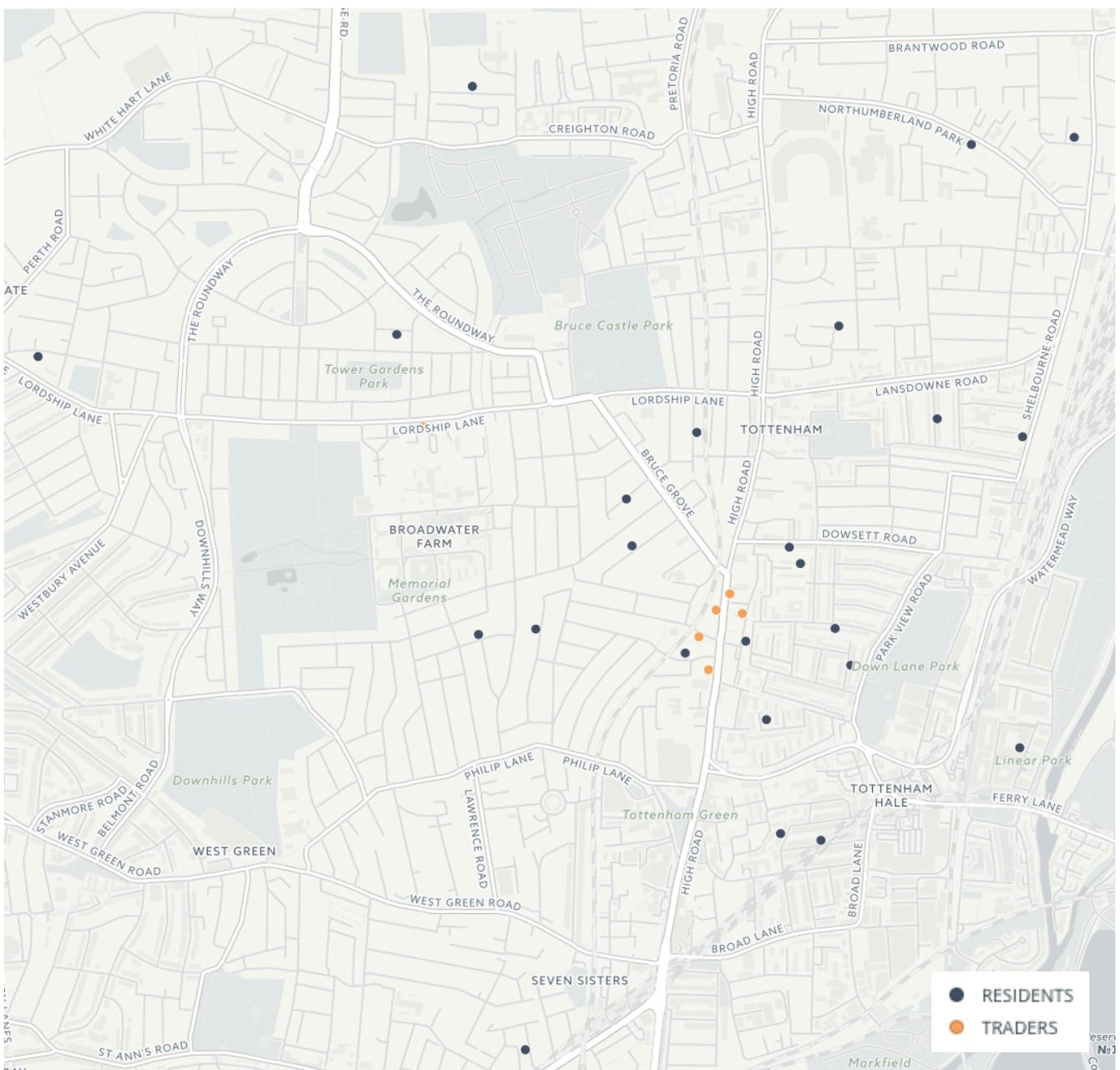
Bruce Grove: Map of postcodes of street interview participants and traders' addresses

(note: dots may represent more than one person)

Findings

The area

Residents and traders reported that they felt the area was *"alright"* or *"ok"* but that it still needs improvements. Online respondents were generally more negative, feeling the area is tired and run-down, or for one respondent *"a completely undesirable place to spend any time"*. *(White British Female, 30-39)*

"It will be wonderful with some new stuff because look at the area. The smell is strong and there is rubbish around." *(Latin-American female, 30-39)*

There is a sense of an on-going need for regeneration in the Bruce Grove area, many feel that it is run-down, neglected and bears the hallmarks of deprivation. However, while specific improvements in Bruch Grove have been positively reduced – Holcombe Market improvements were strongly appreciated – regeneration in the area is felt to be piecemeal.

Cleanliness and litter were seen as key problems, some felt this had improved over the last few years. Anti-social behaviour was regularly mentioned, especially street drinking. Shop lifting, drug dealing and gang activity also raised. Some feel the police and local authority are not doing enough to stop this.

Residents liked the diversity of the local population but commented that different groups tend not to mix, though residents reported a strong sense of belonging and feel a "Tottenham" identity.

Some stakeholders describe the changes in the area as the first stage of gentrification, there was concern about rising house prices and their impact on local residents.

Local amenities

Views differed about the range of local shops. Some report that the High Street caters to them well, others want a wider range of retail and entertainment. For many residents and traders there is a feeling that the High Street does not have enough retail diversity, and it is not considered enough of a 'destination' to draw in visitors.

Many commented on the number of betting shops.

"Holcombe Market is the only improvement. In the last 30 years pound shops, chicken shops and betting shops have taken over the High St." *(Black Caribbean male, 60-69)*

Some traders mentioned good links to the community and a sense of belonging, however a few mentioned that local businesses are doing worse. The reasons they gave included falling footfall after two bank branches closed, increased business rates and rising rents. Some traders felt that there is little support available for existing small enterprises.

"Local residents are not seeing any effects of the new buildings. We haven't seen any support for local businesses." *(Asian or Asian British Male, 40-49)*

Local stakeholders all commented on the importance of supporting small local businesses.

"What they talk about is getting young, independent and creative people in. But they need to support what's already here, it's rich. The place has already got independent and creative businesses. But it feels like they are just displacing this and knocking it down." *(Stakeholder)*

The majority of trader's expressed mixed feelings towards the High Road near Bruce Grove, several commented *"it's much better than it used to be, but it's still not good enough…"* One trader remarked*: "They call this a high street, but it doesn't feel like a high street. There is not enough here, it needs more shops to open."*

Perceptions of change

Regeneration investment has gradually taken place over the last five years. While some were aware of the changes, few know that Bruce Grove improvements are part of a wider regeneration programme. There was some positive feedback on its impacts.

"It's small things at the moment but the conversation here has improved and the sense of ownership. People talk and it has actively brought the community together." (Stakeholder)

"It's a good thing they are doing something here. The stadium and what they did further up, it's good they are making something we can be proud of in the long term, in five years as well. We need something the community can be proud of but we also need security." (Black British male, 18-29)

Some concerns and scepticism were reported about the regeneration. Stakeholders and individuals involved in the Bruce Grove regeneration plans reported some doubts about the council's motivations for investing locally.

"It feels like it is something done to us rather than with us." (Stakeholder)

However, some stakeholders noted that recent improvements to the area had been mainly aesthetic and also noted feelings of fatigue.

"It does get you down when they say it is not safe, needs repair and you have done it up but they don't do that last little bit." (Stakeholder)

For one online respondent, Bruce Grove felt neglected by the regeneration:

"My concern is that whilst the big headline grabbing regeneration plans at Seven Sisters and Tottenham stadium and its surroundings gathers pace, Bruce Grove is a bit of a forgotten section which continues to be blighted by litter, anti-social behaviour and lack of investment in all levels." (Online respondent)

Specific initiatives

Holcombe Market

Generally, traders and residents are very positive about the new Holcombe Market. Some traders felt it makes the area look more attractive, as well as bringing new customers to the area and creating opportunities for smaller enterprises. Other traders felt that the changes would not affect their business.

"People love the market. The market-owners are cool. It's more convenient for people. But it wasn't very good when they were redeveloping it - the fishmonger and fruit and veg seller were in shipping containers during this time, on the pavement." (Trader)

Stakeholders were all positive about the changes to the market and felt that it had improved the atmosphere of the area and reduced anti-social behaviour.

"It has been very warmly received and very effective. It has a magnetic effect, I think it will attract more businesses to the area, like the improvements to the Beehive there is a domino effect." (Stakeholder)

Alleyways

Less than a third of the residents, visitors and online respondents, and a quarter of traders knew about the improvements to the alleyways. The Albert Place alleyway improvements were viewed most positively.

Many commented that they never take the alleyways because they are too dangerous.

"I don't take back alleys, it is too dangerous and I have been mugged." (Black British Female)

Concerns were raised that the Brook Street alley improvements were not being maintained.

"Since it was done they have not been around to do any upkeep, it seems off the radar. The weeds are very high now. New flats above the post office dump trash outside, which causes a rat problem. It is so bad that we can see the rats in broad daylight." (Stakeholder)

There was some desire to improve other alleys to tackle anti-social behaviour.

Shopfronts

Only one shopfront in Bruce Grove had been improved at the time the research took place, few respondents reported that they had noticed this.

There was a positive response from residents to shopfront improvements on West Green Road, some mentioned it made the area more attractive and more like a destination. Researchers spoke to four traders on West Green Road who had been part of the shopfront improvement scheme. These traders had mixed feelings – overall they liked the visual improvement but did not feel it had improved business.

Railway bridge

Only a quarter of street interviewees noticed the renovation of the railway bridge, whereas half of online respondents, many of whom were commuters, had noticed the changes.

The painting was received positively by most people interviewed, however there were mixed feelings about the blue lights under the bridge which some felt were overbearing, even hostile.

Public realm improvements

Only a few residents and visitors interviewed in street interviews (just over 10 percent) had heard about the planned public realm improvements, some had received leaflets through their door or had found out about it through word of mouth.

Improving accessibility for older people or people using wheelchairs, mobility scooters or buggies was an important issue for stakeholders.

Some concerns over the quality of the improvements were voiced.

"The public realm improvements are very welcome… [but] there is a sense that ours are second rate – it is functionality over aesthetics." (Stakeholder)

Station rebuild

Few residents and traders were aware of planned improvements to the station, while around half of online respondents knew of the plans and welcomed them.

Several raised accessibility issues at the station and the need for elevators and a step-free entrance.

Traders opposite the station welcome the regeneration and hope it will help to bring more customers to the area.

"The station shops have been closed since 2006, at that time it was a little better. If there was more of a market or something like that it would be better." (Trader).

Tottenham regeneration programme

Around a third of respondents were positive about the changes brought by the Tottenham regeneration programme, a third were negative and the remaining third were unaware of the programme.

Residents were most aware of the stadium redevelopment. When probed some noted new developments and shopping facilities at Tottenham Hale and the public realm improvements around Seven Sisters.

There was a sense that while regeneration was needed, it had barely begun. As one online respondent commented: *"can't wait to see it happen".*

Participants voiced anxiety around who benefits from the regeneration. Some worried about the impact on vulnerable people and families with young people, particularly from rising house prices.

"It seems they want to fix the problem through gentrification, social cleansing. It's benefitting the wealthy." (White male, 30-39)

The ways regeneration is carried out is of concern to many residents, traders and stakeholders. Some felt that while the initiatives are good, there is little on-going maintenance. Others queried the quality of the work.

"They have done this redevelopment of Seven Sisters but not kept up planters or paving." (Stakeholder)

"Regeneration is a welcome idea if it is actually done and done properly." (Black African female, 50-59)

One online respondent cited the need for *"continuous action"* along the lines of cleaning and caring for the public realm rather than *"one grand gesture"*. One stakeholder commented that initiatives such as Chicken Town and N17 Design Studio had not proven successful and didn't think the council had made sure that initiatives were sustainable and benefiting local residents.

"The problem is that the projects are too vanity-driven, which doesn't succeed and doesn't do anything for the people." (Stakeholder)

Bruce Grove: overarching Theory of Change

Activities	Outputs	Short-term Outcomes	Mid-term Outcomes	Long-term Outcomes
Enforcement Officer Post	Increase number of enforcement actions	Reduce crime and anti-social behaviour / reduce illegal trading	Reduce fear of crime / increase belonging / increase confidence in traders and shops	A well used High Road
Public Realm Improvements	Amount of public space improved / new facilities created	Increase safety / increase use of public spaces / improve walking	Increase use of public spaces / improve safety	Strong sense of belonging / strong local identity
Holcombe Market Improvements and shop front improvements	Number of shop front improvements / number of market units	A more diverse retail offer / more cafes / fewer betting shops	Increase footfall on High Road and markets / increase footfall for businesses	Economically stable businesses on High Road / high quality employment opportunities / minimum of London Living Wage for Tottenham residents
Bringing buildings back into use (including Heritage Buildings)	Number of buildings / heritage buildings bought back into use	Improve visual appearance of High Road	Improve belonging and sense of place / increase use of high street	High quality built environment / high footfall and use of High Road for shopping, commuting and leisure
Bruce Grove Station Improvements	Amount of public space improved / new facilities created	Improve appearance of station and surrounding area / increase safety	Increase use of station for visitors / increase use of station by commuting residents	Strong sense of belonging / strong local identity / high footfall and use of shops and facilities in area

Bruce Grove: summary of findings

The area

The area is generally seen as "alright" or "ok", although online survey respondents were more negative than people taking part in street interviews. Residents and stakeholders recognise a need for regeneration. There was a sense that while regeneration was needed, it had barely begun.

Anti-social behaviour, street drinking, petty crime, drug dealing and gang activity were raised as ongoing problems. Some feel the police and local authority are not doing enough to stop this.

Residents liked the diversity of the local population but commented that different groups tend not to mix, they reported a strong sense of belonging and feel a "Tottenham" identity.

Bruce Grove regeneration

Specific improvements in Bruce Grove have been positively received, in particular Holcombe Market which is seen as having improved the atmosphere of the area and reduced anti-social behaviour. There was recognition that other small improvements had been made.

Some concerns were voiced that regeneration in the area is felt to be piecemeal, and queried the quality of the work and ongoing maintenance.

Only a minority knew about many improvements, including the alleyways and the renovation of the railway bridge. Few residents had noticed the one shopfront that had been improved. Only a minority knew about planned public realm improvements and improvements to the station. More online respondents, many of whom were commuters, were aware of changes to the station.

Many concerns were voiced about displacement and "gentrification". Some stakeholders describe the changes in the area as the first stage of gentrification, there was concern about vulnerable residents and rising house prices. Concerns and scepticism were voiced across different groups, particularly questioning who would benefit in the long term.

Views differed about the range of local shops. Some report that the High Street caters to them well, others want a wider range of retail, cafes and entertainment. Many commented on the number of betting shops. Overall it was felt that more needs to be done to turn the area into a destination.

Some traders mentioned that local businesses are facing problems, citing falling footfall linked to closure of two bank branches, increased business rates and rising rents. Local stakeholders and traders raised the importance of supporting small local businesses and some voiced a fear that new creative businesses are being targeted at the expensive of existing businesses.

Tottenham-wide regeneration

Around a third of respondents were positive about the changes brought by the Tottenham regeneration programme, a third were negative and the remaining third were unaware of the programme. Few know that Bruce Grove improvements are part of a wider regeneration programme.

Case study 2: Love Lane Estate

> This case study focuses on the experience and impact of the regeneration of Love Lane Estate to date, and the associated parts of the wider High Road West regeneration programme. It explores resident and local community stakeholders' perceptions of everyday life, of the regeneration programme and the associated consultation processes.

The case study area was chosen as it is representative of further regeneration work being planned for north Tottenham (particularly the Northumberland Park ward), including major estate and commercial regeneration, and multi-stranded and socio-economic interventions with significant community input.

The activities and interventions that this case study explored included:

- the community consultation processes for a comprehensive new masterplan for the area
- the Haringey Council decanting and rehousing process, which is already underway
- the delivery of the Transformation Challenge Award programme - a broad socio-economic programme (funded by DCLG) targeting priority resident needs in the Northumberland Park ward (of which this area is part)
- additional socio-economic interventions delivered by the council and other agencies
- perceptions of the wider Tottenham regeneration programme.

The context

- Northumberland Park is the most deprived ward in Haringey, second in London overall[lix]
- there is a high proportion of under 20s and lower proportion of over 65s compared to Haringey[lx]
- compared with London and Haringey, there is a higher than average proportion of residents are from ethnic backgrounds; most notably Black Caribbean, Black African and Other White groups[lxi]
- compared to the rest of Haringey, there is a high proportion of residents employed in low level jobs or are receiving benefits[lxii]
- median house price is £252,500, lower than the borough average of £405,000[lxiii]
- annual median income was £25,090 in 2012-13, £10,000 less than the borough average[lxiv]
- crime is high in Northumberland Park compared to Haringey – there are significant criminal activities in the ward including theft and handling and violence against the person[lxv].
- male life expectancy is low compared to the Haringey average, female life expectancy is closer to the borough average[lxvi].

The key stakeholders in the area include Haringey Council as the strategic local authority, Homes for Haringey, Tottenham Hotspur Football Club, Transport for London and Network Rail, the Tottenham Health Centre (home to the local GP), the Selby Trust, community organisation Living Under One Sun, Improving Access to Psychological Therapies (IAPT), a NHS England programme delivering some activities in the area and Sainsburys, as well as the Love Lane Residents Association.

The case study area

Physically, the area is bounded by both the railway and High Road and includes:

- Love Lane Estate – 297 properties, council estate built in the late 1960s to 1970s to meet (and in some cases exceed) Parker Morris standards[lxvii]. In August 2017 the estate was home to 130 tenants on temporary tenancies, 60 tenants on secure tenancies, 85 leaseholders (35 resident leaseholders and 46 non resident)
- Peacock Industrial Estate
- high street traders (both along the High Road and White Hart Lane)
- The Grange – a Grade II listed building acting as a community and service hub
- White Hart Lane TfL station – built in 1872 as a stop on the Stoke Newington & Edmonton Railway
- Tottenham Hotspur ("Spurs") FC's stadium – formed (famously by school old boys who met under a lamppost on High Road) in 1882.

Regeneration

The site has been the subject of regeneration plans for many years (closely linked to Spurs' own plans for the stadium), and the 2011 riots in Tottenham provided the catalyst for action. The Tottenham Physical Development Framework, developed by Arup and commissioned by Haringey Council, was finalised in 2014, which laid the framework for the High Road West Masterplan. The purpose was to economically develop the site and foster a mixed income community by creating a *"balanced place to live and work"[lxviii]*. The plan, strongly aligned to the planned redevelopment of Tottenham Hotspur's football ground, included provision for 1,400 plus new homes, community and leisure facilities (including a new library) and space for new businesses, delivered from 2018 onwards.

Arup's Masterplan was subject to a comprehensive consultation process in 2013-14. The consultation received 272 feedback forms from residents and stakeholders –7.5 percent of the population at the time. In preparation for this, Haringey Council has begun the decanting process on the Love Lane Estate, re-housing secure residents elsewhere in the borough (and sometimes beyond).

In 2015 the Mayor of London agreed Haringey Council's North Tottenham Housing Zone bid, which includes the High Road West development.

North Tottenham Housing Zone[lxix]
- total value of investment and development: £857m
- indicative GLA funding allocation: £62m
- total number of homes: 2,000
- total number of affordable homes: 600
- total Housing Zone area: 560ha
- total number of construction jobs: 4,000

High Road West

The current plans are that the scheme will include[lxx]:
- over 2,500 homes
- at least 750 affordable homes
- 155 London affordable rent properties
- 405 'lower cost' shared ownership properties, with the cost of owning the home, not exceeding 45% of the owner's net income
- over £10m of funding for social and economic support for both businesses and residents, including a contribution of around £800,000 to support the Tottenham People Priority
- a cutting edge new Library and Learning Centre and a refurbished Grange Community Hub
- 143,500sqft of green spaces including a new community park with an outdoor gym, children's play area and Grange Gardens; a safe, central green space for local people
- a new civic square which will be a focus for local events and activities, and promoting cultural activities

- over 130,000sqft of commercial, retail and leisure space providing a wide range of leisure, employment space, shops, cafes and restaurants around the new civic square
- £500k of investment in the town centre and a £500k fund for events and activities, as well as 'meanwhile' uses
- over 3,300 construction jobs and more than 500 other jobs once the development is complete
- Investment in a Headstart skills initiative (including volunteering, training, work experience for 16-18 NEETS
- a Young Leaders project involving 11-25 year olds
- digital skills, including high speed broadband and training. There will also be an Interactive Digital Tech Hub linked to the Grange Community Hub.

In addition to the planned physical changes planned for High Road West, the Northumberland Park ward, in which Love Lane Estate falls, has been targeted with just below £1million from the DCLG's Transformation Challenge Award (TCA) programme. The programme, which combines a range of socio-economic projects, focuses on tackling identified needs in the Northumberland Park ward. Resident and community involvement is a central tenet of the programme.

Transformation Challenge Award

The TCA includes two tranches of funding: the first £700k has been awarded through major voluntary organisations: the Prince's charities, Blenheim CDP, Well London (£700k); the second tranche through participatory budgeting approach (£220k from TCA plus £33k from Well London).

Selby Trust is the anchor organisation for this process, 17 trained residents on are on the TCA board.
The first tranche of funding included:
- £40,000 for community engagement
- £ 125,000 for health & wellbeing funding
- £125,000 for education projects
- £125,000 for employment & skills projects
- £125,000 for work on crime & safety
- £115,000 for Blenheim CDP drug and alcohol dependency awareness and prevention programmes (including parenting, community diversion, crime and offending, gang interventions and family interventions)
- £150,000 for the Prince's Charities, including £10,000 for the Prince's Initiative for Mature Enterprise, £15,000 for Princes Foundation for Children & Arts, £10,000 for Prince's Teaching Institute, £10,000 for Business in the community, £15,000 for the Teach First hub, £20,000 for Princes Foundation for Building Community and £50,000 for Innovation, Coordination and Creativity funding.
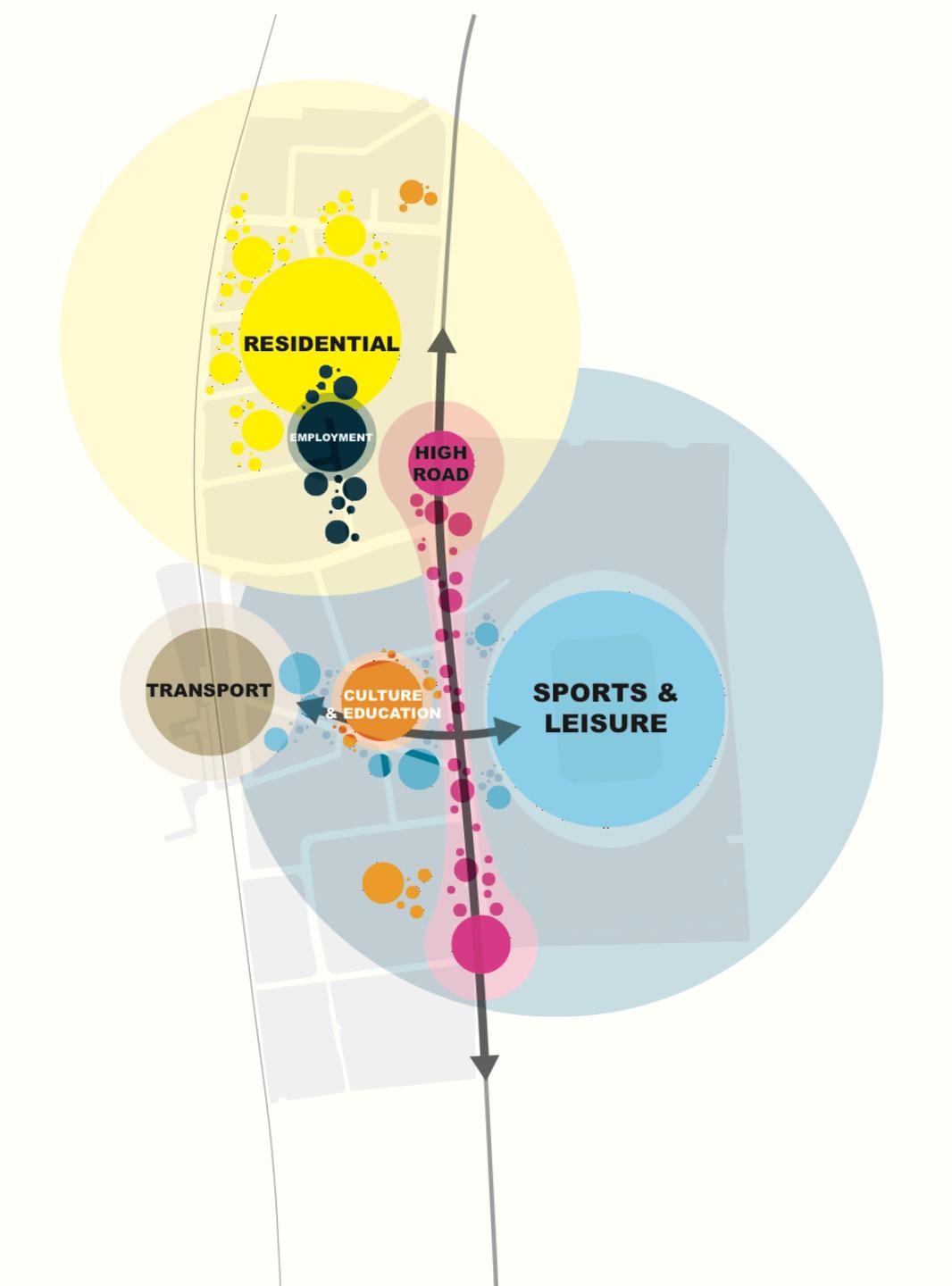
High Road West masterplan: concept plan[lxxi]

Research approach

The key aims of the research were to understand

- residents' and other stakeholders' views of everyday life on the Love Lane Estate and the surrounding areas
- what residents and community stakeholders feel about the regeneration process for the Love Lane Estate and the wider High Road West programme
- resident attitudes towards the consultation processes for the masterplan and regeneration process
- the role and impact of TCA projects on community life.

The research included

- interviews with 31 residents at the July Love Lane Estate Fun Day
- interviews with 10 traders
- interviews with 10 stakeholders specific to Love Lane, plus the findings from interviews with nine stakeholders with a Tottenham overview carried out in the early stages of the research
- observation of two community events or meetings
- background desk research.

Street interviews

31 residents were interviewed at a Fun Day on the estate on 1st July. Interviews explored perceptions of the area, residents' sense of influence and fear of crime, feelings about the Love Lane regeneration and knowledge of services in the area, and feelings about the wider Tottenham regeneration.

Semi-structured interviews with traders

10 traders were interviewed. They were located on White Hart Lane, High Road and Peacock Industrial Estate. Traders were asked about their experience of running a business in the area, and a similar set of questions as those asked to residents.

70 per cent of the businesses taking part in the research had been trading for at least five years.
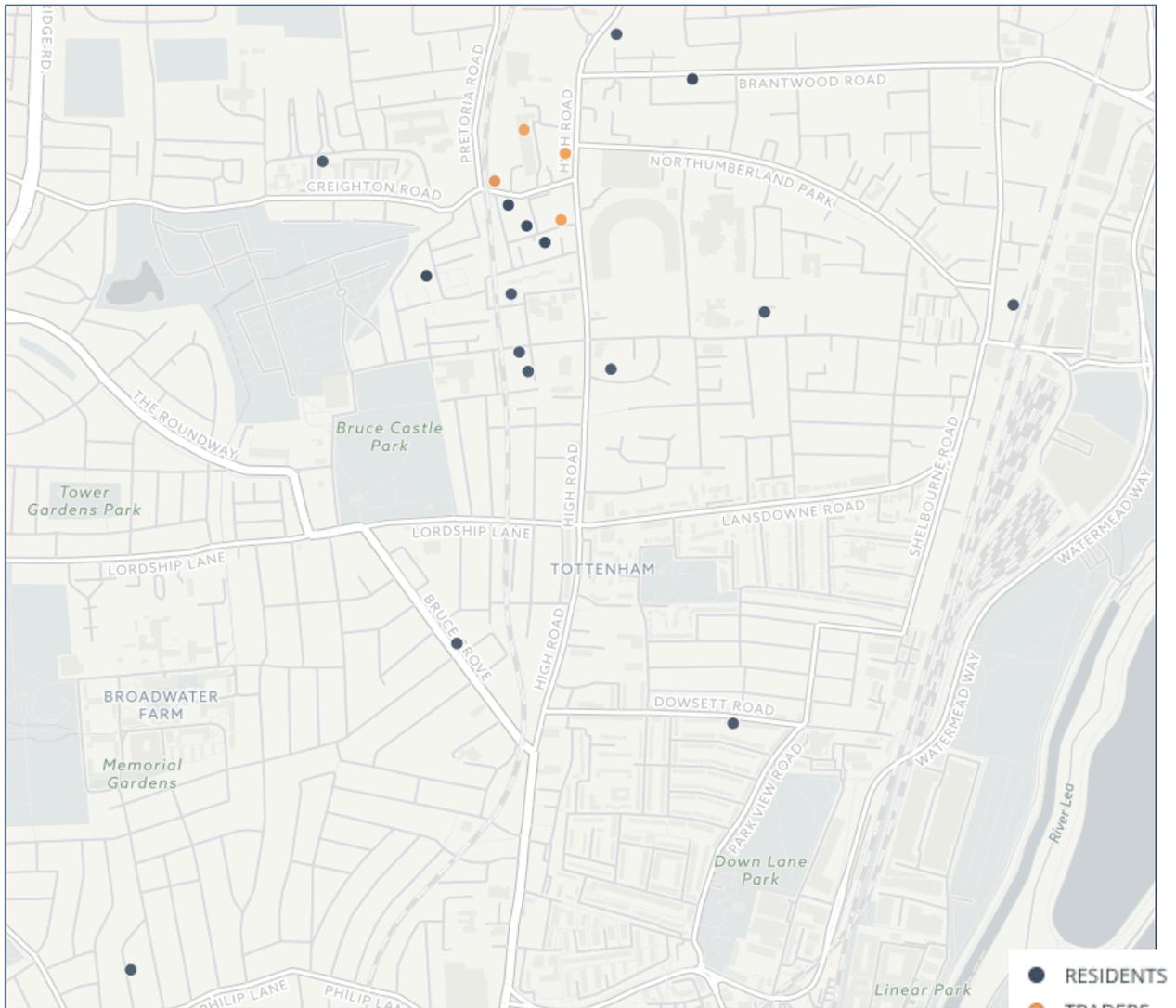
Love Lane: Map of postcodes of street interview participants
(note: dots may represent more than one person)

Semi-structured stakeholder interviews

10 service and support providers and third sector organisations were interviewed. Contacts for the stakeholder interviews were provided by the GLA and Haringey Council, through suggestions from interviewees and through desk research. Discussions with the Tottenham regeneration team also informed the research.

Stakeholder interviews were face to face, and included interviews with Haringey engagement and regeneration officers, the ITLA, the Selby Trust, Homes for Haringey regeneration officers, the Residents Association, and a former representative of Well London.

Observations of community meetings and events

This included the Community Fun Day on 1st July and a Residents' Association meeting on 20th July.

Desk research

A systematic review of consultation reports, and available research and data about Love Late Estate was carried out. This included TCA programme documents, monitoring data, Love Lane Residents' Association Reports and Soundings consultation reports.

Findings

Life on Love Lane Estate

A third of respondents made positive references to their community and many residents reported they have friends and family in the area. Love Lane is also a very diverse estate – with a large proportion of residents with white English, Turkish, black African and Afro Caribbean backgrounds. Many of those interviewed were also very positive about the neighbourhood's diversity.

"I've been here for 33 years, I like it, it's multi-cultural. I plan on staying. It's definitely got its own sense of identity, the community is strong." (Resident, female, 50-59)

"I've lived in Love Lane since the 1970s and I really like it here - all my friends and family are in the area." (Resident, female, 70-79)

"[The estate has] a nice atmosphere and an area with a good sense of community – lots of long-standing families who know each other." (Stakeholder)

Other positives that residents cited included the excellent transport links (by road, rail and bus); the affordability of housing in comparison to the rest of London; and good access to a range of services and facilities, including shops and green spaces.

"I have lived in the area for four years. I like that it is diverse and with a good community spirit. My friends and family are here and I like the fact you can get to trains and buses easily." (Resident, male, 18-29)

Many of the negative comments about life on Love Lane included references to anti-social behaviour (prostitution, rough sleeping, drug dealing and taking), crime, young people hanging around and poor maintenance of the communal areas. These problems are particularly prevalent around the car garages and within the block communal areas.

"The estate is dirty, the local residents lack respect - dog mess and litter are everywhere. Drugs are being taken openly. Young people hang around together and they are difficult to challenge." (Resident, female, 40-49)

"There are some bad issues on the estate - people hanging out on the stairs, urine in the lift. Young people hanging out together and intimidating people. It is not people who live on the estate who are causing the problems - they are coming from elsewhere." (Resident, female, 30-39)

Many residents said that they were afraid to go out at night and felt that not enough police resources were devoted to the area. Several had concerns for young people living there, saying that the closure of the youth centre two years ago has left many with nothing to do. Stakeholders noted that there was no specific gang problem, unlike other parts of the Northumberland Park.

Stakeholders had noted that there had been several attempts to tackle the crime and anti-social behaviour in the past, which had initially been successful only for problems to resurface later. Others reported that the authorities have been slow to react – often connected to a lack of capacity.

"The Council has been slow to respond to ASB. They say that they will respond when complaints reach a certain level but unfortunately these residents are not the type to make complaints. But their workers, the council cleaners and caretakers are fully aware of the issues as they can see them for themselves." (Stakeholder)

Some residents felt that the Love Lane Estate was distinct from the rest of the Northumberland Park ward – particularly as it is physically separated by road and railway from other residential areas. Spurs match days are part of life on the estate. Typically, match days bring thousands of people through the area – with some positive benefits (including trade for businesses) and some negative (people urinating around the estate).

Faith plays a big role on the estate – many residents refer to the importance of their church or mosque in their lives. The estate is lacking a community centre, which residents feel is theirs – though The Grange (on the other side of White Hart Lane) is in theory open to resident use.

Stakeholders noted that there are some "hidden households" living unofficially on the estate and that there is evidence of overcrowding. Both residents and stakeholders noted that population churn had increased as a result of decanting. There has been a growing population in temporary accommodation, which is perceived to have changed the local community's dynamics – as people less attached or committed to the area replace long-standing residents.

Both residents and stakeholders highlighted that the new homes were well designed and spacious. However the public realm and communal areas were considered poorly designed and believed to be contributing to anti-social behaviour.

Some also cited poor infrastructure in older blocks such as broken intercoms (making it easy for outsiders to enter blocks) and a water system designed for a time when individual homes did not have their own washing machines or dishwashers.

Those working with residents highlighted that many were in employment but in low skilled, low wage and precarious forms of work, often on in-work benefits. Many are employed in more than one job. Stakeholders highlighted concerns about the lack of role models for young fathers.

Traders and residents often referred to Tottenham's poor reputation and challenged this – saying it was much better and much safer than people thought.

"I think the area is actually good. We've been running for 10 years and haven't had any problems. I know Tottenham has a reputation but I now seen it myself. It's not too bad - we know everyone around." (Trader)

Awareness of regeneration plans

Residents and traders were asked what they knew about the regeneration plans. Most residents reported that they were aware of the plans for the redevelopment of the estate. However, two (of 31 residents interviewed) were not aware of the plans – one of these was a private tenant and the other a temporary accommodation tenant.

"I have lived in my flat for five years and I haven't heard anything. I'm quite shocked about it. I think my landlord should have mentioned it." (Resident, female, 40-49)

Several interviewees knew that there were plans for regeneration, but who did not know any details of these. These again were typically residents who were private renting or in temporary accommodation.

Responses to questions about the Love Lane regeneration fell into three categories. Some residents and traders said the changes were needed and a good thing.

"I am aware of the changes. I think it is positive - the changes are needed." (Resident, female, 30-39)

Others felt the regeneration was needed but the council and its partners were not going about it the best way.

"I think I'm fairly well-informed about the changes - I'm on the Residents' Association, so I get a lot of my information there. I think the plans are good and bad. Good in that it is needed. Bad in terms of the process being used and the disruption. I don't think the council are being very honest with residents." (Resident, female, 70-79)

A third group who thought the regeneration was unnecessary.

"I am aware of the details of the redevelopment - I think that the Council is making a mistake. A perfectly good estate is being knocked down because of Spurs. I think Spurs could get what they want without it affecting the flats." (Resident, male, 60-69)

Concerns were voiced about the lack of detail in the current regeneration proposals. For example about the start date, the identity of the developer, size of flats to be offered and the deal for leaseholders. Some secure tenants shared concerns of temporary tenants about their limited future prospects. Tenants voiced concerns about options which meant they would stop being Homes for Haringey tenants.

Experience of consultation process

Residents and traders also discussed the consultation process used to shape the Arup Masterplan. Some residents were positive about the consultation process.

"I participated in the consultation process, which was done well – it was very inclusive." (Resident, female, 60-69)

Others commented that both the process for, and the reporting of, the consultation was skewed – with survey questions presented to encourage positive responses. Some residents reported feeling excluded from the consultation process – private renters and temporary residents because they perceived it to be aimed at the secure tenants, and residents living adjacent to the estate, who voiced a wish to participate as they will be significantly affected. Conversely, there is also a group of residents who say they are tired of being consulted and want the regeneration to be underway so it can be completed soon.

Estate regeneration process

Although the regeneration work itself has yet to start, Haringey Council has started the process of rehousing social tenants from the site. 73 council tenants have already been rehoused – people who have elected voluntarily to move from the estate into another social rented home. The majority   have stayed in Tottenham or the Haringey area, 70 per cent in the N17 postcode area and almost eight percent in the nearby N15 postcode area.
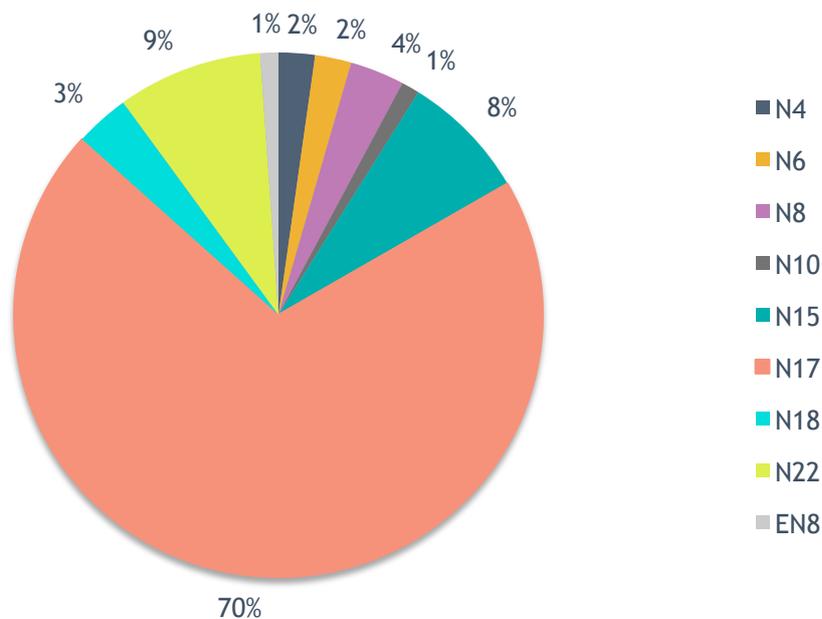
Postcodes where Love Lane council tenants have been rehoused

Only one re-locating resident was interviewed, however remaining residents, as well as stakeholder organisations (including the Residents' Association) discussed individuals' motivations for choosing to move early in the process. It was reported that residents had moved early to avoid the disruption caused by the regeneration and also to move to more modern homes.

Homes for Haringey staff are carrying out housing needs assessments as part of the decanting process to gain an understanding of the current and future requirements of each household (particularly the social tenants). This has also included a wider social needs assessment –identifying people affected by the welfare cap and Universal Credit and people affected more widely by financial exclusion, and those needing parenting support or wider support from agencies. Staff have been able to refer individuals and households to relevant support services provided by the council and other agencies. Homes for Haringey found that 87 people on the estate were affected by the Government's introduction of the welfare cap.

Experience of the TCA Programme and other local projects/interventions

No residents and traders interviewed had participated in the TCA programme and its subsequent projects, only one who had heard of it.

Resident influence

The Love Lane Estate Residents' Association has been in existence since 2012 (though some residents refer to an earlier body). Stakeholders and involved residents report that it has been through peaks and troughs and is still reliant on Haringey Council's community engagement team for support. In the past this facilitation role was undertaken by Homes for Haringey. Residents' Association members noted that some key members had been rehoused and knowledge, skills and experience had been lost in the process. The Residents' Association failed to a achieve a quorum at its most recent AGM.

Since 2013, at the request of a councillor, the council has funded an Independent Tenants and Leaseholders Advisor (ITLA) to provide residents with impartial advice about their housing options and to support them to articulate their collective needs and wants. The ITLA, Damian Tissier from consultants Strategic Urban Futures, is valued by residents. Many commented on this.

"Damian has been really important to helping residents - he looks out for everyone to make sure they are properly informed and involved." (Resident, female, 70-79)

Stakeholders reported that the Residents' Association and the consultation process had not adequately supported the voice of both leaseholders and temporary tenants. A forum has now been set up for each (operating as a sub-committee to the Residents' Association). Some related residents' response to regeneration to their tenure, with secure social tenants being most positive.

The Residents' Association, with the support of the ITLA, have created two documents to help support resident influence through the estate regeneration process - a Residents' Charter and Resident Design Guide. The Residents' Charter[lxxii] sets out key resident principles against which regeneration of Love Lane should be measured: that no resident should suffer financially or their housing circumstances made worse because of the redevelopment; that the primary benefit of the redevelopment must be for local residents; that there should be no net loss of social housing in the area and all new social housing should be council housing; all new homes in the redevelopment to be well designed, with generous space allocation and built to the best possible construction standards.

"As a community then, we are anxious about the impact that the regeneration will have on our lives, the stress and the disruption it will cause to our residents (particularly to vulnerable people), and the damage it could cause to community bonds." **(Residents' Charter 2014)**

Two members of the Residents' Association are participating in the procurement process for the developer (though they are prevented from sharing any information about the process with other residents because of commercial confidentiality). Residents' association members have also benefitted from training, including in estate design, and have participated in site visits to other areas.

Though both the Residents' Charter and Design Guide have been effective in articulating the collective wishes of residents, it is not clear how the implementation of these is being monitored or measured. The documents are not legally binding.

Some of the residents taking part in the research stated that they would like to become more involved but they do not have the time or that meetings take place at inconvenient times. Others felt that it would be a waste of time trying to influence the decisions as the council will do what it wants to do in any case. One resident felt that the council's engagement team over-promises and then they feel let down when they do not deliver.

"They say yes to everything in meetings but they never follow through. Some straight talking would be better." **(Resident, male, 30-39)**

Some traders interviewed participated in the Tottenham Traders' Group but felt it was too broad a geographical remit to warrant regular involvement.

Wider regeneration of Tottenham

Many residents and traders welcomed the planned investment in Tottenham.

"I think they're good, if they benefit families. It would be good to see more nice shops in the future, everything here is nail bars, hairdressers, and Turkish shops. We need nice clothes shops. The changes at Seven Sisters have been good, Holcombe Market is wonderful now." **(Resident, Female, 70-79)**

"The changes are good, there's the stadium and new housing going up. The new Sainsburys is good too and it employs lots of people, the stadium also employs many

people. The area used to be dead. The changes in Bruce Grove seem positive, although I've only seen them briefly. I'm not worried about any of the changes." *(Resident, female 40-49)*

"The changes to Tottenham are a good thing. Following Hackney is a good example – better people, more money, less complaining!" (Trader)

However, some were more sceptical about the motives of the council and felt that Spurs unduly benefitted from what was being proposed to the area.

"The regeneration is too hard, too fast and is producing too much change. Shoreditch came up slowly – and without the involvement of the council. This is too abrupt and there's too much disruption going on - the stadium workers are going for 24 hours. Spurs have been buying up High Rd properties - shutting them down and running the area down to allow for this regeneration." (Trader)

Both traders and residents highlighted the impact of disruption caused by the redevelopment of the Spurs' stadium, including poor air quality from dust. Restrictions on parking and deliveries for businesses and the loss of match-day revenue for the 2017-18 football season while Spurs play at Wembley were also raised as concerns.

Some residents highlighted concerns arising from their knowledge of how regeneration had played out elsewhere in the capital – referring to the Heygate Estate and the recent tragedy at Grenfell Tower. These were cited as examples of where regeneration had not been focused on benefitting local residents. Pejorative terms such as 'social cleansing' and 'gentrification' were used. A common theme was the feeling that while regeneration was needed in Tottenham, local people were not expected to benefit.

Traders' insights

Traders on the Peacock Industrial Estate, soon to be demolished, were concerned that businesses built up over many years and with strong connections to the area will have to relocate and are likely to suffer as a result. Traders operating from sites not due for demolition reported the difficulties of disruption (dust, parking, delivery and access issues, and loss of Spurs' match-day revenue). However most seem to think this will pass and that they will prosper in the re-shaped area.

There is a general hostility towards Spurs and a feeling that they have been overly helped by Haringey Council, and that they are not doing enough to minimise the disruption from their development. One example was given that traders had received some promises from Spurs and their contractors that workers on the site would be encouraged to use local cafés and food businesses. However, very little business has come from the construction workforce as a bespoke caterer was brought onto the site, and the worker entrance to the site was moved to the opposite side of the ground away from High Road.

The Transformational Challenge Award programme

Love Lane Estate and the wider High Road West area is one part of the geographical area targeted by this programme. Stakeholders noted that projects within the programme do

not have Love Lane Estate focus, that most focus towards the Northumberland Park area to the east of the High Road.

The programme was delivered through two tranches of funding. The first tranche included £700,000 awarded through major voluntary organisations - Blenheim CDP, the Prince's Charities and Well London - who were invited into the Tottenham area to deliver a range of socio-economic projects. The second tranche (£220,000 of TCA funding plus £33,000 from Well London) was allocated using a participatory budgeting approach. This had not been tried in Haringey before and involved training 17 residents to join a Strategic Board to manage the process, setting priorities, scoring criteria and making decisions. Selby Trust was selected as the community anchor organisation to help manage the process. The Board awarded grants for a variety of projects including a day trip for an over 55s club, a Children's literacy project, cooking projects, a summer programme at the Bernie Grant Centre and positive activities for young people.

The delivery stakeholders were positive about the second stage of the TCA programme, reporting that they thought the participatory budgeting approach could be deployed again in the future. However, those interviewed felt that the process (residents leading decisions and community groups running their own projects) was more beneficial that the impact of the projects themselves. Project sustainability was highlighted as a weakness – with many of the projects funded as one-off or short-term activities with little prospect for continuation.

Some tensions between local community and voluntary groups were reported, linked to competition for resources in the context of wider public sector austerity. It was reported that the most established local voluntary organisations were most likely to access the funding. Although residents could informally come together and nominate their own projects (if connected to an established 'sponsor organisation'), this did not happen in practice.

Other projects, services and issues on the estate

Stakeholders described other supports available for residents, including IAPT support for those affected by poor mental health and Tottenham Hotspur-run activities (although many stakeholders and residents, including many fans, felt Spurs did not do enough for the local area). Many residents participate in activities for parents and children. There was a widespread perception that more community projects are in place in Northumberland Park than in Lordship Lane.

Stakeholders spoke about the need for other projects on the estate to support residents. This included support for parents (especially for single parents) into employment, an improved childcare offer (as an opportunity to find work and to support working parents), basic literacy and numeracy skills, support for the 87 residents identified as being affected by the Welfare Cap, postcode stigma, healthy living activities. Some of these, for example support for parents into work, are being taken forward by Haringey.

Estate regeneration

Generally, stakeholders involved in the estate regeneration reported good progress and their perception was that residents were largely aware of what was being planned and mostly supportive. Some stakeholders interviewed highlighted some difficulty in working with residents when strategic priorities changed. This can make it difficult to maintain levels of trust and confidence with the community. Local councillors reported that they felt sidelined by the process and that this had weakened their link with the community.

Love Lane: overarching theory of change

Activities	Outputs	Short-Term Outcomes	Mid-term Outcomes	Long-term Outcomes
Estate Regeneration / High Rd West Masterplan	Housing needs assessments / residents consulted / Resident Association meetings / ITLA surgeries / traders consulted	Residents and traders aware and signed up to proposals / developer procured	Households and traders relocated from Love Lane	Master plan delivered with minimum disruption / better housing outcomes for residents / improved experience of area by both residents and visitors
TCA Programme	Residents engaged / jobs created / access to better services / challenging ASB / residents more engaged	Residents accessing the support they need and feeling empowered to make decisions about neighbourhood	Residents able to increase household income and meet their needs	Residents feel more in control and positive about the future

Love Lane: summary of findings

The area

Many residents like living on Love Lane Estate and referred to its good community spirit. They report that they have friends and family in the area. Positives include good transport, housing affordability and access to services and facilities.

Residents see Love Lane as a place distinct from Northumberland Park. Faith is important to many residents, and Spurs match days are an important part of life on the estate.

Many residents are in employment but in low skilled, low wage and precarious forms of work, often on in-work benefits. Many are employed in more than one job. 87 residents have been identified as being affected by the welfare cap.

There is a persistent anti-social behaviour problem on Love Lane Estate – particularly in communal areas and around the garages. People do not feel safe at night. Attempts to deal with this problem to date have not succeeded.

The increase in temporary tenancies and loss of long-standing residents is said to have adversely affected dynamics of the estate.

Traders and residents often referred to Tottenham's poor reputation and want to tackle this – saying the area is much better and much safer than people thought.

Love Lane Estate regeneration

The majority, but not all residents interviewed, were aware of the regeneration plan. These have been met with a mixed response, with some supportive, some skeptical and some opposed. Attitudes are reported to be broadly related to tenure with secure tenants being most engaged, and supportive, and leaseholders and temporary tenants more concerned about their future.

Some tenants have chosen to move away from the estate already and others are waiting to move. Most of those rehoused have moved within Tottenham, 70 per cent within N17. Homes for Haringey have carried out a housing and social needs assessment of tenants due to move, aware that their future housing costs may increase.

Overall, residents appear to be supportive of the regeneration with some fears of the consequences for their household and for other residents. Nervousness was articulated about who would benefit in the long term, the experience of other areas in London have coloured views.

There are mixed feelings towards the consultation carried out on the Masterplan, some feel that the results were skewed. Many residents and traders feel like they have not had much influence over the regeneration process.

There was little or no awareness amongst residents of the TCA programme and the projects it has funded. Stakeholders are keen to continue the participatory budgeting process – however learning from this initial experience should inform the design of the programme in the future.

A Residents' Association is in place but depends on council officers for support. Many residents cited the ITLA as an important asset. A comprehensive Residents' Charter and Resident Design Guide have been developed by residents to influence the regeneration process.

There are winners and losers amongst traders with some sites due for demolition while others are not under threat. Traders who will have to move fear they will suffer as a result.

There is a general hostility towards Spurs and a feeling that they have been given too much support by Haringey Council.

Case study 3: Hale Village

This case study focused on the new mixed use development provided by Lee Valley Estates and partners at Hale Village. It looks at the social sustainability of new housing schemes (using Social Life's social sustainability framework) and explores how the new homes and their residents are becoming part of the wider Tottenham area. New infrastructure from playgrounds to public spaces and services were studied to see how they are contributing to the broader social sustainability of Tottenham Hale.

This case study area was chosen because it is the most advanced new housing developments in the Tottenham Hale Housing Zone. The case study offers insight into how new mixed use, mixed income developments can encourage inclusive growth and support groups of different ages, ethnicities, and socio-economic backgrounds to interact with one another.

The activities and interventions that this case study explored included:

- new build social housing, private housing and student accommodation
- public spaces and play spaces
- shops and gym

- community facilities, including the community centre
- social activities and events
- engagement platforms and processes used to involve residents.

The context

- Tottenham Hale is the fourth most deprived ward in Haringey, 20th in London overall.[lxxiii] There is a higher proportion of young residents, aged 0 to 15 and 15 to 29, and lower proportion of over 65s compared to Haringey[lxxiv]
- compared with London and Haringey, there is a higher than average proportion of residents from ethnic minority backgrounds; most notably Black Caribbean, Black African and Other White groups[lxxv]
- compared to London and Haringey, there are higher numbers of unemployed residents and those who are receiving JSA benefits[lxxvi]
- median house price is £251,500 lower than the borough average of £405,000[lxxvii]
- median income was £27,340, approximately £8,000 less than the borough average[lxxviii]
- crime is higher in Tottenham Hale compared to London and the rest of the borough[lxxix]
- life expectancy is lower than the Haringey and London averages for males and females[lxxx].

The case study area

Hale Village is located on a former five-acre brownfield site between the River Lea to the east and the London to Cambridge railway line to the west. It is immediately adjacent to Tottenham Hale Station but currently has no direct access to this. Ferry Lane Estate borders the site to the south, separated by Ferry Lane. Industrial buildings, which house a range of companies from breweries to fuel suppliers, form the boundary to the north. The Tottenham Hale retail park is southeast of Hale Village.

Hale Village includes:

- 190 social rented family units (3-5 bedrooms)
- 64 social and intermediate rent apartments (1-2 bedrooms)
- 184 shared ownership units (1-2 bedrooms)
- 1,244 student accommodation (1 bedroom)
- 670 market sale units (1-3 bedrooms)
- a children's outdoor play area and courtyard
- a gym
- community centre
- nursery
- church shops
- GP surgery
- a kidney & diabetes centre.

Stakeholders in the area include the housing providers: the UNITE Group, a student housing provider; Newlon Housing Trust, the housing association who own and manage homes in Hale Village and who have also located their head office in the development; Bellway Homes as the private developer; and potential future developer Anthology. The Diocese of London set up the community centre, nursery and on-site church, and the Royal Free Hospital and Haringey Council established a GP surgery and a kidney and diabetes centre. Other stakeholders include community organisation Living Under One Sun, the Engine Room community centre; commercial operators include The Gym, Tesco, Hale Village Dry Cleaners and Craving Coffee.

Regeneration

Tottenham Hale was designated an Opportunity Area in the London Plan and under Haringey's District Centre Framework 2016. Hale Village was the first of six identified sites in the area to be redeveloped, with construction work starting in 2008, predating the current vision and plans for regeneration of the area.

The Hale Village site reflects a rich industrial legacy. This area was once defined by the Harris Lebus factory – a prominent furniture manufacturer in the late nineteenth to early twentieth century - which took advantage of the area's relatively cheap land and access to the River Lea for transporting timber and other raw materials. The factory grew and more people commuted from the East End, and the Lebus family encouraged the development of homes nearby. By the 1960s, however, the factory closed. The Greater London Council (GLC) assumed ownership of the site in 1969, clearing it for the development of Ferry Lane Estate to the south while allowing the Inner London Education Authority (ILEA) the use of the remainder of the site as a schools supply depot. This continued until the 1990s when the GLC and ILEA both closed. From this time onwards, the site was the former GLS depot, with a number of large industrial sheds.

In June 2007, former Mayor of London Ken Livingstone considered an outline application for the Hale Village masterplan which then comprised of 1,210 residential units (30 percent affordable), 3,200 square metres of office floor space, up to 3,200 square metres of hotel, a school, health centre, 700 student accommodation beds, a crèche, and new public and private open space. He gave the authority to Haringey Council to determine the outcome itself and in October 2007, the council granted approval.

However, the scheme stalled with the economic downturn. Lee Valley Estates remained committed to the vision of establishing a mixed community in Tottenham for the long haul. Its chairman, Michael Polledri said at the time: *"Any developer would prefer a more fluid housing market but we are also concerned with the regeneration of communities, so we're not just looking at short term gain".* The Homes and Communities Agency became equity partner to maintain the viability of the scheme. These changes resulted in a change to the tenure mix, with an increase of affordable

units to 50 percent, doubling the amount of student accommodation from 700 to 1,258 units, and a decrease in private residential units from 889 to 523.

Since then, the masterplan has continued to be incrementally amended. Tottenham Hale was designated as a Housing Zone by the Mayor of London in February 2015, with plans to deliver 2,000 new high quality homes in the Tottenham Hale area. In 2016, the Mayor allocated £55m to accelerate the delivery of the additional homes on the site to enable the completion of Hale Village. Anthology is currently preparing a planning application, with construction to begin in late 2017. This final phase of development – a 30-story tower with 250 homes and 9,500 square feet of commercial space – is being developed in partnership with the GLA and Haringey Council, who are continuing their investment in the provision of new homes and infrastructure through its Housing Zone status.

Tottenham Housing Zone[lxxxi]
- total value of investment and development: £831m
- indicative GLA funding allocation: £44.115m
- total number of homes: 1,965
- total number of affordable homes: 560
- total housing zone area: 560ha
- total number of construction jobs: 4,012.

The Housing Zone includes a new district town centre around Tottenham Hale station. The low-density retail park next to the station will be replaced by a higher-density mixed-use development, with space for retail, leisure, hotels, community uses and education.

A £50m east–west Green Link will link Tottenham High Road to the Lee Valley Regional Park, with new bridges and public realm.

Road infrastructure improvements completed in 2015 by TfL include converting the one-way road system to two-way, redesigning the bus station, and improvements to the road layout to help pedestrians and cyclists.

Tottenham Hale station is also due to receive a £20m upgrade, with improvements to capacity and accessibility to take account of Crossrail 2, which is likely to pass through the station. In parallel, Network Rail is upgrading the Stratford–Tottenham Hale–Angel Road line.
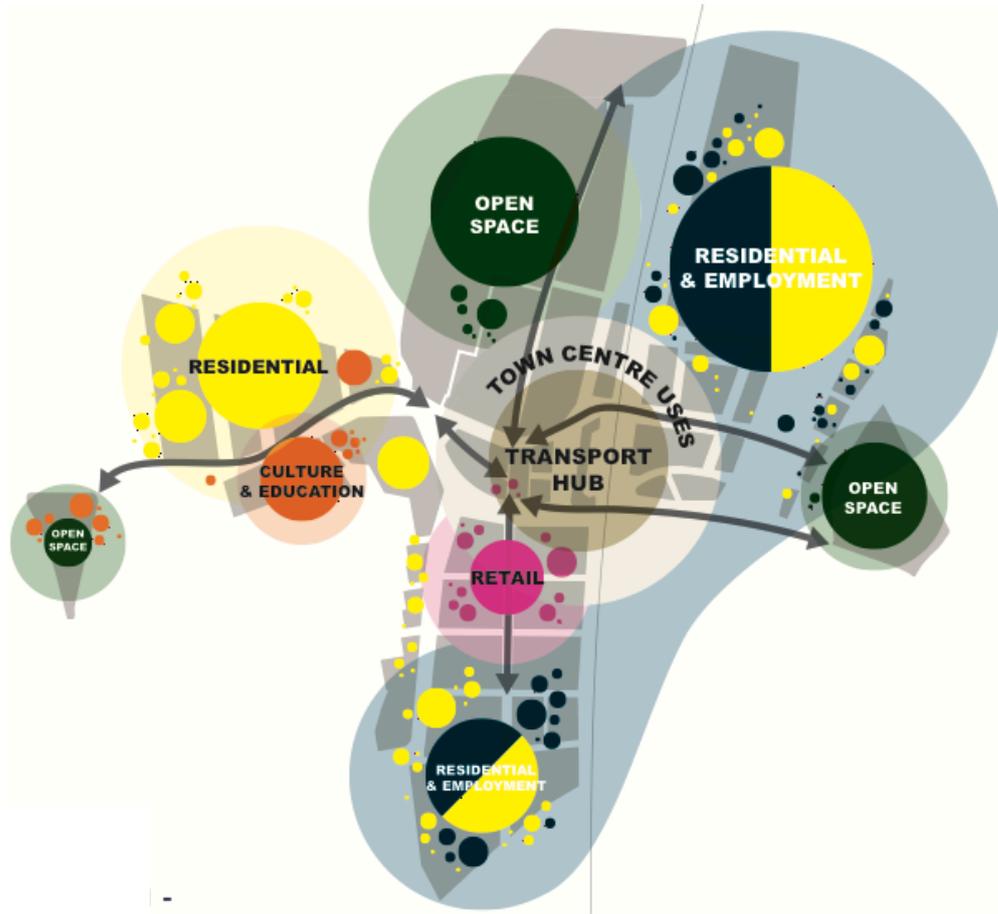
Hale Village masterplan: concept plan

Source: Tottenham Physical Development Framework[lxxxii]

Research approach

The key aims of the research were to understand

- the social sustainability of the Hale Village development, capturing residents' quality of life and community relationships
- how the new infrastructure – playgrounds, public spaces, homes and services – are contributing to broader social sustainability of the Tottenham Hale area
- social relationships across different tenures and socio-economic groups
- resident attitudes towards the regeneration process and their influence over the decision-making process
- how people feel about the wider Tottenham regeneration programme.

The research included

- interviews with 64 residents, mainly from Hale Village but also from nearby Ferry Lane Estate
- interviews with nine stakeholders specific to Hale Village, plus the findings from interviews with a different nine stakeholders with a Tottenham overview carried out in the early stages of the research.

The social sustainability assessment

Social Life's starting point to the research was our Social Sustainability Framework. This was developed out of a commission from the HCA to explore what makes new housing developments thrive.[lxxxiii] This framework has been used by private developers, housing associations and local government to assess how neighbourhoods and new developments are faring. It brings together different factors that support local communities, including local social relationships, civic engagement, residents' ability to influence local decision making, and the quality of community infrastructure.
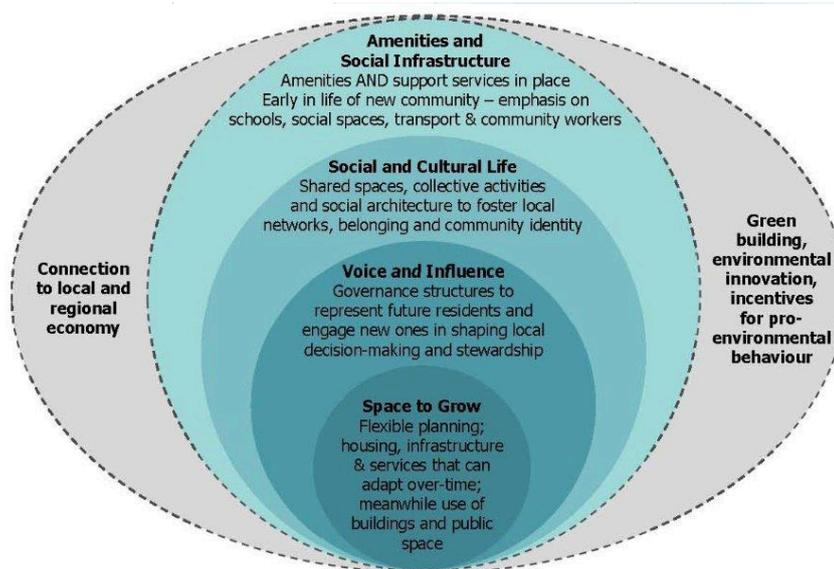
Social sustainability framework (Source: Social Life, Design for Social Sustainability)

Social Life has developed a method of assessing social sustainability using existing data generated by research councils and government to predict how residents are likely to feel about the places they live. This enables us to understand the likely strength or weakness of key social sustainability indicators, including levels of belonging, relationships with neighbours, wellbeing, and ability to influence. We can map this data to local areas, and look at the difference between predicted and actual data, to see how well a neighbourhood is faring.

The social sustainability assessment compares the research findings about an area against the predictive data on key community dynamics - sense of belonging, neighbourliness, attachment to the area and fear of crime. To do this, survey data is matched to ONS's

Area Classifications (OACs).

The Office of National Statistics has developed Output Area Classifications (or OACs) to describe local areas[lxxxiv]. The 2011 OACs show that Hale Village is an area characterised by supergroup 3 (Ethnicity Central: 3a2). This OAC supergroup also characterises a large majority of Tottenham and the neighbourhoods bordering Hale Village[lxxxv]. The population of this group is predominately located in the denser central areas of London, with other inner urban areas across the UK having smaller concentrations.

2011 Area Classification of Output Areas (OACs) (Source: ONS, *https://maps.cdrc.ac.uk/#/geodemographics*)
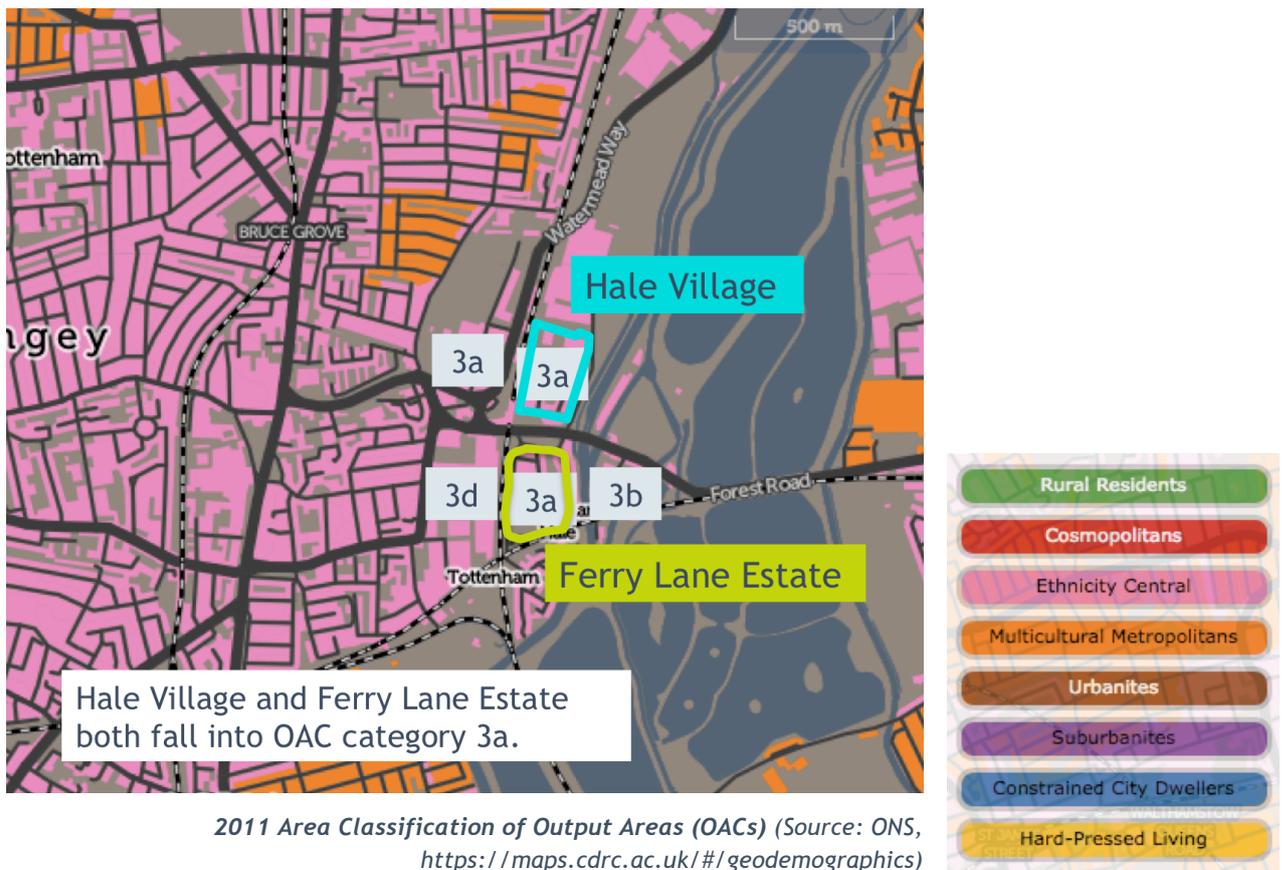
Data from national surveys, including the Understanding Society Survey and the Crime Survey England and Wales are matched to OAC areas. The diagram below shows the process that is followed.[lxxxvi]

1.

We use online maps to establish the OAC classifications of the areas we are focusing on.

2.

We agree which community dynamics indicators we are interested in.

3.

We decide which questions from national surveys most closely match these indicators.

We can compare the benchmark to actual data about an area, to find out how well a neighbourhood is faring, compared to similar areas.

Data from actual neighbourhoods could come from:

- resident surveys
- focus groups
- observations
- data from local services.

4.

We take data from the relevant national surveys that include these questions and compare it to the OAC and IMD scores, testing for statistical significance.

This becomes our predicted community dynamics benchmark, enabling us to understand the social sustainability of the neighbourhood.

Process diagram for Social Life's predictive data

The graph below shows the predictive data for six key social sustainability indicators: ability to influence, sense of safety, neighbourliness, relationships between different groups, sense of belonging, and satisfaction with the local area as a place to live. These are based on OAC 3a (the output area classification for Hale Village and Ferry Lane Estate) compared to the UK average.
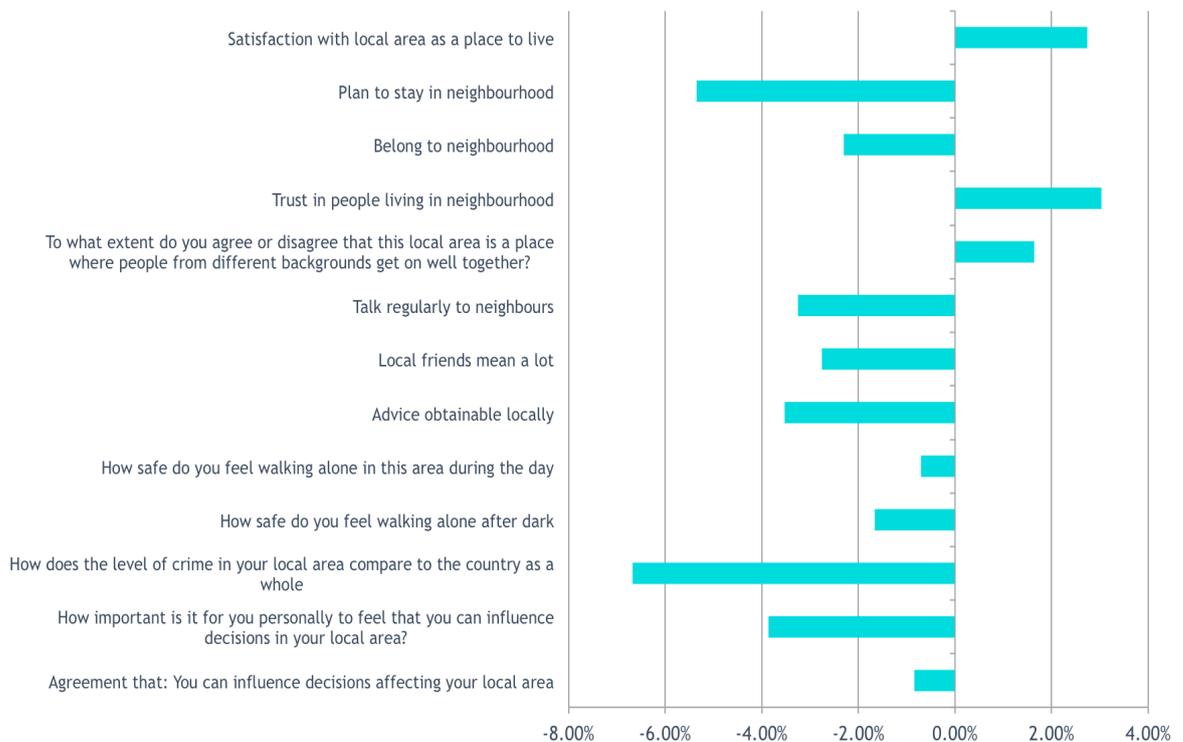
Social sustainability indicators for Hale Village: how residents are likely to feel
(Source: Social Life community dynamics data)

Street interviews and other research with residents

Street interviews of residents and visitors were carried out with 45 individuals, alongside six pop-up focus groups, a total of 64 residents.

We used the street interview methodology to contact residents using an open-ended survey. The survey asked residents about their perceptions of everyday life in the new development, how the new development is integrating into the wider Tottenham Hale area, and perceptions of the changes brought about by the wider Tottenham regeneration programme.

Street interviews were carried out over two weekdays between 9am and 6pm outside Tesco, The Gym, in the lobby of the Unite Student building, and in the communal play area in Hale Village. Interviews were also conducted along the primary walking path in Ferry Lane Estate.

Street interviews were supplemented with five phone interviews with Newlon Housing Association tenants who were identified as active community members and local employees. These calls were arranged in advance by Social Life.
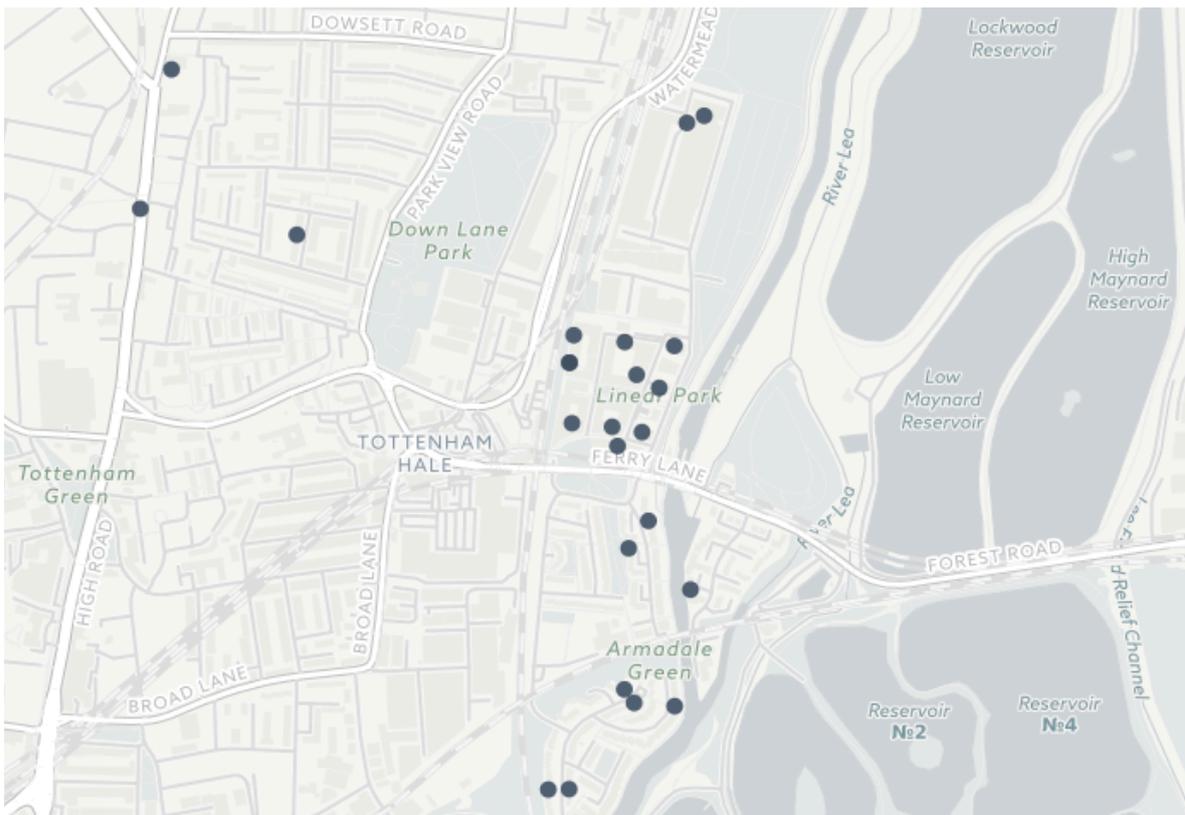
Hale Village: Map of postcodes of street interview participants
(note: dots may represent more than one person)

Semi-structured stakeholder interviews

Nine key stakeholders in the area were interviewed to find out their views on wider changes in the area and to identify the different organisations and groups involved in helping to boost residents' wellbeing. This included interviews with active community members in Hale Village and Ferry Lanes, members of Newlon Housing Tenants and Residents Association and the Ferry Lane Action Group; development partners, Newlon Housing Association, Lee Valley Estate, UNITE; community organisations Living Under One Sun and The Engine Room; Tesco and The Gym.

Findings

The social sustainability assessment

The table below shows how the predicted data compares to the findings of our research. Where the scores are lower than predicted, this indicates a vulnerability in the area; where it is higher, a strength. Overall, the conversations with residents and stakeholders revealed a more positive image of the area than predicted and compared to other areas in England with similar characteristics:

Social Sustainability parameters	Prediction for comparable areas vs national average	Actual data for Hale Village compared to prediction
Ability to influence	Lower than average	Likely to be the same as predicted
Sense of safety	Lower than average	Likely to be higher than predicted
Neighbourliness	Lower than average	Likely to be higher than predicted
Relationships between different groups	Higher than average	Likely to be the same as predicted
Sense of belonging	Lower than average	Likely to be higher than predicted
Satisfaction with local area as a place to live	Higher than average	Likely to be the same as predicted

Social Life's predictive data: compared with national average data and Hale Village actual data

Sense of influence

The predictive data suggested that residents would have a lower sense of influence than the national average, and interviews with residents show this is likely to be true.

Approximately a third of residents interviewed said they are not active locally. The reason for this varied from lack of time, disinterest, to feeling they had no influence or voice.

Some people who chose not to participate in activities that could give them a voice still reported that they felt informed through word of mouth, online forums and communications delivered by developers and agencies.

A few residents highlighted the importance of The Engine Room becoming a polling station for the first time in 2017 and how this helped generate a sense of agency.

"We could also vote this year in the election in the Engine Room (and didn't last year because the election centre was too far away) so that was really good." *(Hale Village social tenant)*

Each different tenure in Hale Village has a separate residents' association or forum, though organisational structures vary. This is largely a result of the masterplan which separate tenures by block rather than being mixed within the block. Facebook was highlighted as the primary medium for shared ownership residents to discuss issues they would like to address with Newlon Housing Association. Private tenants used both Facebook and WhatsApp to voice opinions and share information about events or major news affecting the area. Newlon Housing Association appeared to play an important organisational role in providing a structure to hear from its residents and to source their opinions about any new proposals or changes.

The residents' associations and local community groups offer many residents opportunities to get involved - some people interviewed noted their roles in the church, the nearby allotment committee or The Engine Room. However most active residents felt they could only influence small, local decisions (such as issues with their homes which they would raise with building management) but larger issues were more difficult to influence.

Many residents voiced a view that decisions consulted on by developers and the council were pre-decided, with little room for resident input. They expressed a desire for more meaningful consultations with clear guidance on what *is* and *is not* open to resident suggestion so that they could understand their influence in the process. Residents did not mention consultation fatigue and most people approached in the area were happy to take part in this research.

"I attend consultations but feel weren't listened to about the waterfront development. Well the local council listened and rejected the proposal but then the mayor came in and approved anyways. On the other hand we did make an impact when fighting for the GP to locate here." *(Ferry Lane homeowner)*

"There's nothing we can do. Anywhere in London with spare land and a shortage of homes will be built on. I guess I accept that." *(Hale Village homeowner, Newlon)*

Lee Valley Estates is working with Commonplace, an online engagement platform, to capture resident perceptions about Hale Village. This platform was unknown by all but one resident interviewed. There is little knowledge of its existence but it also has limited capacity to articulate complaints. The one resident familiar with the site noted that registration was a key barrier to its adoption, preferring the ease of Facebook and the dialogue that this supported.

Sense of safety

The predictive data suggested that fear of crime would be lower than average, whereas our research suggests that people may feel safer than expected.

Most residents and stakeholders interviewed said the area is extremely safe, during the day and at night. Residents attributed this to the CCTV, the security role played by the concierges, the active street life (due to the presence of students and families at different times of day), the trustworthiness of neighbours, and the buildings' security features (card access for each floor).

"Yes, very secure, key only takes me to my floor. I trust my neighbours on my floor. They did a good job of matching people when they put us on each floor. We are all families." **(Hale Village social housing tenant)**

A minority of residents reported that the area had become less safe over the past five years, highlighting street crime near the tube, phone theft, theft of post from buildings, more anti-social behaviour, and more young people from outside the area idling and smoking cannabis in the public areas. Some reported that the negative influence of Tottenham is slowly penetrating Hale Village.

Several residents noted that they feel unsafe in the other parts of Tottenham, and that Hale Village and the nearby station were safer than the rest of Tottenham. For example, some reported feeling less safe near the stadium and on Broad Lane towards Seven Sisters.

"Yes I feel safe, but not from gossip!" **(Hale Village social tenant)**

"Here yes, Bruce Grove no way, Seven Sisters no." **(Bruce Close private resident)**

Neighbourliness

The predictive data suggests that feelings of neighbourliness in the area are lower than average. Our findings are that neighbourliness is higher than this.

Conversations with interviewees suggest that there is a strong sense of neighbourliness in Hale Village, particularly for families with young children and people involved in local community and residents' groups. Most residents reported that the area has a strong sense of community and neighbours are friendly. The Engine Room, the allotments, The Gym, the local primary school, the communal play areas, and annual events put on by

Hale Village partners help bring residents together. Residents groups and Facebook groups for each block were also noted as important connectors.

"There seems to be a strong community here around the Engine Room but I'm not part of any local community group. The public space is always well used, there's always life here, people are friendly. There could be more things to meet neighbours since it's easy to overlook announcements about what's going on in the area." (Hale Village private tenant)

The building design and communal areas within each block - shared courtyard and rooftops for residents use – were noted as catalysts for neighbour interaction. Newlon Housing Association's decisions on where to house residents – for example placing families with young children on the same floor and in homes facing the children's play area – were seen to be successful in forging trust and commonalities between neighbours. Good security and regular maintenance of the public realm was also highlighted in its ability to facilitate community bonding, as residents felt safe to linger for longer periods of time in public spaces.

"It's like a village – everyone knows everyone's business." (Hale Village social housing tenant)

"There's a sense of community, even though slightly malfunctioning sometimes." (Hale Village private tenant)

The majority of residents were not part of any local groups and most did not have family living in the area. However, the majority of people interviewed felt they had made local friendships when they wished to and could rely on neighbours for support. Families with children were more likely to take part in events at The Engine Room and use the local play area for socialising. It was reported that there were fewer events for people without children, though some private tenants noted they had WhatsApp and Facebook groups to help organise social events. These social groups did not appear to be extended to residents living in other tenures. A few people also commented on the Engine Room's affiliation with the Church of England, both positively as an incentive to participate and negatively, as a barrier to their involvement.

"No sense of community here, only community spirit is in the Engine Room - there's nothing else. We have acquaintances not friends, people to say hello to." (Hale Village housing association and private tenant)

Students do not appear to be active in local community groups or events but are close networks and supports between students. Unite run events exclusively for their tenants and are less involved in community-wide events. Students interviewed attributed their low connection to the area and its residents with their transience and the fact that they do not go outside their accommodation to socialise. They spend little time in the area, commuting for school and social activities, though they do patronise the shops, The Gym and use the retail park nearby.

"I don't know the area very well. Got loads of friends in student halls though, I know the station, retail park and village." (Hale Village, student accommodation)

Relationships between different groups

The predictive data suggests that relationships between different groups in the area are weaker than average. Our findings are that this is likely to be true.

This research shows that mixing between tenures and across socio-economic backgrounds is limited. Language and perceived cultural barriers were noted as main reasons for limited socialising, as well as the confinement of tenures to distinct blocks and tenure-specific shared space within blocks. Resident groups were also specific to each tenure, so these helped to build connections within but not between groups.

"Some people like to be around their own type of people - many people don't speak English but children play together because parents don't want to grow divisions." (Hale Village social tenant)

However, nearly everyone said that people from different backgrounds got on and spoke positively of the multiculturalism of the area. People with children noted more interaction with their neighbours, mentioning the public play area, The Engine Room and the local schools as key connectors.

Some stakeholders voiced the need to bridge the spatial and social divide between new Hale Village and longer-standing Ferry Lane communities, possibly through events and social activities. There was concern that Ferry Lane residents may have resentment towards 'newcomers' for benefiting from investment in shops and a GP surgery while the existing estate has lost many of its amenities, including direct access to the train station. The primary school, The Engine Room, the GP surgery, Tesco, The Gym and the charge point for electronic keys for Hale Village flats (located in Ferry Lanes) were noted as potential opportunities to increase mixing between the two communities.

Most Ferry Lane residents spoke of the new development in a positive manner, with no animosity. They described how the affordable housing residents of Hale Village were representative of the area and how the buildings improved the aesthetics of the area, particularly compared to its former state as a brownfield site. A few residents did voice concern over parking, population and building density, crowding and a fear that future planned housing developments would put even more pressure on existing services and amenities. A few Hale Village residents spoke more negatively of their neighbours, noting that "across the street" had a reputation for crime and anti-social behaviour.

Sense of belonging

The predictive data suggests that residents' sense of belonging is likely to be weaker than the national average. The interviews with residents, however, suggest that belonging may be stronger than expected.

Over three quarters of residents interviewed said that they feel they belong in the area. Many people noted the multiculturalism and diversity of the area enabled everyone to fit

in. Others commented that they feel they belong more now that they have made local connections and friendships in the area.

"Yes, in the first year I didn't feel that connected but now I bump into people I know on a regular basis in Tottenham. This neighbourly aspect is quite rare in London." **(Hale Village homeowner (Newlon))**

However, the majority of students living in Hale Village in student accommodation were less positive about their feelings of belonging.

"The area is studenty so yes, in Hale Village yes [I belong] but I don't belong outside of Hale Village. I mainly go into central London from here. For example, if I walk down towards Seven Sisters I don't feel I belong…I know I'm here for a limited time only so don't consider myself a part of the community." **(Resident in student accommodation)**

Apart from students, only a few people said they felt they did not belong.

"I don't really feel like I belong anywhere. I had to move here, I got evicted from my last flat - once you've been evicted you never feel totally secure anywhere, always feel as if you might be moved on." **(Ferry Lane Estate council tenant)**

Satisfaction with the local area

The predictive data suggested that residents are likely to be more satisfied with their local area as a place to live than the national average, and interviews with residents found this likely to be true.

The majority of residents interviewed described a high level of satisfaction with the area. They depicted the area as nice, quiet, clean, vibrant, colourful, well maintained, friendly, safe, and modern. Access to nature and open space, proximity to the river, the convenience of the retail park and transport connections were all mentioned favourably. Some people also noted that students brought safety to the area, keeping the streets active at all hours of the day. Most people also commented positively on the quality of the public realm and design of the building architecture.

"There should be more places like this." **(Hale Village private tenant)**

"I'm proud to live here, I am … Hale Village is positive and people see it differently from the rest of Tottenham but I'm afraid it will continue to drop off and will decline." **(Hale Village social tenant)**

Only a few residents expressed dissatisfaction with the area as a place to live. These individuals commented that the area is getting too crowded, that the area *"looks nice but that's about it"* and mentioned the increase in anti-social behaviour and issues with neighbours. Other negative aspects of Hale Village noted by many residents included the lack of parking, and rising service charge costs. A few residents noted noise from students and young people hanging around from outside the area, the lack of supervision of children, and concerns about fire safety (in light of the Grenfell Tower tragedy).

The majority of people interviewed felt Hale Village had its own sense of identity separate from the rest of Tottenham. This was seen to be a positive and was associated with Hale Village's reputation for lower crime rates, cleanliness, high-quality public realm, a village-like, communal feel, and new modern, well maintained buildings.

"It's got its own identity, it's a multi-cultural urban centre." *(Hale Village local employee)*

"Yes, the area is different now but will change and this area will go down like the rest. People are already starting to bring the bad influence into here." *(Hale Village social tenant)*

Only one person saw the area's distinctiveness as problematic.

"Hale Village is distinct from the rest of Tottenham but not in a good way, it's too different from the rest, feel like we're seen as the 'lucky newcomers' and the rest of Tottenham is struggling. There are haves and have nots." *(Hale Village homeowner (Newlon)*

A few others felt that Tottenham had no sense of identity yet.

"Hale Village is starting to get its own identity, not quite got one yet." *(Hale Village homeowner)*

"Hale Village kind of has its own identity, although not extravagantly so - it's not complete like its own little community, lacking a decent cornershop or school." *(Hale Village social tenant)*

Perceptions about the Tottenham regeneration

Residents were asked about their awareness of regeneration plans. Most residents were unsure what regeneration meant for the area. Those who were aware of changes taking place in the area saw the upgrades to the train station, future housing developments and proposed changes to the retail park as wider private market forces playing out in Tottenham Hale, not necessarily a regeneration programme.

Residents were also asked about changes they had noticed in and around Tottenham Hale. A third of residents were unaware of any changes that had taken place in the area since 2011, noting no improvements and little impact on their day-to-day lives. Most residents moved into Hale Village when it was first completed in 2011, so had little awareness of the area before this date.

"All improving slowly, nothing has changed anyone's life though." *(Ferry Lane private tenant)*

Residents who did perceive change mentioned the train and bus station improvements, other modifications to transport infrastructure, the proposals for more housing, the improved appearance of the area and more retail. People also commented on increases in traffic and crowding, some saying the area would soon be too densely populated. A few said that Tottenham needed to catch up with surrounding boroughs like Waltham Forest

and Hackney, sometimes stating that these councils were improving the high streets and investing in housing more rapidly.

Most people felt that the overall regeneration plans for Tottenham Hale were positive and hoped for more local shops and places to socialise, more youth services and facilities for children, and overall improvements in the quality of life. Some noted that regeneration would be both positive and negative, citing fears of housing affordability, high-density development, loss of the retail park (a much loved shopping centre for most interviewees), displacement of residents and businesses and increased tensions between newcomers and existing residents. A few thought changes would only be negative.

Overall, the changes and plans for Tottenham Hale were seen as inclusive and equally benefitting all groups with no clear winners or losers. Anxieties about the overarching concepts of proposed changes were low. However, some people did comment that newcomers were benefitting most while existing communities were seeing their resources depleted. A few residents and stakeholders felt that many of the changes to the character of the area and the shops and restaurants that were replacing existing businesses were not reflective of the existing community, would be unaffordable to most, and were catering to the more affluent population moving in.

"[Regeneration] It's a great thing, however the most important thing is affordable housing. They shouldn't neglect the people who are living here already, regeneration shouldn't be at the expense of driving them away." (Hale Village private tenant).

Hale Village: overarching Theory of Change

Activities	Outputs	Short-term Outcomes	Mid-term Outcomes	Long-term Outcomes
Mixed tenure masterplan with space for community amenities, office and retail	Number of units by tenure /square footage of retail, office, and community infrastructure / resident satisfaction	Existing residents and community groups aware of proposals /developers procured / local support for proposals	Increased use of public spaces /improve safety / increase resident satisfaction with homes and amenities / increase access to local services	Cohesive mixed community /strong neighbourliness and sense of belonging
Placemaking based on Scandinavian best practice	Quantity of public space and infrastructure / number of users and visitors / design awards /businesses and residents retained and attracted	High resident satisfaction with amenities and homes / no vacancies of commercial space / low business turnover / low residential churn	Improved visual appearance of area / improved sense of place / increased use of public spaces and shops / lower crime / improved reputation	Strong sense of identity / a new neighbourhood that is distinctive within Tottenham / positive and welcoming reputation
Measures to reduce environmental impact	Car-free development / infrastructure for water recycling / BREEAM rating / environmental awards / access to green, open space	Code 4 and BREEAM Standard of Excellence / reduced car ownership and usage / increase in active transport / cleaner public realm	Carbon reduction / water usage reduction / improved air quality /residents have healthier, more active lifestyles	Small environmental footprint / healthy neighbourhood
Community events, consultation activities and resident forums	Number of community events and consultations / numbers engaged / resident assocation attendance / response rate to complaints and requests	Existing community supportive of change / more local people participating	Higher levels of neighbourliness / improve resident wellbeing and happiness / build local pride / increase community cohesion / improve sense of voice and	Strong neighbourliness and belonging / strong identity / well integrated with existing communities / residents report sense of voice and influence
Community investment programme	Number of job fairs / local people employed / crime and ASB figures / levels of rent arrears / number of programmes and participation	Residents accessing support they need / residents finding quality employment	Residents able to increase household income / improved resident wellbeing, happiness and confidence / lower crime and increased sense of safety	Residents are financially competent with secure income /high levels of wellbeing / safe neighbourhood

Hale Village: summary of findings

Social Sustainability

The social sustainability assessment revealed a positive picture of local social relations in Hale Village. Neighbourliness, belonging and the sense of safety were all higher than predicted.

The residents' associations and local community groups offer opportunities to get involved in community life. Approximately a third of residents interviewed said they are not active locally, however many of these people still felt informed about changes.

Each different tenure in Hale Village has its own residents' association or forum, though their organisational structures vary. Collective action is within rather than across tenures.

Most active residents felt they could only influence small, local decisions but that larger issues were more difficult to influence.

Higher than predicted feelings of safety were attributed to CCTV, security features and concierges, the active street life (with students and families present at different times of day) and the trustworthiness of neighbours. A minority of residents reported that the area had become less safe over the past five years.

There appears to be a strong sense of neighbourliness in Hale Village, particularly for families with young children and those involved in local groups. The building design and communal areas within each block - shared courtyard and rooftops – are catalysts for neighbour interaction within tenures.

Relationships between different groups are weaker than predicted. Mixing between tenures and across socio-economic backgrounds is limited. However, nearly everyone spoke positively of the area's multiculturalism.

There were concerns that Ferry Lane residents may resent 'newcomers' for benefiting from investment however this was not the case. Ferry Lane residents described how the affordable housing residents of Hale Village reflected local demographics and how new buildings improved the appearance of the area.

Belonging may be stronger than predicted. People described how multiculturalism and diversity enabled everyone to fit in. Most residents described high satisfaction with the area and reported that Hale Village had its own sense of identity, separate from the rest of Tottenham.

Regeneration in Tottenham Hale & the wider area

Residents were unsure what regeneration meant for the area. Those who were aware of changes believed these to be the result of wider market forces playing out in Tottenham Hale, not necessarily a regeneration programme.

Most people felt that the overall regeneration plans for Tottenham Hale were positive and hoped for more local shops and places to socialise, more youth services, facilities for children, and improvements to quality of life. Overall, the changes and plans for Tottenham Hale were perceived to be inclusive and benefitting all groups.

Some noted that regeneration would have negatives, citing fears of housing affordability, high-density development, loss of the retail park, displacement of residents and businesses, increased social tensions and a fear that new facilities were aimed at newcomers rather than longstanding residents. A minority commented that newcomers were benefitting most while existing communities were seeing their resources depleted. Some people also commented on increased traffic and overcrowding.

Case study 4: Employment & employability interventions

> This case study focuses on the different employment and employability interventions that sit within the Tottenham regeneration programme. This has included support for entrepreneurship and the retention and refurbishment of business and employment space in Tottenham, as well as projects promoting employment.

This case study focuses on a specific type of activity within the Tottenham programme, rather than a specific geographic area.

The riots of 2011 brought into sharp relief the social and economic challenges confronting Tottenham. High rates of unemployment and deprivation, accompanied by low skills and qualifications levels, confirmed the need for programmes for residents aimed at improving their economic and wider wellbeing. As part of the post-riot commitments to address these issues both the GLA and Haringey Council have invested in the area to improve employment and employability for residents, to support entrepreneurs and existing businesses.

The activities and interventions that this case study have explored included:

- activities undertaken to support employment and employability in the area, including business support for local job creation and support for entrepreneurship

- the coordination and alignment of activities and programmes that have an impact on employment and employability, including how such activities fit within wider strategic goals for the area
- the social impact of specific employment and employability programmes, and the wider social and economic impact that emanates from interlinkages between different types of activities.

Underpinning this is a consideration of how the various programmes contributed to inclusive growth, including whether there were groups within Tottenham whose needs were not being met.

The context

The 2014 *Tottenham Strategic Regeneration Framework* includes seven strategies. Two of these are particularly relevant to this work: that Tottenham will have 'world-class education and training' and 'improved access to jobs and business opportunities' in 20 years. There is also a stated ambition to create 5,000 new jobs and 10,000 new homes by 2025.

Fulfilling these ambitions has the potential to create a more inclusive, more prosperous area, but if local residents are to benefit it will be necessary to ensure that no group is left behind or excluded from the opportunities that regeneration is anticipated to bring. It is important to address the challenges highlighted by the socio-economic data, and also to tackle less tangible issues about attitudes and perceptions, including raising aspirations and ambitions, and improving the wider public and business perception of the area.

Although there have been improvements in the socio-economic profile of Tottenham residents, it is clear that many socio-economic challenges remain.

The 2015 Indices of Multiple Deprivation highlight that Tottenham continues to face significant deprivation both in relation to much of the rest of Haringey and indeed to England. The Tottenham area includes seven wards that fall into the ten percent of most deprived wards in England; three of those are amongst the five percent most deprived. There have been improvements since the 2010 IMD, the number of wards falling into the five percent most deprived has fallen from eight to three and from 12 to seven amongst the ten percent most deprived, however there are still areas in Tottenham where deprivation is a major challenge.

Between 2010 and 2016:

- the number of people claiming Job Seekers' Allowance declined by over 51 percent. Whilst this is a positive shift it was a smaller decline than in Haringey (54 percent) and in London as a whole (59 percent)
- the number of people aged 16-64 in employment has increased by 12 percent. This is a larger percentage change than in Haringey (8 percent) and London (6 percent).[lxxxvii]

Between 2010 and 2015:

- median weekly earnings grew by 2.4 percent from £493.20 to £504.90. This was below Haringey's rate of grow (3.9 percent) as well as England's (5.3 percent), but in line with London overall (2.4 percent)
- ESA claimant rates increased between November 2010 and November 2015 (from 1650 to 6415), before declining to 6040 in November 2016. However, it is worth noting that among ESA claimants of between two and five years the numbers have risen from 40 (November 2010) to 3195 (November 2016).[lxxxviii]

The number of NEETs (16-18 year olds Not in Education, Employment or Training) in Tottenham is high. Young people who are NEET, particularly for periods over six months, confront long-term scarring effects, with employment, wage, health and life satisfaction all negatively affected even decades later. In December 2015 Tottenham included five of the six wards in Tottenham with the highest number of NEETs in Haringey. The ward with the highest number, Noel Park (5.1 percent) lies outside of Tottenham but the following five wards are all within it, with NEET levels ranging from 2.9 percent (Bruce Grove) to 4.3 percent (Northumberland Park).[lxxxix]

Regeneration investments in employment and employability

Notable programmes within the overall Tottenham regeneration programme focusing specifically on employment and employability include:

639 Employment and Enterprise Centre **(£3.4m from the Mayor's Regeneration Fund)**

Former council offices were purchased and refurbished, then brought into operation to offer space and support to new entrepreneurs and businesses. It also initially housed Team London, which had a focus on increasing volunteering in Tottenham.

Opportunity Investment Fund **(OIF) (£2.7m from the Mayor's Regeneration Fund)**

Provides loans to businesses in Tottenham, or those moving into the area, to accelerate the development or improvement of employment sites, including building refurbishment and purchasing equipment. Accompanying this is access to business support networks and a discount on business rates for OIF beneficiaries.

Employment and Skills Projects

A wide-range of funding sources have contributed to these projects, including £1.1m from the Mayor's Regeneration Fund; ESF funding; £125,000 from the Transformation Challenge Award (for Northumberland Park); and funding from the local authority itself. Activities include:

Work Works Training Solutions focused on Northumberland Park, aimed at supporting those furthest away from the job market, as well as graduates and single mothers, into work.

Haringey Employment and Skills Team. Initially funded by the GLA and based in Northumberland Park, HEST is now based in Wood Green and funded by Haringey Council.

The Team provides information, advice and guidance and employment support to Haringey residents. It also works with local employers to identify potential local job opportunities and suitable local candidates.

Bridges to Birkbeck. Working with Birkbeck College, University of London, Tottenham residents are supported to undertake Higher Education Introductory Studies. They are also offered a range of activities to increase aspirations, through workshops, lectures and other information and advice. The programme was funded for three years (concluding in 2018).

Haringey Employment Service Project. The project was divided between two organisations (Reed Employment Services and NLPC). The contract aimed to provide training and employability skills, as well as sustainable work (at the London Living Wage) to local residents.

Research approach

The key aims of the research were to understand

- the aims and objectives of employment and employability programmes in Tottenham
- the links between these programmes and the strategic aims for Tottenham
- the perceived and, where possible, actual impact of the programmes on Tottenham and its residents
- real and potential limitations on the effectiveness of delivery and wider impact of programmes.

The research included

- a desk review of documents
- interviews with 15 stakeholders specific to understanding employment and employability interventions, plus the findings from interviews with nine stakeholders with a Tottenham overview carried out in the early stages of the research
- interviews with 13 beneficiaries from a group at the Haringey Users Network, users of the 639 Centre, and one person supported by the Opportunity Investment Fund.

Desk review

Strategic and programme documentation from the GLA and Haringey were reviewed.

Stakeholder interviews

Semi-structured interviews with key stakeholders in the private and third sectors, as well as the local authority itself were carried out. Stakeholders were identified following

discussions with individuals from the local authority and also through a 'snowball approach', with a number of potential contacts suggested during interviews.

Interviews were carried out with Haringey Adult Learning Service, Haringey Employment and Skills team, Haringey Economic Development Department and the Tottenham Regeneration team, Reed Employment Service, 5E, the North London Partnership Consortium, the 639 Centre, Bridges to Birkbeck, Living Under one Sun, Haringey Recovery Service and the Single Homeless Project.

Some interviewees displayed a marked reluctance to participate in the work. Multiple attempts at making contact (by phone and email) accompanied by encouragement from key individuals, were at times required before an interview could be arranged. A number of people either declined or did not respond to multiple attempts to request their participation in the research.

It is difficult to surmise why people were reluctant or unwilling to contribute, this reluctance is in itself worth noting. Some who did participate in interviews were reticent to provide, or discuss, specific programme outcomes. This was explained by commercial confidentiality concerns and the realities of a competitive funding environment.

Consequently, some interviewees spoke more generally about the employment and employability services they provide and referred to a wide range of metrics and measurement systems in use for different programmes, including the Work Programme. Where possible, there has been an attempt to distinguish feedback on the impact of different programmes.

Beneficiary interviews

Beneficiaries from the Haringey Users' Network and occupants of the 639 Centre were also spoken to formally and informally to explore their experiences. One beneficiary of the Opportunity Investment Fund (Redemption Brewery) was interviewed, eight other beneficiaries of the Opportunity Investment Fund were also approached by phone and email and did not respond to the requests for a brief discussion.

Findings

Exploring the activities undertaken to support employment and employability in Tottenham has highlighted challenges and opportunities around the targets set, the alignment of activities, collaboration between organisations working in Tottenham and measuring the impact of these activities. It has also identified that there are groups within the community that are at risk of being left behind – with few accessing services and inadequate resources to engage with them.

Meeting targets

Assessing whether or not programmes have met their targets has been made difficult by the reluctance of some organisations to provide monitoring and evaluation data. From the limited data made available, it would appear that results are mixed – with some targets being met and some not. One organisation that did discuss programmes' targets and achievement, Reed Employment Services, reported that it negotiated contract variations because of the challenges in meeting some targets. Haringey Recovery Services has decided to work with another organisation to help them to achieve their targets, as a result of the challenges they were experiencing.

Feedback from beneficiaries and local organisations emphasised the positive impact of programmes. Even where targets had not been met, participants had benefited from attending programmes. Many of the interviewees highlighted the importance and value of spending time with people: time spent talking through ideas and opportunities, helping individuals to identify skills and overcome potential barriers. This could help raise aspirations and improve confidence. Even if this input did not lead immediately to engaging with a programme, some individuals did return with more clearly articulated ambitions, a stronger business plan or a commitment to achieve.

Programmes such as the Opportunity Investment Fund, entrepreneurship and business support opportunities at the 639 Centre and Bridges to Birkbeck all reported that applicants valued and benefited from the informal time spent talking to them by staff. However, too often such contributions were not valued by funders and financially recognised. Acknowledging the difficulties around capturing the impact of this time spent, many interviewees nevertheless emphasised that monitoring and evaluation frameworks would benefit from seeking to do so, and that it should be fully factored into programme budgets.

However, the outcomes and impacts of programmes on beneficiaries in Tottenham cannot be separated from the wider socio-economic and policy environments, and the way in which they interact with the aspirations and intentions of programme participants. A number of barriers to work were identified, including the expense of childcare and the impact of work on benefits. The main issue that was identified repeatedly by organisations and participants alike was that of housing, and a fear of losing it. This was not only in relation to those with complex needs or at a distance from the labour market, job-ready individuals were also concerned at the potential impact of work on their housing situation. The combination of low pay employment opportunities and significant (and real) fears around potential homelessness was a significant barrier to be overcome.

Improving the income of local residents is an ambition that is proving difficult to meet. One contract awarded to Reed Employment Services included a specific target for the number of employment opportunities that paid the London Living Wage. The target of 20 was lowered to four as a result of difficulties in finding such employment opportunities. Only one was achieved. In this case, anecdotal reasons given for the difficulties finding London Living Wage employment opportunities included disability, reluctance to travel, the profile of the local economy and needs for part-time work.

The Opportunity Investment Fund has found it difficult to persuade employers to pay the London Living Wage from the start of their award, and have needed to tie this to a future deadline, such as after a specific period of time, or on the completion of training.[xc]

An analysis of the data suggests that while there may be potential for the Opportunity Investment Fund to be more demanding of employers, there are also wider trends in low pay in London that may have contributed to the difficulties encountered. Analysis by Trust for London highlighted that "almost 1 in 5 jobs were low paid". In 2016, the number of low-paid jobs in London had fallen for the first time since 2009, although it remained higher than in 2005 (up seven percent). The fall in low paid jobs was in the proportion of part-time jobs, rather than full-time opportunities.[xci]

In Haringey, an analysis of the ONS's Annual Survey of Hours and Earnings data using an average of 2015-16 data found that 31 percent of jobs in Haringey are paid below the London Living Wage, and a similar analysis of residents' earnings shows 25 percent of residents earn below the London Living Wage. In fact, low paid jobs in Haringey have increased by more than 5 percent since 2013/14.[xcii]

Strategic alignment

Programmes delivered by the local authority, such as HEST and the Opportunity Investment Fund, were seen by stakeholders as being intrinsically aligned to the wider strategy for Tottenham. However, private and third sector organisations did not place the same importance on this alignment. This is in part because many of the organisations interviewed were involved in the delivery of multiple employment programmes – including GLA and Haringey funded programmes and those supported by other external funders. This does not mean that the programmes were not contributing to the delivery of the wider strategy, indeed many of the targets set indicate that they were, but rather that the focus was on delivering a programme rather than contributing to the wider strategy.

The post-programme 'what happens next' is also important in ensuring strategic coherence. Often for programmes, the job itself appears to be the (ultimate) outcome. However, ambitions to improve skills and increase income among local residents suggest that there is also space for a focus on in-work upskilling and working with local employers to improve skills use.

There is also a pressing need for affordable grow-on and business space in Tottenham. This is an important issue for businesses in the 639 Centre. The step from the 639 Centre to applying to the Opportunity Investment Fund was seen as too large for relatively young businesses and although the Opportunity Investment Fund did not exclude applications from start-ups and new businesses, it was seen as more appropriate for established and growing companies or new businesses established by serial entrepreneurs. The issue of employment space was also identified as a barrier to the work of the Opportunity Investment Fund; with the allocation of funds hindered by a lack of affordable and available property for potential applicants.

Improving collaboration

Collaboration between local organisations was seen as something distinct from strategic alignment and was identified by stakeholders as important for the successful delivery of many programmes. Stakeholders reported relationships of varying quality with differing stakeholders. For example, HEST noted a positive relationship with HALS and employability programme providers, and acknowledged that its interactions with other organisations were made easier because it was not hindered by funding requirements. However, the competitive nature of funding was perceived to be a barrier to effective collaboration by interviewees in the private and third sectors. Even where formal (or semi-formal) bodies bringing different local organisations together exist (free of tensions around funding), they were not seen as being particularly effective: infrequent and irregular meetings and the exclusion of key local actors from participation were both cited as reasons for reduced effectiveness.

Whilst some voiced disappointment about weak collaborative relationships and the impact on beneficiaries, others focused on the reality of establishing effective collaboration between different organisations. This was usually dependent on informal, personal relationships to identify potential opportunities for collaboration and to facilitate these. Building such relationships takes time and with limited resources already stretched, collaborative activities was seen as being very much 'work in progress'.

Collaboration with national organisations is also important. The nature of employment and employability programmes means that national providers are also working with Tottenham residents. A lack of understanding of the work of local actors amongst national agencies was identified as a barrier to establish good working relationships and improve outcomes for people. It was reported, for example, that Job Centre Plus had repeatedly missed opportunities to direct individuals to appropriate local services and attempted to mandate participation in local employability services that were in fact voluntary. Probation services were also identified as unwilling to work with local employment and employability stakeholders. The imperatives of different policy agenda and targets were acknowledged as contributing to this, however it was felt that better collaboration between local and national services could improve outcomes for local residents.

Who is not accessing services?

Stakeholders working in different employment and employability, and business support, programmes recognised that there were groups within Tottenham who were not accessing services. It was reported that for those most in need there was little more than 'tinkering on the edges' as there were not enough resources to engage with them in ways that met their needs. Some ethnic minority groups, particularly 'newer' migrant communities, ESA claimants, the disabled and the most vulnerable individuals, as well as young people, were all identified as being 'absent' from different services.

Young people were repeatedly noted as difficult to find and engage with – in relation to employment and employability programmes, skills and training opportunities, or

entrepreneurship and business support activities. One programme had struggled to access enough young people to meet its target and despite bringing in the Spurs Foundation to help, only four young people (out of an original target of 60) were engaged: a contract variation was agreed as a result.

The reasons why people may not access services are complex: social, economic, cultural and linguistic barriers were identified as potential barriers. Agencies working in Tottenham reported that simply running programmes is not enough in itself to help people access opportunities.

Reductions in community outreach activities were identified by a wide range of interviewees as a reason why people did not access services. Past outreach events had been successful in introducing people to services and encouraging people to access them. Community connectors had been able to develop an understanding of local service provision and direct people accordingly; linking people and services together and encouraging service take up. However that role is no longer funded. Now there is reliance on word of mouth referrals, or, for HEST, increased footfall after their move from Northumberland Park to Wood Green. However, even this had proved challenging: while the move had enabled HEST to link more effectively to other services there has also been a reduction in the number of people accessing the service from Northumberland Park.

Stakeholders reported that the impact of cuts to third sector organisations was also important and had reduced the effectiveness of their traditional role in reaching out to excluded and vulnerable groups. Competition for limited funding meant that public and private sector organisations were directly competing with third sector organisations, many felt that there was not a "level playing field" between third sector organisations and public and private sector organisations, threatening the work carried out by the third sector who are often embedded in local communities and have a richer understanding of community needs. This has compounded challenges around funding requirements that have limited the ability of the third sector to bid for programmes, such as match funding or the preclusion of funding of core activities. It was reported that the result has been that many vulnerable people have been left unsupported.

The impact of funding constraints confronting local government and other public sector agencies was acknowledged by interviewees. However, there was also a suggestion that there was a reluctance among some stakeholders to engage with the most vulnerable individuals. While this is only anecdotal evidence, the suggestion was made it was necessary for individuals to approach a local stakeholder directly rather than through a referral system in order to access services. This suggests that there is a need to increase collaborative working to encourage greater understanding of the needs and potential of local people.

Perceptions of regeneration

The experience of regeneration was not universally welcomed by all programme delivery agencies in the third and private sector, and their beneficiaries. This was driven not by a rejection of the need for improvements to Tottenham but by negative perceptions of the

way in which regeneration had been undertaken. Mistrust among some communities in Tottenham was reported. Concerns about the impact of regeneration on current residents, including the lack of 'affordable' housing (that is, affordable to local residents) and the impact of regeneration on their ability to remain in Tottenham were noted.

Part of the concerns voiced about regeneration was that the focus needed to be more on communities and people, not just infrastructure. There was a perception that physical regeneration was being prioritised above the needs of people. The view was articulated that regeneration is dominated by the council, developers and the football club, and there was a wish that regeneration becomes a more bottom-up process that engaged with and included local residents in a meaningful way.

Impact measurement

Some organisations in Haringey were using a range of different tools to capture distance travelled. However, such information was not necessarily well collated or used. This was partly because of a lack of resources, and also because such information is rarely required for programme metrics and payment points. Pathway progression that is not dependent on specific outcomes is rarely funded. Where the focus of a programme is on, for example, job outcomes, or hours spent receiving training or IAG, this can (unintentionally) promote a low-hanging fruit approach, driving organisations to help those who are closest to the labour market if they are to meet their targets. The consequence of this is that those who require greater support can be overlooked.

Interviewees acknowledged the need to capture the pathway people took to work. Some programmes had metrics that recognised wider outcomes, such as volunteering and accredited and non-accredited training. Other organisations emphasised that even non-work outcomes targets could be unrealistic. For example, a GLA funded employment programme cited unrealistic targets for what could be achieved with beneficiaries. A target of 30 hours of IAG was seen as problematic; an individual doing 29 hours was not considered to have met the target.

Unintentionally or intentionally the focus on targets can drive who is supported. Another local organisation argued that the consequence of increased targets was that although 'doable', they were only so if the focus remained on achieving them. That meant that choices would be made as to whom to support, which in practical terms meant only those clearly job ready would receive help. Others would need to be referred elsewhere.

Underpinning all of this is the idea that outcomes need to be made meaningful to individuals, not focused on the needs and desires of funders – something that was repeatedly identified by interviewees. Targets were identified as 'overly ambitious' and 'political', driven by a lack of understanding on the part of funders. Such a lack of understanding was both with the opportunities and barriers that exist within Tottenham and complex needs, whether it be health challenges after years of substance misuse or the very real problems associated with debt and a fear of homelessness.

Funders seemed to fear that organisations and individuals were likely to 'game the system' unless clear, measurable targets were set. While organisations welcomed the idea of capturing and using social impact more in programmes, such a shift could only occur if there was a cultural change to increase trust between funders and delivery agents. Only with this would it be possible to rethink targets and outcomes to ensure they capture an individual's pathway, and provide the resources to do so effectively.

Resourcing was a key barrier to capturing social impact for most organisations. Few organisations had the resources to undertake such work unless it was built into their funding and even then, challenges still existed. Some programmes, such as Haringey Adult Learning Service (funded by the Education and Skills Funding Agency), have tried to carry out six to nine months follow-up with participants, and HEST provides longer-term follow up to people they employ. Others, however, such as Bridges to Birkbeck, have no clear long-term evaluation strategy to assess the outcomes for individuals who completed the Higher Education Certificate in terms of degree completion, employment outcomes and impact on salary.

Follow-up on the impact of programmes beyond a person's engagement with it would enable a better understanding of how a programme contributed to meeting the wider strategic aims for Tottenham.[xciii] However post-programme follow-up can be difficult. Linguistic and cultural issues, alongside population churn, were all identified as limiting the ability of organisations to capture the post-programme social impact of training and employment schemes. Quantifying the sustainability of a job, which was a hard target in some programmes, had already proved difficult. This suggested that other forms of follow up would be even more problematic. Challenges in data collection were also identified for the Opportunity Investment Fund, with some companies who had been recipients of awards failing to provide the information that they were required to do so.[xciv]

However, follow up on progress after engagement in programmes could give valuable insights into outcomes for individuals and would demonstrate how a programme is contributing to meet wider strategic aims for Tottenham. Relying on official data is not sufficient as change in demographics because of new house building, or because of house price changes, are likely to have an impact on the socio-economic profile of the area. Improvements evidenced in statistical data may mask weak outcomes for residents.

Employment and employability interventions: summary of findings

Programmes and interventions

Interviewees from a range of third, public and private sector organisations were clearly committed to improving Tottenham, and the economic and wider wellbeing of its residents. This had fed into the delivery of a series of programmes aimed at improving employment outcomes and providing business and entrepreneurship support.

These programmes are contributing to helping people to receive training and find work, raising aspirations and ambitions, providing opportunities for businesses to develop and grow, and opening up the potential of higher education to local residents.

Barriers

As the interviews highlighted, there are ways in which the impact of programmes could be improved and enhanced. This could be achieved through greater collaboration between organisations, and an improved understanding of local challenges and opportunities, and a greater reflection of the needs of individuals in targets.

A greater focus on soft outcomes and individual pathways would also be beneficial, at present this work is often invisible to funders.

For agencies, there are tensions between local and national priorities of different programmes, and this can make it difficult to support local strategic plans.

Inclusive growth

The prevalence of low quality work in the borough make it difficult to secure good quality sustainable jobs. Housing costs and fear of benefit loss from moving into work are significant barriers for people to take up low paid work.

The most pressing challenge to be addressed is those people whom such programmes are not touching. This includes many people with additional needs.

At a time when inclusive growth is becoming increasingly important for economic and social reasons, it is important that resources and programmes are directed at those who need the most support. Whilst the short-term resource requirements may be high, the longer-term implications of reduced demands on services suggest that such investments are worth making.

Conclusions and recommendations

This research took place five years after the publication of "A Plan for Tottenham" which set out how Haringey Council, the Mayor of London and other agencies proposed to respond to the entrenched social and economic problems that fuelled the riots and disorder in Tottenham in 2011.

Tottenham's regeneration programme is made up of different types of regeneration activity, from high street renewal to estate regeneration, which together aim to tackle complex and deep seated social issues and multiple disadvantages.

This research has explored four case studies. Each focuses on a different settings covered by the regeneration programme. These were selected because they are distinct approaches, and also because they align with Haringey's Strategic Regeneration Framework.

The research has focused on perceptions of residents, traders, community and voluntary organisations, the private sector and public sector agencies about the regeneration programme. it is a snapshot of opinion, capturing views at a relatively early stage of the programme, when some initiatives have made a visible impact while others are widely known, but have yet to have tangible benefits.

The research has revealed that residents, businesses and local agencies have strong feelings about Tottenham and the regeneration programme. They voiced a profound wish to preserve the elements of local life that they value - including their housing security, and strong sense of local identity and belonging - alongside aspirations to improve the area and create more opportunities for the people who live in it.

One of the research intentions was to gather qualitative and quantitative data on the social impact of change in the Tottenham area and determine the extent to which their impacts are attributed to the range of GLA-supported interventions delivered over the past five years. Our research has found that it was very difficult to differentiate between GLA-supported regeneration interventions and other associated developments in Haringey. Residents experienced the cumulative impact of changes in their immediate environment, and across Tottenham. Their views on particular initiatives were often coloured by wider factors. The early stage of many of the interventions we considered also made it difficult to attribute impact.

The impact measurements currently in place – many of which were associated with past funding programmes – are unlikely to be enough to capture the social impact that both the borough and the Mayor of London now wish to see. We have considered the four typologies of regeneration that the case studies explore, and suggest an approach that can better capture the "inclusiveness" of growth, how much it is benefitting Tottenham's residents and businesses, and its impact on residents quality of life, wellbeing, belonging and local social relations.

1. Implications for agencies

1.2 The cumulative impact of change

This research illustrates how people living in and working in an area experience the cumulative impact of changes in their local areas in their day to day lives. Tottenham, like other similar areas of London, is experiencing changes in the local economy. Housing costs have risen sharply in recent years across Tottenham and more affluent residents are arriving, especially in the south of the area. Changes to benefits regimes alongside other shifts in government policy have a significant impact on residents, especially those on low incomes. It is the combination of these different factors rather than any one single change that colours perceptions. The research has illustrated how the targeted efforts of regeneration programmes and other interventions can be dwarfed by these wider trends.

In the four case studies there were examples where regeneration officers had made great efforts to respond to residents' views about specific improvements, however residents' perceptions were often driven more by their feelings about change overall than their response to particular schemes.

Implications for local agencies and the council

Agencies need to be aware of the wider context that affects perceptions of particular improvements, and take these into account when drafting communications and messaging.

Assessing the overall perceptions of regeneration schemes, alongside perceptions of specific improvements, will help understand residents response.

This could be done by asking how people feel about the overall regeneration programme alongside questions about specific initiatives. Ideally a baseline measurement would be done before changes begin, however if this is not possible, ongoing measurement to spot trends over time would still have value.

1.2 Unease and mistrust

There is unease amongst many residents, businesses and agencies about the changes in Tottenham. These are frequently articulated as suspicion of the underlying motivations of the council and its partners. Awareness of the impact of regeneration schemes in other parts of London and the tragedy at Grenfell Tower have contributed to this suspicion. For individuals struggling with poor pay and insecure work, and for people managing vulnerabilities that make it difficult to thrive in the labour market, the pace and extent of change combine with increasing financial insecurity, causing trepidation and nervousness. Residents and local traders and business owners generally report that they have a strong sense of belonging and local identity, however they can fear that they and their families may not belong these in the future.

The research found strong examples of agencies work in building residents' capacity to manage these changes, for example Homes for Haringey comprehensive needs and support assessments of all council tenants and leaseholders on the Love Lane Estate and uses them to help refer vulnerable residents to access the support they need. This mechanism recognises the wider economic and social challenges faced by residents now and in the future.

Implications for local agencies and the council

Monitoring residents' sense of belonging and trust in the council can help tailor interventions to offset some of the sense of unease that is generated by factors – such as welfare reform – that are outside the control of the council or any local agency.

1.3 Fear of displacement can be as great as actual displacement

Fears of displacement - of being compelled to move to a new area - can be pernicious and damaging to wellbeing. There is a possible parallel to fear of crime and actual crime: it is well recognised that fear of crime as well as actual crime damages wellbeing[xcv].

Residents are sensitive to the position of others living in the area and those whose own housing is secure share the concerns of those with more precarious housing futures. This research found examples of secure tenants and leaseholders on council estates voicing concerned about the future housing options for their neighbours who rent from leaseholders or who were placed in social housing on temporary tenancies. Throughout the case studies, residents of different tenures voiced various concerns about vulnerable residents, or the "breaking up" of the community more broadly.

Implications for local agencies and the council

It is important that concerns about displacement are tackled explicitly and that good, clear and credible information is given about the impact of change on different groups.

Council representatives need to take care to acknowledge the situation of estate residents who are not owed a statutory responsibility, where possible providing them with help to find a future home.

1.4 People want to see their area improve but are concerned at the unintended consequences

People want improvements and where they can be achieved without negative impacts, such as improvements to Holcombe Market, they are wholeheartedly welcomed.

Residents are very aware of what is happening in their local area, parallel research from LSE Cities and Make Good reveals how adept Londoners are at "reading" what is happening on their street, using bellwether indicators such as cleanliness or safety[xcvi]. This research confirms the finding, illustrating for example how new types of businesses moving into an area can be interpreted as a sign that longer standing businesses and residents may be less welcome in the area in the future.

Residents are also acutely aware of when improvements are poor quality, or poorly maintained. Alley projects near Bruce Grove and shop front improvements on West Green Road were cited as examples where deterioration has happened very quickly, residents speculated this was because of poor maintenance or quality of work. The perception of poor quality, and insufficient care, can undermine confidence in future plans, critical for the success of long term regeneration programmes.

Implications for local agencies and the council

Councils and agencies will receive most positive approval from initiatives that make improvements for the widest number of people, while having negative consequences for the fewest.

Agencies should make sure that when they fund an improvement – to a place, a street, or a building – that the work is of good quality, that it is durable, and that there is an ongoing, resourced maintenance strategy.

It is important to balance support for new businesses or facilities that contribute to achieving wider goals such as growing the night-time economy, or diversifying local employment, with support for well established businesses and traders that are recognised as being part of the area's local identity, and to ensure that this is communicated to residents early in the process.

1.5 Housing is critical

Concerns about housing, now and in the future, were articulated throughout our research, emerging in conversations about regeneration regardless of whether the particular initiative being discussed was focused on housing or not. These included worries that individuals or families would be compelled to move away from their current home, concerns about the housing prospects for younger people or children, and anxieties about future options. Affordability, availability and security were the three key concerns.

Tenure is an important factor driving residents views of housing regeneration (including estate regeneration), and people whose housing security is protected are more likely to support regeneration. However residents with more housing security also reported concerns about their own future options, and the impact of regeneration on community life, as well as the impact of change on their neighbours whose futures are less certain.

Implications for local agencies, the council and the GLA

Housing is a key concern for residents and agencies need to respond to this with a range of solutions that can, where possible, meet housing needs for people from different backgrounds, incomes and lifestyles.

1.6 More thought should be given to how interventions will achieve their aims

Project managers are often agile and skilled at seeking out funding from diverse sources, However the imperatives of funding regimes, plus time and resource constraints, mean that

the link between desired long term results (or outcomes) and activities may be poorly planned and delivered. Over time, this can lead to a mismatch between the intentions of those who set up projects and what is subsequently monitored.

If a theory of change is developed as part of the shaping and planning of a regeneration programme it can guide actions and monitoring over time. This can maintain clarity when activities, and monitoring, inevitably become skewed by the different requirements of changing funding programmes. easily accessible resources[xcvii] are available online to help develop these.

Conversation with officers involved in delivering the Tottenham regeneration programme revealed a number of outcomes that were important to their vision of the programme's success that were not being systematically captured by the programme monitoring. This included:

- a number of different outcomes that capture local social life, including belonging and identity, neighbourliness and good local social relationships, good relationships between different groups and between people from different backgrounds
- a number of "inclusive growth" outcomes, including the quality of jobs created and vulnerable people's access to training and work, as well as access to new jobs created for people living in Tottenham
- outcomes around the process of consultation, engagement and participation
- the combined and cumulative effect of different regeneration programmes.

All these outcomes are often less well monitored in regeneration programmes, largely because to do so is complex, and tests the capacity of a number of agencies. The consequence has been that regeneration programmes focus on outputs that more tangible and easy to enumerate, such as crime statistics, number of programme participants or quantum of commercial floor space.

A Theory of Change or Logic Model can be a useful tool to help articulate the relationship between activities and outcomes. There are many accessible resources[xcviii] available online to help develop these.

Implications for local agencies and the council

All interventions should be informed by a theory of change, however the level of detail and resource put into developing this should be proportional to the scale of the intervention.

Wider implications for the council and the GLA

Delivery agencies often need support to develop a theory of change. This should include explaining the rationale for this approach, and providing skills support and information about how to take forward this work.

Support should be proportional to the scale of the investment. It can range from signposting to online resources, mentoring by experts, or facilitating workshops.

Substantial programmes with substantial investment should always receive some external support to develop their theory of change.

1.7 Agencies find it hard to monitor impact

Agencies report that they are under enormous pressures exerted by the combination of growing social need and budget restrictions. Some lack the capacity to comply with funders' monitoring regimes or see this as a lower priority than service delivery. Agencies funded through multiple sources, including those providing employability and skills programmes, often have to navigate different monitoring and reporting regimes. Commercial confidentiality concerns in a competitive market can limit the data agencies are willing to disclose information about their clients.

Poor monitoring data makes it difficult to see the impact of regeneration investments and review who is, and who is not, benefitting.

Agencies may, in response to these difficulties, look to official statistics to evidence their impact. However where there is high demographic change and churn in the area – such as in Tottenham - official statistics are more likely to reflect changes in who lives the area rather than the impact of services or regeneration on the population.

Implications for local agencies and the council, and for the GLA

Agencies should be set realistic and carefully crafted monitoring targets, which reflect the anticipated impact of the programme (ideally relating to its Theory of Change). Targets must be specific and achievable.

Funders and investors need to be realistic about the multiple demands on agencies and their front line staff and how this can limit their ability to comply with monitoring regimes. Synchronising and simplifying monitoring and reporting requirements would support this.

Once targets are set and agreed, agencies should be expected to return monitoring data - with consequences for not doing so.

2 Perceptions of the four typologies of regeneration: implications for policy and practice

This research has taken a snapshot of resident and stakeholder opinion at a particular point in time. Longer term evaluation and impact measurement will be needed to reveal the full social impact of the regeneration programme. However emerging implications for policy and practice can be distilled for the four different typologies examined by the research. Given the nature of this research, these implications focus mainly on perceptions of regeneration, rather than outcomes.

2.1 High street regeneration

- It is important to support existing traders and businesses as well as attract new business to an area and to make this approach visible to residents. In this research, some residents in Bruce Grove voiced their perceptions that new businesses or enterprises were being supported more generously than longer standing businesses. Residents are hyper aware of

changes to their local streets, and interpret change as signalling who is deemed a priority and who will be welcome in the area in the future.

- People from different backgrounds are likely to have different views about the retail offer – what is uninspiring or even unattractive for some may be valued by others. These differences in opinion may polarise on lines of age or social class. For example, respondents to the online survey of residents in Bruce Grove were more negative about the current retail offer on the High Road than people who took part in street interviews, possibly reflecting the different demographics of the online and street interview informants. (Online respondents were more likely to be home owners and to have lived in the area for less than five years that those who took part in street interviews).

- Day to day issues, such as the level of business rates, anti-social behaviour and parking restrictions, are critically important for traders and businesses. When these become problems, they can impede the positive impacts of regeneration.

- Perceptions of regeneration can also be undermined by negative experiences, for example in Tottenham some residents reported that there was poor ongoing maintenance of some initiatives (including some shop front schemes), or too much focus on eye catching initiatives (like the N17 Design Studio. These issues often skewed their overall perception of the success of the regeneration.

- Changes in provision of shops and services that beyond the control of the council can also sabotage the value of regeneration to traders, businesses and their customers. For example the closure of two bank branches on the High Road was reported by traders' to have had a substantial impact on footfall, for many this was a more significant change to their than the impact of the regeneration programme.

2.2 Estate regeneration

- It is important to gauge and monitor the quality, reach and effectiveness of consultation as well as the volume of residents reached. This can enable agencies to respond to any mistrust voiced in consultation processes.

- Partnership documents, co-designed with residents, such as Charters or Design Guides need to have clear status and an agreement around whether they are to inform, influence or specify decisions.

- When temporary residents move into homes formerly occupied by secure tenants or leaseholders there can be an impact on community capacity and the strength of local social networks, however many temporary residents already have, or develop, strong local networks and relationships. Some "temporary" residents live on estates for many years, and become committed to the place and well know community members. On Love Lane Estate some residents had lived on the estate for over 10 years having originally been placed there by the council in temporary accommodation as a discharge of homelessness duties.

- Housing needs assessments are an opportunity to assess residents' wider needs for support, and vulnerabilities, and a route for referrals to services and agencies. This can help residents manage the complex process of moving home, work, work and school, and

the possibility of paying higher other housing costs in their future homes. Homes for Haringey's work on Love Lane Estate is a good example of this approach.

- Programmes designed to tackle social and economic issues need to be tailored to the specific needs of very small local areas. Even within a local authority ward there may be pockets of very different needs which require a bespoke response. This research showed how the Transformational Challenge Award (TCA) programme, designed to address issues in the Northumberland Park ward, was not addressing some issues specific to the Love Lane Estate (which is separated from the rest of the ward by its geography).

- When estate regeneration is associated with big infrastructure improvements, new cultural provision or partners with global ambition, there can be tensions between the larger scale global ambitions and the everyday concerns of residents and businesses. In this research, residents and businesses reported that Spurs interests were given too much weight in the redevelopment of the area. Communications strategies need to acknowledge this.

2.3 New build

- Partners with a long-term interest and a commitment to the area are important in building community in new housing developments. Longstanding community agencies – such as The Engine Room in Tottenham Hale - have had important role in cementing a good relationship between people living in the new developments and residents of adjacent areas.

- People at different stages of their lives have different roles in building social relationships and helping residents feel comfortable with their new home. Both families with young children and students can help make an area feel safe, active, and well used. Children are critical social mixers and help bring people from different backgrounds together; students are often seen as a transient group who do not commit to community life, however their presence out and about at different times of day and night helps make Hale Village feel safe.

- Building homes where tenures are separated into different areas or blocks makes it hard for social relationships to develop between people who have different tenures, especially when they do not have children or other motivation to mix with their neighbours.

2.4 Employment and employability

- People with complex barriers to employment often require services that address physical and mental health, wellbeing, confidence, and other wider social challenges before employment pathways can be considered. Such complex needs and the challenges in addressing them are not always recognised by funders and their monitoring and evaluation frameworks, which tend to focus on employment and employability.

- Job outcome metrics can propel agencies to support individuals who are easier to place ('low hanging fruit') rather than meeting the needs of people with complex barriers to employment. As a result, those at a distance from the labour market can be left further behind.

- Non-job outcomes should be better recognised and valued for individuals who are at a significant distance from the labour market, including work placements, volunteering, non-accredited training and meeting employability skills aims. The focus should be on what individuals can achieve.
- Unstructured time supporting individuals does not fit comfortably into monitoring and evaluation frameworks. This can include conversations offering guidance to business start-ups, the long-term unemployed or other vulnerable individuals.
- Monitoring and evaluation frameworks do not always relate to the reality of delivery. Metrics can fail to recognise complexity within an area or amongst a beneficiary group, or what an intervention or investment can be expected to deliver.
- Monitoring and evaluation frameworks vary from programme to programme, and one agency may be monitored through several different regimes. This puts resource pressures on staff, and even organisations that are keen to engage with social impact assessments report significant resource constraints in doing so, as well as practical ones navigating multiple and overlapping monitoring regimes.

3. Monitoring social impact across the four typologies

3.1 Lessons for approaching monitoring of social value

Regeneration initiatives are context specific and it is not useful to create a restrictive blueprint for monitoring social impact. However, a number of overall lessons for monitoring have emerged from this work.

1. Monitoring plans need to be proportional to the scale of the intervention, and the capacity of the agency.
2. A theory of change is a helpful starting point for developing monitoring targets. It can maintain focus on need and activity, allowing overall project aims to be balanced against the requirements of specific funders.
3. Targets need to be specific, not vague, and realistic, not over-ambitious.
4. Once targets are set and agreed, agencies need to generate monitoring data regularly and accurately, with clear consequences if this is not achieved.
5. Funders need to be mindful of the requirements of other funders when setting targets.
6. Official data that demonstrates change at population level, such as unemployment or health statistics, may tell more about the change within the local population than the impact of policies and interventions. In regeneration areas, and areas with high population churn, trends in this sort of data should be interpreted carefully to make sure that what is reported can be attributed to a specific intervention or programme.
7. Monitoring and evaluation, especially on larger initiatives, is the responsibility of all partners involved and all partners should therefore contribute to collaboratively resourcing this.

3.2 A framework for thinking about social value

Social Life has developed an overall structure for thinking about the social value of regeneration with the GLA and Haringey Council. This takes the GLA and Haringey's current monitoring framework of "Place", "People" and Prosperity" and populates this with indicators that reflect social value.
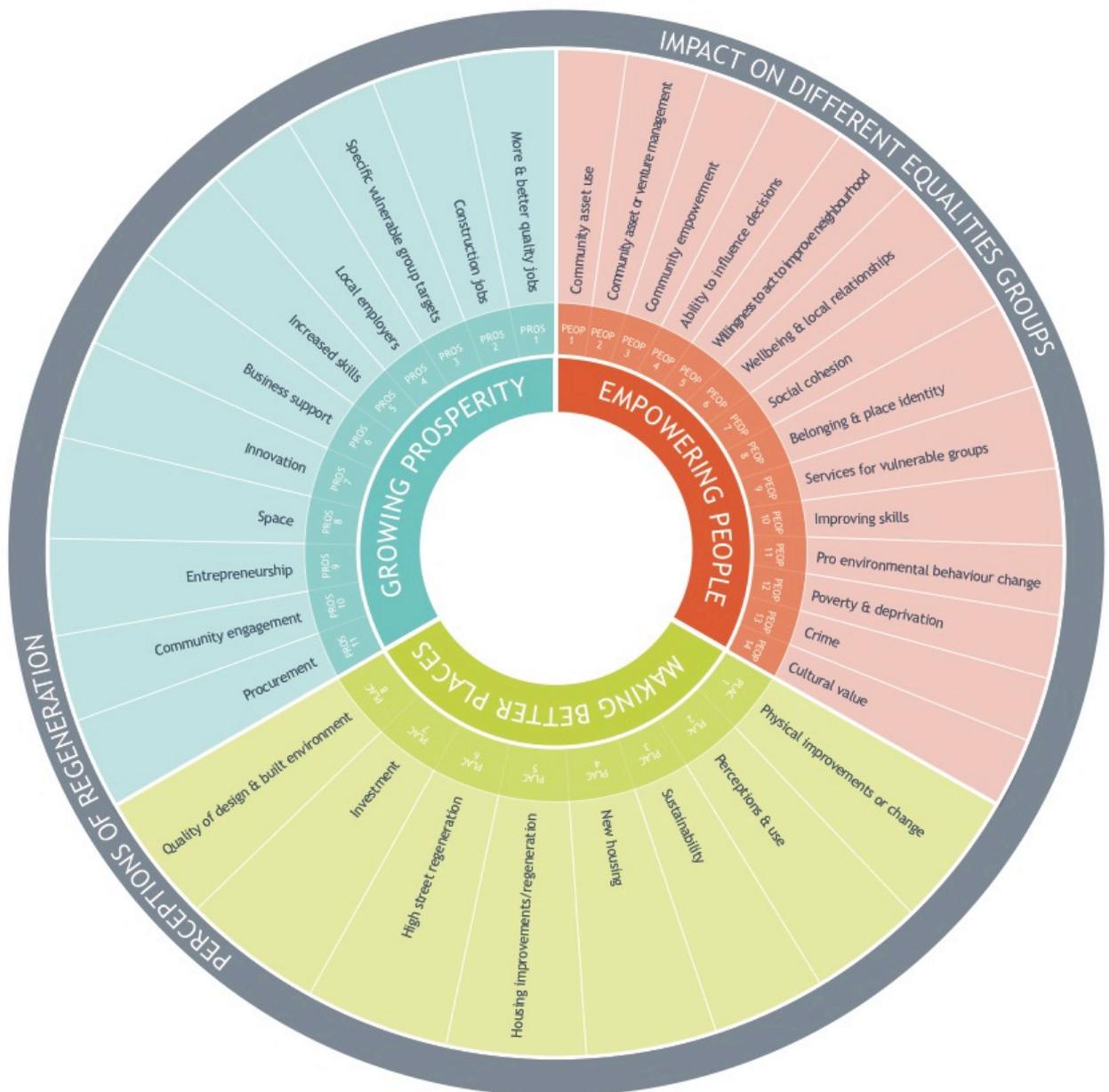
The social value framework

3.3 Applying the framework to the typology of regeneration activities

The table below shows the areas of monitoring that will be relevant to different regeneration activities, grouped by typology.

Where a colour is darker, it is highly likely that this area of monitoring will be relevant to the type of activity, lighter colours indicate possible relevance.

A long list of potential indicators is included as an Appendix.

SOCIAL LIFE

| Category	Code	Indicator	High street regeneration	Estate regeneration	New housing development	Economic & employability
PEOPLE	PEOP1	Community asset use	light red	red		
	PEOP2	Community asset or venture management	light red	light red		
	PEOP3	Community empowerment	light red	red	red	
	PEOP4	Ability to influence decisions	light red	red	red	
	PEOP5	Willingness to act to improve neighbourhood		red	red	
	PEOP6	Wellbeing & local relationships	red	red	red	light red
	PEOP7	Social cohesion	light red	red	red	
	PEOP8	Belonging and place identity	red	red	red	
	PEOP9	Services for vulnerable groups		light red	light red	red
	PEOP10	Improving skills		light red	light red	light red
	PEOP11	Pro environmental behaviour change	light red		light red	
	PEOP12	Poverty and deprivation	light red	red	light red	red
	PEOP13	Crime	red	red	light red	
	PEOP14	Cultural value	red		light red	
PROSPERITY	PROS1	More and better quality jobs	teal	light cyan		teal
	PROS2	Construction jobs		teal	teal	teal
	PROS3	Local employers	teal	cyan	cyan	teal
	PROS4	Increased in-work skills	cyan	cyan	cyan	teal
	PROS5	Business support	teal	cyan		teal
	PROS6	Innovation				cyan
	PROS7	Space				
	PROS8	Entrepreneurship	cyan			teal
	PROS 9	Business support for community organisations	cyan	teal	teal	teal
	PROS 10	Procurement		teal	teal	cyan
PLACE	PLAC1	Physical improvements or change	green	green	green	
	PLAC2	Perceptions and use	green	green	green	green
	PLAC3	Sustainability	light green	green	green	
	PLAC4	New housing		green	green	
	PLAC5	Housing Improvement		green	green	
	PLAC6	High Street regeneration	green			
	PLAC7	Investment		green	green	
	PLAC8	Quality of design of the built environment	green	green	green	
OVER-ARCHING	OVER1	Impact on different equalities groups	light blue	blue	blue	blue
	OVER2	Perceptions of regeneration	blue	blue	blue	light blue
	OVER3	Strategic partnerships & resources	light blue	blue	blue	blue

Monitoring by type of regeneration activity

# Appendix 1: Residents' survey demographic breakdown

Source for all ward and borough data is Haringey ward profiles, produced by Strategy and Business Intelligence (2013), based on ONS Census 2011.[64]

## Ethnicity, residents, visitors & online survey
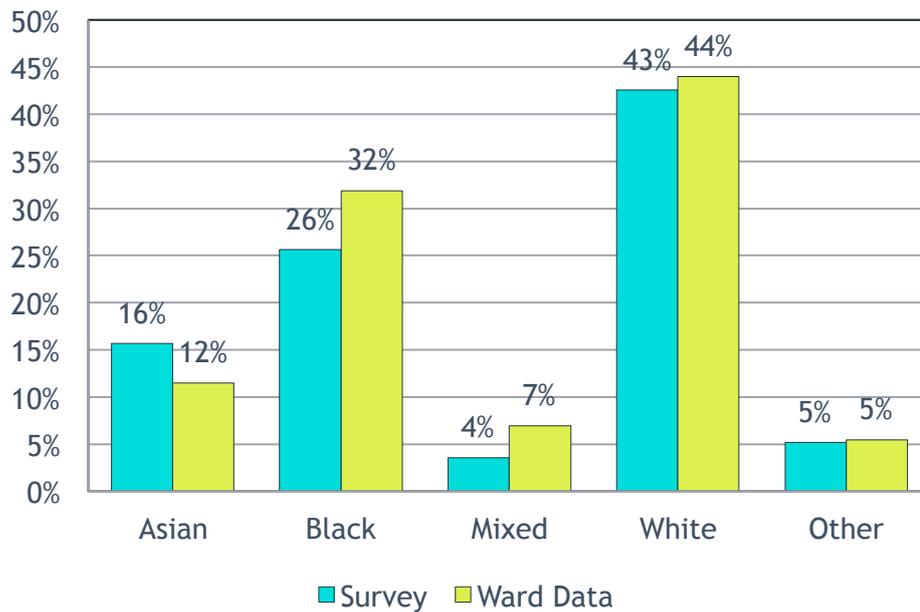

**Bruce Grove, Ethnicity**

N=77
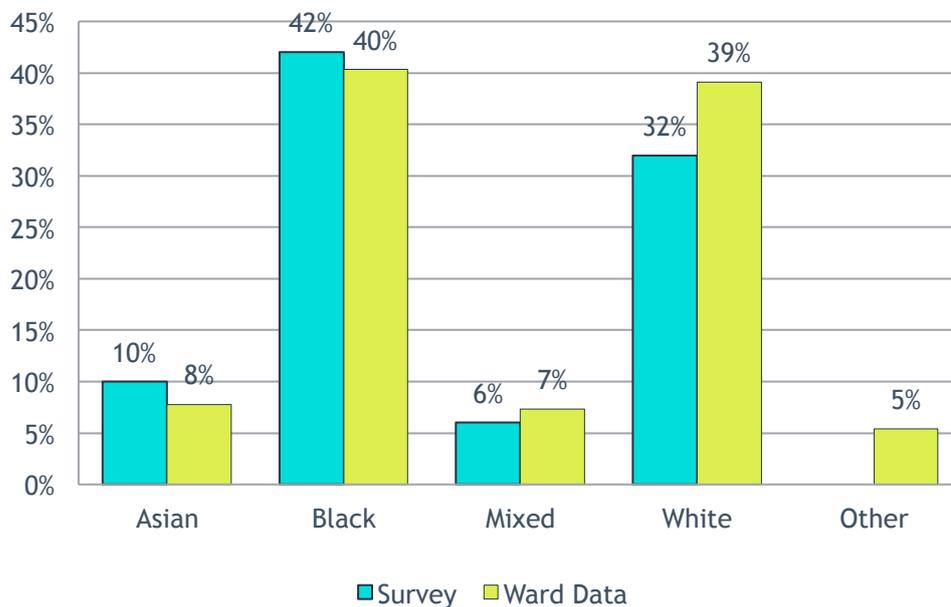
Love Lane, Ethnicity

*N=28*
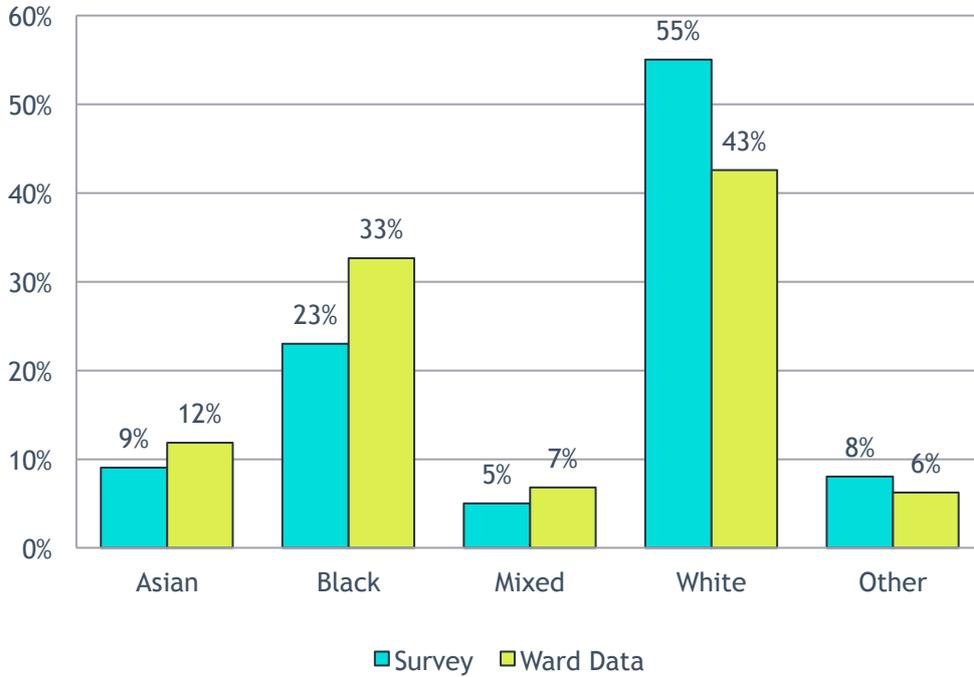
Hale Village, Ethnicity

N=64
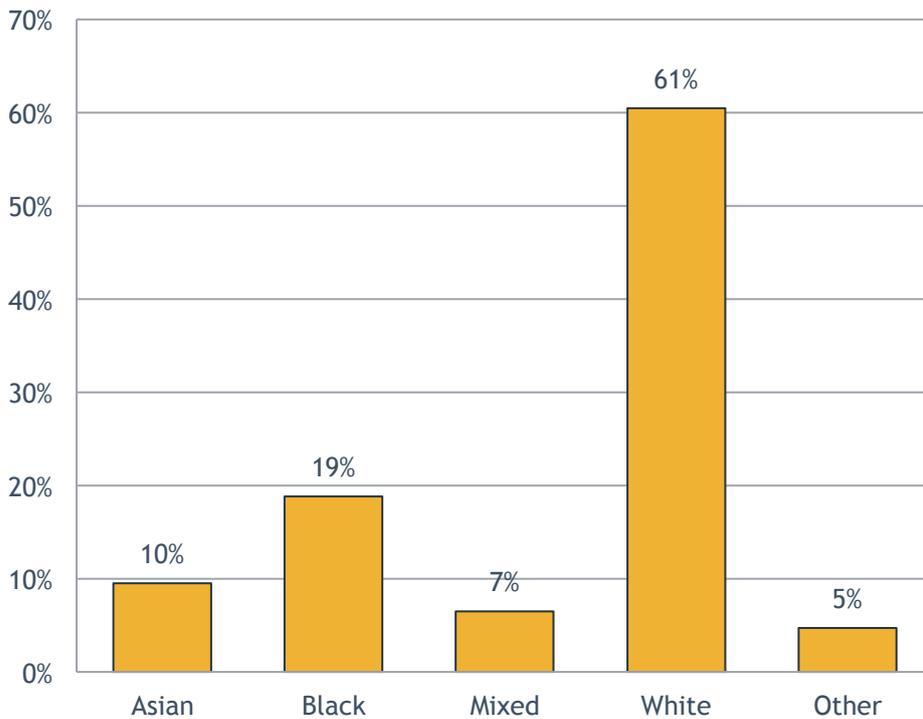
Haringey Census Data, Ethnicity

Age, residents & visitors
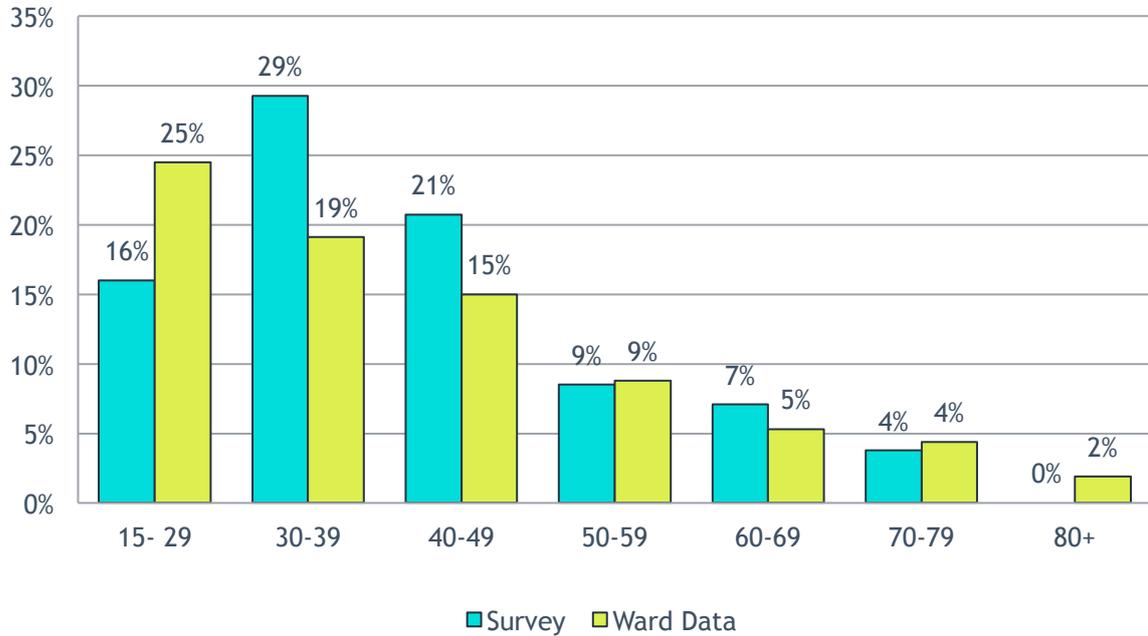

Bruce Grove, Age

N=49
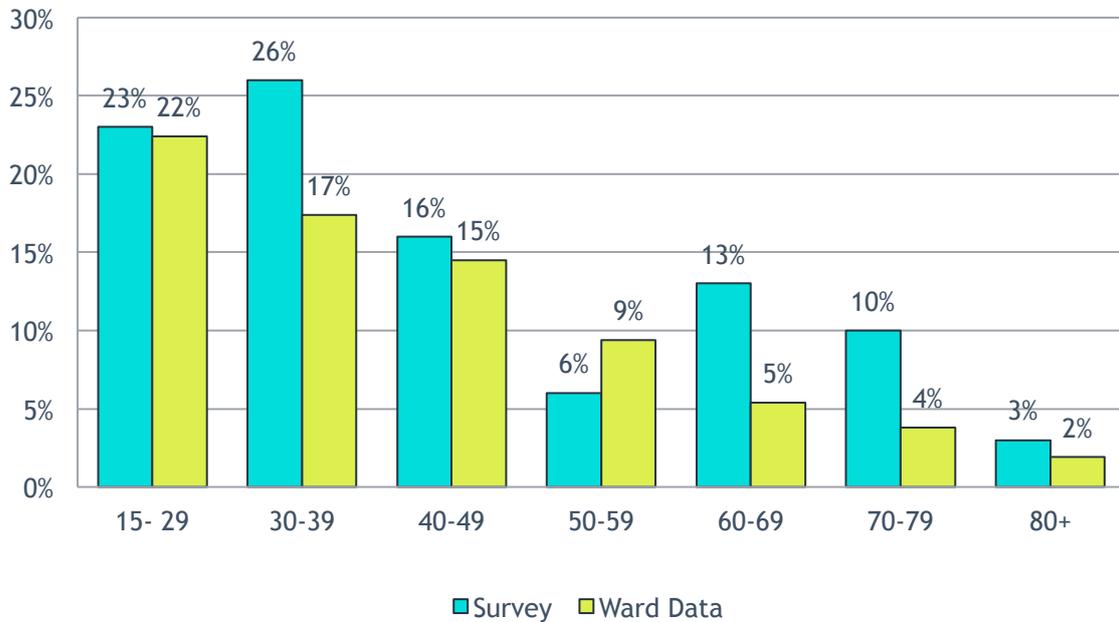
Love Lane, Age

N=30
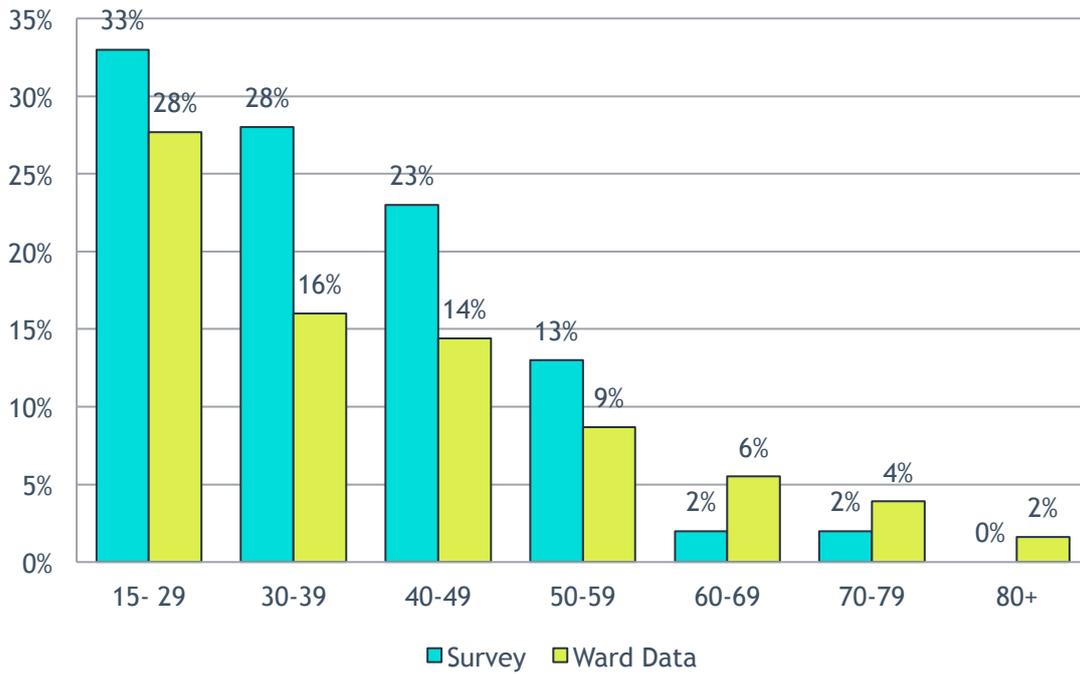
**Hale Village, Age**

N=64
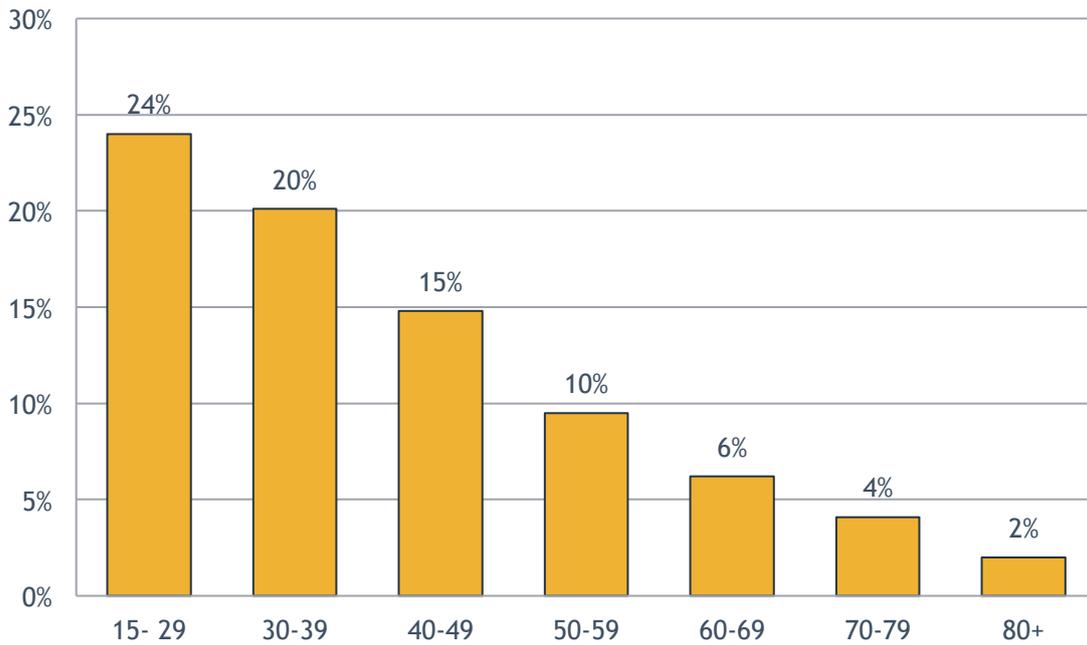
Haringey Census Data, Age

Employment, residents & visitors
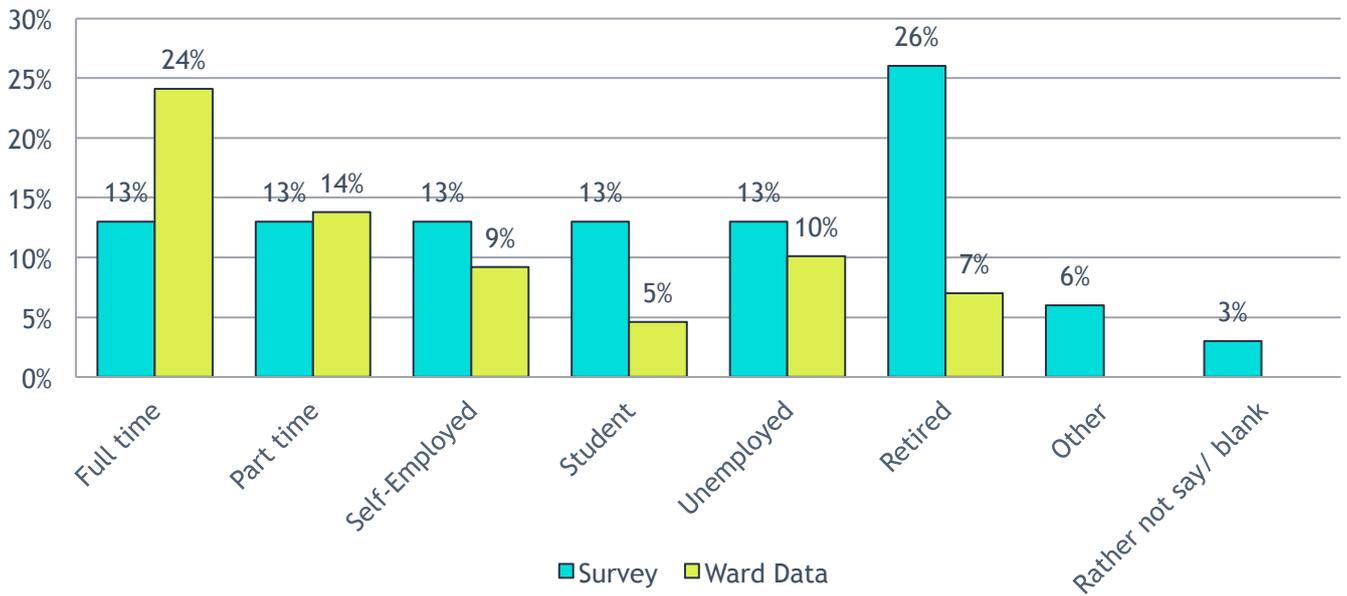
Bruce Grove Data, Employment

N=39
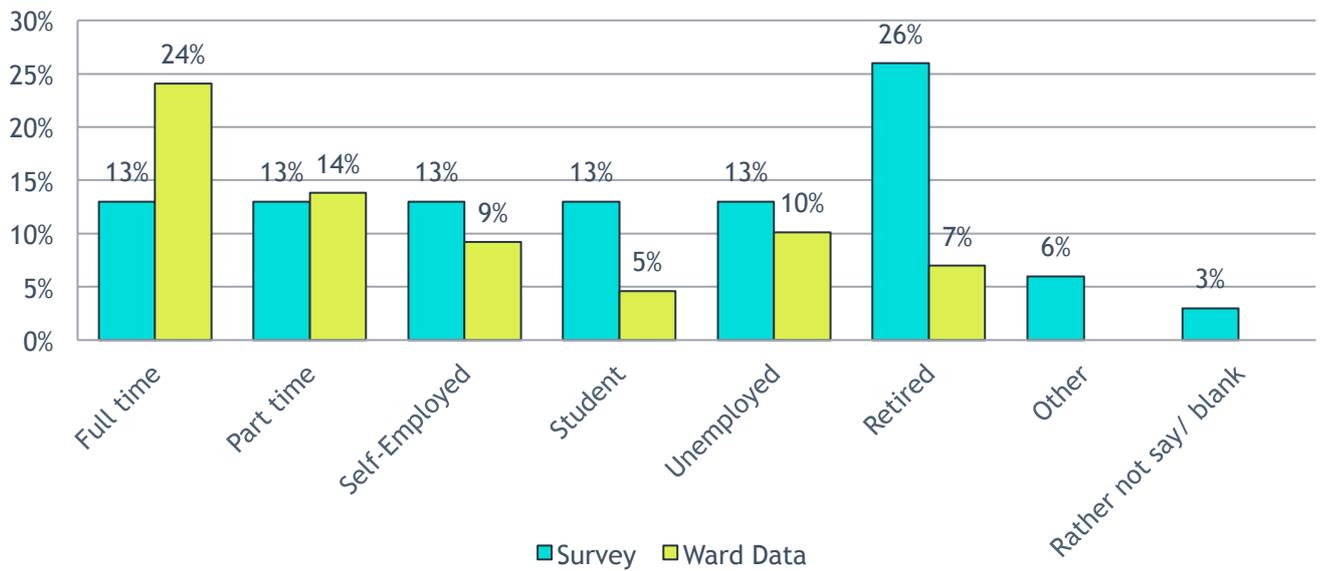
Love Lane Data, Employment

N=30
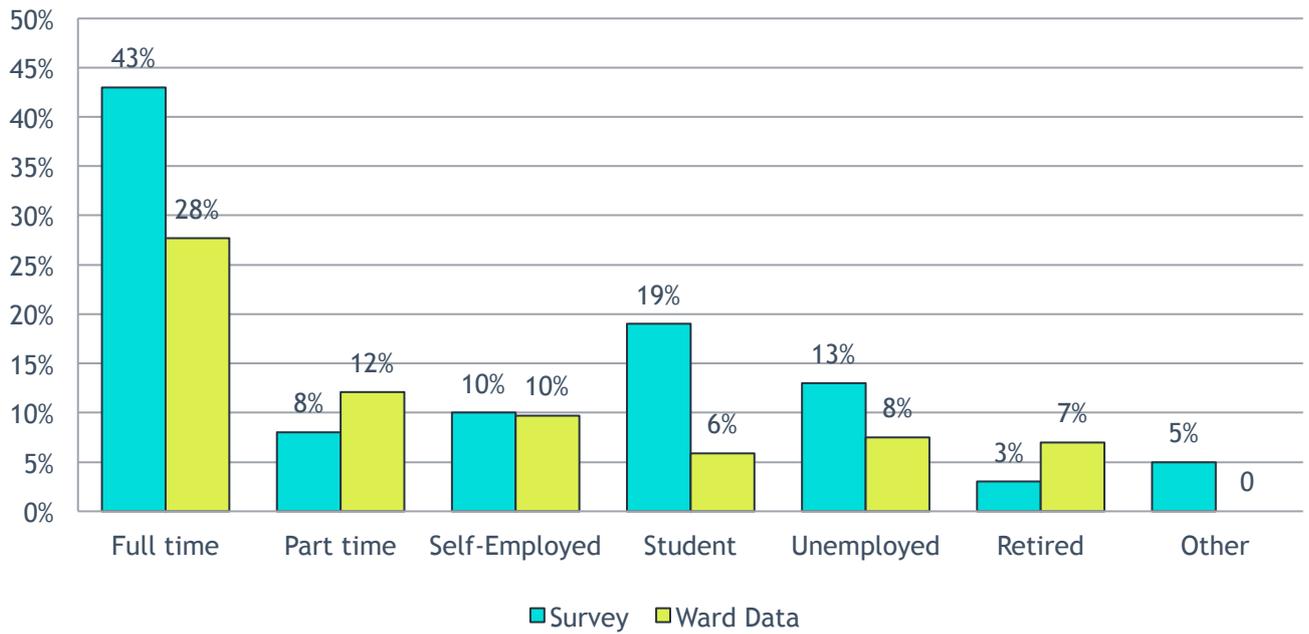
Hale Village Data, Employment

N=63
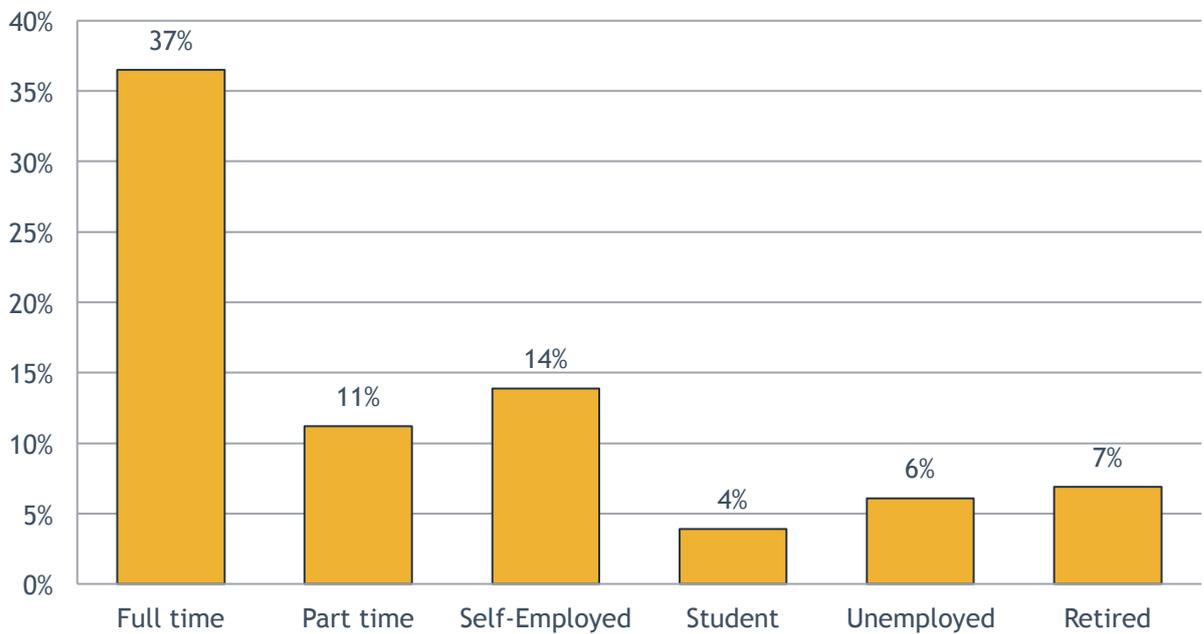
Haringey Census Data, Employment

Tenure, residents & visitors
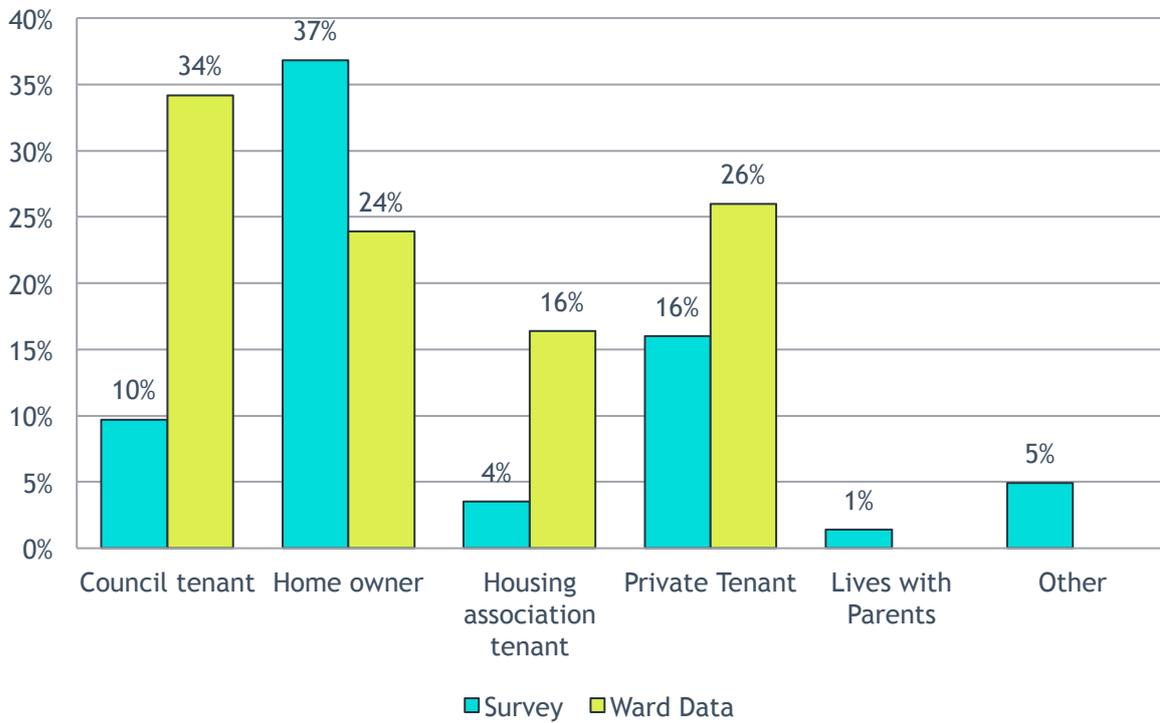
Bruce Grove Data, Tenure

N=38
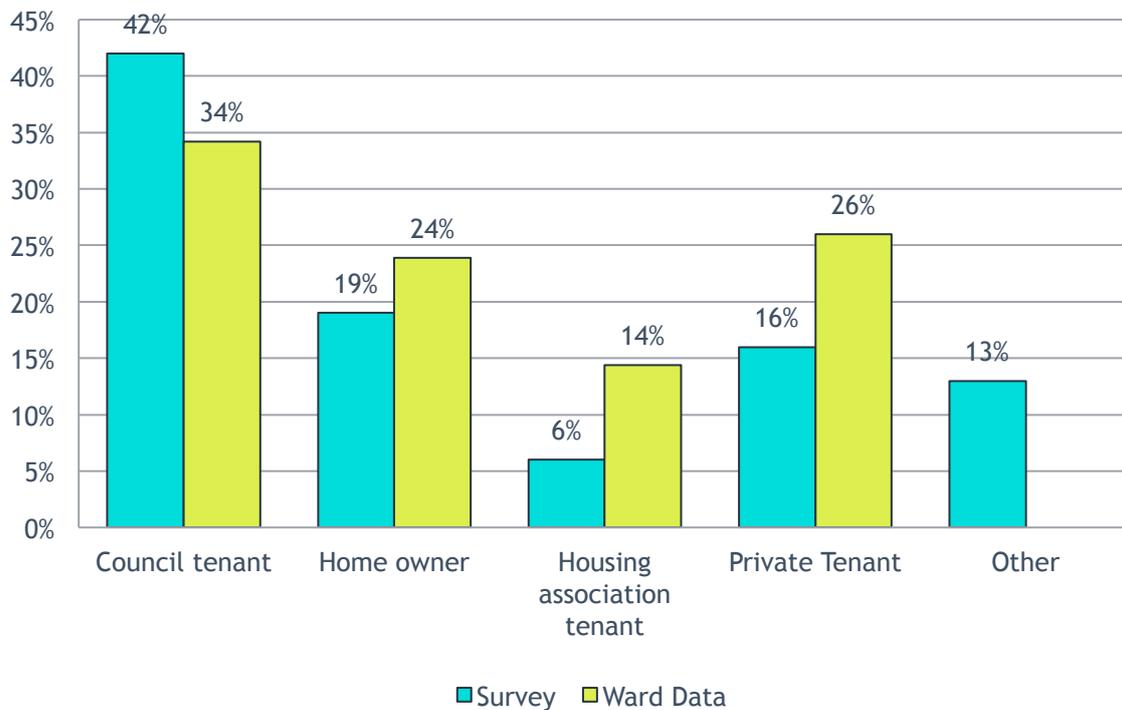
Love Lane Data, Tenure

N=30
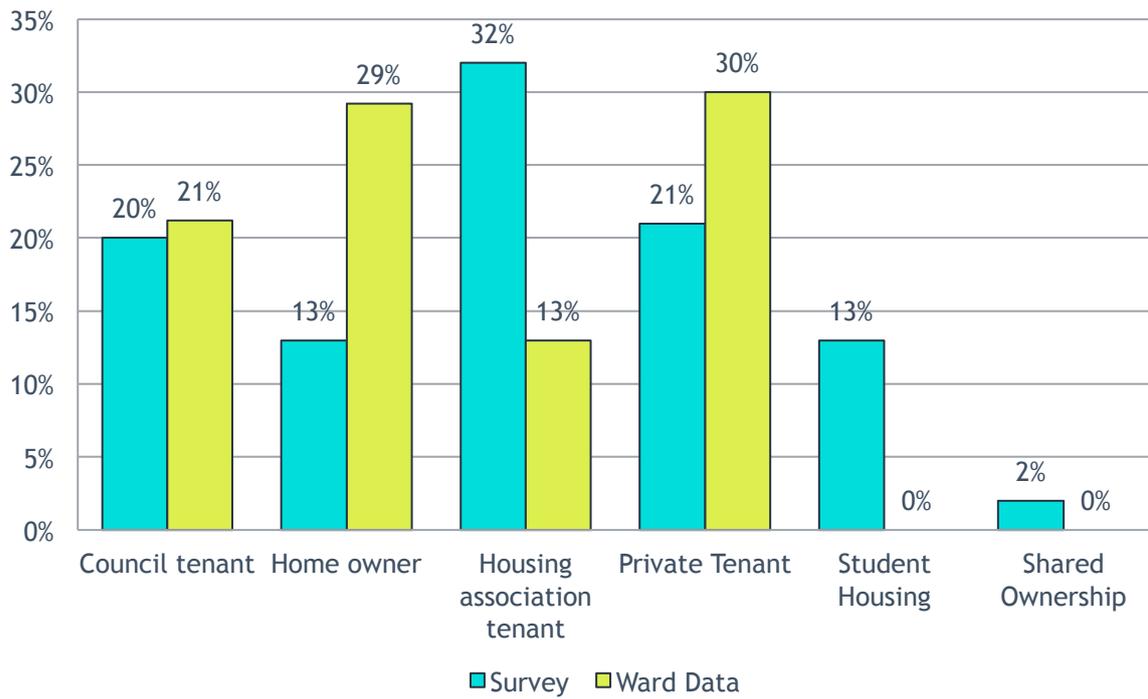
Hale Village Data, Tenure

N=56

Length of time resident
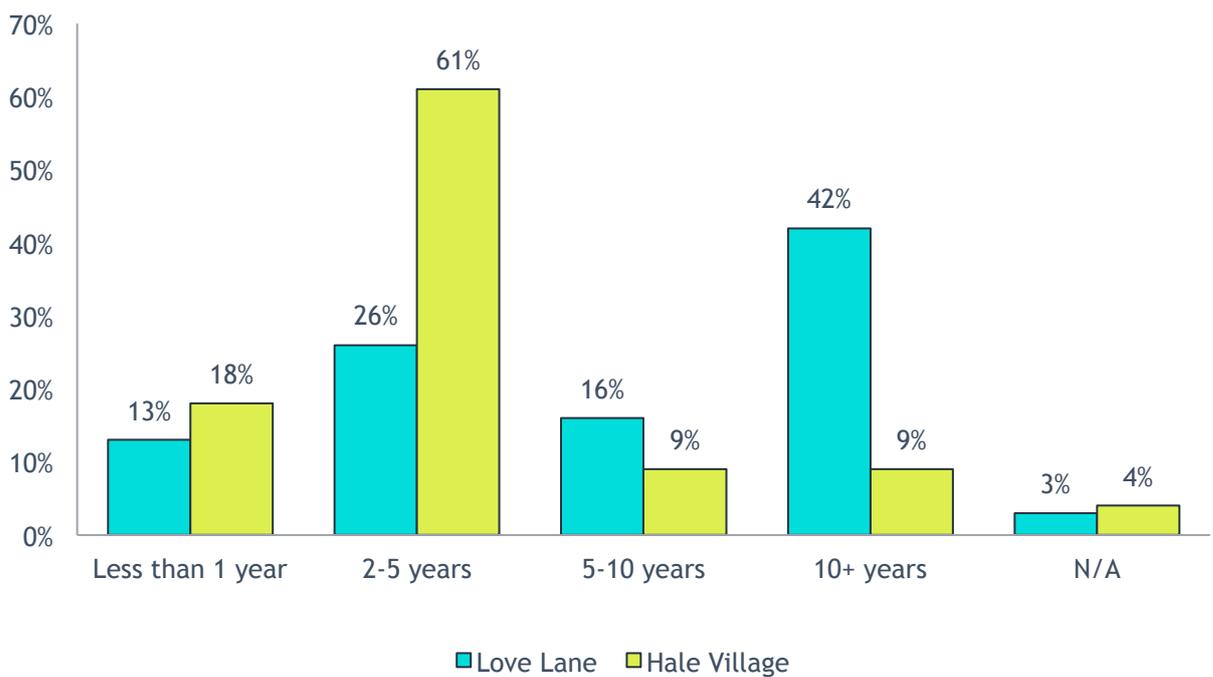
Love Lane and Hale Village, Length of time resident

Hale Village N=56, Love Lane N=30

Connection to the area, residents & visitors
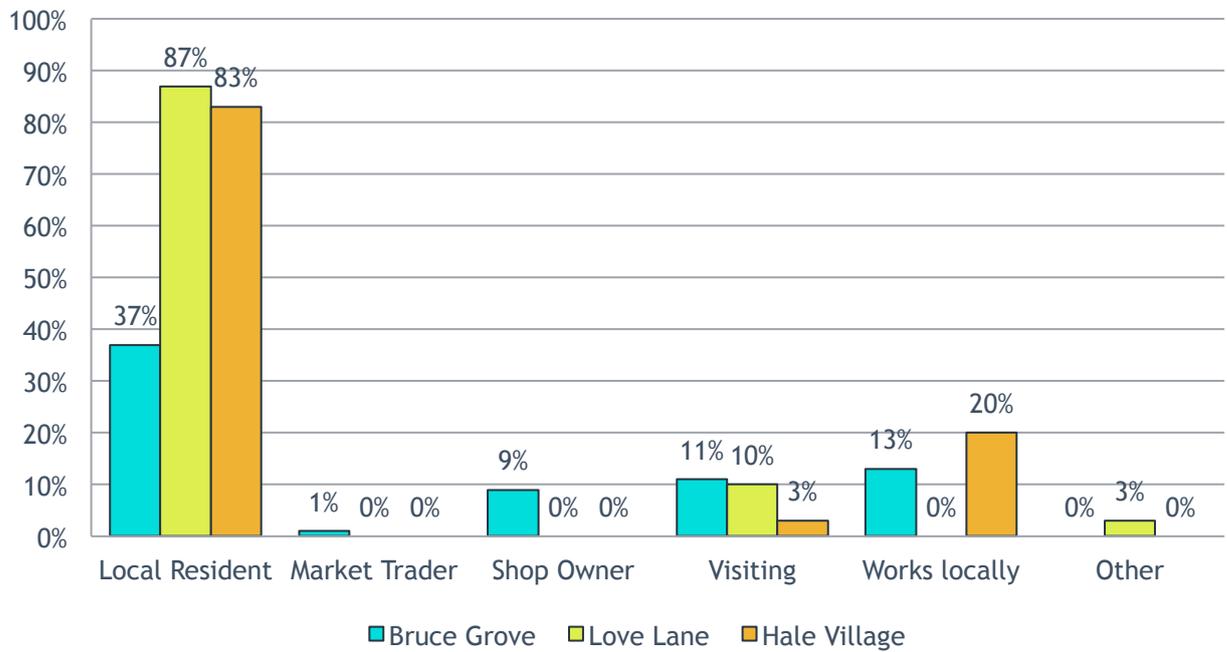
Bruce Grove, Love Lane and Hale Village, Connection to area

Bruce Grove N=39, Hale Village N=64, Love Lane N=31

Excludes online respondents

Appendix 2: The long list of possible indicators

EMPOWERING PEOPLE

| INDICATOR GROUP	NO	INDICATOR	HOW TO MEASURE	Unit	HEALTH WARNING	Associated indicators in People dimension	Associated indicators in other dimensions	Potential duplications to be avoided
PEOP1								
Community asset use	1.1	Numbers of users	Sign in / registrations /includes indicators for equalities and vulnerable groups	No of people	Challenge of registering people or challenging them to sign in being a barrier for some people. Process must be kept to a minimum - ideally a registration and card system would allow the organisation to know who was using the building at any one time	1.2, 1.3, 2.1, 2.2, 2.3, 2.4	PLAC 1.8, 1.10, 1.11, 7.1, 7.3	PLAC2.4, 2.5
	1.2	Number of new users	Sign in / registrations /includes indicators for equalities and vulnerable groups	No of people	As above - would require new users to register, collecting equalities info at this time	1.1, 1.3, 2.1, 2.2, 2.3, 2.4	PLAC 1.8, 1.10, 1.11, 7.1, 7.3	
	1.3	Numbers accessing cultural activities through community asset	Sign in / registrations	No of people	These could include informal cultural events taking place in a public place - so it might be more difficult/less practical to collect information about participants	1.2, 1.2, 2.1, 2.2, 2.3, 2.4	PLAC 2.1	
PEOP2								
Community asset or venture management	2.1	Numbers directly involved in decisions of community asset or venture	Participation in consultation/engagement event / trustees/volunteers/staff involved in decisions	No of people	Might need some further research to show how inclusive the decision-making processes are and how consultation/engagement has impact on the decisions made	3.1		PLAC2.9, 2.10
	2.2	Involved in the management/running of community asset	Number of trustees, staff and volunteers	No of people	Might need some further research to show how inclusive the decision-making processes are	10.8, 10.10	PROS 1.2, 1.3, 1.4, 1.5, 10	
	2.3	Numbers aware of community asset (derive understanding of wider community awareness of the asset)	Survey of residents to show awareness levels of community asset	No of people	Involves expensive research - would need to be tied to wider resident research project			
	2.4	Sustainability of community asset or venture strengthened	Measure activity eg legal structure in place, business plan, growth in income/turnover, income generation etc	Count activities	Needs to show indicators as part of a framework and might require some distance travelled work with the organisation - which has a time implications		PROS 1.4, 10 PLAC 7.1, 7.3	
PEOP3								
Community empowerment	3.1	Numbers given the opportunity to influence decisions	Estimates of population reach (online and offline) of consultation opportunity, including specific measures to reach more disadvantaged group	No of people	Only provides a indication of signal sent and not whether it has registered or understood	3.2, 3.3, 3.4, 3.5		PLAC2.9, 2.10
	3.2	Numbers contributing to engagement exercises	Collection of participant's details online and offline	No of people	Might need to set out an understand on the different scales of participation/engagement (differentiate from someone heavily involved to a web-click)	3.1, 3.3, 3.4, 3.5, 4.1, 4.2, 4.3		
	3.3	Numbers contributing to a specific decision	Collection of participant's details online and offline	No of people	Might also need verification that a given individual felt that they could influence the decision	3.1, 3.2, 3.4, 3.5, 4.1, 4.2, 4.3		
	3.4	Numbers contributing to design of projects/services	Collection of participant's details online and offline	No of people	Might also need verification that a given individual felt that they could influence process of product design	3.1, 3.2, 3.3, 3.5, 4.1, 4.2, 4.3		

	3.5	Products/projects/services developed through co-design	Count new products, projects and products developed using this approach, provide evidence of co-designing process and activities etc	No of initiatives	May need clarity on what constitutes co-design / need evidence that plans have been implemented	3.1, 3.2, 3.3, 3.4, 4.1, 4.2, 4.3		
	3.6	Community events	Measure activity	Dates, times of events, details of advertising etc	May need clarity on what constitutes a "community event" at the same time as encouraging (perhaps more natural) informal events to occur	8.1, 8.2, 8.3, 8.4, 8.8		
	3.7	Improved ambitions and aspirations as a result of specific regeneration projects	Surveys with users/beneficiaries	Qualitative evidence	Care needs to be taken to make sure it is meaningful and comparable within initiatives, data over time would be preferable	6.1		
PEOP4								
Ability to influence decisions	4.1	Number of residents, business and other stakeholders from different backgrounds taking part in opportunities to shape local decisions	Measure activity	No of people		2.1, 3, 7	3.1	
	4.2	Residents sense of ability to influence local decisions	Survey, benchmarked against national data	Residents' perceptions	Can benchmark against Community Life Survey analysed to OAC categories	2.1, 3	3.1	
	4,3	Residents, business and other stakeholders sense of ability to influence regeneration scheme	Survey	Change in perception	Survey	2.1, 3	3.1	
PEOP5								
Willingness to act to improve neighbourhood	5.1	Whether agree or disagree that people in this neighbourhood pull together to improve the neighbourhood	Survey, benchmarked against national data	Residents' perceptions	Can benchmark against Community Life Survey analysed to OAC categories	4.2, 4.3	3.1	
	5.2	Willing to improve neighbourhood	Survey, benchmarked against national data	Residents' perceptions	Can benchmark against Understanding Society Survey analysed to OAC categories	4.2, 4.3	3.1	
	5.3	Volunteering on place based initiates	Numbers, survey	No of people			PROS 2.2	
	5.4	Volunteering by different groups on place based initiatives	Numbers, survey	No of people		7	PROS 2.2	
PEOP6								
Wellbeing & local relationships	6.1	Wellbeing	Benchmarked social sustainability exercise OR Warwick Edinburgh OR ONS indicator set	Residents' perceptions	Pros and cons of different measurements: ONS indicator set more familiar to policy makers, Warwick Edinburgh lengthier but powerful. Shorter quality of life single question is useful but less robust.	6		
	6.2	Feel have been playing a useful role	Survey, benchmarked against national data	Residents' perceptions	Can benchmark against Understanding Society Survey analysed to OAC categories	6		
	6.3	General happiness	Survey, benchmarked against national data	Residents' perceptions	Can benchmark against Understanding Society Survey analysed to OAC categories	6		
	6.4	How managing financially now	Survey, benchmarked against national data	Residents' perceptions	Can benchmark against Understanding Society Survey analysed to OAC categories	6		
	6.5	Satisfaction with life overall	Survey, benchmarked against national data	Residents' perceptions	Can benchmark against Understanding Society Survey analysed to OAC categories	6		
	6.6	Ability to seek advice locally	Survey, benchmarked against national data	Residents' perceptions	Can benchmark against Understanding Society Survey analysed to OAC categories	6		
	6.7	Perceptions of safety during night and day	Survey, benchmarked against national data	Residents' perceptions	Can benchmark against Crime Survey England and Wales analysed to OAC categories	6, 15	PLAC 6.12	
	6.8	Can borrow things from neighbours	Survey, benchmarked against national data	Residents' perceptions	Can benchmark against Understanding Society Survey analysed to OAC categories	6		
	6.9	Perception that local friends mean a lot	Survey, benchmarked against national data	Residents' perceptions	Can benchmark against Understanding Society Survey analysed to OAC categories	r		

	6.10	Talk regularly to neighbours	Survey, benchmarked against national data	Residents' perceptions	Can benchmark against Understanding Society Survey analysed to OAC categories	6		
	6.11	Trust in people living in neighbourhood	Survey, benchmarked against national data	Residents' perceptions	Can benchmark against Understanding Society Survey analysed to OAC categories	6		
	6.12	Engagement with fitness and wellbeing activities	Count of activity by providers	No of people	Need to check reach of activities	6		
	6.13	Claimants receiving ESA citing mental health conditions	From providers	No of people		6		
PEOP7								
Social cohesion	7.1	Number of people involved in projects that bring together people from different backgrounds	Needs a framework to guide measurement - e.g. resident young than 25 working with resident over 65. It could be a standard participant question on exiting a project	No of people	Will be difficult to collect outside of very specific projects (e.g. intergenerational)		3.1	
	7.2	Perceptions of quality of relationships with people from different backgrounds	Survey, benchmarked against national data	Residents' perceptions	Can benchmark against Understanding Society Survey analysed to OAC categories	6	3.1	
	7.3	To what extent do you agree or disagree that this local area is a place where people from different backgrounds get on well together?	Survey, benchmarked against national data	Residents' perceptions	Can benchmark against Understanding Society Survey analysed to OAC categories	6	3.1	
	7.4	Trust in other local residents	Survey, benchmarked against national data	Residents' perceptions	Can benchmark against Understanding Society Survey analysed to OAC categories	6	3.1	
	7.5	Feel similar to others in neighbourhood	Survey, benchmarked against national data	Residents' perceptions	Can benchmark against Understanding Society Survey analysed to OAC categories	6		
PEOP8								
Belonging and place identity	8.1	Sense of belonging	Survey, benchmarked against national data	Residents' perceptions	Can benchmark against Understanding Society Survey analysed to OAC categories	3.6, 6		
	8.2	Satisfaction with local area	Survey, benchmarked against national data	Residents' perceptions	Can benchmark against Understanding Society Survey analysed to OAC categories	6		
	8.3	Numbers of users participating in activity/event promoting the identity of a place	Sign in / registrations	No of people	These could include informal events taking place in a public place - so it might be more difficult/less practical to collect information about participants	3.6, 6, 8.1		
	8.4	Number of activities/events promoting the identity of a place	Count of activity by providers/organisers	No of initiatives	Require tight definitions to be meaningful	3.6, 6		
	8.5	Cultural organisations involve increased numbers of local people	Sign in / registrations	No of people	Requires a baseline so that this can be benchmarked. Might place onerous monitoring procedures on small organisations.	8.1		
	8.6	Numbers of people accessing existing cultural organisations for the first time	Sign in / registrations	No of people	Might place onerous monitoring procedures on small organisations	8.1	9.1, 9,2	
	8.7	Number of cultural events taking place in new settings	Count of activity by providers/organisers	No of initiatives	Require tight definitions to be meaningful	8.1	9.1, 9,2	
	8.8	Number of people accessing cultural events in new settings	Sign in / registrations	No of people	These could include informal events taking place in a public place - so it might be more difficult/less practical to collect information about participants	3.6, 8.1	9.1, 9,2	
PEOP9								
Services for vulnerable groups	9.1	Numbers of users of services for vulnerable groups	Count of use by providers/organisers	No of people	Definition by project leaves open the possibility of gaming, preference for "low hanging fruit"	2.5, 2.9, 2.10, 12.7		
	9.2	Users given increased capacity to meet their own needs, wants and aspirations	Distance travelled methods - goals set at outset and subsequently benchmarked	Distance travelled	Need guidance on measures, eg use outcome stars or SDQ for young people.	2.5, 2.9, 2.10, 12.7		

	6.10	Talk regularly to neighbours	Survey, benchmarked against national data	Residents' perceptions	Can benchmark against Understanding Society Survey analysed to OAC categories	6		
	6.11	Trust in people living in neighbourhood	Survey, benchmarked against national data	Residents' perceptions	Can benchmark against Understanding Society Survey analysed to OAC categories	6		
	6.12	Engagement with fitness and wellbeing activities	Count of activity by providers	No of people	Need to check reach of activities	6		
	6.13	Claimants receiving ESA citing mental health conditions	From providers	No of people		6		
PEOP7								
Social cohesion	7.1	Number of people involved in projects that bring together people from different backgrounds	Needs a framework to guide measurement - e.g. resident young than 25 working with resident over 65. It could be a standard participant question on exiting a project	No of people	Will be difficult to collect outside of very specific projects (e.g. intergenerational)		3.1	
	7.2	Perceptions of quality of relationships with people from different backgrounds	Survey, benchmarked against national data	Residents' perceptions	Can benchmark against Understanding Society Survey analysed to OAC categories	6	3.1	
	7.3	To what extent do you agree or disagree that this local area is a place where people from different backgrounds get on well together?	Survey, benchmarked against national data	Residents' perceptions	Can benchmark against Understanding Society Survey analysed to OAC categories	6	3.1	
	7.4	Trust in other local residents	Survey, benchmarked against national data	Residents' perceptions	Can benchmark against Understanding Society Survey analysed to OAC categories	6	3.1	
	7.5	Feel similar to others in neighbourhood	Survey, benchmarked against national data	Residents' perceptions	Can benchmark against Understanding Society Survey analysed to OAC categories	6		
PEOP8								
Belonging and place identity	8.1	Sense of belonging	Survey, benchmarked against national data	Residents' perceptions	Can benchmark against Understanding Society Survey analysed to OAC categories	3.6, 6		
	8.2	Satisfaction with local area	Survey, benchmarked against national data	Residents' perceptions	Can benchmark against Understanding Society Survey analysed to OAC categories	6		
	8.3	Numbers of users participating in activity/event promoting the identity of a place	Sign in / registrations	No of people	These could include informal events taking place in a public place - so it might be more difficult/less practical to collect information about participants	3.6, 6, 8.1		
	8.4	Number of activities/events promoting the identity of a place	Count of activity by providers/organisers	No of initiatives	Require tight definitions to be meaningful	3.6, 6		
	8.5	Cultural organisations involve increased numbers of local people	Sign in / registrations	No of people	Requires a baseline so that this can be benchmarked. Might place onerous monitoring procedures on small organisations.	8.1		
	8.6	Numbers of people accessing existing cultural organisations for the first time	Sign in / registrations	No of people	Might place onerous monitoring procedures on small organisations	8.1	9.1, 9,2	
	8.7	Number of cultural events taking place in new settings	Count of activity by providers/organisers	No of initiatives	Require tight definitions to be meaningful	8.1	9.1, 9,2	
	8.8	Number of people accessing cultural events in new settings	Sign in / registrations	No of people	These could include informal events taking place in a public place - so it might be more difficult/less practical to collect information about participants	3.6, 8.1	9.1, 9,2	
PEOP9								
Services for vulnerable groups	9.1	Numbers of users of services for vulnerable groups	Count of use by providers/organisers	No of people	Definition by project leaves open the possibility of gaming, preference for "low hanging fruit"	2.5, 2.9, 2.10, 12.7		
	9.2	Users given increased capacity to meet their own needs, wants and aspirations	Distance travelled methods - goals set at outset and subsequently benchmarked	Distance travelled	Need guidance on measures, eg use outcome stars or SDQ for young people.	2.5, 2.9, 2.10, 12.7		

PEOP10									
Improving skills	10.1	Numbers of learners supported	Provider count	No of people	Can encourage focus on "low hanging fruit". Learners registering on support courses, equalities info and details of whether they are in "vulnerable group". Also individual goals and action plan in place			1.2	10.2, PROS 4.2, 4.3
	10.2	Numbers of learners retained until completion	Provider count	No of people	Can encourage focus on "low hanging fruit". Can encourage focus on "low hanging fruit". Only denotes that they participated on course and not that it impacted on skills			1.2	10.2
	10.3	Numbers of learners with increased soft skills	Provider count	No of people	Can encourage focus on "low hanging fruit". Distance travelled methods - goals set at outset and subsequently benchmarked			1.2	
	10.4	Numbers of learners with improved basic skills	Provider count	No of people	Can encourage focus on "low hanging fruit".			1.2, PROS 10.1	PROS 10.1
	10.5	Numbers of learners achieving an accredited qualification	Provider count	No of people	Can encourage focus on "low hanging fruit". Important that the accredited skills gained are being demanded by employers (could be linked to skills shortages and priorities)			1.2, PROS 10.1	PROS 10.1
	10.6	Numbers of learners progressing into work	Provider count	No of people	Can encourage focus on "low hanging fruit". Participant needs to be motivated to keep in contact with the project rep and follow up on needed paperwork			1.2	PLAC 1.1/1.2 etc
	10.7	Numbers of learners progressing into further skills development	Provider count	No of people	Can encourage focus on "low hanging fruit". Participant needs to be motivated to keep in contact with the project			1.2	PROS 10.1
	10.8	Numbers of learners progressing into volunteering	Evidence individual has progressed into a volunteering role (e.g. letter from third sector organisation)	No of people	Can encourage focus on "low hanging fruit". Participant needs to be motivated to keep in contact with the project	5.16, 5.17		1.2, PROS 2.2	PROS 10.2
	10.9	Numbers of learners taking part in world of work experiences/insight days	Evidence individual has progressed into a volunteering role (e.g. letter from third sector organisation)	No of people	Participant needs to be motivated to keep in contact with the project. Can encourage focus on "low hanging fruit".	5.16, 5.17		1.2, PROS 2.2	
	10.10	Increase in uptake of paid work experience placements and internships	Evidence from organisation that hosted placement	No of people	Need benchmark. Need to screen out unpaid internships		PROS 2.2		
	10.11	No. of people receiving x hours of IAG and associated employability support		No of people	Can encourage focus on "low hanging fruit".			1.2	
	10.12	Improvement in teaching and learning	OFSTED, DoE, schools data	Schools performance measures	Does not reflect demographic change and one off factors related to specific schools/colleges			1.2	
	10.13	Improvement in KS1 and KS2 results, RWM	DoE, schools data	Test/exam results	Does not reflect demographic change and one off factors related to specific schools/colleges				
	10.14	GCSE A* to C or 4-9 attainment	DoE, schools data	Test/exam results					
	10.15	Improved educational outcomes across all areas but particularly LEP priority sectors including STEM (Science, Technology, Engineering & Maths)	STEM Educational outcomes	Test/exam results	Need guidance on LEP priority sectors			1.2	

10.16	Increase in the number of students in local priority training sectors	Count by training providers	No of people			1.2	
10.17	Changing rate of school exclusions	Schools data	No of children/young people	Reflects practice of individual schools, does not take account of demographic change			
10.18	Working age population qualified to NVQ3	NOMIS	No of people	Does not take account of demographic change			
10.19	Progression to Russell Group Universities	Schools data	No of people	Does not take account of demographic change			
PEOP11	Transport						
Pro environmental behaviour change 11.1	Decrease in car use	Survey of residents/target group	No of journeys	Could benchmark against British Social Attitudes Survey	2.1		
11.2	Increased cycling	Survey of residents/target group	No of journeys	Could benchmark against British Social Attitudes Survey			
11.3	Increased walking	Survey of residents/target group	No of journeys	Could benchmark against British Social Attitudes Survey			
11.4	Increased public transport use	Survey of residents/target group	No of journeys	Could benchmark against British Social Attitudes Survey			
PEOP12							
POVERTY & DEPRIVATION 12.1	IMD	ONS	IMD score	Takes no account of changing demographics			
12.2	IMD Income and employment domain	ONS	IMD score	Takes no account of changing demographics	12.1		
12.3	Free school meals/pupil premium	Schools data	No of children/young people	Universal credit is creating eligibility problems. Does not take account of changing demographics	12.1		
12.4	Median/average weekly earnings for full time workers	ONS	Average earnings	Takes no account of changing demographics	12.1		
12.5	NEET and "not known" 16-18 year olds	Local authority statistics	No of people	Need to know length of time NEET or unknown to be meaningful	12.1		
12.6	Disability Living Allowance (DLA) numbers	NOMIS	No of people	Takes no account of changing demographics	9, 12.1, 12.8		
12.7	Vulnerable people supported to live independently	Housing providers, VCS, social care services data	No of people	Takes no account of changing demographics	9		
12.8	Limiting long-term illnesses	Survey	No of people	Census data is from 2011 and outdated	12.6		
12.9	Life expectancy	ONS	Years	Annual data. Need to take account of changing demographics. Pay attention to gap between Tottenham and rest of Haringey and look at small local areas. Need benchmark.	12.14		
12.10	Underage pregnancy reduced	ONS	No of people	Takes no account of changing demographics. Need benchmark	12.14		
12.11	Reduction in infant mortality	ONS	No of children	Takes no account of changing demographics. Need benchmark	12.14		
12.12	Childhood obesity at 10-11 and at 4-5	National Obesity Level	No of people	At MSOA level, annual. Takes no account of changing demographics	12.14		
12.13	Reduction in A and E visits	Health data	No of visits	Impact of government policy			
12.14	Health Deprivation and Disability domain	ONS	IMD score	Takes no account of changing demographics	12.8, 12.9, 12.10, 12.11, 12.12		
12.15	IMD Barriers to Housing and Services Domain ranking	ONS	IMD score	Takes no account of changing demographics	12.1		
12.16	IMD Living Environment Deprivation Domain ranking	ONS	IMD score	Takes no account of changing demographics	12.1		
PEOP13							

Crime	13.1	Rate of offences for robbery and violence against the person	Police statistics/British Crime Survey sample	No of offences	Need to be aware of difference reported and actual crime. Need breakdown by small area. Need benchmark.	13.2, 13.3, 13.4, 13.5	PLAC 6.12	
	13.2	CSE and gang activity reduced	Police statistics/British Crime Survey sample	No of offences	Need to be aware of difference reported and actual crime. Need breakdown by small area. Need benchmark.	13.1, 13.3, 13.4, 13.5	PLAC 6.13	
	13.3	Perception of crime (both by residents and reputation as perceived more broadly)	Residents survey	Perceptions	Need to be aware of difference reported and actual crime. Need breakdown by small area. Need benchmark. Can compare with Crime Survey England & Wales data	13.1, 13.2, 13.4, 13.5	PLAC 6.14	
	13.4	Domestic abuse violence with injury (VWI)	Police statistics/British Crime Survey sample	No of offences	Need to be aware of difference reported and actual crime. Need breakdown by small area. Need benchmark.	13.1, 13.2, 13.3, 13.5		
	13.5	Number of sexual offences committed	Police statistics/British Crime Survey sample	No of offences	Need to be aware of difference reported and actual crime. Need breakdown by small area. Need benchmark.	13.1, 13.2, 13.3, 13.4		

GROWING PROSPERITY

INDICATOR GROUP	NO	INDICATOR	HOW TO MEASURE	Unit	HEALTH WARNING	Associated indicators in People dimension	Associated indicators in other dimensions	Potential duplications to be avoided
PROS1								
MORE AND BETTER QUALITY JOBS	1.1	New jobs created	Survey of businesses	No. of jobs	Unclear how additionality, substitution and displacement addressed	PROS 1.2, 1.3	PLAC 6.13	PLAC 6.13
	1.2	New local jobs created within borough/area	Survey of businesses		Unclear how additionality, substitution and displacement addressed - should also include sustained work, at LLW, etc.	PROS 1.1, 1.3	PLAC 6.13	PLAC 6.11, 6.13
	1.3	New jobs created paying LLW	Collection by programme delivery agent	No. of jobs	Would need to collect data from employers	PROS 1.1, 1.2	PEOP 2.2, PLAC 6.13	
	1.4	Jobs offering secure employment	Collection by programme delivery agent	No. of people	Would need to define secure and collect data from employees	PROS 1.1, 1.2, 1.3, 1.5, 1.6, 1.7	PEOP 2.2, 2.4, PLAC 6.13	
	1.5	Jobs offering flexible employment	Collection by programme delivery agent	No. of people	Would need to collect data from employees/employers and need to differentiate between flexibility and insecurity	PROS 1, 2.1	PEOP 2.2, PLAC 6.13	
	1.6	Numbers progressing into more stable, better paid work	Collection by programme delivery agent	Evidence that employee has a better position with current employer organisation or with a new employer	Would need to relate to specific programme intervention. Participant needs to be motivated to keep in contact with the project rep and follow up on needed paperwork.	PROS 1, 2.1	PLAC 6.13	
	1.7	Jobs providing career ladders for people	Collection by programme delivery agent	No. of people	Would need to relate to specific programme intervention. Ideally would collect data from employees.	PROS 1, 2.1	PLAC 6.13	
	1.8	Improvement in employment rate 18+	ONS data	Employment activity numbers	16 to 18s should be in compulsory education or training. Breakdown by gender,age,ft, ethnicity is not available at local level. This does not show inclusive growth and impact of changing demographics.			
	1.9	Increase employment in/engagement with growing sectors	Business survey		BRES data is now very limited at local level. Also questions about whether question is about population or geography			

	1.10	Decrease in JSA numbers	NOMIS	No of people	Does not reflect quality of job, excludes people not claiming, skewed by welfare reform changes, does not reflect changes in demographics			
PROS2								
SPECIFIC VULNERABLE GROUPS TARGETS	2.1	Jobs created employing vulnerable groups	Collection by programme delivery agent	No. of jobs	Would need to identify local vulnerable groups (unemployed, economically inactive, NEETs, specific communities, etc.)	PROS 1	PEOP 5.	PROS 1.1
	2.2	Individuals from vulnerable groups moving towards labour market - labour market experience (paid placement/volunteering/internship)	Collection by programme delivery agent	No. of individuals	Important to ensure no displacement of paid work		PEOP 10.7,	PEOP 10.7
	2.3	Individuals from vulnerable groups moving towards labour market - pathway	Collection by programme delivery agent	Use of pathway assessment (e.g. Star, Richter, or detailed set of indicators etc) that captures soft skills development. Indicator should focus on individual development		PEOP 10.3	PEOP 10.3
PROS3								
LOCAL EMPLOYERS	3.1	Local employers engaging with local employment services	Collection by programme delivery agent	No. of employers				
	3.2	Employers taking on people directly through local employment services	Collection by programme delivery agent	No. of employers, No. of people taken on		PROS 1		
PROS4								
INCREASED SKILLS	4.1	No. of apprenticeships (started, identified points during apprenticeship, completed)		No. of people				
	4.2	No. of staff undertaking mandatory training during working hours	Collected from employer	No. of staff			PEOP 10.1, 10.5, 10.7, 10.18	PEOP 10.1, 10.5, 10.7
	4.3	No. of staff undertaking voluntary training for accredited skills	Collected from employer/employees	No. of staff			PEOP 10.1, 10.5, 10.7, 10.18	PEOP 10.1, 10.5, 10.7
PROS5								
BUSINESS SUPPORT	5.1	No. of startups/ SMEs supported		No. SMEs		5.2, 5.3, 5.4, 5.5	PLAC 6.6, 6.7	Care needed across all of PROS 5 to remove risk of double counting
	5.2	New businesses/start ups supported				5.1, 5.3, 5.4, 5.5	PLAC 6.6, 6.7	
	5.3	No. of enterprises receiving support		No of enterprises		5.1, 5.2, 5.4, 5.5		
	5.4	No. of new enterprises supported		No of enterprises		5.1, 5.2, 5.3, 5.5		
	5.5	SMEs receiving skills and training needs support	Collection by programme delivery agent	No. of enterprises	Focus is on supporting SMEs to identify skills gaps and improve skills utilisation	5.1, 5.2, 5.3, 5.4		

PROS6								
INNOVATION	6.1	No. of enterprises cooperating with research institutions		No of enterprises				
	6.2	No. of enterprises supported to introduce new to the firm products		No of enterprises	Is this support financial or information/knowledge sharing? This could be subdivided into: No. of enterprises receiving financial support.... non-financial support....			
	6.3	Enterprises receiving grants/loans for investment in equipment to support business competitiveness and growth	Collection by programme delivery agent	No. of enterprises				
	6.4	Enterprises receiving x hours of export advice	Collection by programme delivery agent	No. of enterprises				
	6.5	Enterprise receiving x hours of support to commercialise innovation	Collection by programme delivery agent	No. of enterprises				
	6.6	Enterprises receiving one to one innovation advice	Collection by programme delivery agent	No. of enterprises				
	6.7	Increase leverage and inward investment			Need to measure investment/leverage that is a result of GLA intervention. Need to be aware of displacement issues.			
	6.8	Reduced dependency on HM Government Funding			Need to be aware of displacement/additionality.			
PROS7								
SPACE	7.1	Adaptation of x square metres of business/commercial space	Collection by programme delivery agent	No. of x square metres	Additionality and displacement	PROS 7.2, 10	PLAC 1.2	PLAC 1.2
	7.2	Adaptation of space for shared community and business activities	Collection by programme delivery agent	No. of x square metres of space (and fitting out)		PROS 7.1, 10	PLAC 1.2	
	7.3	Individuals and businesses using new/adapted space and hours used	Self reporting/collection by programme delivery agent	No. of individuals and businesses using space AND hours used	Need to ensure double counting is avoided with regard to increased supply of access of commercial/retail space for community organisations.	PROS 9.2, 10		PROS 9.2
PROS8								
ENTREPRENEURSHIP	8.1	Provision of x hours of entrepreneurship support	Collection by programme delivery agent	No. of pre-start ups provided with guidance and support for x hours	Formal support and less formal/mentoring type support should both be recognised.			
	8.2	Provision of x hours of entrepreneurial training (inc. basic business skills)	Collection by programme delivery agent	No. of hours of entrepreneurship and business skills provision	Would need to work with a range of different stakeholders to ensure entrepreneurship training was made widely available			
PROS 9								
BUSINESS SUPPORT FOR COMMUNITY ORGANISATIONS	9.1	Increased supply of business premises providing access to retail/commercial space for community organisations	Data from businesses	Square meterage of property adapted and hours available for use	Would need to collect data from businesses who had benefitted from adaptation	PROS 7.2		PROS 7.1, 7.2
	9.2	Hours of use by community organisations of business premises providing access to retail/commercial space	Self reporting/collection by programme delivery agent	Number of hours of use by community groups	Would need to collect data from businesses who had benefitted from adaptation	PROS 7.3		PROS 7.3
PROS 10								

PROCUREMENT	10.1	x hours of training to local people	Evidence supplied by contractor	x hours of training to local people	Would need to define local	PROS 4, 7	PEOP 2.2, 10.4, 10.5, 10.7, PLAC 5.1, 7.1, 7.2, 7.3	PEOP 10.4, 10.5, 10.7
	10.2	x hours of paid work placements/internships/volunteering opportunities	Evidence supplied by contractor	x hours of paid work placements/internships/volunteering opportunities	Would need to define local	PROS 2.2, 7	PEOP 10.8, 10.9, PLAC 5.1, 7.1, 7.2, 7.3	PROS 2.2, PEOP 10.8, 10.9
	10.3	x per cent of supply chain to local firms	Evidence supplied by contractor	x per cent of supply chain to local firms	Would need to define local	PROS 7	PLAC 5.1, 7.1, 7.2, 7.3	
	10.4	x hours/value of volunteering, goods and services provided by contractor to local communities/third sector organisations	Evidence supplied by contractor	x hours/value of volunteering, goods and services to local communities/third sector organisations by contractor (and their staff)	Important to ensure no displacement of paid work	PROS 7	PEOP 10.8, PLAC 5.1, 7.1, 7.2, 7.3	PEOP 10.8
	10.5	x local people employed	Evidence supplied by contractor	No. of people	Would need to define local	PROS 1, 2.1, 2.2, 7	PLAC 5.1, 7.1, 7.2, 7.3	
	10.6	x local people on apprenticeships	Evidence supplied by contractor	No. of people	Would need to capture start/continuation/completion	PROS 4.1, 7	PLAC 5.1, 7.1, 7.2, 7.3	PROS 4.1
	10.7	Number of local people employed at London Living Wage	Evidence supplied by contractor	No. of people	Would need to define local	PROS 4.1, 7	PLAC 5.1, 7.1, 7.2, 7.3	

MAKING BETTER PLACES

INDICATOR GROUP	NO	INDICATOR	HOW TO MEASURE	Unit	HEALTH WARNING	Associated indicators in People dimension	Associated indicators in other dimensions	Potential duplications to be avoided
PLAC1								
PHYSICAL IMPROVEMENTS OR CHANGE	1.1	Area (m2) of public realm improvements	Agency/provider count	m2	Area must be specifically targeted by regeneration funding, not wider improvements schemes	1.10, 1.11, 2.7		
	1.2	New commercial space consented	Agency/provider count	m2	Units must be specifically targeted by regeneration funding, not wider improvements schemes	1.2		1.2
	1.3	Shopfronts/ building frontages improved	Agency/provider count	no of units	Improvements should be attributed to regeneration spending	6.1		
	1.4	More trees	Agency/provider count	No of appropriate trees planted	Trees must be appropriate and robust, fit for the site. Possible input needed from borough trees officer to specify types	3.4		
	1.5	Improvements to Heritage Assets	Agency/provider count	no of units	Decision needed on whether these need to meet Historic England definition, or conservation area definition, or local listing definition		PEOP 8	
	1.6	Improvements to Assets of Community value	Agency/provider count	no of units	Must have been agreed through statutory process.		PEOP 1, 3, 8	

	1.7	Increased space efficiency	Agency/provider count	m2	Definition of Space Efficiency: Gross External Area(GEA); Gross Internal Area (GIA); Net Internal Area (NIA); Net Usable Area (NUA); and Balance Area. 'RICS Code of Measuring Practice: A Guide for Surveyors and Valuers' 5th edition, and the Estates Management Statistics Data Definitions. Appendix, pages 103-104, Website: http://www.smg.ac.uk/documents/PromotingSpaceEffi ciency.pdf			
	1.8	Physical design that encourages social interaction	Agency/provider assessment	Poor - acceptable - good scoring	Needs to be assessed by trained site assessor, eg trained to use CABE's 'Building for Life" standards. High score will be for places that encourage social interaction by creating shared spaces that facilitate meeting and conversation, eg through provision of benches, picnic places	1.1, 1.11, 2.7	PEOP 7, 8	
	1.9	Physical design that encourages people from different background to meet and to interact	Agency/provider assessment	Poor - acceptable - good scoring	Needs to be assessed by trained site assessor, eg trained to use CABE's 'Building for Life" standards. High score will be for places that encourage social interaction between all the different groups using a space. Will need to be informed by an assessment of potential users	1.1, 1.10, 2.7	PEOP 7, 8	
	1.10	Improved accessibility to people with limited mobility	Agency/provider assessment	Poor - acceptable - good scoring	Needs to be assessed by trained site assessor. Should meet BS 8300:2001 - Design of buildings and their approaches to meet the needs of disabled people: Code of Practice from British Standards Institution, and government guidelines in "Inclusive Mobility - A Guide to Best Practice on Access to Pedestrian and Transport Infrastructure"			
	1.11	New community infrastructure created	Agency/provider count	no of units	Number of libraries, community centres, parks, playgrounds - need definition of physical facilities that meet community needs and boost collective capacity	7.3	PEOP 1, 2, 8	
PLAC2								
PERCEPTIONS & USE	2.1	Increase in visitor satisfaction	Survey	Perception	Use standardised measurements. This example for measuring tourism satisfaction is helpful in thinking through what could be asked https://www.visitbritain.org/sites/default/files/vb-corporate/Documents-Library/documents/England-documents/3_v_surveys.pdf	2.2, 2.3, 2.4, 2.9		
	2.2	Likelihood of recommending initiative to others	Survey	Net promoter score	This is a methodology developed by Bain & Co. It is used mainly in the commercial sector and is seen as a good indicator of perceptions. It is being trialed in the social sector. It gives a positive or negative score depending on whether more people would, or wouldn't, recommend the initiative. for more see https://www.netpromoter.com/know/ and http://www.npscalculator.com/en	2.1, 2.3, 2.4		
	2.3	Overall user satisfaction of particular elements of the scheme	Survey	Perception	From survey of users. Need to make sure respondents are representative of potential users, taking account of local demographics and demographics of users.	2.1, 2.2, 2.4		

	2.4	Perceptions of change and improvement of combined regeneration activities in a particular place	Survey	Perception	Focusing on particular initiative but taking account of cumulative effect of different interventions. Survey questions to explore perceptions of improvements (eg "has it improved" - yes, neither yes or no, no, don't know...) Can track change over time	2.5		PEOP 13
	2.5	Perceptions of overall wider regeneration scheme across the neighbourhood/borough	Survey	Perception	Focusing on wider initiative and taking account of cumulative effect of different interventions. Survey questions to explore perceptions of improvements (eg "has it improved" - yes, neither yes or no, no, don't know...) Can track change over time	2.6		PEOP 13
	2.6	Increase in footfall	Survey/observation	Number of users	Survey respondents need to be representative of potential users, taking account of local demographics and demographics of users. Observation methods need to include range of times of day			
	2.7	Use of public spaces by different groups	Survey/observation	Number of users	From survey of users or observations.	1.1, 1.10, 1.11	PEOP 7	
	2.8	Headline measures of high street social value from hedonic analysis	Establishing framework, data collection and analysis	Social value measurements	These would proxy the collective amenity of a given High Street (H) in terms of the prices that new residents and proprietors are willing to pay to access the area versus for similar properties further away (L). The social value of the high street could then be expressed as H versus L, taking account of differences in house prices. residential rents and commercial rents. These measures would need to be interpreted carefully, alongside affordability metrics such as rental values.	7.6, 7.7		
	2.9	Stated preference methods/willingness to pay	Establishing framework, data collection and analysis	Social value measurements	Modelled scale and questionnaire to establish hypothetical preference and willingness to pay for different improvements	2.1		
	2.10	Perceptions of the night time economy	Survey	Perception	From survey of users and local residents. To find out if any increase is welcome or causing new issues.	6.3, 6.4, 6.5		
	2.11	Perceptions of the quality of the retail offer	Survey	Perception	From survey of users and local residents. To find out if any changes are unwelcome or causing new issues.	6.1		
PLAC3								
SUSTAINABILITY	3.1	Improvement in water/waste management and green infrastructure	Agency/provider count	Number of interventions	Number of new green roofs, sustainable water management initiatives, rain gardens, that can be linked to regeneration investment.	3.2		
	3.2	Water and money savings for public sector agencies	Agency/provider count		Data to be provided by agencies and operators	3.1		
	3.3	Amount of space with improved energy efficiency (m2)	Agency/provider count	m2	Measure of area improved or type of equipment upgraded/replaced leading to energy efficiency	3.4		
	3.4	Reduction in overall CO2 emissions	Agency/provider count	CO2 tonnes per person	Use Defra standard practice https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/69282/pb13309-ghg-guidance-0909011.pdf	1.4 3.3, 3.5, 3.6, 3.7		
	3.5	CO2 emissions across operational estates	Agency/provider count	Tonnes of CO2	Use Defra standard practice https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/69282/pb13309-ghg-guidance-0909011.pdf	3.4		
	3.6	Houses given energy advice & associated measures	Agency/provider count	No of homes	Need to specify what intervention is, how intensive etc	3.4		
	3.7	Small medium enterprises receiving low carbon interventions	Agency/provider count	No of SMEs	Need to specify what intervention is, how intensive etc	3.4		
	3.8	Transport connectivity	Specialist survey	PTAL	Measures accessibility of public transport			

	3.9	Pollution, e.g. NOX, PM2.5	London-wide data gathering	NOX, PM2 etc	Can use measures from London Air Quality Network, however these gather data at small number of key locations only key http://www.londonair.org.uk/			
PLAC4								
NEW HOUSING	4.1	Housing units consented in a particular area	Agency/provider count	No of units	By size and tenure	4.2, 4.3, 4.4, 4.5, 4.6, 4.7, 4.8		
	4.2	Social housing unit consented	Agency/provider count	No of units	By size and tenure	4.6		
	4.3	Number of family homes consented	Agency/provider count	No of units	By size and tenure	4.7		
	4.4	Affordable/intermediate homes consented	Agency/provider count	No of units	By size and tenure	4.8		
	4.5	Housing units completed	Agency/provider count	No of units	By size and tenure. Needs verification	4.1, 4.2, 4.3, 4.4, 4.6, 4.7, 4.84		
	4.6	Social housing unit completed	Agency/provider count	No of units	By size and tenure. Needs verification	4.2		
	4.7	Number of family homes completed	Agency/provider count	No of units	By size and tenure. Needs verification	4.3		
	4.8	Affordable/intermediate homes completed	Agency/provider count	No of units	By size and tenure. Needs verification	4.4		
PLAC5								
HOUSING IMPROVEMENTS/REGENERATION	5.1	Number of homes improved/refurbished	Agency/provider count	Number of homes	By size and tenure. Needs verification		PROS10	
	5.2	Number of existing residents of area provided with new homes in area	Agency/provider count	Number of residents	By former tenure, ethnicity, age, household type. Needs verification. Challenges quantifying PRS, temporary and informal residents.	5.3, 5.4, 5.5		
	5.3	Number of social tenants and leaseholders rehoused in area	Agency/provider count	Number of residents	By former tenure, ethnicity, age, household type. Needs verification	5.2, 5.4, 5.5		
	5.4	Number of private tenants and private owners rehoused in area	Agency/provider count	Number of residents	By former tenure, ethnicity, age, household type. Needs verification	5.2, 5.3, 5.5		
	5.5	Extent of tenure change	Agency/provider count	Change in tenure	Change measured by former numbers vs replacement numbers of units, by tenure. Challenges quantifying PRS. Needs verification	5.2, 5.3, 5.4, 5.5		
PLAC6								
HIGH STREET REGENERATION	6.1	Retail mix in area	Agency/provider count	No of types of shops	Mix would need to be set locally - there is no given formula. Data from Companies House, VAT, BDS/BRES are unreliable. Companies House and VAT are based on address of registered office not trading address, BDS/BRES cannot be broken down to small areas	1.4, 2.11		
	6.2	Types of business in area	Agency/provider count	No of businesses	Count betting shops, takeaways, or other particular types of retail/leisure service either seen as positive or negative in an area. Targets for types of desirable/undesirable businesses to be set locally.			
	6.3	Size of night time economy: number of businesses operating after 7pm	Agency/provider count	Number of cafes, restaurants, leisure open at night	Count number of businesses open after 7pm, through observation or business survey	2.11, 6.4, 6.5		
	6.4	Size of night time economy: licenses	Council data	Number of licenses for public entertainment	Count number of businesses licensed for public entertainment - borough data	2.11, 6.3, 6.5		
	6.5	Size of night time economy: visitors in area for socialising after 7pm	Observation	Numbers of visitors		2.11, 6.3, 6.4		

	6.6	Proportion of independently owned retailers	Agency/provider count	Numbers of businesses	Survey of businesses	6.6, 6.7, 6.9, 6.14	PEOP 7	
	6.7	Number of traders and business providing specialist products and services for specific local communities	Survey	Number of businesses	Survey - would need to be informed by analysis of demographics and existing businesses to establish whether there are clusters of business ownerships from a particular community that is generating broader social supports	6.8	PEOP 7	
	6.8	Reduction in vacancy rate in area	Agency/provider count	% change	Survey of high streets/target area. Should be linked to understanding of what businesses/tenants take over empty units, and whether these fit strategic aims	6.11, 6.12		6.11, 6.12
	6.9	Churn of businesses in a particular place	Agency/provider count	Number of businesses	Survey of businesses	6.10, 6.12		6.10, 6.12
	6.10	Length of time premises remain empty before reoccupied in area	Agency/provider count	Days/weeks/months	Survey of businesses	6.10, 6.11		6.10, 6.11
	6.11	Amount of support to wider community provided through business	Survey	Count of variety of support, including advice, loans, food, form filling	Survey of businesses	6.8	PEOP 7	
	6.12	Perceptions of crime and anti social behaviour in area	Survey	Perceptions	Fear of crime and actual crime can follow different patterns. Fear of crime should not be disregarded if it is higher than actual crime.		PEOPL 15.1, 15.2, 15.3	
	6.13	Jobs in local retail in area	Survey	Number of jobs	High quality employment and wages data is available from the Annual Survey of Hours and Earnings (ASHE) and the Annual Population Survey (APS) but in most case, will not be available at local level. Survey is therefore recommended	6.17, 6.18, 6.19	PROS 1.1, 1.2, 1.3, 1.4, 1.5, 1.6 1.7	PROS 1.1, 1.2
PLAC7								
INVESTMENT	7.1	Investment in transport	Agency/provider data	£	Needs to be specific to the regeneration scheme and also understood by different types of transport - road, cycle, bus, rail etc		PROS 10	
	7.2	Investment in infrastructure & environment	Agency/provider data	£	Needs to be specific to the regeneration scheme and also broken down by different types of infrastructure - schools, shops, health facilities, parks etc	7.3	PROS 10	
	7.3	Investment in community infrastructure	Agency/provider data	£	Needs to be specific to the regeneration scheme and also broken down by different types of social infrastructure - community buildings, libraries, play spaces, community hubs, faith centres, allotments etc - all facilities and services that bring people together and support local social and collective activities. Will be subset of wider "investment in infrastructure" category.	7.2, 1.13	PEOP 1,2, PROS 10	
	7.4	Gross Development Value of projects in a specific place.	Agency/provider data	£	Area needs to be agreed and tightly defined			
	7.5	Cost Savings (in terms of maintenance and running costs)	Agency/provider data. The change in otherwise anticipated costs of maintenance, cleaning, heating and like costs for any accommodation which is refurbished	£	Method needs to be defined for comparability			
	7.6	Change in commercial rent levels	Survey of businesses	£	Need clarity about whether increases are desirable or not.	2.8, 7.7		

| | 7.7 | House prices and residential rents | House prices can be gathered through land registry, and GLA London Rents Map. | £ | Note both are limited: rents data because it is a sample and covers the previous 12 months, house prices only represent actual transactions which may be skewed by details of particular properties. Neither source of data is accurate at very local level. | 2.8, 7.6 | | |

OVERARCHING INDICATORS

INDICATOR GROUP	NO	INDICATOR	HOW TO MEASURE	Unit	HEALTH WARNING
Overarching 1					
IMPACT ON DIFFERENT EQUALITIES GROUPS	1.1	Impact on equalities groups for specific interventions	Count of beneficiaries/users. Analysis of IMD and other national data	No of people affected, change in IMD score or other national data	Across all activities. Demographic change may skew area based data.
	1.2	Impact on most disadvantaged groups	Count of beneficiaries/users. Analysis of IMD and other national data	No of people affected, change in IMD score or other national data	Across all activities. Disadvantaged groups is equalities groups and those faring badly in terms of economic exclusion and opportunities. Demographic change may skew area based data.
	1.3	Impact on most excluded groups	Count of beneficiaries/users. Analysis of IMD and other national data	No of people affected, change in IMD score or other national data	Across all activities. Includes locally specific groups that are known to often not be engaged with services or projects. To be identified by partners/commissioners. Demographic change may skew area based data.
Overarching 2					
PERCEPTIONS OF REGENERATION	2.1	Perceptions of value of regeneration for self	Survey of residents	Perceptions	Need broadly representative sample
	2.2	Perceptions of value of regeneration for family	Survey of residents	Perceptions	Need broadly representative sample
	2.3	Perceptions of value of regeneration for local community	Survey of residents	Perceptions	Need broadly representative sample
	2.4	Perceptions of displacement	Survey of residents	Perceptions	Need broadly representative sample

Footnotes

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22. [22] GLA https://www.london.gov.uk/what-we-do/regeneration/regeneration-project-tottenham
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24. [lix] IMD 2015
25. [lx] ONS 2014
26. [lxi] Census 2011
27. [lxii] Census 2011
28. [lxiii] Land registry 2014
29. [lxiv] Nomis - Annual Survey of Hours & Earnings
30. [lxv] Police 2014/2015
31. [lxvi] Public Health England 2012-2014
32. [lxvii] Report of the Parker Morris Committee (1961) 'Homes for Today and Tomorrow'
33. [lxviii] Haringey Council, 2014a, p.10

34. lxix www.london.gov.uk/what-we-do/housing-and-land/increasing-housing-supply/housing-zones#acc-i-42733

35. lxx https://tottenham.london/HighRoadWest

lxxi

36. lxxii Love Residents' Association Committee (Residents' Charter 20/02/2014)

37. lxxiii IMD 2015

38. lxxiv ONS 2014

39. lxxv Census 2011

40. lxxvi ONS 2016

41. lxxvii Land registry 2014

42. lxxviii Nomis - Annual Survey of Hours and Earnings

43. lxxix UK Police 2014/2015

44. lxxx Public Health England 2012-2014

45. lxxxi https://www.london.gov.uk/what-we-do/housing-and-land/increasing-housing-supply/housing-zones#acc-i-42735

46. lxxxii Arup (2014) Tottenham Physical Development Framework. Arup, GLA, Haringey Council

47. lxxxiii Woodcraft, S. et al (2012) Design for social sustainability. Social Life

48. lxxxiv see https://www.ons.gov.uk/methodology/geography/geographicalproducts/areaclassifications/2011areaclassifications

49. lxxxv The population of this group is predominately located in the denser central areas of London, with other inner urban areas cross the UK having smaller concentrations. All non-white ethnic groups have a higher representation than the UK average especially people of mixed ethnicity or who are Black, with an above average number of residents born in other EU countries. Residents are more likely to be young adults with slightly higher rates of divorce or separation than the national average, with a lower proportion of households having no children or non-dependent children. Residents are more likely to live in flats and more likely to rent. A higher proportion of people use public transport to get to work, with lower car ownership, and higher unemployment. Those in employment are more likely to work in the accommodation, information and communication, financial, and administrative related industries.

50. lxxxvi Bacon, N. & Woodcraft, S. (2016) Understanding Local Areas: making best use of local data. Social Life

51. lxxxvii Limitations on the availability of data at ward level are important to acknowledge. Economic inactivity and qualification levels are only available from the 2011 Census, at which the rates of economic inactivity and the number of people with no or level one qualifications in Tottenham were significantly higher than in other parts of Haringey. The data has not been reported here given its age and a population churn rate estimated to be 26% in 2016.

52. lxxxviii Data sources: *Tottenham's Socio-Economic Profile 2017*; data provided by Haringey, nomisweb.co.uk

53. lxxxix *Tottenham's Socio-Economic Profile 2017*

54. xc Given that some employers have required significant support to provide data to the Opportunity Investment Fund, the effective monitoring of this type of agreement will be important to ensure that the London Living Wage is paid.

55. xci www.trustforlondon.org.uk

56. xcii http://www.londonspovertyprofile.org.uk/indicators/boroughs/haringey/

57. xciii Data in itself is unlikely to be enough. Significant house building and parts of the accompanying population are likely to have an impact on the socio-economic profile of the area. Socio-economic improvements evidenced in statistical data may mask weak outcomes for local residents.

58. xciv It had been found necessary to appoint somebody to work with beneficiaries of the OIF to collect the data.

59. xcv Lorenc T, Petticrew M, Whitehead M, et al. Crime, fear of crime and mental health: synthesis of theory and systematic reviews of interventions and qualitative evidence. Southampton (UK): NIHR Journals Library; 2014 Mar. (Public Health Research, No. 2.2.) Scientific summary.

60. xcvi We Made That, LSE Cities (2016) High Streets for All. London: Greater London Authority.

61. xcvii For example this from NESTA, https://www.nesta.org.uk/resources/theory-change

62. xcviii For example this from NESTA, https://www.nesta.org.uk/resources/theory-change

63. 64 http://www.haringey.gov.uk/local-democracy/about-council/facts-and-figures/ward-profiles