

CASE STUDY

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LAMBETH COUNCIL, BRIXTON GREEN AND OVALHOUSE THEATRE IN SOUTH LONDON

A co-operative community-led
development in inner London

Summary



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1. Somerleyton Road, London SW2: aerial view of site, running along right of image. Southwyck House, aka the barrier block, stands out in the middle ground (four linked blocks)
2. Masterplan layout by Igloo/Metropolitan Workshop, April 2015. *Images courtesy Lambeth Council/Igloo*



2

Urban regeneration in London has become a war waged with increasing desperation to secure affordable housing for the majority of the city's population which has been priced out of both the home-ownership and rental markets. Many of London's residents live in the city because it offers better prospects of employment than elsewhere, yet are unable to afford adequate accommodation. Most new-build developments and large-scale urban regeneration schemes offer a smaller proportion of affordable and genuinely affordable housing than private housing, much of which is sold to overseas investors as buy-to-let, or buy-to-leave. Hence the redevelopment of Somerleyton Road in south-west London, through a partnership between Lambeth Council, Ovalhouse Theatre, and Brixton Green mutual benefit society, has been promoted as a potential model for a genuinely community-led development that will provide 100% rented housing (c 301 homes) on mixed tenures – social target rent, affordable, and private – with a view to enabling a local, diverse population to continue living and working in an area which has become one of the capital's latest gentrification hotspots. This case study sets out to offer some insights into the structures and processes which have been put in place to bring the vision behind this project towards realisation over the last six years and more, without the input of either a developer or a major anchor institution such as a university. Although Ovalhouse theatre will fill the role of a cultural anchor for the development to some extent, and a resource for youth engagement and training, the project has been heavily reliant on the voluntary enterprise and hours of time put in by local residents and professionals appointed to support them, alongside the work dedicated to it by numerous council officers. Communication between stakeholders has been central to the process, coloured by the inevitable tensions which arise in the balancing of multiple interests and a tight budget. However the ambition is that the project will ultimately provide an exemplar for not-for-profit development which reinvests returns in the community, providing long-term housing and social assets on a currently under-used site, which other councils and partners may choose to follow.

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Introduction

Brixton in south London has been one of the central stages of urban regeneration discourse and policy since the 1990s, when lack of social and economic opportunities and decent housing was recognised as an underlying cause of social unrest. Under the Conservative government of the 1980s and 90s, a series of riots in Brixton were triggered by a number of controversial confrontations between the police and the Afro-Caribbean community. In 1993 the government allocated City Challenge funding to improve the area and attract public and private investment which would create new opportunities for local people. However only a fraction of the allocated £187m was spent – on the refurbishment of a number of landmark entertainment venues in the town centre area – and private investment never materialised; consequently the programme was suspended. Since 2000, renewed efforts to regenerate the area have made moderate progress, perhaps lacking any significant local anchor institution, university or otherwise, to catalyse and support economic development. However, they have aroused plenty of local opposition to a perceived gentrification and commercialisation which is displacing long-standing residents, many of whom represent second and third generation immigrant communities which made Brixton home. The Somerleyton Road development is notable then for having been initiated in 2008 as a potential model for community-led and managed regeneration development, in partnership with the local authority and Ovalhouse theatre, which will provide genuinely affordable rented homes, social infrastructure, and training and employment opportunities for local people on land owned by the council.

Historical and policy context

1

In 2009-10, Brixton's central public civic space was re-landscaped and re-named as part of the Mayor of London's programme of public space improvements in the run-up to the Olympics, which included the Olympic Park itself. The 'Great Outdoors' programme was co-ordinated by Design for London (part of the London Development Agency, one of the nine national RDAs, which itself sat within the GLA), and, as City Hall explained, represented an investment in public space which 'contributes to maintaining and improving London's image as the world's most green and liveable big city and highlights London's offer as a city that can sustain economic growth'.¹ Windrush Square was named for the ship which brought over the first West Indian immigrants in 1948, many of whom settled in Brixton. It has become the symbolic centrepiece of Brixton's ongoing regeneration policy and implementation by a Labour-led local authority (Lambeth) which in 2012 re-launched itself as a co-operative council, prompting significant organisational and operational changes in its delivery of public services and infrastructure projects. Against this context, the Somerleyton Road project has emerged as a showcase for the council's new partnership-based modus operandi, working 'with, rather than for' citizens to put local interests at the centre of regeneration and invert the top-down approach.

Changes to Council structure and delivery of public services

1.1

Lambeth's move followed the passing of the Coalition government's Localism Act in 2011, which, accompanied by massive public spending cuts and local authority redundancies, greatly reduced state responsibility for local planning affairs and devolved decision-making and service delivery to local bodies. It built on successive initiatives by the previous Labour

government (see *Policy Milestones*) to increase community participation and empowerment at neighbourhood level, and instituted a new right for charitable trusts and voluntary bodies both to take on responsibility for services previously provided by councils, and produce neighbourhood plans for the development of local areas. It also included provision for designated Community Assets (including land and buildings) to be taken over, managed, and even owned, by Community bodies. As part of this raft of devolution measures, the Act also provided for the abolition of the RDAs, and their replacement by Local Enterprise Partnerships without central government funding.

Lambeth's 2012 re-organisation as a co-operative council, under council leader Stephen Reed, fitted within this over-arching policy framework. Citizens and volunteers would be encouraged to take on the work formerly done by council employees and contractors, but also assume greater influence over and ownership of local assets and services. They would be supported by four new council 'clusters' for Commissioning (working closely with Cabinet Members), Delivery, Enabling, and Co-Operative Business Development.²

The following year, the council agreed to partner with a local community benefit company (or mutual), Brixton Green, along with Ovalhouse Theatre, on the development of the Somerleyton Road site, which was a largely council-owned, under-used asset. Under the new community right to reclaim and build on unused public sector land, local people had the right to apply to develop the land for housing and much-needed community facilities, while Lambeth's own Enabling Community Assets policy set out its commitment to: 'enable an increase in the Community Ownership and Management of assets consistent with Cooperative Council principles, its Community Hubs Strategy and national good practice. In summary, we will enable the acquisition and management of land and buildings by Community and Social Enterprises through the provision of support for: the Meanwhile Use of Assets; Community Asset Transfer; the Community Right to Bid for "assets of community value" provisions; the Community Right to Reclaim Land; and Compulsory Purchase for Communities' (Lambeth Council 2012:3). As a co-operative council, Lambeth was also committed to exploring 'the potential for mutuals to rebalance the relationship between the council and citizens, create new types of value for local communities, and develop more bottom-up, frontline-driven public services' (Shafique 2013:16).

Foundation and aims of Brixton Green

1.2

Brixton Green was founded by Philippe Castaing and Brad Carroll, local residents and business-owners. Castaing was involved in the Brixton Business Forum. They had been working with key figures in the Community Land Trust and Co-Operative movements (Bob Paterson and David Rodgers)³ to develop a formula for the the delivery of local affordable housing solutions. In 2008 Brixton Green was established as one of ten national community share pilots (enterprises in which shares are sold to finance community ventures), becoming a community benefit society, or mutual (run for the benefit of the wider community, not only its members – in contrast to a co-operative society) in 2009. Brad Carroll sat on the supervisory board for the National Community Land Trust Network, and Brixton Green became affiliated to London Citizens, the regional branch of Citizens UK, which helped to establish the East London CLT in 2007 with a view to building permanently affordable homes in east London. With support from the Mayor of London the ELCLT secured the transfer of land from the GLA into CLT ownership in 2012. The site of the former St Clement's hospital in Mile End is currently being developed in partnership with Peabody Trust and Linden Homes (selected by the GLA as preferred delivery partner), through a community-led design process facilitated by architects John Thompson and Partners, with a mix of genuinely affordable homes (linked to local wage levels) for rent

and sale, as well as market housing. A democratic Community Foundation will manage and own the freehold of the site in perpetuity.

Brixton Green, advised by Dow Jones Architects, became aware of the potential of the Somerleyton Road site for a similar purpose in 2008, when it was discussed with Chuka Umunna, then Labour's prospective parliamentary candidate for Streatham. In 2011 Brixton Green commissioned architects Feilden Clegg Bradley Studios to produce a framework proposal for housing, a theatre, children's centre and dental surgery on the site and launched a bid for a lease on the site from Lambeth, on the understanding that the council would honour the principle of its ownership as a community asset by a mutual rather than sell it to a commercial developer. However, the council's decision in 2013 to retain ownership of the site itself, and work in partnership with a mutual to develop a community-led and managed housing development represented a significant step forward in the council's policy towards management of its own assets for the provision of affordable local housing.

Future Brixton Masterplan 2009

1.3

The Independent reported in 1995, 'There are deep resentments about the lack of jobs and social and recreational facilities in Brixton. No one wants to see a repeat of 1981 or 1985 riots. And to prevent that, this Government gave £37.5m as a grant to set up Brixton City Challenge in 1993, to regenerate the area...' (Rahman 1995). The subsequent failure of the programme was attributed in part to 'the legacy of an incompetent and inefficient local authority – which is of course also the main partner in the City Challenge...' (Rahman 1995). But in 2008 the London Development Agency commissioned a new Visioning Framework for Brixton in partnership with the council, and the following year saw the launch of the **Future Brixton Masterplan** (Lambeth Council 2009). In 2010 Peter Bishop, director of Design Development and Environment at the LDA, marked the opening of Windrush Square with the announcement that 'We [the GLA/LDA] want to continue to work closely with Lambeth [council] on their future plans to enhance the distinctive character of the town centre and harness the energy of Brixton's creative and cultural industries' (Mayor of London 2010). Notwithstanding the subsequent closure of the LDA, the Windrush initiative and the eventual opening of the Black Cultural Archives in a new permanent home on the square established a more positive perspective on the council's efforts to regenerate Brixton in partnership with other agencies, and in 2012 the council launched a tender to find a development partner for a £50 million regeneration project focused on the central Brixton town hall area.

In the 2009 Masterplan, Somerleyton Road is identified as an opportunity area for development, representing one of four 'gateways' to the town centre (Gateway D, from the east). The Masterplan stated that: 'Gateway D also functions as a more localised gateway to the residential neighbourhood of the Moorlands Estate, whereas Gateway C [the overland station] is metropolitan in scale as it forms a threshold and sense of arrival for commuters and visitors to Brixton. The gateways with their landmark buildings and destinations, associated hubs of activities and services form a perimeter around the markets area. Reinforcing and enhancing the distinctive characteristics and mix of uses and improving the connectivity between the gateways will result in not only defining the uniqueness of Brixton's town centre but also activating footfall through the markets area' (Lambeth 2009:46).

The Somerleyton Road site

1.4

Hence Somerleyton Road, located within a 5-minute walk from Brixton's underground and overground stations, was recognized as a significant location both for locally-focused

development and as a catalyst for economic growth in the centre. Furthermore it had been deprived of investment for years since the demolition of its generous Victorian terraces in the 1970s to make way for the GLC's abortive plans to build the Southern Cross section of the London Ringway scheme (an orbital motorway circling the inner city) through Brixton. Following the Council's discussions and partnership agreement with Brixton Green and other stakeholders, the Supplementary Planning Document (SPD) produced by Allies and Morrison: Urban Practitioners (where Peter Bishop now held a post as director) in 2013 provided more detailed strategies for the four identified 'investment areas', including Somerleyton Road. It stated that: 'The south eastern section of the SPD area is a focus for improving connections and local environments. The residential estates in this area are not well connected to the town centre and surrounding amenities and there is a need to enhance physical linkages to support greater integration of this area ... A major redevelopment opportunity exists in the Somerleyton Road area ... Major investment here would deliver new housing, community infrastructure including a new major cultural facility and provide new job opportunities' (Lambeth Council 2013a:38).

The potential for community-led development

1.5

The SPD further stressed that the delivery of the recommendations for Somerleyton Road and Future Brixton in general would be based on partnership and collaborative working between the council and other stakeholders, prioritising projects according to an assessment of where they could bring greatest benefit. They would be funded from a number of different sources, including the new Community Infrastructure Levy (CIL, introduced to support the provisions of the Localism Act), capital receipts, partner's resources and external grants. Land assembly would be assisted by the Council's use of its own assets, but also compulsory purchase orders where necessary.

However, the question articulated by Philippe Castaing of Brixton Green three years earlier, on commissioning FCBS to visualise a development for Somerleyton Road, was 'how you actually make a community site effective' (Brixton Blog 2010). As he said, 'What is exciting about Brixton is the meeting of generations and backgrounds that happens here – but how do you do that in a new community space?' (Brixton Blog 2010). For Brixton Green, which had been founded specifically to foster economic opportunity in the area, the answer lay in its governance structure as a community shares venture, which would ensure local ownership of the project through the purchase of shares at just £1 each. Brixton Green launched its share offer on the Moorlands Estate in 2010, with a target membership of 5,000 individuals living within the five wards of central Brixton, each of whom is entitled to one vote. The money raised would contribute to the costs of bringing forward Somerleyton Road as a potential land trust for community development and social enterprise.

The Guardian drew a comparison between the project and the Letchworth Garden City model, affirming that: 'there is no reason why the land trust model cannot be deployed in urban areas, such as Brixton, by building on the guiding principle of the Letchworth garden city heritage foundation to "create, maintain and promote a vibrant environment while maximising the financial returns from the assets we hold in trust, and to reinvest those returns". Today, that means that the foundation [Letchworth], which owns much of the local land, reinvests around £3m annually for the upkeep of Letchworth without making any demands on council taxpayers' (Hetherington 2009). The vision also met with a positive response from the leader of Lambeth Council, Stephen Reed, who stated that: 'We are looking to see how we can support what will become the first venture of its kind in an urban area ... The old idea that speculators own property to make money has gone' (Hetherington 2009). While this latter statement is clearly far from the truth, Lambeth Council's decision to back the project while maintaining its ownership of the land opened the door to a

partnership venture that has promised to deliver a development in which the benefits from the assets will stay in the community where they are much needed.

Social deprivation and displacement

1.6

Somerleyton Road is located in Coldharbour Ward, which is classified as the poorest in the borough of Lambeth. Three out of five residents live in social housing, and the Moorlands Estate, the council estate which directly abuts the road on the east side was identified by Lambeth's State of the Borough Report for 2012 as 'seriously deprived in income, employment and wider barriers to services domains' (Scott 2013:19). There is a high concentration of single parent families (male and female) in the Brixton SPD area generally, and a need for investment in social infrastructure – school places, after-school and community facilities, health provision and open space and leisure amenities. In 2011 male unemployment in the local area stood at 12.4%, compared to 7.6% female unemployment (Lambeth Council 2013b), and gang-related crime is repeatedly flagged up as a local problem, spatially focused on Somerleyton Passage, the cut-through under the railway line which connects Somerleyton Road and the east side of Brixton with the more affluent residential area on the west of the tracks.



Somerleyton Road forms part of the P5 bus route. Photo C.Melhuish 2014

'I know people wait for the P5 [bus] and don't walk up to Guinness Trust at a certain time of the night' noted a participant in one of the community workshops (workshop participant 2014).⁴ Her reference is to the 1930s Guinness Trust Estate at the southern end of the road, past the council recycling depot, which has been the locus of protests against tenant eviction and regeneration of the properties for a number of years. However, Somerleyton Road also sits within immediate proximity at its northern point of the newly redeveloped Brixton Village market, which is credited with generating a dramatic increase of evening and weekend

visitors to Brixton as well as a significant rise in local house prices.

'The market's very expensive – all those cafes and things ... Mostly tourists go in there', observed another workshop participant, eliciting the following response from a co-ordinator: 'there's going to need to be an element of this that generates an income ... you know, wealthy outsiders coming in and spending their money in this area and then that money is retained and invested in some of the things that we've talked about today' (workshop participant 2014).⁵ The delicacy of this balance is flagged up in the 2014 Brief to Consultants (the masterplanners and architects): 'The town centre is a lively mix of independent shops and well known high street brands – with H&M, TK Maxx and Mac all recently finding a home here. The Brixton pound is celebrating its fifth birthday and more than 300 businesses now accept the local currency. But the speed and nature of change concerns communities living and working here. The acclaimed success of the indoor markets brings a noticeable change in the types of new business opening up there. Private rents and house prices are rising rapidly as more people are drawn to this exciting town centre'.⁶

Lambeth's Equality Impact statement (2013/14) on the Somerleyton project further reports that the 2001 Census recorded 44.3% of residents in the ward as black or black British, but suggests that figure has since fallen by 8% due to the outward movement of families to suburbia – in contrast to an increase of 9% in the overall population) (Lambeth 2013/14).⁷ Indeed, many of the Victorian houses along the road were occupied until their demolition as lodgings by the first waves of migrants from the Caribbean in the 1950s and 60s. As a whole, Lambeth has the second highest proportion of black Caribbean people

in the UK (approx 10%), but Brixton also has high proportions of mixed heritage, Portuguese and South American residents. While the area's appeal is largely attributed to the cultural vitality that this diversity has generated, the spectre of gentrification is closely linked to the displacement of those ethnic groups who have given Brixton its distinctive identity. Hence one of the key drivers for the Somerleyton Road project is the ambition to provide genuinely affordable homes for local people that will help to stem the tide of less affluent residents away from Brixton, alongside homes for sale at market prices in order to promote greater integration between different income groups, and supported by opportunities for local training and employment.

Processes and structures

2

'The council also has a responsibility to all of its citizens; to provide affordable housing, to use our resources effectively and to achieve equality and fairness in everything we do'

Somerleyton Road Project Brief to Consultants 2014

The Somerleyton case study stands apart from the rest in that the development is not led by a university or other major institution, but by a partnership of three organisations working in collaboration with local people to achieve the community benefits which are central to the narrative of much university-led spatial development. Hence it demonstrates a comparative way of working which is driven by a 'co-operative' vision in which the concept of 'community ownership' is paramount. However it also reveals the tensions, difficulties, and long-term nature of the project which come with this territory.

A partnership approach

2.1

Following Lambeth Council's announcement of its intent to work with Brixton Green and Ovalhouse Theatre on the Somerleyton Road project, Social Life, a social enterprise set up by the Young Foundation, was commissioned to conduct community-based Action Planning workshops between January and March 2013. The GLA provided funding from its 'Build your own home – the London way' fund to pay for this work, which would establish a clear protocol for collaborative working between stakeholders. In June that year, the council commissioned another architectural practice, Pollard Thomas Edwards, to produce a concept design for a shared vision of what might go on the site based on the outcome of the workshops, which could be used to invite expressions of interest from potential development partners capable of delivering the project.

By this time, Brixton Green had sold shares to over 1,000 members. It was described by the council as 'a registered community benefit society set up four years ago to make it possible for all sections of the community to come together and make a positive and informed contribution to the redevelopment of Somerleyton Road ... [it] is a consultative body affiliated with local organisations that provides a wide community base for discussions over the future of Somerleyton Road' (Lambeth Council 2013b:3). Reporting on the proposed procurement strategy in July 2013, the Cabinet Member for Housing and Regeneration further clarified that: 'The project exemplified the new partnership approach being taken as a result of the Cooperative Council, with Oval House and Brixton Green working together with Members and officers, who he thanked for their hard work'.⁸ This approach emphasised the concepts of co-operative commissioning (based on evidence

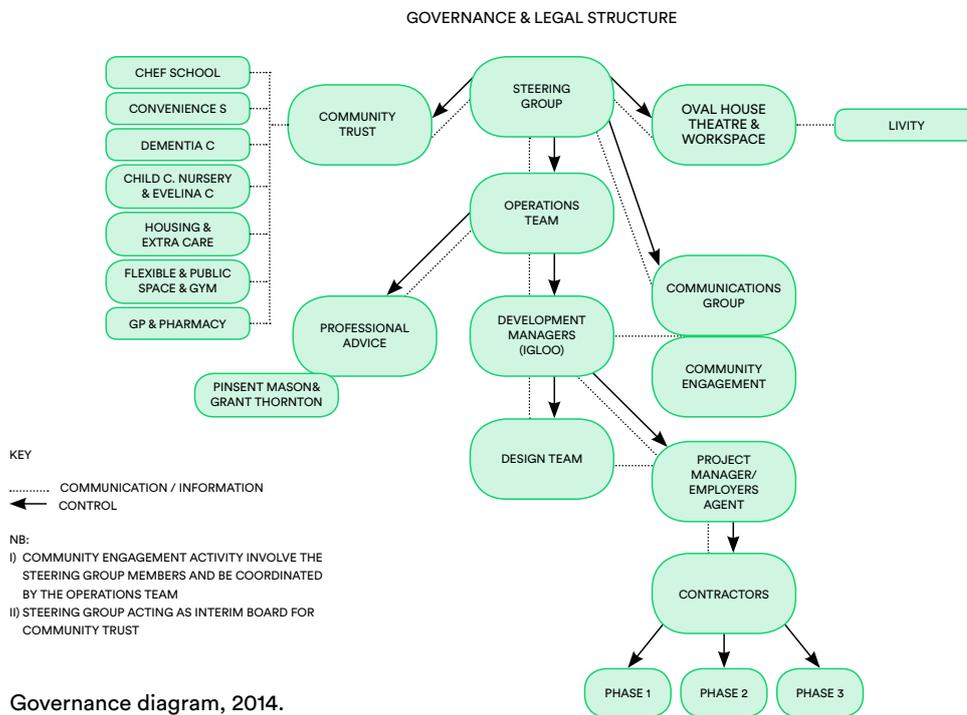
and input from service users, citizens and staff) and co-production in the design and delivery of public services, including housing.

A report from the Royal Society of Arts that year noted that ‘the coalition government is actively encouraging a stronger role for third sector organisations, social enterprises and public service mutuals in the delivery of public services’ (Shafique 2013:6), and highlighted the emergence of co-operative councils and the work of Lambeth council in particular as an example of partnership and mutualisation in action. But it also suggested that ‘the process needs to be skilfully managed. In the right setting public service mutuals can unlock the creative potential of services and generate social and economic benefits for communities. However, the spinning-out process itself can be extremely challenging and difficult’ (Shafique 2013:4). One of the problems which the report identified was the ‘recognition that “sectional capture” is always a risk in participative democracy, and therefore the council is seeking innovative ways to engage all communities at various levels, in multiple ways, drawing on a diverse set of methodologies including ethnographic research, service user councils and social network analysis’ (Shafique 2013:14).

One of the criticisms that have been levelled at Brixton Green from certain quarters⁹ is that of ‘sectional capture’, notwithstanding its community share governance. In July 2013 Brixton Buzz reported that ‘Some residents of Southwyck House [the council-owned housing block on the corner of Somerleyton Road and Coldharbour Lane] were both bemused and angered to find a big banner stuck outside their block proclaiming, “We Support Brixton Green.” Seeing as Brixton Green have no idea of what support – if any – they enjoy from the residents of the block, it seems more than a little presumptuous to put up such a misleading message’. Brixton Buzz noted that Brixton Green had not made any approach to the Residents Association beforehand, and that ‘this is exactly the kind of activity that has led some locals to treat Brixton Green with extreme suspicion’ (Brixton Buzz 2013) – notwithstanding Brixton Green’s repeated efforts to put such suspicions to rest (culminating in a public statement made by the Board on 21st July 2015).¹⁰ In addition, as mentioned by the council officer in charge, there were concerns that the Afro-Caribbean community in particular was under-represented in the project, reflecting the pattern of consultation for the wider SPD: ‘the consultation sample for the SPD is very over-represented in terms of White British and underrepresented in terms of Black or Black British African and Caribbean people’ (Lambeth 2013b). Concerns have also been aired on the Urban 75 webforum (linked to Brixton Buzz; Urban 75 2013) that Brixton Green’s board of trustees was influenced by business and property interests, while Brixton Green maintains that the professional expertise embodied in certain co-opted trustees and the co-founders has been essential to the successful development of the project.¹¹ For example, Stephen Jordan the chair, is described on its website as having been involved with ‘unlocking’ the Kings Cross and Stratford City development plans – ‘publicly owned land developed by private sector expertise and investment’, while vice-chair Dinah Roake, an architect, worked for the Homes and Communities Agency and currently HCA-ATLAS, advising on social infrastructure provision and stewardship. Another trustee, Devon Thomas, albeit a long-standing Brixtonian from the black community, was chair of Brixton Business Forum and ‘substantially involved in the Brixton City Challenge, having written the regeneration strategy for Brixton after much research in the 1980s’.¹²

Brixton Green’s agreement to a partnership arrangement with the council has itself coloured opinion of its independent and autonomous status: ‘buying into the new structures of the co-operative council, [it] is now part of the system’ (Scott 2013:28). Since then, the project has been subsumed under the ‘Future Brixton’ umbrella, and directed by a steering group established in October 2013, comprising three members from the council, three from Brixton Green, and two from Ovalhouse theatre.¹³ This group was initially chaired by Lambeth’s Cabinet member for Housing and Regeneration, subsequently replaced by the

Cabinet member for Jobs and Growth, while within the council the project is led by an operations team managed by Neil Vokes, also on the steering group (see *governance diagram*).



The Social Life report published in June had stated that the Council's first option would be to follow the more conventional private developer-led route of procuring the project, selling a leasehold on the land to a new development partner (Social Life 2013:50). In this scenario the income from sales of private housing on that part of the site would be used to subsidise 40% affordable housing and community infrastructure on the rest. But in July the Cabinet agreed to consider a second option as well, which demonstrated a growing confidence in the partnership to deliver the project itself. Under this option, the council would retain ownership of the whole site, borrow the money for the development, and procure a development partner/contractor to build the project. The borrowings would be paid back over 30 to 40 years out of income on a 40:60 mix of target/affordable and private rental housing managed by either a registered provider or housing co-operative, and the Council would grant a leasehold on the site to a new community body that would oversee all the housing and amenities. In November 2013, it was confirmed that the Council would adopt the second option, working through the joint steering committee with a development manager and design team, with a view to making an appointment in Spring 2014. This would be followed by submission of a planning application in Summer 2015, after which Brixton Green in its current form would be replaced by a new stewardship body set up to become the long-term headleaseholder of the site (minus the Ovalhouse plot) from the Council.

Engagement/consultation

2.2

The partnership approach was anchored in the principle of community engagement and consultation and, as noted above, the Council's decision to work with Brixton Green was strongly influenced by the understanding that, as a mutual, it could establish 'a wide community base for discussions over the future of Somerleyton Road' (Lambeth Council 2013b:3), and hopefully avoid the pitfalls of 'sectional capture' highlighted by the RSA,

also flagged up by the SPD in 2013. ‘Brixton Green has carried out broad community engagement for the last five years, involving a wide cross section of the community’, reported Social Life, further noting that ‘In parallel to Social Life’s work, throughout March and April 2013, Brixton Green convened further engagement activities, including drop-in workshops in Brixton Village and Herne Hill market and meetings with specific groups’ (Social Life 2013:6). It was this preparation which paved the way for the more targeted deliberative workshops organised by Social Life.

The action planning workshops

2.2.1

The Social Life workshops took the form of three meetings at the Lambeth Volunteer Centre in Brixton for each of four themes (ie 12 meetings in total) – housing and communal spaces; health, education and culture; employment and training; and long-term management. They were attended by a total of 79 people, but it was noted that fewer young people and residents of the Moorlands estate participated than hoped for (although a workshop specifically for schoolchildren at Hillmead Primary was also organised). The participants were a mix of those who had signed up at the two public community events or at stalls set up by Brixton Green round Brixton in March, and those reached through Brixton Green’s membership, as well as emails sent to 160 local community groups, councillors and agencies.

The workshops themselves combined a mix of external speakers on comparative projects, presentations of local data and draft proposals – both for the development strategy and constitution of the community stewardship body – and discussion with participants, along with production of ideas maps and priorities. Participants were also asked to indicate their support or otherwise for the proposals; of 52 people who gave their views, 11 supported the proposals without any reservations, 35 supported them subject to some queries and reservations, mostly to do with community control, and six did not support them at all. The report also notes that ‘there were some concerns about the impact of a “shiny” new development, with high design standards, on the adjacent areas that are more run down, and how this would make residents feel, in terms of their sense of belonging and self worth. Questions were raised about whether the new services and facilities could duplicate and potentially replace existing services and facilities, such the Moorlands Community Centre. There were also some disagreements about youth provision, and what would best appeal to the full diversity of Lambeth youth. It was agreed that young people should be heavily involved in designing the scheme in the next stages, and that this broad principal should apply to provision for all ages’ (Social Life 2013:11).

Above all however, the engagement process itself was criticised, as being too short and too rushed. As one participant observed: ‘The structure of consultation is being made as the discussions are taking place. Not very satisfactory. The community is being given short time span to look at these plans’ (Social Life 2013:47). But in November 2013 a new programme of public workshops was launched, as a further demonstration of the commitment to collaborative working and, more specifically, a forum for a new round of focused discussion on key topics: procurement models, legal structures for managing community assets, housing tenures, finance structures, and the brief and criteria for selecting a development manager and design team. Most of these workshops were attended and observed by the author, generating the following observations.

The project workshops at Six Brixton

2.2.2

‘This place that we’re in at the moment – it’s a bit run-down, but it was an old Local Authority kitchen and we’re calling it Meanwhile at No 6 and this is gonna

be a test-bed for some of those uses that we'll be bringing along; it's a way of engaging – again with our neighbours – to say we're here, this is really gonna happen and be part of it and we will use it for reaching out to people, as well as to try out new ventures and so on'

*Stephen Jordan, Chairman Brixton Green 2013*¹⁴



Six Brixton, Somerleyton Road. Left: Bidders Day, December 2013. Right: growing the garden, with donations from Chelsea Flower Show, May 2014. *Photos C.Melhuish 2014*

This round of workshops was facilitated between December 2013 and April 2014 by the project steering committee. All but the first one took place in a building provided for the project's use – a redundant council kitchen on the site in Somerleyton Road offered as a 'meanwhile' space, and made over as 'Six Brixton' by Brixton Green and young people from 'Build It' (an initiative by London Youth) to host a programme of community events. This building has been central to the community engagement initiative as a physical base from which to reach out to different stakeholders, as well as being available for hire to a range of different community groups for their own use, and promoting ideas about the types of activity which might continue to take place on the site after its development. However it has also more latterly been dubbed 'the trouble-plagued Brixton community project' (Brixton Blog 2015) due to disputes over access with volunteers who have run a number of community projects, highlighting the ownership and management issues which can arise around temporary spaces.

The initial drop-in session was held in a local church community centre run by Brixton Community Base, which expressed interest in relocating to the Somerleyton Road site in the eventuality that the church sells the property in the future. It was attended by a handful of people (around eight over two hours) who were informed that notices had been published the previous week inviting teams to submit expressions of interest for the role of development manager on the Somerleyton project. The purpose of this meeting was to ask participants what questions they thought should be put to the prospective teams as part of the shortlisting process scheduled for early February. The response seemed hesitant, although a strong interest in making the scheme sustainable, with a view to reducing household heating bills, came through.

The subsequent meeting, held at Number Six, was an information day for prospective bidders. At this event, Councillor Robbins stressed that engagement work would be key to the process. As he said, 'part of the engagement work would be working with the general population if you like, who might be interested in moving in' (Cllr Robbins 2014),¹⁵ underlining the personal interest that many local people have in the project. It was followed some weeks later by the first community meeting to take place in the building, an evening event combining 'festive refreshments', as advertised, in the run-up to Christmas and serious discussion organised around three tables dedicated to different topics: 'governance and decision-making'; 'project programme and design process'; and 'wider community feeding in – the vision'. This meeting began quietly, but filled up and became quite

animated. It was attended by an even mix of men and women, although very few members of the black community/ies, or the 16–30 age group, were present. One woman brought her 11-year old daughter along. Also present were the director and project manager of a cultural events agency which Brixton Green had engaged to manage and fund-raise for the community programme at Number Six, and it seemed that many of the people attending had specific interests in hiring the space for different activities, rather than engaging more generally in a discussion about the long-term Somerleyton Road project.

The meeting was co-ordinated by Lambeth Council members of the steering group, differentiated from most other attendees by their office attire (suits and jumpers). They emphasised the importance of using these gatherings to make ‘big decisions’ about both the design of the project and ‘who’s going to live there’ (Neil Vokes 2013),¹⁶ but recognised



Six Brixton: presentations by the Lambeth Council/Brixton Green/Ovalhouse partnership on Bidders’ Day December 2013.
Photo C.Melhuish 2014

that ‘some people don’t like coming to meetings like this’, and ‘no-one likes the word stakeholder’(Cllr Robbins 2013b).¹⁷ Nevertheless, they would need to find some people willing to give up some time to the project. The selected architects would also need to show they can engage with the local community, and this would form part of the criteria for scoring their tenders. 10% of points would be awarded on the basis of legal requirements, 30% on the basis of price, and 60% on quality of the submission. This news was enthusiastically received, but the admission that a recent tender for work on Brixton Town Hall had, contrary to the council’s stated intentions, been awarded on price not quality, elicited cries of dismay and disbelief.

Despite this unpromising premise, participants seemed ready to find a place at the tables and get involved in the discussions, with comments recorded in felt pen on A3 pads of white paper by designated table leaders. There was little evidence of timidity in contributing thoughts and opinions; perhaps some were emboldened by their role as representatives for particular organisations, while relatively few had simply walked in off the street as local residents in a wholly private capacity. The atmosphere was relaxed and sociable, eased by the fact that many people seemed to know each other already, and by the provision of drinks and snacks that created opportunities for participants to chat informally away from the tables in pairs or smaller groups.

The key issues that came out of this initial meeting were a strong concern with transparency, particularly with regard to the financial model for the development, and effective communication of the process, along with provision of concrete information that would enable participants to engage in the discussion on a properly informed basis. It was stressed by participants, one of whom was a member of the Carlton House Mansions co-op which will have to vacate this building at the north of the site, that there is little point talking in abstract about the design approach without fully understanding what the facts

and constraints are; moreover it is a waste of participants' time. This man's position also illustrated the fact that 'different people have different interests' in the debate – so while his was driven by his housing concern, a woman who described herself as an interior designer suggested that many local architects and designers would be 'gagging to contribute to the design discussion'. Another man pointed out that the full range of local interests could never be addressed through consultation: 'no-one can consult all the communities of Brixton' because it's so diverse and heterogeneous (workshop participants 2013).¹⁸

This meeting agreed that information should be shared by a variety of different channels – emailed updates would work for some but not all, and public meetings likewise, since it's not easy for many people to attend in the evening, whether because of work or family commitments. The Future Brixton website has subsequently been used as a public forum for posting reports on the various workshops, and associated presentation materials.¹⁹ It was noted that although it was good to put Council minutes online for public viewing, it was also evident that they are 'not full and frank and don't reveal the background information' (workshop participant) – or discord – which the councillor attributed to commercial confidentiality. He also mentioned that the first draft of the financial model supplied by the accountants was difficult to share, because so complicated that it posed a challenge even for council staff to understand.

It was further agreed that Number Six itself, as a building and a venue, provided a great opportunity to build up a vision of the development through iterative practice – ongoing activities – which should be published via a monthly campaign to raise awareness and establish new forms of social occupation on the site. The provision of this facility, rough and ready as it may be, was recognised as a distinct advantage in terms of representing and 'growing' the project and its ambitions in a real-life context. Over the next few months, the work on the building itself included the creation of a garden to the back and front (enhanced by donations from the Chelsea Flower Show), and the busy outdoor Block Workout gym to the side, run by young men from the local black community against a backdrop of thumping music, as well as art displays inside in the main hall and a community radio station in a small room behind it. A programme of activities including yoga and dance classes began to evolve indoors, with highlights including the screening of the FIFA World Cup matches in the summer of 2014.



Six Brixton: a venue in which to develop a vision of the future. Left: Block Workout gym in action. Right: masterplanners' drop-in event November 2014. *Photos C.Melhuish 2014*

The first workshop after Christmas launched some hard work on discussion of the financial model, and was attended by only 22 people. This was more of a conventional presentation with question-and-answer session, and general discussion. Working in the background were two 'graphic harvesters', making notes on the discussion and translating it into a large mural-style illustration mounted on the wall. The production process contributed to the dynamic of the session and generated an attractive visual

outcome, although one couldn't be sure how accurate the translation was or how helpful in representing the information presented by the council's money expert. The second session of the year was another technical workshop focused on discussing the options for the legal forms which the stewardship body might take – eg community interest company (CIC), co-operative, or charitable incorporated organisation. This raised some key questions about how widely the community benefit of the development should extend, and how the new homes could be protected both from buy-to-let practice and right-to-buy policy. It was agreed that the latter could be achieved by investing the housing in a fully mutual co-operative, which would be represented on the board of an overarching stewardship body with a charitable remit, in which residents, non-residents, the council and the wider community could all have a voice.



'Understanding the money': graphic by graphic harvesters Odd Zebra, produced during public workshop January 2014. Image courtesy Lambeth Council/Odd Zebra

The next workshop, convened to discuss the potential non-residential uses on the site (amounting to 2,000m², additional to Ovalhouse theatre), took place a month later and attracted many more participants, maybe partly attracted by the barbeque outdoors. By this time, a shortlist of development teams had been drawn up, behind closed doors, and as it transpired, some of the architects on this list were present anonymously at the workshop – 'to find out what it was all about' (workshop participant 2014).²⁰ In addition there were representatives from various local businesses. Once again, the participants split up around different tables organised on three themes: Arts and Culture, Employment and Enterprise, and Health and Wellbeing. They were exhorted to think about potential uses on the site with attention to the question of 'how do you pay for them?'.²¹ The feedback from these workshops is considered below.

The emergent themes and tensions

2.2.3

These workshops delivered a clear message from participants that they wanted the Sommerleyton Road development to be handled not simply as a construction project delivering benefits for locals, but also as a political one that should stand up as an exemplary model with relevance beyond Brixton itself: 'it's going to be very visible, very marketable, a model to say this is what can be done in an urban setting – and then the delivery team could go off and do it all over London' (workshop participant). They emphasised a preference for avoidance of conventional commercial solutions to viability, such as office use on the site, and support for amenities such as community health and dental care, a gym, Extracare housing and a dementia centre, workshop space, a multimedia training centre, start-up and social enterprise facilities and pop-up shops etc. One young teenager – a lone representative of his age group – suggested that young people should be involved in managing some of the spaces, to give them a sense of ownership

and responsibility, and also to keep them busy and out of trouble. Participants pushed for a fully environmental scheme that would set high standards, with talk of community gardens and allotments, charging-points, and solar energy generated on-site. They also questioned why the new rental housing could not be provided at 100% council target rents – set at £95–£138pw for one- to four-bedroom flats, compared to £270–£600 in the private rented sector,²² but seemed to accept the council's argument that in this scenario it would stand to lose £21m, that the development needed to generate some kind of income, and that by establishing a new benchmark for the private rented sector with fixed rents over 3–5 year tenures the council could exert a positive long-term influence on the market.

Safety also came up as a key concern, and one that participants hoped improvements to the physical landscape would successfully address: 'some people are frightened of walking through there [Sommerleyton Passage] at a certain time of the night but if you make it in a way where it can be accessed at any time then it could encourage people so they can come from that way and go in the other way' (workshop participant). But so too did the desire for the street to retain its character as a real place in Brixton where locals could continue to feel at home: 'I've got this fear ... I would hate to see it become a Disney version of what people, *outsiders* think Brixton used to be ... that then it's so posh, *nobody* local wants to use it and it, it doesn't really represent the place that we've all lived in' (participant). Indeed, a perceived tension between insiders and outsiders, and a need for locals to retain ownership over the territory was a strong theme throughout the workshops, as indicated by the following comments from various participants: 'you don't want things like in the market up *here* ... they're very expensive ... is this going to be a place for tourists or for local people? I mean it can mix, but I don't know...'. And again, 'it should not be for anybody really *outside* to come in and invade people's space ... in the estate down there where people live – the two estates...'; 'because that's ... proper dwellings and people living down there'. On the other hand, there was a clear sense that the local community itself was highly diverse, and that this could be represented and celebrated in artwork for the development, such as mosaic in the passageway, which represents the stories of 'all the different groups'.

The idea of 'proper dwellings' and the need to reproduce that resource for all the groups, including different age groups, has been core to the engagement process. Brad Carroll affirms his belief that 'how housing is delivered is fundamental to democracy',²³ and much of this process has been about building trust within the community that the council and its partners will deliver the genuinely affordable housing it has promised,

convincing the public that they will retain control of that resource long-term, and creating a structure for those goals to be realised. Number Six has provided a valuable physical space where the project can be developed and represented to the local community, both as a social reality – characterised by 'bluetack, barbeques, and gazebos' (Brad Carroll), and a lively summer street fair – and as material transformation of the surrounding environs: a 'space ... *for* the Project, so we can leave models here, we can have images up on the boards and they can be here permanently for people to come in and see' (Neil Vokes 2014).²⁴



Sommerleyton Road street fair, June 2014.
Photo C.Melhuish 2014

The limits of engagement

2.2.4

However, the management and use of the building has not been without its problems, highlighting in microcosm the tensions between different interests which inform all building projects of this scale. Brad Carroll has acknowledged that there have been many

arguments over the use of the space, and a succession of different centre managers has passed through its doors. Subsequently complaints have been made by volunteers that the building has not been as accessible as it should be, and questions asked about the spending of funds granted for community projects in 2014–15 which Brixton Green has dismissed as defamatory. The engagement process itself stopped short of participatory or co-design of the development, possibly to avoid the additional conflicts, negotiation, and investment of time often implicated in such ventures. The drawing and visualisation of the ideas discussed in the workshops, translated into a Consultants' Brief, was entrusted to the new development and design team, 'with the skills and expertise' (Neil Vokes 2014) to do so, although a new community workshop was convened in spring 2015 to discuss the design of the housing in more detail with the architects.

Igloo and Metropolitan Workshop were appointed in April 2014, following a decision-making process reserved to the steering committee. They were introduced to the public at a community street fair in June, when they canvassed opinions on the development, particularly the housing component, at a stall shared with Brixton Green and Lambeth's Neighbourhood Regeneration officer. There was then a hiatus in engagement activities until the new feasibility and massing studies were presented on exhibition boards and in model form at Number 6 in November at a public drop-in. The Igloo-led team also took responsibility for appointing the architects who would work on individual buildings, who were in turn introduced to the public and presented design concepts for separate plots within the development in March 2015, at a similar drop-in session.



Left: Public drop-in, Six Brixton: masterplan proposals November 2014

Right: 'Meet the architects' event, Six Brixton, April 2015. *Photos C.Melhuish 2014*

In April 2015 there was a significant demonstration against gentrification in Brixton – Reclaim Brixton – showing that despite the Council's efforts to engage the public in discussion about the regeneration of the whole SPD area, including Somerleyton Road, and promises to deliver on affordable housing, there was still a high level of antipathy to the proposed improvements and fear of displacement due to the increased land and rental values they are likely to produce. It reflected findings published two years earlier in the Social Heritage Record produced by Anchor and Magnet, a group of locally-based artists, for the Future Brixton: Townscape Heritage Initiative. Using 'artistic methods as research tools', to engage with personal stories linked to memories, sites and objects, the artists' aim was to document a 'largely unheard' public debate about the changes going on in Brixton. Participants in their research referred to 'Bourgeois Bohemians generating a 'state-led gentrification' (Anchor and Magnet 2013:10) in the area, and described a fragmentation into 'parallel universes' due to the closure of assets and communal spaces. This included an 'economic apartheid' operating in the markets whereby 'the indoor market is predominantly white people and the outdoor market working-class whites and blacks – people who can afford to go out in the evening and the people who work and shop in the daytime' (Anchor and Magnet 2013:20).

Engagement on the Somerleyton Road development has been working hard towards generating a shared and inclusive vision of the social life which could emerge on the site in future, but the sheer number of engagement initiatives taking place under the Future Brixton umbrella is confusing and overwhelming for many people, and demands a great deal of time and energy from those who may already be over-burdened with job and family commitments, as well as suffering from consultation fatigue. The workshop scenario may look too much like hard work to many, and furthermore may be found intimidating. Lack of confidence to participate may in turn lead to hostility towards the project and ‘insiders’ involved with it, and there are no easy solutions to these problems.

UCL ‘Data what?’ Workshop: the role of technology in community engagement

2.2.5



Left: UCL Data What stand, Somerleyton street fair June 2014

Right: UCL Data What workshop, July 2014, at Six Brixton. *Photos C.Melhuish 2014*

On the appointment of the delivery and design team, the council had proposed introducing a new community engagement team into the picture. However it was considered that the creation of yet another layer of engagement might simply contribute to the consultation fatigue which was already evident. In the meantime, UCL’s Urban Laboratory and ICRI Cities had been awarded a Beacon Bursary for public engagement to conduct a couple of workshops at Somerleyton Road which would specifically explore the potential of technology in the engagement process, and possibly further as an integral component of the design approach. This proposal was prompted by Brad Carroll’s interest in exploring the role of technology in community-led development, which he considered limited, and ICRI Cities’ prior presence in Brixton as part of its London Living Labs project, using sensors to measure air quality data as part of its work on data literacy. It was agreed that the UCL team would use air quality as a hook to engage community participants in a discussion and visualisation activities around the relevance of urban data and how it might enhance community participation in, and help to shape, urban development. The intention was to give participants an opportunity to take away some learning and skills relating to the reading and understanding of urban data which, although increasingly ubiquitous in public services, is often presented in an inaccessible or irrelevant form. ICRI Cities would then provide a bespoke air quality sensor for installation at the Number Six building, to collect air quality data from the site over the next two years (ie up to and during the construction work on the development), and provide a focal point for future community activities.

Potential participants in the workshops were recruited at the street fair in July, with around 15 signing up, including some with a prior or professional/activist interest in the subject. Amongst those who approached the stand, one suggested that local people were probably more concerned with putting food on the table and wouldn’t have time to worry about air quality; other comments suggested that a sense of powerlessness in addressing the problem would inhibit others from getting involved, even though it was recognised as

such. An approach by email to Brixton Green and local organisations, including the local primary school, including participants in previous workshops, did not succeed in expanding the numbers greatly; the single workshop that went ahead was attended by 13 people, including three from Lambeth Council's regeneration and open data offices, as well as three students and an academic, a couple of local artists, a schoolgirl from the local primary, and No 6's new Centre Manager, plus several volunteers. Of these a minority actually lived in the local community and the majority had a professional or academic interest either in Brixton's regeneration or the use of open data or both. But all joined enthusiastically in reading and interpreting local air quality data on iPads, generating a lively conversation about how air quality and other forms of data could shape people's experience of a place, and, via different types of personal and public interface (from mobile phone apps to public screens), enhance shared social knowledge within the community, as well as connections between people and services.

However there was little follow-up to this workshop, partly due to timing – the start of school summer holidays, which meant there could be no follow-on engagement with local schools – but also, further down the line, due to the vacuum that had emerged in the wider community engagement programme, which could not be agreed by the partners in the development. In addition, the new managers of No. 6 and its activities programme seemed doubtful that they would be able to make use of the air quality sensor data installed on the outside of the building without training and/or continuing input from the university. The possibility of recruiting community stewards with some knowledge of data, or staff from the council's open data unit to run some community-based activities around the sensors was discussed, and an invitation issued via the Data What? email, but did not evolve in the short-term. Nor did the potential for sharing the data and activities around it with Grow: Brixton, a local food-growing organisation leading on a nearby community development of the same name (now Pop Brixton,²⁵ from which it subsequently withdrew due to partnership problems on that project).

This initiative thus planted the seeds of an idea for a technology-based form of community participation in the emerging plans for the design and future use of the site, that would also deliver information about its impact on air quality over time. However due to a combined lack of infrastructure on the ground and continuing university input, they have remained largely dormant for the time being.

Delivery mechanism: doing it differently

2.3

'The Council recognises that there is an opportunity to do things differently at Somerleyton Road and to deliver a flagship project cooperatively. The approach outlined in this report will be shaped by local people, be unique to Brixton and give us the best chance of meeting people's aspirations'

Lambeth Council Cabinet, November 2013 (Lambeth Council 2013c)

Following the council's decision to develop the project co-operatively, within the framework of an extensive community engagement programme, and using the services of a development manager, prospective teams were initially invited to attend a 'Bidders Day' at Number Six in December 2013, at which information about the site and project was shared, and questions answered. Teams were informed that they could bid both as architects and development managers, and that the council wanted to make a quick decision. Neil Vokes from the Council explained that: 'we've split it [tender documents] into these two items for developing and managing a design team – so in terms of the Design Team it's Planning Consultant, Landscape Architects – everything that will get us to Planning Consent for Somerleyton Road. And then we're very keen to see a very

experienced Development Manager role come forward as part of the bid, to help mitigate some of the risk that we're looking at [as the developer for the project]. So some of the work that would involve would be, as the design develops, looking at the financial model, revisiting it, looking at where is the best place for the Council to get the funding to actually deliver this, and are there any opportunities along the way to share risk with other parties as well'.²⁶

Amongst the firms represented at this meeting were Savills, Guinness Trust, Igloo, Coplan Estates, Metropolitan Workshop, and PTEa, the architects commissioned by the council to produce a concept design report earlier in the year. The shortlist produced in Spring 2013 consisted of five teams combining masterplanning, design, and finance expertise, including some big names which would not normally be associated with a community-led development – AECOM, which has been appointed to masterplan Brixton Town Centre (billing itself 'a global provider of architecture, design, engineering, and construction services',²⁷ including investment; also the masterplanner of the North West Cambridge development, Case Study 2), with FCBS (Fielden Clegg Bradley Studios, the practice commissioned by Brixton Green to produce a framework proposal in 2011); Igloo (a regeneration company which combines asset and fund management with development management) with Tibbalds Planning and Urban Design and architects Metropolitan Workshop; Mae Architects with EC Harris (the 'leading global built asset consultancy');²⁸ Redloft (housing development and estate regeneration); PRP Architects with Mace (international construction and management); and Kier Group (construction and investment) with PTEa.

Although the assessment of this list was to be directed primarily by quality and design as the main evaluation criteria, teams were not asked to produce any design work, and the selection process focused rather on their capability to work collaboratively with the partners on the project. They were also asked to state at the outset whether they intended to bid again in the second stage process, after planning consent, to procure a contractor. This process led to the appointment of Igloo as the retained development manager on the project, responsible for selection, management and appointment of the wider project team, including Metropolitan Workshop as lead architects, and four further architectural practices to work on the design of individual plots. These include Zac Monro Architects, a local firm, for the Carlton Mansions plot, Foster Wilson Architects for the Ovalhouse theatre plot, Mae Architects for the Extracare housing (65 units), and Haworth Tompkins for part of the housing (71 units, pepperpotted tenures) and community amenities (nursery, retail, outdoor gym) on Plot E. Metropolitan Workshop will design housing (166 units, the same), a shop and chef's school on two further plots.

At the time of writing, it is hoped that construction could start by April 2016 with first phase completion (northern end of Somerleyton Road) by March 2017, depending on a successful planning application by November 2015, and a smooth delivery of the project steered by what the council has described as 'an incredibly strong partnership', represented by the steering committee: 'we do have a very good governance strategy, structure ... we meet fortnightly and we've changed the Council's Constitution so that members can actually make key decisions. So we feel that we've got a very quick decision-making process, and that hopefully gives you confidence in us as a client', explained the council's project manager at the Bidders Day event. While Stephen Jordan affirmed on Brixton Green's part, 'we're very happy to be active co-producers with Lambeth and Ovalhouse, we're part of the client team, and I say that we're actually in the tent helping to make it happen, but with proper commercial discipline'.²⁹

However from stage 2 of the delivery process, Brixton Green will be superseded by the new overarching community body, which will represent the voice of the community throughout the development process. The role of the development manager will in turn shift

to become that of client representative, with responsibility for contractor procurement, oversight of construction, and ultimately handover back to the council. Lambeth will then grant a long headlease on the site to the new community body which, as set out in Social Life's report, 'should have a clear social purpose set out in a constitution or charitable articles: "to be a not-for-profit social business working to support the social, economic and environmental sustainability of the Somerleyton Road project; and involving residents, social enterprises, local businesses and the wider Brixton community"' (Social Life 2013:20). This body, comprising a board of elected local trustees or governors, and a team of paid staff, will grant underleases to a housing co-operative responsible for managing the housing element of the development, and to the various commercial entities which establish themselves on the site, and assume responsibility for delivery of social programmes including training and young people's projects. It will be responsible for setting rent levels, and vetting the non-residential users, to make sure their business plans are realistic, and that they will be able to pay their rent.³⁰ At the same time it will continue to represent the voice and ownership of the community in the long-term, ensuring that the assets and benefits delivered by the development remain within the community for posterity.

Financial viability and risk mitigation

2.4

'A financially viable scheme which represents value for money for the council and which repays in full the up-front capital investment without unnecessarily limiting the council's ability to undertake other investment projects within the borough'
*Consultants' Brief 2014*³¹

In December 2013, Stephen Jordan declared to prospective bidders, 'We're not precious about who actually owns the freehold as long as there's an interest there that enables the Community to have a really active role in the management and isn't a burden on Council'.³² However, Lambeth's decision to retain full ownership of the site, develop the scheme itself in partnership, and hang on to its assets, represented a significant departure from conventional processes of neighbourhood regeneration and housing delivery. At the same time, the council's desire to mitigate its risk and ensure the scheme's financial viability is paramount, not least to avoid jeopardising regeneration initiatives in other parts of the borough, which could negatively influence public opinion.

The initial capital investment funding of £1m for the first phase of work, including procurement of a development manager/design team and design work to planning stage, and the development of funding and legal structures for delivery and long-term management and ownership, was agreed at the Council's July 2013 Cabinet meeting.³³ The second stage, costing around £50m, would be facilitated through the preferred Council borrowing model, repaying the debt over 30–40 years from rental income on 280 homes; the funder could be from the private sector, or the council could decide to borrow prudentially (ie directly from the Treasury). However this scenario would be reviewed by the Council after planning permission for the project is secured.

The development manager and design team would deliver the project on behalf of the Council for a fee, but it was also suggested at the Bidders' Day event that, 'If the costs are starting to overrun beyond budgets we have available we'd be looking at whether we could share risk [with the development manager], and then in the same way share benefits as they come later on' (council project manager). Additional sources of funding would include a £2.8m GLA grant for extra care housing and a £5m GLA grant for general needs housing, already secured, while Ovalhouse would hope to obtain grant funding from the Art Council. Other sources for the 2000 sq m of non-residential space could potentially include the EU, NHS, and TfL, as well as lottery grants, Sport England, and trusts such as Joseph

Rowntree Foundation, the Sainsbury Foundation, Cadbury Foundation, City Bridge, and Wellcome.

In the financial workshop held in February 2013, it was demonstrated that if the council borrowed £43m at an interest rate of 4.5% it could pay off the total debt of £61m by 2060, based on a rental income received from mixed-tenure properties of £60m. This figure was contrasted against both the significantly reduced sum of £39m that would be generated by the scheme if the affordable component were to be let at 100% target rents, and, at the other end of the spectrum, the £250m that would be generated by a 100% private rental scheme (minus typical marketing costs of around £2m). At the end of this period, the Council would be debt-free but still earning rental income – provided the houses are still standing. From the outset, the Council has been keen to stress that, partly in order to ensure the long-term value of its assets, it will not compromise on build quality and would seek to implement the highest standards of sustainable construction. However concerns were raised that the projected figure of £1200 per sq m would not be enough and should possibly be increased to £1500 – issues for the development manager and design team to scrutinise in their development of detailed design proposals for the site.

Design: connectivity and social infrastructure

2.5

‘The density and volume will set a new standard for Brixton, but the great thing is it will have local ownership’

*Brad Carroll November 2014*³⁴



Somerleyton Road, proposed development: aerial perspective presented at ‘meet the architects’ event, April 2015, Six Brixton. *Image courtesy Lambeth Council/Igloo*

The massing study and architects’ proposals presented at Number Six between November and March 2013 show a reasonably dense scheme of medium rise housing blocks at the north end of Somerleyton Road, tailing off to slightly lower-rise development at the southern end. The Ovalhouse theatre and adjacent Carlton House Mansions (Plots A and B), converted into creative workspaces, occupy the northernmost site facing Coldharbour Lane, presenting a public face to the development in close proximity to the entrance to

the popular Brixton Village market. The development echoes, but does not reproduce, the ‘barrier block’ typology of Southwyck House, which sits on the opposite corner of Somerleyton Road, in relation to the railway tracks with which it runs in parallel. However it largely overshadows the low-rise construction of the Moorlands estate which it faces across the road, even though the buildings are interspersed with small pocket gardens and communal spaces, breaking up the development into bite-sized chunks, and the street frontage is softened by regular setbacks.

The eight-acre site is made up of four further plots: Plot C, directly behind the theatre, comprises 125 homes and a chef’s school, while Plot D contains the 65 extracare homes for the elderly in two blocks. Plot E offers another 71 homes, a nursery, and children’s centre in three lower blocks, together with the relocated outdoor gym. The end plot, F, holds 40 new homes and a shop unit fronting Somerleyton Passage. The scheme mostly conforms to the guidelines set out in the SPD, which required the introduction of a major ‘new cultural facility’ as an anchor for activity and employment opportunities, but also proposed the opening up of new routes beneath the railway at this end of the site to improve pedestrian connections with the town centre, which has not been implemented. The SPD further stresses the importance of improving the existing Somerleyton Passage by introducing active ground floor uses and public realm improvements around it, and recommends a height limit of five storeys for the housing blocks, with gardens, mentioning the potential for a slightly higher building at the northern end. The current scheme seems to slightly increase those height limits, while reducing the scale of the theatre, and breaking up the building mass along the road with lower-rise connecting blocks and planting.

The scheme is comparable in outline to the two earlier studies carried out by PTEa and FCBS, with variations in massing, set-back, and distribution of communal space across the three. However the earlier studies both contained a proposal for a high-rise block on the northern corner, co-located with the cultural centre, which has since been rejected. The new proposals in their current outline form (June 2015) seem to offer a relatively limited amount of community infrastructure, including the scope of the retail provision, compared to both the enthusiastic deliberations of the workshops and CABE’s earlier (2011) recommendations describing: ‘A mixed-use development with a rich variety of community activities, shops, work places and flats [which] has the potential to create a vibrant streetscape. The variety of activities in the whole block will balance the potential over-dominance of residential units. An imaginative, adaptable new form of buildings could provide spaces for living and working and retail opportunities that could enliven Somerleyton Road’ (CABE 2011). However the details of the design will not be fully known until the planning application is submitted and approved by November 2015.

Visions and narratives

3

‘We want to bring streetlife back to Somerleyton Road and it’s not a sanitized or gentrified streetlife but a lively, friendly and safe, *Brixton* streetlife. And we want to be part of the long-term management to safeguard that vision for the future’
Stephen Jordan, Bidders’ Day 2013

Vibrancy

3.1

CABE’s comments, responding to the original FCBS framework proposal, conjured a vision of Somerleyton Road in the future as a ‘vibrant’ place which would draw people

along its length – possibly towards ‘a new beacon for the area’ close to the railway passage (CABE 2011). This vision, drawing a contrast with the currently under-occupied, semi-industrial state of its western edge, has been reiterated during the course of the project’s development, and matches much international urban design and placemaking/place-marketing rhetoric, as well as public perceptions of Brixton specifically as a lively neighbourhood with a special atmosphere. However, it also became evident through the project workshops that the vision entertained by many local people was somewhat different; they did not actively want to open up the area as a ‘destination’ for outsiders and tourists, but strongly felt that its character as a place of ‘proper dwellings’, where ordinary people made their homes, supported by everyday infrastructure, should be nurtured.

In the early days of the project, Philippe Castaing described to *The Guardian* his ‘vision for new housing, businesses, allotments and big glasshouses for growing fruit, alongside education and training facilities’ (Hetherington 2009), creating a sustainable resource for local homes and employment. That vision of a vibrancy fuelled from within the community itself was reaffirmed in Brixton Green’s Foreword to Social Life’s report, embedded in the principle of local participation which has driven the project since its inception: ‘We believe the community must have a real voice in what is built, how it is paid for and how it is managed and run in the future. We aim to build new homes, boost employment and empower the community to thrive’ (Social life 2013:2). This theme has constituted the over-arching narrative for the development of the project, institutionalised within the partnership framework of the co-operative council and the structure established for community engagement in the development of the project brief and the legal and financial models for its delivery and long-term stewardship.

Democracy through housing provision

3.2

In Brad Carroll’s view, the real driver for the project has been a vision of democracy articulated through the way that housing is delivered. It is the organisational diagram of the new community stewardship body which represents what the project will look like, more than any architectural visualisation of its physical form,³⁵ emphasising a vision of the development as a social initiative in building relationships within the community as much as a physical regeneration, with access to homes at the core of this enterprise.

The project brief identifies the first over-riding principle of the project as maximisation of the amount of genuinely affordable housing which can be provided on the site, and this is reinforced in the Equalities Impact statement as one that should ensure the accessibility of the provision to ‘people of different races’ (Lambeth Council 2013b:6). It was noted that ‘those living in social housing and from BME groups were more likely to support proposals for new homes for rent’ (Lambeth Council 2013b:7) especially since, according to local estate agents, house prices in the area had risen by 20% in one year since the opening of Brixton Village. Responding to the widespread anxiety felt by local people about the potential for speculation on property values, the third and fourth principles are identified in the brief as ‘A long term role for the community in managing and maintaining the development’ and ‘The land is not sold to a private developer, instead the profits are retained for maximising the community benefit’.³⁶ The vision of accessibility, affordability, and community ownership also encompasses a local lettings policy aimed at people living in the immediate vicinity, including private rented with longer tenancies to appeal to local families who are ‘locked in’, and a reduction of the running costs of occupying the new housing as far as possible through the quality of construction and environmental design: ‘we’re very interested in things like passive housing developments and anything around that which can bring the cost of living for these homes down’ (Stephen Jordan 2013).³⁷

However some concerns have been raised in the local community regarding the

lack of detail on how the housing will actually be allocated once available, and pointing to discrepancies in the narrative around housing and democracy. The Urban 75 community webforum hosted a debate in 2010 as to whether the new provision was really intended to re-house residents decanted from Southwyck House itself, which has several times been flagged for demolition, and why Southwyck House residents had not been consulted about the development. It has further drawn attention to the obvious anomaly in the proposed ratio of council and private rented accommodation in this context, pointing out that ‘The special feature of this Somerleyton Scheme was that the council will retain control ... If the council is able to specify everything about the scheme why can’t they have 100% “target rent”? With interest rates at record lows ... the politicians should be pressing to get a proper 100% social housing scheme using the proposed funding method-not simply accepting the housing split normally done by the private sector’ (Urban 75 2013).

The project partnership has justified its approach on the basis that a 100% social housing scheme would reduce the rental income over 45 years by £21m, necessitating an extension of the proposed ‘one-generation’ borrowing period which is deemed a risk. However the modelling of options for private, affordable (including ‘discounted’ at 80% of market rent, and ‘capped’ at 50%), and target rents remains to be explored and finalised in a form that will meet local expectations of the vision for Somerleyton as both a construction initiative and a political project – a ‘model for what can be done in the urban setting’ (workshop participant)³⁸ that could be delivered elsewhere.

Safety and social cohesion

3.3

Brixton’s public image has long conflated sociability and positive ethnic inter-mixing with inequality, crime and social injustice. The Somerleyton site embodies the disjunctions within the area’s social geography, exacerbated by the physical barrier of the railway tracks and the concentration of low-income communities to the east. Somerleyton Passage, the sole pedestrian link under the tracks with the more affluent areas to the west, has become an actual and symbolic focus for criminal and anti-social activity and associated fears around local safety.

The second guiding principle of the project then is to maximise jobs, training and employment opportunities, especially for young people, that might start to mitigate against the uneven social distribution of prospects and wealth in the immediate locality, and bring about a concomitant reduction of crime and gang-related activity among the young. While a residents’ survey in October 2012 reported that ‘50% of Brixton residents definitely agree that their local area is a place where different people get on well together (compared with 26% across the borough as a whole)’, the Equalities Impact statement affirmed that ‘more work is needed to understand whether people of different income levels and educational attainment get on well together’ (Lambeth Council 2013b:13). It stressed the importance of the Somerleyton project in building and supporting the high level of cohesion which already exists, but the need to extend that through the creation of jobs and apprenticeships aimed at local people.

This ambition has been central to the vision for the project from the outset as a mixed-use development rather than a monocultural residential zone, and has been pursued by the partnership at various levels: ‘We want a viable Co-op neighbourhood store. And we’ve talked to Co-op and at the highest level they’ve said ‘Yeah, we’d like to come to Brixton and Somerleyton Road in particular’. We wanted a chef’s school ‘cos we see in London there’s a great opportunity to train young people to become chefs for all the catering establishments in London, but we haven’t just said we’d *like* that, we’ve actually talked to the best people who *provide* those sort of training facilities; we’ve talked to Westminster Kingsway and they said yes, we’d love to come and run a chef’s school and

we can then grow up proper qualifications that are used across London. We said we wanted a community fitness element, but we just didn't wanna let it to a standard gym and we talked to Block Workout and they have a unique offer which would fit right into this area' (Stephen Jordan).³⁹ In addition, local people have expressed a desire to see other types of provision, including affordable studio space, catering for artists and other creative people who can no longer afford to operate in areas of inner London, to keep the distinctive creative energy of Brixton alive (Social Life 2013).

If such a mix can be achieved, fuelling cohesion across ethnicities, income levels, and education, then the Somerleyton vision could potentially materialise in a form that not only captures but also helps to reproduce the dynamic for which Brixton has been celebrated: 'if Somerleyton Road can start attracting people from across both sides of the track that'd be an enormous influence' (workshop participant).⁴⁰

Translation into place: what does success look like? 4

'Land assembly at Somerleyton is relatively straightforward if anything.
We feel confident that we can deliver the whole Site'
Stephen Jordan, Bidders' Day 2013

As with all urban regeneration projects, the question of land assembly at Somerleyton has been key to the prospects of translating the vision into reality. The fact of the council's prior ownership of 75% of the 8-acre site has facilitated the progress of the project to an enormous degree; however a question still remains over some privately-owned elements of the site, over which the Council has approved the potential use of Compulsory Purchase Orders. These include a large warehouse storage facility for frozen fish, as well as an LUL substation which cannot be released. In addition, the project has implicated the acrimonious eviction of the co-op occupying short-life housing in Carlton Mansions at the north of the site. The proposed use of CPO and the evictions have not had a positive influence on public opinion, but have been deemed critical to the eventual translation of the project into a material and social reality, and a necessary compromise towards achieving the perceived common good of 'making the street itself come alive' (workshop participant).

One of the key projected impacts of the development is this transformation of the street space itself, through a re-assemblage of its territories, into a new piece of public realm for Brixton which could potentially host performances, festivals and activities, as well as accommodating everyday children's play and social interaction. For many workshop participants, when asked 'what does success look like?',⁴¹ it was the potential for a development that could generate viable new social spaces on different scales, from small communal areas for drying clothes and storing bicycles and prams, to gardens and the wider space of the street itself, as much as the offer of affordable housing, employment opportunities and reduction of crime in the area.

'Meanwhile' uses of the site have been critical to the process of translating the project into place, using real-life events and activities to evoke an embedded vision of the street's transformation with new forms of social occupation which CGIs can only represent at a distance, notwithstanding the immersive capacities of digital visualisation technology. The Block Workout gym, providing access to outdoor equipment, supervision and a lively sociable atmosphere in which to work out, has provided a consistent backdrop to other activities at Number Six, and the screening of the World Cup matches and final on an outdoor screen in the garden drew together an animated crowd of people from the

neighbourhood and further afield. The street fair in July lasted all afternoon, with carnival floats, live music, dancing, stalls, food, and dominoes in the front garden of Number Six, attracting visitors of all ages, with a strong Afro-Caribbean presence.

In his candidacy statement for Brixton Green's board of trustees in 2013, Zayn Al-Jawad, a former resident of the Moorlands Estate, wrote that: 'The land west of Somerleyton Road has, for too long, been a separating wedge between the estate and the rest of Brixton exacerbating the division the railway embankment causes. I passionately believe that Brixton Green can deliver real long term improvements to the people of Brixton using new developments to stitch together Moorland estate with the rest of Brixton'.⁴² In its letter of endorsement for the project in 2011, CABE (Commission for Architecture and the Built Environment) had evoked a similar view, describing it as 'a key project in the improvement of the neighbourhood', with potential to become 'a vibrant destination in Brixton'. However it also emphasised the fact that the project alone 'cannot resolve the problems around Somerleyton Road, Loughborough Park and Coldharbour lane', and that its success would depend on the wider masterplan for the area and 'continued collaborative working between the stakeholders' (CABE 2011).

As one participant put it, a key indicator of the project's success would be 'Resident Surveys saying they like it, that it's popular with the residents' (workshop participant).⁴³ For the consultants, it is a development that's 'secure by design' and sustainable, not only in terms of energy consumption, but also as a measure of health, happiness and wellbeing in the community.⁴⁴ For Ovalhouse theatre, it will be a dynamic new premises that allows them to develop outreach in the community. For the Council it will be a new housing resource that takes local people off its waiting list, produces a viable financial return and long-term asset, and doesn't jeopardise other regeneration initiatives elsewhere in the Borough. For Brixton Green's trustees and volunteers it will be the realisation of a long-term vision, pay-off for years of hard work, and evidence that the community shares model is a viable solution to London's housing crisis. However all this depends on the successful transition from design to construction, and, critically, the establishment of a new long-term stewardship body which can effectively mobilise an inclusive and equitable representation of community interests and aspirations. It also depends on holding together the unity of the project, and ensuring that the community remains in control.

Key issues and learning points

5

Key drivers Somerleyton Road has been driven by the need to provide an alternative model of housing and community infrastructure provision which would not displace existing local communities, but provide for them. It is intended to demonstrate a way forward for co-operative, community-led development supported by the local council, without the intervention of a commercial developer. It forms one element of a more comprehensive redevelopment strategy for Brixton town centre aimed at revitalising the local economy and improving the physical landscape.

Funding mitigation of risk has been a primary concern in the development, but the Council's decision to retain ownership of the site and borrow the funds to develop the site in phases has been calculated to ensure that the Council does not divest itself of ownership of its own assets, while being able to repay its borrowings from rental income within a generation, and continue to invest in other parts of the borough as well. It will hope to avoid the criticism which has been levied at its approach to the PFI redevelopment of Myatts

Field North, now re-branded Oval Quarter, led by a private developer.

Location the site lies along the edge of railway lines opposite a council housing development built during the 1970s and 80s following the abandonment of a radical traffic circulation scheme (the South Cross route) for which existing housing had been demolished. It is currently occupied by a number of light and semi-industrial uses and a Transport for London substation. Connectivity to the centre of Brixton is limited by the railway tracks, but the site lies in close proximity to the popular markets and the transport interchanges, making it a desirable location for development which could help to integrate the eastern and western parts of the area.

Masterplan and design Somerleyton Road has been subject to a series of different masterplanning and design studies, led by firms which have a track record of experience in designing mixed-use neighbourhood developments integrating housing and community infrastructure. The eventual appointment of Igloo with Metropolitan Workshop as masterplanners and development managers was conducted through an invited competitive tender which attracted significant interest from a number of international firms. The subsequent planning and design of plots on the site has been led by Igloo and Metropolitan Workshop, along with the financial strategy, which has enabled an integrated approach; they have also been responsible for appointing architects for the separate plots. The development process has been strongly informed by the findings from the many community workshops which were held in the previous two years, however it has not encompassed a co-design approach as such.

Engagement a great deal of work has been invested by Brixton Green and Lambeth Council in fostering a wide base for community engagement, both via local community groups and schools, and through door-to-door contact with individual households. It demonstrates that people are often primarily motivated for reasons of personal interest rather than the common good, although some have a professional, academic or activist commitment to the project as an exemplary model; however it is hard to sustain consistent participation over the long term due to consultation fatigue and for other reasons. Engagement processes need to be strongly led and well-organised, and highlight that community is heterogeneous not homogenous and identifies with different causes; however the demand for equitable access to housing in a safe environment is the key unifying factor.

Specific assets the community benefit structure of Brixton Green as a mutual society provided an effective way of representing and mobilising a sense of ownership over the project and governance within the local community, which is to be perpetuated into the future management of the development. A physical base for engagement has had advantages both for representing the development project, providing a venue for events and bringing people together on the site, but has also become a visible focus of conflicts with the potential to damage the project. The continued ownership of the land by the council and decision to proceed as a partnership without a developer has strengthened the partnership's position in terms of the site's future management and projects a positive message about the council's commitment to the local area and its housing need.

Notes

- 1 <https://www.london.gov.uk/priorities/regeneration/londons-great-outdoors>
- 2 <http://www.lambeth.gov.uk/elections-and-council/about-lambeth/how-lambeth-council-is-organised>
- 3 Dr Bob Paterson, Community Finance Solutions at Salford University, technical advisor to the Community Land Trust Fund; David Rodgers, former chief executive of CDS Co-Operatives, commissioner on the Commission for Co-operative and Mutual Housing and pioneer in the development of Community Land Trusts
- 4 Workshop participant, community workshop on non-residential uses, 27th Feb 2014, Six Brixton: transcript
- 5 Workshop participant, community workshop on non-residential uses, 27th February 2014, Six Brixton: fieldnotes/transcript
- 6 Somerleyton Road Brixton, Project Brief for the Consultants 2014. Ovalhouse/Brixton Green/Igloo/Lambeth
- 7 See also Lambeth's Oct 2011 report 'A Caribbean Critique?' <https://www.lambeth.gov.uk/sites/default/files/Lambeth-black-caribbean%20report%202011.pdf>
- 8 [http://moderngov.lambeth.gov.uk/ielssueDetails.aspx?IId=31814&Opt=3&LO\\$=1](http://moderngov.lambeth.gov.uk/ielssueDetails.aspx?IId=31814&Opt=3&LO$=1)
- 9 In particular Urban75, a Brixton-focused website edited by 'Mike Urban', a resident of Southwyck House, the residential block known as the barrier block at the north end of Somerleyton Road
- 10 <http://www.brixtongreen.org/board-statement-21-07-15>
- 11 Brad Carroll, director Brixton Green, interview by Clare Melhuish, Brixton 14.05.15
- 12 Brixton Green website, <http://www.brixtongreen.org/who>
- 13 In 2013 these were: **Lambeth Council:** (Chair) Cllr Pete Robbins, Cabinet Member for Housing and Regeneration, Lambeth Council, Neil Vokes, Somerleyton Road Project Manager, Lambeth Council, Bruce McRobie, Development Surveyor, Lambeth Council **Brixton Green:** Brad Carroll, Director, Brixton Green; Stephen Jordan, Chair, Brixton Green; Dina Roake, Trustee, Brixton Green; **Ovalhouse Theatre:** Deborah Bestwick, Managing Director, Ovalhouse theatre, Robin Priest, Trustee, Ovalhouse theatre. In 2014, Cllr Robbins was replaced by Cllr Hopkins, Cabinet member for Jobs and Growth
- 14 Stephen Jordan, introducing Bidders' Day, information event for prospective development managers and architects at Six Brixton, 4th Dec 2013: fieldnotes/transcript
- 15 Councillor Pete Robbins, speaking at Bidders' Day, information event for prospective development managers and architects at Six Brixton, 4th Dec 2013: fieldnotes/transcript
- 16 Neil Vokes, Lambeth Council project manager, speaking at community event and festive refreshments, Six Brixton, 18th Dec 2013: fieldnotes/transcript
- 17 Cllr Robbins, speaking at community event and festive refreshments, Six Brixton, 18th Dec 2013: fieldnotes/transcript
- 18 Workshop participants, comments, 18th Dec 2013: fieldnotes/transcript
- 19 <http://futurebrixton.org/somerleyton-road/about>
- 20 Workshop participant, non-residential uses workshop, Six Brixton, 27th Feb 2014: fieldnotes/transcript
- 21 Non-residential uses workshop, Six Brixton, 27th Feb 2014: fieldnotes
- 22 Workshop figures based on GLA London Rents Map <https://www.london.gov.uk/priorities/housing-land/renting-home/rents-map>
- 23 Brad Carroll, interview by Clare Melhuish, Brixton, May 2015
- 24 Neil Vokes, non-residential uses workshop, Six Brixton, 27th Feb 2014: fieldnotes
- 25 Pop Brixton:<http://www.popbrixton.org>
- 26 Neil Vokes, speaking at Bidders' Day, information event for prospective development managers and architects at Six Brixton, 4th Dec 2013: fieldnotes/transcript
- 27 www.aecom.com
- 28 www.echarris.com
- 29 Neil Vokes and Stephen Jordan speaking at Bidders' Day, information event for prospective development managers and architects at Six Brixton, 4th Dec 2013: fieldnotes/transcript
- 30 As set out in Somerleyton Road Brixton, Project Brief for the Consultants 2014. Ovalhouse/Brixton Green/Igloo/Lambeth, p13
- 31 Somerleyton Road Brixton, Project Brief for the Consultants 2014. Ovalhouse/Brixton Green/Igloo/Lambeth:9
- 32 Stephen Jordan speaking at Bidders' Day, information event for prospective development managers and architects at Six Brixton, 4th Dec 2013: fieldnotes/transcript
- 33 July Cabinet under the Future Brixton: Somerleyton Road Project Part II report (86/13–14)
- 34 Brad Carroll, in conversation with Clare Melhuish, design exhibition and public drop-in, Six Brixton, 28th Nov 2014
- 35 Brad Carroll, in conversation with Clare Melhuish, Six Brixton, 28th May 2014
- 36 Somerleyton Road Brixton, Project Brief for the Consultants 2014. Ovalhouse/Brixton Green/Igloo/Lambeth:9
- 37 Stephen Jordan speaking at Bidders' Day, information event for prospective development managers and architects at Six Brixton, 4th Dec 2013: fieldnotes/transcript
- 38 Workshop participant, non-residential uses workshop, Six Brixton, 27th Feb 2014: fieldnotes/transcript
- 39 Stephen Jordan, speaking at Bidders Day 2013
- 40 participant, non-residential uses workshop, 27th Feb 2014
- 41 Non-residential uses workshop, 27th Feb 2014
- 42 Brixton Green website, Candidates for trustee positions, statements 2013
- 43 Participant, non-residential uses workshop, 27th Feb 2014
- 44 Based on Igloo's Footprint assessment tool for sustainable investment, <http://www.iglooregeneration.co.uk/downloads/footprint.pdf>

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