

NOT DECENT! THE EVOLUTION OF RADICAL TORY SOCIAL HOUSING POLICY

Extracts from documents supplied by Hammersmith & Fulham Council in response to an Fol request from Andrew Slaughter MP

BACKGROUND

1. Council brands 3,500 homes “not decent neighbourhoods”

At the beginning of June 2009 Hammersmith & Fulham Council published its draft Local Development Framework (LDF) for consultation. The LDF, which is the Council's planning strategy, declared that several council estates across the borough, containing 3,500 homes, are “not decent neighbourhoods”.

<http://bhf-consult.limehouse.co.uk/portal/csojune09?pointId=641029>

The LDF proposes wholesale demolition, forcing tenants, leaseholders and even freeholders to move. Density would be significantly increased and many new homes would be built for sale. While the equivalent number of social housing bedspaces would be re-provided, the plans for larger homes mean the number of affordable social rented homes could be some 25% fewer than now.

Six months previously, according to the Shepherd's Bush and Hammersmith Gazette, “Speaking to residents at the Gibbs Green Community Centre, Stephen Greenhalgh confirmed his redevelopment proposals for West Kensington and Gibbs Green Estates.

A ‘vision statement’ for the 70 acre site incorporating Earl's Court and Olympia involves levelling the exhibition centre, bulldozing the council houses and creating a huge mixed development of 15 million sq ft of new homes, shops and offices. Addressing a crowd of seething residents, he [Councillor Greenhalgh] declared: “*We want to attract people who are very rich . . .*”

On 23 June residents of the West Ken and Gibbs Green Estates met to consider the LDF. They expressed disgust at being branded not a “decent neighbourhood”. They said they liked their homes, their estates and their community and would refuse to move.

For more information on the development plans see separate background document.

2. The Fol request to Hammersmith & Fulham Council

On 26 May 2009 Andrew Slaughter MP made the following Freedom of Information request to Geoff Alltimes CBE, the Chief Executive of Hammersmith & Fulham Council:

“All written correspondence and documents including, but not limited to, emails, letters, notes of telephone conversations, as well as briefing notes, reports, and memoranda held by either Hammersmith & Fulham or Hammersmith & Fulham Homes which refer to the following publication: Principles for Social Housing Reform, published by Localis, April 2009.”

Localis is a right wing think tank. The authorship of the Principles document is credited to Councillor Stephen Greenhalgh, Leader of Hammersmith & Fulham and John Moss.

3. Where did the concept of a “decent neighbourhood” originate?

On 30 June three residents from West Ken and Gibbs Green attended a briefing session organised by the Council and hosted by Lyn Garner (see below). Lyn Garner was asked whether the Localis report, Principles for Social Housing Reform, was behind the Council's policies. She denied this and insisted that the policies were driven by the Hills review of Social housing and by Government policy on regeneration including the Communities Plan.

The documents recovered from the Council suggest otherwise. They provide a fascinating insight into the process by which a set of doctrines is

rapidly transformed into emerging and potential Conservative Party policy at the same time as it is fashioned into a local authority planning framework – using the resources of the local authority to achieve both.

4. The key players

Hammersmith & Fulham Council

Stephen Greenhalgh – Leader of Hammersmith & Fulham Council
Chris Jones – Head of Housing Strategy, Performance & Development
James Reilly – Director of Community Services
Lyn Anthony – Head of Executive Services
Lyn Garner – Assistant Director Regeneration & Housing Strategy
Geoff Alltimes – Chief Executive

ALMO

Nick Johnson – Chief Executive Hammersmith & Fulham Homes

Conservative Party

Grant Shapps – Conservative Shadow Minister for Housing
Eric Pickles – Chairman of the Conservative Party and Shadow Minister for Communities and Local Government

Localis

James Morris – Chief Executive
Tom Shakespeare - Researcher

Greater London Authority

Richard Blakeway – Adviser to the Mayor on Housing

Others

John Moss – a ‘regeneration consultant’

5. Who attended the Round Table Discussion?

This is a mystery because the Council has redacted the names of most of the participants.

The letter to Andrew Slaughter MP from James Reilly (26 June 2009), which covers the documents supplied in response to the Fol request, states:

“The Localis publication was produced in the context of a national debate on the future of social housing and the need for housing reform. Council and Hammersmith & Fulham Homes Officers provided legal and professional commentary on specific points. They attended the round table discussion to provide factual information on two case studies and to answer factual questions. They did not otherwise participate in the deliberations of the roundtable discussion.

You will note it has been necessary to withhold the identity of the participants of the roundtable discussion. This is because the information concerned is personal data which is the possession of Localis and it would be a breach of the Data Protection Act 1998 to disclose it. This information is therefore exempt from disclosure under s40 of the Freedom of Information Act.”

It is difficult to reconcile this explanation for the redaction of the names with the content of the documents which is presented below.

It is obvious from the documents that the following were present:

Stephen Greenhalgh
Chris Jones
James Reilly
Lyn Anthony
Alistair McKenzie
Nick Johnson
James Morris
Tom Shakespeare
John Moss

Grant Shapps’ ‘Twitter’ for 3rd of March states: “Shadow Cabinet followed by a round table on creating mixed communities in concentrated areas of deprivation.”

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In the redacted list of participants, Jones, Reilly and Johnson are denoted 'Observers' – a curious status given they prepared and presented the material for the discussion.

The following people contributed to the peer review that is part of the Principles document. It is likely that many of these people, if not all, attended the Round Table Discussion. However this cannot be confirmed from the documentation available.

Philip Callan - Savills

Charmaine Young CBE
Eddie Lister – Leader of Wandsworth Council
Jim Saunders – Pinnacle Housing Group
Ron Roberts – United House
David Ireland – Empty Homes Agency
Kate Davies – Notting Hill Housing Trust
Councillor Colin Barrow – Leader of Westminster Council
Anu Vedi – Genesis Housing Group
Owen Inskip – Adviser to Grant Shapps
Richard Parker - PwC

EXTRACTS FROM THE DOCUMENTS

In the following table of extracts from selected documents all material is dated 2009. Text in italics is added for explanation or to indicate content not included here.

Date	Format	Subject	Author	Extracts
	Presentation to Eric Pickles and Grant Shapps	Reforming Social Housing	Greenhalgh	<p>“Social Housing= Welfare Housing= Ghettoes of Multiple Deprivation.</p> <p>Public spending is high but with poor returns. Hammersmith – an example. There is no return on asset value.</p> <p>Government has received no benefit from £billions invested in grant in LA and RSL sector and social housing remains largely the destination for millions of households who are condemned to live in multiple deprivation.” [and who] “add to the welfare cost of Government far beyond the £20bn direct cost of support to social housing.</p> <p>Principles of reform. Only provide homes for those who are unable due to age, infirmity or disability from using welfare subsidy to provide for themselves.</p> <p>Provide housing welfare payments to households based on need, not rent paid (eg. Individual adults only need to rent a room in a shared house).</p> <p>Over 5-10 years shift capital funding to increased welfare payments to allow social rents to rise to market levels.”</p>
14/1	Presentation to James O’Shaughnessy, Director of Policy and Research, Conservative Party	Reforming Social Housing	Greenhalgh	<p>“The picture of social housing is a bleak one, characterised by dependency, worklessness, poor education and health.</p> <p>Social rented housing has become a destination rather than a launch pad. 82% had been in social tenure ten years before (Hills Review). In H&F 45% of council tenants are in their 60s. Social housing = welfare housing. Those who remain in social housing have fallen into a cycle of unemployment and dependency. We (the taxpayer) own £200bn in LA stock alone, circa £70bn in RSLs in capital value of welfare housing, however after management and maintenance costs we have a limited return circa 1%. In Hammersmith & Fulham LA vacant possession value of stock is £2.7billion. Rental income is £58million and ALMO annual management fee is £25million and capital spend is £33million i.e. no return.</p> <p>What is needed? A solution to concentrations of deprivation.</p> <p>Tenure: Introduce “conditionality of tenure for all new tenants in place of tenure for life. Carry out 5 yearly review for all existing tenants requiring downsizing as circumstances change to maximise use of stock.</p> <p>Political will: Is there appetite to be radical in reforming social housing?</p> <p>Professional support: Will (m)any social housing professionals support these reforms?”</p>

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4/2	Email to James Reilly and Chris Jones	Social Housing Reform pamphlet Private & confidential	Greenhalgh	<p>"John has produced the attached pamphlet. I have had a chance to read through and make some amendments. It is in good shape but we will need to sharpen up a little."</p> <p><i>NB: at this stage, the attached pamphlet is less than a quarter of the length it eventually reached.</i></p>
6/2	Email to Greenhalgh and John Moss	Principles of SH Reform	Chris Jones	"I have reviewed this and have added in some text and an Appendix which identifies legislation that would need to be changed or repealed."
9/2	Email to Chris Jones	Social Housing Reform	Greenhalgh	"Just a quick email to thank you for your stellar contribution to the pamphlet which is now going out for peer review."
16/2	Email to Lyn Garner	Social housing reform	James Reilly	"Have a read and see what you think."
16/2	Email to James Reilly	Invitation to Round Table discussion on 3 rd March re Creating mixed communities	Lyn Anthony	"I do hope you are able to attend."
16/2	Invitation on H&F headed stationary to James Reilly and Chris Jones	Roundtable discussion in same building as Localis HQ	Greenhalgh and James Morris, CE of Localis	<p>"Localis and the London Borough of Hammersmith & Fulham are delighted to invite you to take part in a topical roundtable discussion on the theme of 'Creating mixed communities in concentrated areas of deprivation'.</p> <p>We carefully selected you for this based upon your knowledge and expertise in this area, and very much hope that you will be able to contribute to the discussion. We are seeking fresh ideas which can be directly implemented at ground level."</p>
17/2	Email to Lyn Anthony	Welfare Reform Round Table	James Reilly	"At Cabinet yesterday Stephen said that he wanted Chris and myself at this discussion. Lyn Garner may not be available but if she is I think it would help if she was present too. Could you let us have the details."

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17/2	Email to Chris Jones	Invitation to round table discussion	Lyn Anthony	"Here is your invitation – the Leader is keen for you to attend. Pl confirm."
18/2	Email to James Reilly, Nick Johnson, Chris Jones, cc to Lyn Anthony, James Morris, John Moss, Lyn Garner	Mixed communities round table	Greenhalgh	<p>"We now have a stellar group of participants for the round table. I have had a chance to chat this through with Nick. We want to focus on two conundrums:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. How do you transform a problem estate into a mixed community – Fulham Court 2. How do you deliver a new build mixed community in a deprived area such as W12 White City Opportunity Area land to east of Wood Lane. <p>We would need to provide photos and briefing notes to set out where we are today in both areas. Then formulate a series of topics to get ideas on how to deliver mixed communities. We should think about both development and management issues. It would also be helpful to probe how best to optimise involvement of politicians, social housing professionals.</p> <p>Can you both discuss and prepare something to review for discussion by the middle/ end next week? In advance of the meeting we will ask participants to peer review (up to 500 words) John Moss's and my social housing reform pamphlet. However the focus of this round table is to define practical steps to deliver mixed communities in a difficult economic climate."</p>
19/2	Email to Greenhalgh, Nick Johnson, Chris Jones, cc to Lyn Anthony, James Morris, John Moss, Lyn Garner	Mixed communities round table	James Reilly	"Chris returns from leave on Monday and together with Nick will put something together for Thursday 26 th ."
19/2	Email to Shaun Dunleavy and Ian Ruegg, cc to Chris Jones	Mixed communities round table	James Reilly	<p>"Would you both start assembling some facts/ profile on Fulham Court so that we can describe the current 'as is' position in regard to this – households, pensioners & working age population, those in work not in work, on benefits not on benefits etc."</p> <p><i>Further information on Fulham Court is requested.</i></p>

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24/2	Email to Lyn Anthony, James Reilly and Nick Johnson	3 rd March Round Table Event	Chris Jones	<p>“Just to confirm the position:</p> <p>I have completed a draft briefing note (5 sides) for Fulham Court which I am now having reviewed. I will discuss this paper with Nick Johnson tomorrow and will produce a summary powerpoint slide version (about 10 however with pictures as requested by the Leader). The pictures are being taken today. I have asked relevant parties to provide information so I can do a similar brief for WCOA.</p> <p>I will also produce a table which essentially looks at key areas of housing activity and comments on what we can and currently can't (easily) do with current legislation and regulation. If there is anything else required please let me know.”</p>
25/2	Email with attachments to James Reilly, Nick Johnson, Lyn Garner, Jon Whitwell, Simon Jones, Lyn Anthony, John Moss	Background documents for 3 rd March Round Table Meeting arranged by the Leader	Chris Jones	<p>I have produced the following: A brief for Fulham Court, providing summary, demographic, outline of the challenges faced on the estate and options being considered for improvement: Fulham Court Action Plan. This is presented as a brief to tackle deprivation and related issues through housing management and public sector measures. I have produced the same type of briefing note for WCOA WCOA Briefing paper. I have also done a separate table/spreadsheet of opportunities and barriers to taking forward plans.”</p>
	Draft brief	Fulham Court Estate Action Plan – Key issues	Chris Jones	<p>“Fulham Court Estate has been perceived as a problem estate for sometime. The estate in terms of a range of measures is socially and economically deprived with higher levels of unemployment, low incomes and higher percentage of lone parent households. Crime and ASB are continuing problems. The perception amongst tenants and leaseholders is that the estate has been neglected by the Council and allowed to become run down and threatening.”</p> <p><i>356 dwellings. Document then provides a whole series of deprivation statistics.</i></p> <p>“Lack of a Tenants’ and Residents’ Association – There is no active TRA on the estate and a very low level of interaction between residents and Hammersmith & Fulham Homes.</p> <p>Satisfaction with neighbourhood and Housing Management Service – A survey conducted in 2007 revealed that Fulham Court had the lowest (29%) neighbourhood satisfaction rating compared to the borough average (55%) for estates which is itself significantly below the borough average of 72%. Satisfaction with landlord services was identified as 57.4% compared to a borough average of 69%.”</p> <p><i>This is followed by current and possible social regeneration and environmental initiatives.</i></p>

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	Draft Brief	White City Opportunity Area – Key issues		<p>“The WCOA includes and is bounded by large social housing estates including: White City (2,027 homes, 74% social rent), Wormholt (681 homes, 46% social rent), Wood Lane (113 homes, 75% social rent), Edward Woods Estate (754 homes, 83% social rent), Charecroft (430 homes, 74% social rented).” <i>There follows a raft of deprivation statistics.</i></p> <p>“Master planning exercises are currently underway to develop plans in relation to the physical regeneration of the area.</p> <p>Views of Local Estate residents. There was a general sense of pride in the area however this was more to do with the sense of community and proximity to local services than the quality of the buildings. There was also generally a feeling that the sense of community was being lost.</p> <p>Estate improvements have been estimated for the 3 estates over the next 30 years to total £187m. The White City Estate alone may need upward of £90m to £100m of improvements in large part to meet the decent homes standards. The Council does not have the resources to undertake such improvements. Solutions need to be found to deal with such funding gaps.</p> <p>Development opportunities – It is estimated that the White City Opportunity Area could deliver upwards of 4k to 6k new homes over the next 25 years and many thousands of new jobs. Tenure options – An expanded WCOA and indeed in large part the W12 area is predominated by social rented housing with related social deprivation challenges. An opportunity exists to better balance tenures and invest in a significant build programme of intermediate rent and buy options.</p> <p>Social and economic challenges – estate renewal comes with commitments to reprovide social rented housing for existing tenants. Any physical regeneration plans therefore need to be matched by the development of integrated social regeneration plans that break the cycle of social deprivation.”</p>
25/2	Email to Chris Jones	Background documents for 3 rd March Round Table Meeting arranged by the Leader	Lyn Anthony	“Chris can you pop over at 12 tomorrow to discuss with Leader”
26/2	Email to Lyn Anthony	Background documents for 3 rd March Round Table Meeting arranged by the Leader	Chris Jones	“Will do”

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	Email with attachment to James Reilly, Nick Johnson, John Moss, Lyn Anthony	Round table – Barriers and opportunities to delivering mixed and sustainable communities	Chris Jones	“Please find attached companion paper to the two exemplars provided yesterday.”
26/2	Email to Greenhalgh, cc to James Reilly, Chris Jones, Lyn Anthony	Round Table – Themes and Questions	Nick Johnson	<p>“As promised here is the suggestion for how we might structure the ‘round table’ discussions. It should enable us to assess: political issues – how do you gain ‘buy-in’ from residents? Practice issues – the ‘professional’ housing viewpoint – what policies do we need to adopt? Process issues – the methods we need to use – how should we involve the private sector and business community??</p> <p>We have two case studies to stimulate discussion: One: Fulham Court – an inner city estate with poor prospects for Community satisfaction. Two: White City Regeneration Area – a significant redevelopment opportunity.</p> <p>Our concern is to create the prospect for a thriving community, and we are looking for models of best practice. These are the themes. What is a mixed community? Have you achieved it? What do we need to do to create it? Have we got the delivery vehicles to achieve it? What could the private sector – builders, developers and private landlords bring to the table? What are the inhibitors – what policy or legislative changes are needed? How do you convince residents? How do you ‘sell’ change to the people?</p> <p>I am happy to help Chris and James with any of the ‘domestic’ arrangements. Do please ask.”</p>
	Case Study 1	Fulham Court, Building a Mixed Community over Time	Chis Jones	<p>“Fulham Court Very poor physical environment – 29% neighbourhood satisfaction rating. Not mixed tenure – 86% social rented. Deprived – 53% of households on Housing Benefits. Ongoing crime and ASB issues – 10% increase in crime. Allocation policies have compounded challenges – 25.6% ‘lone parent’ households with 15% ‘family’ households.”</p>
2/3	Email to Chris Jones	W12 case study for tomorrow night	Nick Johnson	“I enjoyed the Fulham Court case study for tomorrow night. Have you been able to do the W12 one yet. I may have missed it Chris.”
2/3	Email with attachment to Nick Johnson and James Reilly	W12 case study for tomorrow night	Chris Jones	<p>“This along with the slightly updated Fulham Court brief will be put into the pack along with the agenda based on your Nick’s. Any questions, queries etc etc. Please contact.”</p>

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	Case Study 1 (<i>sic. Should be 2</i>)	White City Opportunity Area: Creating New Communities through physical Regeneration	Chris Jones	<p>“One of the largest regeneration areas in west London and a significant opportunity to turnaround run down neighbourhoods. – 111 hectares in the Shepherds Bush Area including 3 estates of 2,688 homes, over 60 hectares of light industrial and BBC land, Shepherds Bush Market & Green, QPR football club an of course the new Westfield Shopping Centre.</p> <p>Opportunities to build on existing commercial strengths in the creative industries. – The vision is for the WCOA to be a nationally known creative hub in London. The BBC will continue to provide services from their Wood Lane HQ. The area will attract world-leading, global creative, media and entertainment businesses.</p> <p>An area characterised by large Council Estates, poor urban environment, and variable retail and leisure offers outside of the Westfield Shopping Centre. 52.8% of all stock in the WCOA is social rented accommodation either owned by the Council or housing associations. Shepherds Bush Market and Uxbridge Road retail offers in particular need improvement.</p> <p>An area with concentrated and high levels of deprivation. An existing residents population who must be well accommodated and benefit from physical regeneration as plans are taken forward. Some of the most deprived neighbourhoods in the borough according to the Index of Multiple Deprivation (IMD) 2007. Three of the WCOA’s Super Output Areas are within the top 10% most deprived nationally.</p> <p>Views of Local Estate Residents: The view given was one of liking W12 as a place to live but not being “wed” to the bricks and mortar they living in. There was a general sense of pride in the area however this was more to do with the sense of community and proximity to local services than the quality of the buildings.”</p>
2/3	Email with attachments to Lyn Anthony, James Reilly and Nick Johnson	Draft agenda and two examples for clearance	Chris Jones	<p>“Please find the following: Draft Agenda for clearance. I assume the Leader may wish to give thanks and confirm next steps at the end.</p> <p>Round Table Discussion Agenda <i>attachment</i></p> <p>This is based on the content of Nick’s email sent last Thursday morning.</p> <p>Case Study 1 – Fulham Court plus estate map</p> <p>Case Study 2 – WCOA plus map</p> <p>Again needs to be cleared.</p> <p>Lyn this leaves the following to confirm: These need to be put into a pack when agreed. I assume this might be done by Localis? A decision needs to be made whether to send these out by email so the participants have them in advance. Bill Smoker is providing the smaller versions of the maps. Lyn there will need to be: banners done to identify the two case studies fitting the panels of the presentation screens we are taking up. Will you sort this with Hammerprint? The accompanying photos need to be labelled. I can do this however I will need the photos back in order to properly identify. We will need thread and pins if we are to reference photos to the map. I assume in the pack we may also include a list of participants with contacts details.”</p>

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	Agenda for Round Table Discussion on 3 rd March	How to achieve mixed and sustainable communities	Chris Jones and Nick Johnson	<i>Closely based on previous material.</i>
3/3	Email with attachment to James Reilly, Nick Johnson and Chris Jones	H&F and Localis housing final roundtable meeting	Lyn Anthony	"Here is the final programme which I am now sending to Localis."
	Programme for 3 rd March Round Table	Creating mixed communities in concentrated areas of deprivation		<p><i>Similar to previous version but with H&F and Localis logos.</i></p> <p>"Welcome to this timely and critical roundtable discussion concerned with tackling an increasingly problematic area of policy. The aim of this roundtable is to identify practical steps that councils and Registered Social Landlords can take that can help to deliver mixed communities rather than concentrations of welfare housing.</p> <p>5.10 Welcome and introductions from James Morris and Councillor Stephen Greenhalgh 5.20 Case Study Introduction by Chris Jones, Head of Strategy, Performance and Development (H&F) 5.25 Case Study 1 – Fulham Court – Building a mixed Community Over Time – Facilitator: Nick Johnson, Chief Executive (H&F Homes) Fulham Court is a deprived inner city estate with poor physical environment and prospects for increasing resident satisfaction. 5.35 Discussion opened up to guests steered by James Morris 6.00 Case Study Introduction by Chris Jones, Head of Strategy, Performance and Development (H&F) 6.05 Case Study 2 – White City Regeneration Area – Creating New Communities through Physical Regeneration – Facilitator: James Reilly, Director of Community Services (H&F) A significant redevelopment and regeneration opportunity in London covering 11 hectares encompassing 3 large Council estates, BBC and light industrial land. 6.15 – Discussion opened up to guests, steered by James Morris 6.40 Concluding remarks and observations from Councillor Stephen Greenhalgh 7.10 Canapes and wine provided"</p> <p><i>Themes as per Johnson's original suggestion.</i> "After the roundtable: Localis and LB Hammersmith & Fulham will be producing a summary of recommendations and the key areas for future investigation. This will be sent to all attendees on completion." <i>Guest list includes: James Reilly, Chris Jones, Nick Johnson, Lyn Anthony. Next to their names is (O) which is later identified as Observer status.</i> <i>Between a dozen and two dozen names have been redacted with a black marker pen.</i></p>

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3/3	Email to Lyn Anthony, cc John Moss, James Reilly, Nick Johnson, James Morris	Summary of round table	Greenhalgh	"I need James and Nick (i.e. Chris Jones) plus John Moss to summarise the round table quickly! Well done for all your hard work."
3/3	Email to Greenhalgh and Lyn Anthony, cc to James Reilly, Nick Johnson and James Morris	Summary of round table	Jon Moss	"Will type up my notes tomorrow first thing."
4/3	Email to Greenhalgh, cc John Moss, James Reilly, Nick Johnson, James Morris, Tom [Shakespeare]	Summary of round table	James Morris	"As a process perhaps James, Nick and John could send us their notes and we could then produce a consolidated summary document?"
4/3	Email to James Morris, Greenhalgh, Lyn Anthony cc John Moss, Nick Johnson, Tom [Shakespeare]	Summary of round table	James Reilly	"James forgive me but I thought we were going to get a draft from you which we would then comment upon."
4/3	Email to Nick Johnson	Summary of round table	James Reilly	"You will have seen my earlier email – pls catch me when you can – not happy about this order of play."
4/3	Email to James Reilly		Nick Johnston	"I will have my notes ready to discuss with you when we meet tomorrow. But I think Localis have a bloomin cheek . . . they had of four of their lot sitting there . . . and isn't that what they are supposed to do anyway!"
4/3	Email to James Reilly	Summary of round table	Chris Jones	"James didn't see earlier email will work on notes now. Happy to incorporate and provide clarity on any notes provided by John."
4/3	Email to James Reilly, James Morris, Lyn Anthony, cc to John Moss, Nick Johnson, Tom at Localis and Chris Jones		Greenhalgh	"Can we get Chris Jones to do fast and furiously. Then John Moss and then me, Nick and James to fine tune!"
4/3	<i>1 minute later</i> Email to Greenhalgh, James Reilly, James Morris, Lyn Anthony, cc John Moss, Nick Johnson and Tom at Localis	Summary of round table	Chris Jones	"I'll have them ready by end of play today at the very latest."

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4/3	Email to Chris Jones, Greenhalgh, James Reilly, James Morris and Lyn Anthony, cc to John Moss and Nick Johnson	Summary of round table	Tom Shakespeare	"I am currently working on a draft too, and will have that ready today too. I will pass on to Chris when finished."
4/3	Email to Chris Jones, Greenhalgh, James Reilly, James Morris, Lyn Anthony, cc Nick Johnson, Tome Shakespeare	Summary of round table	John Moss	"My notes attached."
	Notes in table format	Notes of Discussion	John Moss	<p><i>This document has had the names showing who said what redacted.</i></p> <p>"Estate is typical of 'barracks for the poor'.</p> <p>What is a 'Poor Person'? Need to manage behaviour of tenants as well as physical property.</p> <p>Political pain is a factor - can local pols accept the level of pain involved in making it happen?</p> <p>Intervene on long-term aspirations, gentrification will benefit their children.</p> <p>The bulldozer argument does not recognise the strength of every tenant as a resident occupying a home. Funding needed for political problem of management. Hard to get rid of people.</p> <p>Deregulate RSL; let market decide who can develop; deregulate rents to move to near market; tenure less of an issue; decent neighbourhood standards tied to allocations; mad/bad tenants housed and supported, balance of need met financially, tough but needs to be grasped.</p> <p>How brave will politicians be on rent control and tenure?</p> <p>Define what Social Housing is for. Not about giving somebody a £1m home for life.</p> <p>The Sacred Cows need to be shot!"</p>

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4/3	Email with attachment to Chris Jones, cc James Morris	Summary of round table	Tom Shakespeare	"Please see my summary of the discussion (attached)." <i>Attachment</i> "Creating mixed communities in concentrated areas of deprivation. I think there is some development needed on the policy section, as I was not there for the entirety of the last 15 – 20 mins. What do you think is the best way of combining our notes – Are you happy to combine then fire around to everyone as Stephen suggested."
	Summary of the discussion	Creating mixed communities in concentrated areas of deprivation	Tom Shakespeare	<i>This write-up is fairly bland and is not especially reflected in later versions. The list of participants is redacted in the same way as the previous version except there are two further names un-redacted – Greenhalgh and Alistair McKenzie, the latter being denoted an Observer.</i>
4/3	Email to Tom Shakespeare	Summary of roundtable	Chris Jones	"I'll combine them and then send round. Thanks for these and all the best."
5/3	Email to John Moss, Chris Jones, Stephen Greenhalgh, James Morris, Lyn Anthony cc Nick Johnson and Tom Shakespeare	Summary of roundtable	James Reilly	<i>This email proposes a structure and content that is partly reflected in later versions.</i>
5/3	Email to Nick Johnson	Summary of roundtable	James Reilly	"You and me both – not happy that Stephen pitched it back to us so quickly and assume that means he doesn't have much confidence in their ability to pull it together sensibly. He made some mention of an early opportunity to push it with other more senior colleagues and I think this is behind the rush. John Moss has returned his notes first, Chris is working on it but you and I will need to work on the exec summary and conclusions with Stephen."
5/3	Email to Richard Blakeway and collinsti@parliament.uk	The first summary of Ideas Space round table	Greenhalgh	"These are notes from John Moss! Summary may get better, but a very useful start." <i>Tim Collins works in the office of Grant Shapps</i>
5/3	Email to Greenhalgh	The first summary of Ideas Space round table	Richard Blakeway	"V interesting. My big point, which the front bench know, is units not being tied to tenure. This means PPS3 reform. Are you thinking of reconvening this group again? Impressive group. One option might be to use the next stage of the mayor's housing strategy and/or tory green paper, so just before the summer."
5/3	Email to John Moss and Chris Jones	The first summary of Ideas Space round table	Greenhalgh	"FYI" <i>Email to Blakeway and his reply forwarded.</i>
5/3	Email to Greenhalgh and John Moss	The first summary of Ideas Space round table	Chris Jones	"Notes now received from John, Localis and James Reilly. I am framing into a note now with key messages. Happy to liaise with GLA to organise this round table."

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6/3	Email with attachment to Greenhalgh, James Reilly, Nick Johnson, Lyn Anthony, John Moss cc James Morris	Draft 1 – Round Table Notes – Creating Mixed Communities in Concentrated Areas of Deprivation	Chris Jones	“My apologies for delay in getting these to you however rather than sending a just notes I thought it was useful to order and start to tease out some key messages. Looking for comments. Happy to meet. Happy of course to adapt and change and further summarise.”
	Draft Confidential	Creating Mixed Communities in Concentrated Areas of Deprivation	Chris Jones	<p><i>This draft is substantially the final version of the document which ended up as Localis Discussion Notes, 16 March 2009, Creating Mixed Communities in Concentrated Areas of Deprivation. Additions and changes to fill out and emphasise certain points were subsequently made by James Reilly and are included in the final document. John Moss also made various, generally minor, changes which were accepted.</i></p> <p>“On the 3rd March 2009 a number of leading lights from local and national politics and the housing professions, including a number of registered social landlord chief executives and developers, got together to discuss how to deliver successful, thriving and mixed communities. The discussions led to key messages being given as to why it was necessary to develop plans to deliver mixed communities and the best way to deliver such communities on the ground. It also identified national policy changes needed to remove barriers that currently prevented mixed communities being delivered.</p> <p>Winning over tenants, and involving them in the redevelopment process is one key to success. However, Councils should not be put off taking forward plans by a vociferous minority. The consensus was that the existing social housing model was broken and that Councils who were best placed to deliver mixed communities were to an extent stymied in achieving this through over regulation and a lack of freedom to act. The proposals for change at a national policy level could be developed into a package of reform.</p> <p>Break the link between benefits and housing benefits. Create an equal market between the private and the social rental sectors by lifting rent controls. Reform restrictions on tenure and move towards a level playing field on price to create an open market. There needs to be the mechanisms to reward good tenants and the tools to deal with bad tenants. An intermediate housing market needs to be created to respond to affordability issues and to replace in large part the current welfare offer.</p> <p>Meeting notes: It was agreed that it was a Councils responsibility to “placemake” and improve failing neighbourhoods. It was generally agreed that “Portarist” accusations of gerrymandering or social engineering needed to be faced head on pointing to the urgency of needing to act to address failing neighbourhoods.</p> <p>There was a consensus, although not universal, that winning over tenants and involving them in the redevelopment process is key to the success of a project. Consultation needed to engage with resident aspirations – gentrification could be their own kids gaining from the improvements that take place.</p>

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			<p>Regeneration also needed to find ways to give all residents, including social renters, a stake in their home and where they live. The message was that ownership empowers. Clear message was that regeneration should not be stymied by a very few who object on spurious grounds. Community champions needed to be found and community leaders needed to be cultivated. Social rented housing was seen as a dead end rather than an opportunity to progress (either to move or to buy). The emphasis should be on intermediate products that give residents an opportunity to move on or through tenures.</p> <p>Case Study 1 – Building Mixed Communities Overtime</p> <p>“It is not a place it is a barrack for the poor” The resident population were disconnected; impression was that there were engrained level of distrust. Ways needed to be found to engender ownership and move away from a dependence on public services. For instance social renters should be encouraged or required to take on more repairs. There should be a sales programme which would increase the level of owner occupation.</p> <p>Creating New Communities Through Physical Regeneration</p> <p>“This is an easy one!” WCOA was identified as a large area awaiting significant development and improvement. It is an area of high potential and as one speaker put it the ideal place to develop and deliver a ‘master plan’. Need to deal with level of political risk in terms of local and also “concerned citizen” disaffection. Take the political factor out and get all parties to sign up to the need for improvement and change.</p> <p>National Policy Considerations</p> <p>“The Sacred Cows Need to be Shot”. It was identified that there was a growing impetus for change amongst housing professionals who it was important to cultivate and indeed from some council tenants and leaseholders who whilst they were all for affordable housing were less supportive of welfare housing.</p> <p>Views were expressed that only a very few people required some form of rented housing which in effect would become supported housing for the most vulnerable (A small sector possibly less than 10% of the nations stock). If reforms (many outlined below) were implemented this could well be a consequence. Equalise rents between sectors as current boundaries are unhelpful. Councils should be required to develop long term plans to tackle deprivation in their areas with clear benchmarks that need to be achieved.</p> <p>There was general support for a Decent Neighbourhood Standard to be developed and applied. An intermediate housing market needs to be created to respond to affordability issues and to replace the current welfare offer.” <i>Appendix 1 is a list of the participants redacted except for Greenhalgh, James Reilly, Chris Jones, Nick Johnson and Lyn Anthony.</i></p>
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9/3	Email with attachment to Greenhalgh, James Reilly, Nick Johnson, Lyn Anthony and John Moss cc James Morris	Creating Mixed Communities in Concentrated Areas of Deprivation	Chris Jones	"I have reviewed James Reilly's comments and accepted most. I assume the next steps after any other issues have been swept up is proof reading and then circulation by Localis?"
9/3	Email with attachment to James Reilly, Greenhalgh and James Morris cc Chris Jones, Nick Johnson and Lyn Anthony	Draft 1 Round Table Notes - Creating Mixed Communities in Concentrated Areas of Deprivation	John Moss	"Further comments from me on Chris's version" <i>Most of the changes are minor, and include:</i> <i>Change "Portarist" to "Porteresque"</i> <i>Add to "The message was that ownership empowers" "and that a clear route to ownership incentivised better behaviour."</i> <i>Add "or ideological" to "should not be stymied by a very few who object on spurious grounds".</i>
12/3	Email with attachment to Lyn Anthony, James Reilly, Nick Johnson and John Moss cc to James Morris and Tom Shakespeare	Creating Mixed Communities in Concentrated Areas of Deprivation	Chris Jones	"See note with John Moss' contributions incorporated."
13/3	Email to Chris Jones, Lyn Anthony, James Reilly, Nick Johnson, John Moss cc James Morris	Creating Mixed Communities in Concentrated Areas of Deprivation	Tom Shakespeare	"Are you happy with the document the way it is now? If so I will read through again, package it up and distribute."
13/3	Email to Tom Shakespeare, Lyn Anthony, James Reilly, Nick Johnson, John Moss cc James Morris	Creating Mixed Communities in Concentrated Areas of Deprivation	Chris Jones	"I've incorporated comments and done pretty much as much as I can on it given time constraints. If you have queries about anything however get back to me."

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13/3	Email to Chris Jones, Lyn Anthony, James Reilly, Nick Johnson, John Moss cc James Morris	Creating Mixed Communities in Concentrated Areas of Deprivation	Tom Shakespeare	"Great, thanks. I will aim to have it ready on Monday for distribution."
16/3	Localis Discussion Notes	Creating Mixed Communities in Concentrated Areas of Deprivation	Chris Jones, with amendments from James Reilly and John Moss	<p><i>The document contains the material extracted above. At the bottom of each page there is a banner stating: "Supported by: Hammersmith & Fulham Council".</i></p> <p><i>On the page that lists the participants, as before most of the names have been redacted except this time James Reilly, Chris Jones and Nick Johnson.</i></p> <p><i>As of 3 July 2009, the link to this document on the Localis website is broken. Try for yourself by going to the following link and clicking on "To view the publication please click here" at the bottom of the text.</i></p> <p>http://www.localis.org.uk/article/102/Creating-Mixed-Communities-in-Concentrated-Areas-of-Deprivation.htm</p>
20/3	Email to John Moss and Chris Jones		Greenhalgh	<p>"This is the draft of a localis pamphlet where I try to focus on the imperative to create mixed communities and how to get there in deprived inner city areas. . ."</p> <p><i>This pamphlet uses much of the material arising from the Round Table Discussion and was published by Localis on 30 March: Localis Policy Platform, Members Publication No. 5 What are the priorities for the reform of social housing within inner city areas?</i></p> <p>http://www.localis.org.uk/images/Localis_Policy_Platform_Social_Housing_in_Urban_Areas.pdf</p>
24/3	Email with attachment to Lyn Garner, Nick Johnson, James Reilly, Cllr Lucy Ivmy, Cllr Mark Loveday, Nick Botterill cc Geoff Alltimes, John Moss, Chris Jones	Social housing reform – Towards decent neighbourhoods	Greenhalgh	<p>"This is a short paper about to be published by Localis that you might find interesting!"</p> <p><i>Attachment: "What are the priorities for the reform of social housing within inner city areas?"</i></p> <p><i>The document lists "some of the steps to create a decent neighbourhood in areas of concentrated social deprivation."</i></p> <p><i>"Acknowledgements: We have had a tremendous amount of help as we have developed our thinking from a number of sources including two extremely influential couple: Julie Cowans, Founder Director of theplaceteam and co-author of Visions for Social Housing, and David Cowans, Chief Executive of Places for People, have been pushing for the right to expect decent neighbourhoods for some time. Nick Johnson is currently Chief Executive of H&F Homes is at the sharp end of housing in Hammersmith & Fulham and Kate Davies, Chief Executive of Notting Hill Housing Trust, is pressing hard for a more flexible approach to social housing and tenure reform in the recent "Housing Poverty" Centre for Social Justice pamphlet. Finally Chris Jones from Hammersmith & Fulham Council, whose knowledge of housing legislation and systems is deeper and much more through than ours and Richard Parker of Pricewaterhouse Coopers who provided comment on the financial case and helped with various sources of information also deserve a particular mention."</i></p> <p><i>NB: These same acknowledgements appear in the Principles for Social Housing Reform.</i></p>

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24/3	Email to Greenhalgh, and James Morris	Principles of Social Housing Reform	John Moss	"I have attached the final version taking in the last minor changes. This now needs to be circulated to those who attended the round table to make sure they are happy with the comments we have attributed to them in the peer review and the appendix."
25/3	Email with attachment to James Reilly, Nick Johnson, Cllr Lucy Imvy, Cllr Mark Loveday, Greg Smith, Geoff Alltimes cc John Moss	A decent neighbourhood Follow up Flag: Follow up: Flag Status: Blue	Greenhalgh	<i>This email forwards the above email with the attachment:</i> "Principles of SH Reform final version" "I wanted to share with the final draft of proposals to reform social housing. The paper authored by John Moss and myself has been peer reviewed by many housing professionals, developers and leading inner city Conservative politicians who know the problems inside out. We are floating one new idea that I think is very powerful: We propose to balance deregulation ("Right to Manage") with a statutory duty to create a decent neighbourhood – a place where people want to live and they have pride in – in areas of concentrated deprivation. At a local level we should push this idea of a "Decent Neighbourhood" as a more ambitious continuation of the "Decent Homes" programme as part of our long-term plans to redevelop some of our problem estates. The "Decent Neighbourhood" programme (next 5 years) should encompass the following: 1) Our estates need to be cleaner (currently filthy) and safer (CCTV/ASB etc) 2) Housing management – repairs/ maintenance etc – needs to be better and represent value for money. 3) We need to create mixed communities in concentrated areas of deprivation. Let me know what you think or if you have any questions."
30/3	Email to Lyn Garner cc Chris Jones	A decent neighbourhood	James Reilly	<i>This email forwards the above email from Greenhalgh along with the Principles attachment</i> Lyn following you e mail two weeks back about joining the debate on housing reform. Chris and I will have to keep you in the loop. This was the product of the roundtable but CJ could supply you with notes of that meeting if you are interested."
30/3	Email to James Reilly and Geoff Alltimes		Localisinfo	"Please see the enclosed link for the latest edition of Policy Platform, the Localis member's publication. This month's edition is entitled: What are the priorities for the reform of social housing within inner city areas? With submissions from Dr Tim Leunig, author of the Policy Exchange report, 'The Right to Move'; Cllr Stephen Greenhalgh, Leader of the LB of Hammersmith & Fulham; John Moss, an expert Regeneration Consultant; Cllr Dr Ian Rowley, of Westminster Council; and Cllr Mathew Groves, Housing Committee Chair of Tandridge District Council; we have gathered a range of opinions on this critical area of policy."
31/3	Email to Chris Jones, Nick Johnson, Hannah Carmichael, Ken Glendenning; Lyn Garner	Localis/ Policy Platform/ Social housing in urban areas	James Reilly	<i>This email forwards the above email "FYI"</i>
2/4	Email with attachments <i>[There are no addressees listed]</i>	Hammersmith & Fulham and Localis	Lyn Anthony	"As participants at the round table meeting held on the 3 rd March, please find attached the following documents: 1. Principles for Social Housing Reform. 2. Summary of discussion I would be grateful for your confirmation that you are happy to be quoted in the Principles for Social Housing Reform Document. We are planning to go to the printers on Monday so would be grateful for your urgent response." <i>Attachments:</i> "Principles of SH Reform; Discussion note Concentrations of deprivation"

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	Localis Publication	Principles for Social Housing Reform	Greenhalgh and Moss	<p><i>This document is published on the Localis website www.localis.org.uk/images/Localis%20Principles%20for%20Social%20Housing%20Reform%20WEB.pdf</i></p> <p>"We asked a number of professionals working in social housing to review the proposals set out above and we are pleased to say that we received a broadly supportive response from everybody and there was a general consensus that matters could not be left as they are. Some specific comments are highlighted below against the key themes of our paper.</p> <p>We also invited a range of political leaders, Council and RSL housing professionals and others to a "round table" discussion on the theme of creating mixed communities." <i>Comments are then quoted from the following:</i> Philip Callan - Savills Charmaine Young CBE Eddie Lister – Leader of Wandsworth Council Jim Saunders – Pinnacle Housing Group Ron Roberts – United House David Ireland – Empty Homes Agency Kate Davies – Notting Hill Housing Trust Councillor Colin Barrow – Leader of Westminster Council Anu Vedi – Chief Executive, Genesis Housing Group Owen Inskip – Adviser to Grant Shapps Richard Parker - PwC</p>
8/4	Email to Lyn Garner and Chris Jones cc James Reilly	Localis/ Policy Platform/ Social housing in urban areas	Geoff Alltimes	<p><i>This email forwards the Localis notice of their publication of "What are the priorities for the reform of social housing within inner city areas?"</i></p> <p>"In case you did not receive direct."</p>
16/4	Email to James Reilly	Invitation/ 21 st April/ Principles for Social Housing Reform	Localisevents	<p>"Localis are delighted to invite you to attend the launch of our latest report: Principles for Social Housing Reform. This independent report, written by Stephen Greenhalgh and John Moss calls for a fundamental reform of social housing with a focus on tackling concentrated areas of deprivation rather than an obsession with bricks and mortar."</p>
16/4	Email with attachment [No addressee]	Localis/ Press Release/ Principles for social Housing Reform	Mike Morgan-Giles	<p>"Please find enclosed the press release for our upcoming report 'Principles for Social Housing Reform', written by Stephen Greenhalgh and John Moss."</p>
16/4	Email with press release attachment to Julie Cowans cc to James Reilly	Localis/ Press Release/ Principles for Social Housing Reform	Greenhalgh	<p>"There you go!"</p> <p><i>This email forwards the above email.</i></p>

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20/4	Email to Nick Johnson, Chris Jones, Simon Jones cc Geoff Alltimes	Localis/ Press Release/ Principles for social Housing Reform	James Reilly	<i>This email forwards the above email trail "fyi"</i>
27/5	Email cc'd to Chris Jones and others	Fol request	Lyn Garner's PA	"This is to confirm that this request is relevant to Regeneration & Housing Strategy Division."
28/5	Email to James Reilly and Nicola Houston	Fol request	Lyn Garner's PA	"Lyn has asked me to forward this Fol request to you so as to alert you. Lyn says that she will deal with it herself, taking advice from Michael Cogher, but that she would like to discuss it with you on Monday"