The social implications of upgrading large estates

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Housing and Regeneration staff within the London Borough of Hammersmith and Fulham helped us with background information and news regarding the estate as well as wider contextual information about the borough.

We would also like to thank Rockwool for commissioning the research and supporting us throughout as well as for investing in events such as the Community Energy Fete held on the estate in August 2013.

Finally we must thank Emma Glassey and Nicola Serle for help with the final editing and checking of this report.

ABOUT LSE HOUSING AND COMMUNITIES

LSE Housing and Communities is a research unit within the Centre for Analysis of Social Exclusion (CASE) at the London School of Economics led by Professor Anne Power. CASE is a multi-disciplinary research centre which focuses on the exploration of different dimensions of social disadvantage, particularly from longitudinal and neighbourhood perspectives, examining the impact of public policy. We aim to understand the social dynamics of disadvantaged neighbourhoods; promote models of housing and neighbourhood management; develop ways to support community and resident self-help action, especially in social housing areas; and shape government policy.
Since the publication of the initial High Rise Hope report, energy prices have turned energy policy into a political battleground. The issue of energy insecurity has also intensified with unrest in Ukraine and the Middle East. The rationale for a more energy efficient housing stock is compelling, as demonstrated by new research from the International Energy Agency which has provided more evidence to support ambitious energy efficiency policies*. In the UK buildings currently account for 40 per cent of energy consumption and 36 per cent of greenhouse gas emissions. Therefore improving the energy efficiency of our homes has a positive impact for household energy bills and the environment.

However it is becoming increasingly recognised that the benefits of improving energy efficiency go far beyond energy bill savings. An energy efficient home is warmer and more comfortable and with the right insulation can also be quieter and safer which benefits the individual householders. Taking into account the effects on better health, industrial productivity, employment, tax revenue, fuel poverty alleviation and energy security, getting energy efficiency policy right can deliver national benefits too.

It is for this reason that ROCKWOOL is continuing to support the London School of Economics’ study into the social impact of the energy efficiency retrofit at the Edward Woods estate in west London.

It is estimated that there are 3,500 residential tower blocks (similar to the three main towers at the Edward Woods estate) in the UK that are taller than ten storeys, and these high-rise buildings offer some of the best candidates for an energy efficiency upgrade. With many built in the 1960s and 1970s at a time when energy was relatively cheap, they can be draughty, expensive, cold and damp places to live. With one freeholder, the local authority, these issues can be mitigated using a whole building approach, providing economies of scale that are harder to achieve (although not impossible) in owner occupied properties.

* www.iea.org/w/bookshop/475-Capturing_the_Multiple_Benefits_of_Energy_Efficiency
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1. HEADLINES

LSE researchers interviewed residents of the Edward Woods estate in west London between 2011 and 2014 during and after renovation works which included a major energy efficiency upgrade with residents in situ. This scheme was used as a model case study for how the Green Deal and Community Energy Saving Partnership (CESP) “whole building” approach could work in high-rise, socially rented estates. The estate comprises 754 flats in three towers and several lower blocks. The headline findings are from our second survey in 2014, after the retrofit works were finished.

- There are high levels of deprivation on the estate and many residents are fuel poor, with previously very cold, uninsulated flats. Most community activity and engagement on the estate is of an informal nature although there is also an active Tenant and Resident Association (TRA). Residents are positive about the estate and their homes and generally feel safe living there, although slightly less safe in 2013-14 than in 2011 due to the reduction in concierge services.
- Residents, particularly in the studio flats, have made the biggest cost savings since 2011. Average energy costs have gone down significantly for those in studios and have increased a little for those in one and two-bedroom flats – but far less than the increase in energy prices. Even in the one-bedroom balcony flats, where insulation appears to have been least adequate, the rise in energy bills is far lower than the rise in energy prices. This means that overall energy use (i.e. units of energy consumed) has fallen over the retrofit.
- Some residents remain unaware that the retrofit work was carried out to save energy and provide warmer homes. Community education needs to focus on how people can reduce their energy use in order to maximise the gains of increased insulation, etc.
- A number of residents were disappointed about the level of internal refurbishment and redecoration to the communal areas that accompanied the works – people feel they were promised more than was delivered in the end. Although there was considerable consultation at the beginning of the project, more ongoing support would have improved wider understanding of the objectives of the regeneration and helped explain the many delays.
- Concerns about the reduced concierge service dominate many people’s view of the changes on the estate. The visible presence of the concierge in the blocks was removed while the works were going on and had some impact on residents’ perception of safety.
- The main suggestion from Edward Woods residents was for better management of the works – particularly around the timescale of the project which slipped many times over, and communications about the delays.
2. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

High Rise Hope Revisited is the report on the second stage of a two-part study investigating the social implications of energy efficiency retrofit in large multi-storey tower blocks. It investigates the social and community impact the works can have on large social housing estates before and during the refurbishment process, following an initial study which was carried out in 2012 and written up in *High Rise Hope*.

A. EDWARD WOODS ESTATE

Edward Woods is a large high-rise estate situated in the Shepherds Bush Green ward in the north of the London Borough of Hammersmith and Fulham. The estate is made up of three 23-storey tower blocks alongside four walk-up maisonette blocks all built between 1966 and 1971. There are 754 mostly rented flats within the estate owned and managed by the London Borough of Hammersmith and Fulham.

Social conditions and fuel poverty

According to the Government’s Department for Energy and Climate Change, the key drivers behind fuel poverty are a combination of:

- the energy efficiency of the property (and therefore, the energy required to heat and power the home);
- the cost of energy;
- household income.

Before refurbishment works were carried out on the Edward Woods estate tower blocks, many of the risks associated with fuel poverty were present, for example:

- extremely poor levels of thermal efficiency;
- dominance of more costly energy payment systems eg, pre-payment meters;
- concentration of fuel poor, lower income groups such as pensioners and ill, disabled or unemployed people.

A survey in 2007 found that two thirds of Edward Woods residents suffered from excessive cold and damp in the winter and that many were very worried about rising energy bills.

In summary, the estate:

- suffers from considerable deprivation but is surrounded by more affluent areas;
- has higher than average levels of unemployment and working-age people dependent on benefits;
- has a diverse population of different ethnic backgrounds;
- contains more single-person households than average and fewer households with children;
- includes a sheltered housing facility;
- houses many residents affected by fuel poverty.

Regeneration of the estate

The estate has experienced a significant amount of regeneration and upgrading over the past 20 years. The most recent regeneration project was led and managed by the London Borough of Hammersmith and Fulham, who commissioned Energy Conscious Design (ECD) Architects and the building contractors Breyer. Rockwool was the insulation provider. The Council’s project objectives at the outset were to:

- transform the visual appearance of Edward Woods at both estate and wider neighbourhood scale;
- address the problems of unsatisfactory physical conditions and an unattractive environment caused by poor design and underinvestment;
- deliver reductions in energy use and costs, and hence CO2 emissions;
- create a flagship renewable energy project within the Borough by providing solar PV cells to generate electricity.

The project was ambitious and complex, covering many critical building elements. Much remedial work was required on the concrete building structure before the external cladding of the blocks could begin. The energy saving and generation potential of PV is considerable: the exterior insulation improves the insulating value of the building nine-fold, and each block has its south facing wall covered with solar panels, which it is hoped will provide around 82,000 kWh of electricity annually. This electricity will be used via the grid to power lifts and lighting in the communal areas.

In addition to these building elements, the regeneration project also included:

- refurbishing the communal areas;
- constructing 12 penthouses for private sale;
- refurbishing the main electrical systems, including new lighting;
- double glazing the windows in stairwells;
- installing gas central heating to studios;
- converting ground-floor space to provide seven offices for voluntary organisations.

B. LSE HOUSING AND COMMUNITIES RESEARCH

There is a potential social and community benefit in energy-saving intervention, and our research on the Edward Woods estate set out to discover what these benefits were. The research was a two-stage process in which we interviewed residents of the three tower blocks during the refurbishment process (September-December 2011) and then re-visited residents once work was complete (August 2013-March 2014).

Our original plan was to interview the same residents at both stages. We managed to track and re-interview half of the original 48 interviewees, and also interviewed a further 26 residents making a total of 50 resident interviews in 2013-14.

1 www.rockwool.co.uk/files/RW-UK/site%20images/facade/High%20Rise%20Hope-Full%20Report.pdf
At both stages of work we interviewed tenants on the estate, mostly within residents’ homes, for around 20-40 minutes. With residents’ permission we recorded the interviews. We asked people about:

- their home;
- the estate;
- their sense of safety and security;
- energy usage and costs;
- levels of social interaction and community participation;
- residents’ personal experience of the regeneration works and energy use;
- residents’ overall feelings about where they live and their relations with neighbours, the council and local services.

C. KEY FINDINGS FROM 2013-14

Where people live

In general, residents on the Edward Woods estate like their homes, especially the space they have, they find their flats comfortable and have a generally high quality of life. 78 per cent describe their quality of life in their home as good or excellent and just six per cent say it is bad or terrible. This compared with 68 per cent and 21 per cent in 2011, showing a marked improvement.

There are some concerns about conditions within the blocks. Many residents would like more investment and improvement in communal services particularly lifts which people rely upon. A quarter would like the concierge service reinstated at the base of every block.

People are generally proud to live on the estate, with many saying this had improved since the regeneration, and residents overwhelmingly say they enjoy living there. However, some say that the regeneration was too narrowly focused on the exterior of the blocks and not enough on the internal living conditions for residents. Residents on the estate still feel very safe and secure both in their homes and in the estate as a whole in 2013-14, although slightly less so than in 2011. This can be mainly attributed to the change in the concierge service which was introduced as the works were ongoing. Only one tower, Poynter House, now has an actual concierge present in the reception area. The other two tower blocks are monitored by CCTV from there and through occasional walkabouts and inspections by the concierge team. For many residents, the removal of the friendly face and point of contact in the reception area at the base of their block has been significant. There are 175 flats in each tower.

A relatively low number of residents interviewed described themselves as active in the community (28 per cent) with another 52 per cent saying they were not involved at all. This is very similar to 2011. A small number of residents interviewed are very active in the local community, playing key roles in the Tenant and Resident Association. However the majority of community interaction is of a much more informal nature, involving speaking to neighbours and helping people out. Many residents felt that the regeneration works had impacted on community relations in either a positive or a negative way.

Energy saving

Energy costs in 2013-14 remain a key concern for residents as energy prices have risen steeply. Energy costs have dropped somewhat or stayed the same, and some residents are paying a lot less than in 2011. More than half of those interviewed said that their bills had stayed the same or gone down since the works, in spite of price rises. Where costs have gone up, the price rises experienced by residents appear to be lower than the average ten per cent increase in energy prices seen across the major energy supply companies since 2011. Residents are well aware of how much energy they use because of the very high costs associated with it. A large majority felt that saving energy was important, although they were often unsure of how best to do this. They showed a need for “refresher” information on energy saving.
Managing the process of renovating large estates

On-site management and concierges

The Edward Woods estate has been a model of local management since the beginning of the 1980s when it was identified by Government as a “priority estate” and its problems were addressed through local estate-based management, a local budget and frequent repair. For many residents the concierge service on the estate provides an invaluable local link between residents and the Council. Back in 2011 residents were concerned about the proposed cuts to this service and when we carried out our second round of interviews in 2013-14 many residents were disappointed about the reduction in staffing that had taken place. As these changes occurred during the regeneration works, some residents were unable to distinguish the two processes and their views of the upgrading work were influenced by their views about the concierge service.

Impact on residents of upgrading work

An upgrading project of this scale required intensive management and close collaboration between the London Borough of Hammersmith and Fulham, Breyer (the contractors), Rockwool (the suppliers) and the local residents. There was inevitable disruption to residents throughout the regeneration works with noise, dust and lack of light because of the scaffolding and plastic sheeting covering the whole tower block. In spite of this, almost half of those we interviewed still rated their own experiences of the work as good or excellent.

Clarity of communication

There was disappointment from many residents that the focus of the works was on the outside of the blocks. For some this supported their view that the works had been commissioned for the benefit of others not for the residents of the estate themselves. Communication of the original intentions of the building works needed to be much more frequent and clearer throughout the project to help residents understand what was happening, why it was happening and when it would be completed.

D. LESSONS FROM RESIDENTS

Our findings from the first survey show that a number of aspects of the work could be improved during the process of retrofit:

- **Management** of the timetable and associated delays to the project requires great care and application. Communication with residents is vital to ensure that residents do not feel left behind / abandoned in difficult circumstances.

- **Better advance preparation** before the works began would have helped. Vulnerable residents (young families, ill or elderly people) needed more support. In special circumstances, agreements could be made to relieve the immediate problems (noise, dust, disruption of services, etc).

- **Communication** about the project and its energy saving potential (not just aesthetic improvement) needs to be repeated frequently throughout the project – linked with post-regeneration provision of energy advice and support for residents.

- **Resident fatigue** at incessant regeneration works to the estate – coupled with huge delays – created worries that the work would never end.
“It was remarkable how long-suffering residents were, and how strong their social and emotional ties to the estate were. They liked it even more at the end of the works.”

Our second round of interviews in 2013-14 underlined how dominant these themes have remained:

- Many residents specifically mentioned better management of the works and improved communication as ways that a project like this could work better in the future.
- For many residents, there was a lack of understanding of the main purpose of the works, i.e. energy saving.
- Long delays lasting over three years made some people frustrated and exasperated by the disruptive building works and associated noise, dust and mess.
- In spite of this, it was remarkable how long-suffering residents were, and how strong their social and emotional ties to the estate were. They liked it even more at the end of the works.

E. LESSONS TO LEARN FOR FUTURE SCHEMES

- Improved communication with residents – before, during and after works.
- It is necessary to find a way to engage residents in the purpose of the works.
- Ensure that when residents are inconvenienced, for example through a lack of water, gas or electricity supply, or when lifts are taken out of service, that effective communication takes place and times given for the lack of service are not breached.
- Make realistic promises to residents about the final outcome in terms of quality of works.
- Changes relating to management or maintenance of the estate that occur during the regeneration process will be seen by residents as inextricably linked to the project.
- Staff presence is important.
- Find ways to help promote community involvement and engagement.

F. CONCLUSIONS

From our research over three years in the Edward Woods estate we are able to show that the estate is generally very popular with residents, a view that may be contrary to public opinion of how residents would feel about a high-rise, low-income estate in inner London. People are very happy with the location of the estate, appreciate that the flats are of good size and comfortable, and on the whole feel safe and secure living there.

The works undertaken on the estate were substantial and there was significant disruption caused to the residents of the three tower blocks as building works went on for over three years.

Projects like this are incredibly valuable though for a number of reasons, all of which are demonstrated through the work on the Edward Woods estate:

- Addressing issues of fuel poverty and energy efficient improvements to the existing housing stock;
- Improving quality of life and conditions in individual homes and wider estates and neighbourhoods;
- Making people feel proud of the aesthetic improvements to their area and general upgrade – people feel their area compares well with others.

The installation of energy efficiency measures as part of wider regeneration schemes can help extend the life of existing buildings for the future whilst ensuring long-established communities are able to enjoy improved conditions in a secure, well maintained place to live. These types of neighbourhood improvements may also help promote more mixed communities as people want to buy into places that are innovative, forward-thinking and energy efficient. Improving the quality of housing leads to greater satisfaction and pride among existing residents meaning that people will want to stay where they are. This helps to ensure a stable local community.
A. EDWARD WOODS ESTATE

Edward Woods is a large high-rise estate situated in the Shepherds Bush Greenward in the north of the London Borough of Hammersmith and Fulham (LBHF). The estate is comprised of three 23-storey tower blocks alongside four walk-up maisonette blocks all built between 1966 and 1971. There are 754 units within the estate managed by the London Borough of Hammersmith and Fulham. More recent building in the estate has included a new development owned and managed by Notting Hill Housing Group and Copthorn Homes (a subsidiary of Countryside Properties) built in 2003.

The three tower blocks (Norland, Poynter and Stebbing Houses) are comprised of reinforced concrete frames, solid brickwork, flank walls, concrete private balconies and PVCu double glazed windows (installed in the early 1990s), under flat roofs.

Green space within the estate includes gardens and play spaces. There is also a community centre and a number of local shops including a chemist, a café and a newsagent / small grocery shop. The estate is very well located for public transport, shopping and recreational facilities, including the Westfield Shopping Centre which is just across the road.

Social conditions

According to the latest Index of Multiple Deprivation (2010), the LSOA (the small area measured within the deprivation indices) covering Edward Woods2 actually improved in recent years, moving from being the 4th most deprived LSOA in the borough of Hammersmith and Fulham in 2007 to the 10th most deprived (out of 111 LSOAs) in 2010. Despite this improvement, it remains very deprived compared to the rest of England – the estate falls within the 12 per cent of most deprived areas in the country. This is evident from the number of people in the estate of working age claiming a key benefit, 30 per cent compared to 15 per cent in the borough, London and England.

As Table 1 shows, in 2011 nine per cent of all working-age adults were claiming Jobseeker’s Allowance (compared with a national average of four per cent), and almost double the national average were claiming incapacity benefits.

Table 1: People claiming a key benefit (per cent)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Edward Woods</th>
<th>LBHF</th>
<th>London</th>
<th>England</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All people of working age claiming a key benefit</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jobseeker’s Allowance Claimants</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Incapacity Benefits Claimants</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: ONS Neighbourhood Statistics, Updated 7 December 2011

The two largest ethnic groups on the estate are White (British, Irish and Other) at 39 per cent and Black (African, Caribbean and British) at 38 per cent (Table 2).

“The energy saving and generation potential is considerable: the exterior insulation improves the insulating value of the building by nine times, and each block has received solar panels.”
Table 2: Ethnicity (per cent)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Edward Woods</th>
<th>LBHF</th>
<th>London</th>
<th>England</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White British</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White Irish</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White Other</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mixed</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian or Asian British</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black or Black British</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: ONS Neighbourhood Statistics, Last Updated 30 January 2013

The estate is home to a large number of single adults and single elderly people, and around 20 per cent of the population are families with children (lone parent and couple families). There is a higher percentage of lone parents with dependent children in the estate at 11.5 per cent, compared to the borough rate of 7.2 per cent (similar to England) and the London rate of 8.5 per cent (Table 3 and Table 4). Unemployment, incapacity and lone parenthood are all risk factors for deprivation.

Table 3: Household composition (per cent)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Edward Woods</th>
<th>LBHF</th>
<th>London</th>
<th>England</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Couple with dependent children</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Couple with no dependent children</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lone parent with dependent children</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lone parent with no dependent children</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elderly couple</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single adult</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single elderly (65+)</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other households with dependent children</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other households</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Table 4: Age composition (per cent)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age of residents (years)</th>
<th>Edward Woods</th>
<th>LBHF</th>
<th>London</th>
<th>England</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0-20</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-24</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-44</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45-59</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60-74</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75+</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: ONS Neighbourhood Statistics, Last Updated 30 January 2013
B. FUEL POVERTY

Through the Energy Act 2013, the Government laid the ground for a new legal framework to monitor fuel poverty in England using the Low-income High Costs Indicator (LIHC). Under the Low-income High Costs definition, a household is regarded as fuel poor if:

- they have required fuel costs that are above average (the national median level); and
- were they to spend that amount they would be left with a residual income below the official poverty line.

According to the Government’s Department for Energy and Climate Change, the recognised key drivers behind fuel poverty are:

- the energy efficiency of the property (and therefore, the energy required to heat and power the home);
- the cost of energy;
- household income.

Before refurbishment works were carried out to the Edward Woods estate tower blocks, many of the risks associated with fuel poverty were present, for example:

- poor levels of thermal efficiency;
- dominance of less cost-efficient energy payment systems, eg, pre-payment meters;
- over-representation of energy-vulnerable, lower income groups such as pensioners and ill, disabled or unemployed people.

In summary, the estate:

- is located within an area of considerable deprivation but is surrounded by more affluent areas;
- has higher than average levels of unemployment and working-age people claiming welfare benefits;
- has significant levels of ethnic diversity;
- contains more lone households than average and fewer households with children;
- includes a sheltered housing facility.

C. REGENERATION AND UPGRADING OF THE ESTATE

The Edward Woods estate has been subject to significant investment and upgrading over recent years. Works previously undertaken in the estate include:

- a block of 58 homes (Saunders House) and two garage podiums were demolished in order to allow the Notting Hill Housing Trust development of 122 new homes for rent and sale;
- landscaping works to create a new public park in the estate (Norland North);
- external redecoration works and renewal of roofs to a number of blocks;
- a scheme which replaced kitchens and bathrooms in the tower blocks;
- landscaping works to Stebbing House podium deck;
- external repairs to Mortimer House;
- regeneration and extension of the Community Centre with European funding;
- an on-going programme of improvement to the estate’s external areas and the facilities within them.

The overall effect of these works has been to rejuvenate the estate and provide a safer, greener and more pleasant living environment. All Council dwellings on the estate have undergone improvement works carried out between 2003 and 2010 to bring them up to the Decent Homes Standard. CO₂ emissions were reduced by 39 per cent through the Decent Homes programme, with the implementation of efficient combination boilers and double-glazed windows.

During 2011 Breyer was responsible for the installation of central heating systems to the majority of the 132 studios in the three tower blocks on the Estate, as part of the regeneration scheme. This appears to have made a big difference to the thermal efficiency and comfort levels within these units.

The most recent regeneration project was led and managed by the London Borough of Hammersmith and Fulham, who commissioned Energy Conscious Design (ECD) Architects and the building contractors Breyer. Rockwool are the insulation provider.

The Council’s project objectives at the outset were to:

- transform the visual impact of Edward Woods at both estate and wider neighbourhood scale;
- address the problems of unsatisfactory stock condition and an unattractive environment caused by deficient design and historic underinvestment;
- deliver reductions in energy consumption & costs, and hence CO₂ emissions;
- create a flagship renewable energy project within the Borough by providing solar cells to generate electricity.

The project was ambitious and complex, covering many critical building elements. Much remedial work was required on the building before the external cladding of the blocks could begin. The energy saving and generation potential is considerable: the exterior insulation improves the insulating value of the building by nine times, and each block has received solar panels, which it is hoped will provide around 92,000 kWh of electricity annually. This electricity will be used to power lifts and lighting in the communal areas.

In addition to these building elements, the regeneration project also included:

- refurbishing the communal areas;
- the construction of 12 penthouses for private sale;
- new lighting and refurbishment of main electrical systems;
- double glazing to windows in stairwells;
- installation of gas central heating to studios;
- conversion of ground floor space to provide seven offices for voluntary organisations.

This flagship regeneration project can be regarded as an exemplar case study for
the Green Deal “whole building” approach in the context of residential tower blocks, and we hope that it could provide a model and valuable lessons for the retrofit of tower blocks.

Funding for the scheme included various sources:

- GLA Targeted Funding for energy saving £5.24M
- CESP Funding for energy saving £0.60M
- S106 (from previous regeneration scheme) £1.67M
- HRA Capital £3.52M
- Capital Receipts £5.10M
- TOTAL – £16.13M

It was initially hoped that the 12 new penthouse apartments would be sold for up to £500,000 each. At the time of publication none of the apartments have been sold and the new intention is for them to be marketed and let at “affordable rent”. Building Services at LBHF will hand over the units to Housing when complete; they are currently vacant.

D. LSE HOUSING AND COMMUNITIES RESEARCH

The LSE Housing and Communities research project aimed to analyse links between energy efficiency measures, regeneration and social impacts. Since 2010, government policies on climate change have targeted low-income areas specifically (the Community Energy Saving Programme and then the Energy Company Obligation) alongside reductions in funding and programmes for neighbourhood renewal and area-targeted social programmes. There is great potential social benefit in energy saving intervention, and our research on the Edward Woods estate between 2011 and 2014 is set within this context.

The research was a two-stage process in which we interviewed residents of the three tower blocks during the refurbishment process (September – December 2011) and then re-visited residents once work was complete (August 2013 – March 2014). Our original plan was to interview the same residents at both stages but unfortunately we only managed to track and re-interview 24 of the original 48 interviewees. We found a further 26 residents, making a total of 50 resident interviews in 2013-14.

At both stages of work we carried out semi-structured interviews on the estate, mostly within residents’ homes, that lasted around 20-40 minutes. With resident permission we recorded interviews. We asked people about:

- their home;
- the estate;
- their sense of safety and security;
- energy usage and costs;
- levels of social interaction and community participation;
- their personal experience of the regeneration works.

A full interview schedule for stages one and two is available in Appendix 1.

We stayed in regular contact with members of the Tenant and Resident Association (TRA) throughout the research as they were involved in the planning of the works for a long time and in some cases TRA members helped to facilitate interviews with other residents on the estate.

At both stages of the work we spoke to a wide variety of people reflecting the mixed composition of the estate itself. In 2013-14 we spoke to more men than women, with 58 per cent of interviewees being male and 42 per cent female (Figure 1). This is slightly more balanced than in 2011 when only a third (32 per cent) of respondents were female.

“Long-term residents talked about how the estate had vastly improved over a period of decades.”
Over half (52 per cent) of the people we interviewed were 60 years old or older. The remaining interviewees were split between those aged 40-59 (14) and those aged 26-39 (10) (Figure 2). The predominance of pensioners in our survey may be due to the fact that interviews were generally conducted during the daytime so may have excluded lots of those of working age who would have been out at work.

The majority of those interviewed lived alone (36), ten lived with children (four with a partner and children and six as lone parents), and a further three lived with a partner. One interview respondent lived with a friend (Figure 3).
Almost all of those interviewed were tenants of Hammersmith and Fulham Council (43 of 50), four were renting privately and three were leasehold owner occupiers (Figure 4).

Respondents were spread across the three blocks with slightly more interviewees in Stebbing House (23) compared with 15 in Poynter House and 12 in Norland House. 66 per cent of those we spoke to had lived on the Edward Woods estate for at least ten years, a further 30 per cent had lived there for between two and ten years and there were a very small number of newcomers (two) (Figure 5). This reflects the relatively low turnover of the estate and the fact that many of our interviewees were pensioners and therefore more likely to have lived on the estate for a longer period of time.

The majority (30) of interviewees lived in one-bedroom flats (nine in one-bed corner flats and 21 in one-bed balcony flats) with 15 in two-bedroom properties and five in studios.

Each block has an identical layout and each floor of the blocks houses two studios, two two-bedroom flats, and four one-bedroom flats (two corner flats and two with balconies next to the lifts). Figure 6 shows the layout.

Before the works commenced, the different types of flat within the blocks had very different thermal efficiency levels. The studios generally had the lowest thermal rating as they are west-facing and exposed on two sides because of the refuse chutes that run between them. The two-bedroom flats and some of the one-bedroom properties (with two and a half external walls) also have quite a low thermal rating as they are located on the corners of the blocks. The one-bedroom flats that sit beside the lifts have the best thermal rating as they are east-facing and have only one external wall. Some residents we spoke to were aware that they may have more or less to gain from any potential energy efficiency improvement works based on which type of flat they lived in.
LSE researchers first interviewed residents at the Edward Woods estate in 2011 during upgrading works. Prior to the works, many residents were in, or at risk of, fuel poverty. The flats within the tower blocks showed extreme variations in thermal efficiency and energy bills and we found that there are multiple benefits to energy efficiency retrofit in social housing, including more general repair, external face-lift, better image and more confidence in the estate’s future. Residents in 2011 were positive about the estate and their homes and felt safe living there. Years of upgrading and close management had made residents feel good about where they lived. The most recent regeneration works fit into this virtuous cycle.

Overall, residents were remarkably patient and tolerant during the three years of works and most residents were positive about the final outcome. The impact of the works on residents, including three years of scaffolding and plastic sheeting which significantly reduced daylight, ranges from mild inconvenience caused by noise and dust for most, to more serious health problems for a small minority.

Whilst many residents thought the regeneration works improved the appearance of the estate, they did not realise the underlying energy efficiency purpose of the investment. We concluded in 2012 that the full value of the works, the energy cost savings, will only be realised if residents “buy into” this radical opportunity.

HOME

In 2011 there was a high level of overall satisfaction among residents with their homes: 68 per cent of respondents described their home as good or excellent – mainly because of privacy, feeling safe and the generous size of the homes.

There were concerns about changes on the estate with new people moving in, and some younger residents said they didn’t like the fact that it is a council estate. Some people said their homes were cold or damp and others recognised that their dissatisfaction with their homes was temporary, relating to the building works (dust, noise).

THE ESTATE

Half of the respondents said they were proud to live on the estate for reasons including the concierge service, the way it is maintained, having green space, the location, and being near to Westfield shopping centre.

There was a strong sense of ownership over the estate. Older residents who had lived on the estate for a long time were prouder than younger residents. Long-term residents talked about how the estate had vastly improved over a period of decades.

Two thirds of respondents described their quality of life on the estate as good or excellent, and 85 per cent said they were satisfied or very satisfied with the area.

Respondents described the estate as well-maintained and well-managed (with particular regard to the concierge service), quiet and safe, having good facilities and a community atmosphere. Concerns about the estate included the lack of facilities for young people, management and problems with alcoholism and drug-taking.

Many of the problems were being addressed through the regeneration programme (eg, lighting, maintenance). However, some residents were unhappy about the seemingly relentless improvement works to homes and the estate over the last decade. Among other upgrades, this includes replacing kitchens and bathrooms to meet the Decent Homes Standard, the construction of new flats on the estate by Notting Hill Housing Trust and the creation of a new public park on the estate.
COMMUNITY

In 2011 the self-reported levels of community engagement were quite low, but most respondents knew some neighbours even if on a casual basis. Nearly a third of those interviewed said they had close contact with neighbours, friends or family in the area.

Few interviewees said they use the Edward Woods Community Centre, and there was some resentment among estate residents that they do not receive discounted rates to use the Centre. Shops located on the estate were popular and the local café seemed to serve as an alternative community hub.

Most interviewees were not involved in formal residents’ meetings, and among some residents there was even a dislike of them. However, some residents were keen on social events organised by the Tenant and Resident Association.

SECURITY

Almost all respondents felt safe in their homes and on the estate. Reasons for feeling safe included knowing people around the estate, the concierge service and CCTV cameras. Residents worried about cuts being made to the concierge service.

Half of the residents surveyed felt that the regeneration work had not affected their sense of security despite the increased risk generated by having scaffolding round the building.

ENERGY USAGE

Residents had considerably different energy bills and many paid a significant portion of their income on heating: we estimated that some residents paid more than £40 per week for gas and electricity. Energy bills varied because of:

1. variations in the thermal efficiency of different flat types (eg, studio, one-bedroom and two-bedroom) within the same blocks; and
2. how residents used energy.

LSE researchers returned to the estate in later 2013 and early 2014 to follow up with residents on their experiences of the works, once complete, and their general views on their homes and life on the estate.
5. FINDINGS FROM 2013-14

Around two years after our first round of interviews with Edward Woods residents, we returned to the estate towards the end of 2013 and began a second round of interviewing that continued until March 2014.

We interviewed 48 residents in 2011 and re-interviewed 24 of the same residents again. There was some attrition from the first stage of work for the following reasons:
- six of the original 48 residents did not agree to be re-interviewed;
- seven residents had moved on from the estate;
- circumstances had changed for three people and they were now unwilling / unable to be interviewed;
- we were unable to trace around eight residents despite calling and telephoning at different times of the day and on different days of the week.

We asked questions under the same themes as in 2011:
- Home
- Estate
- Safety and security
- Energy
- Social interaction and community participation
- Regeneration works

We probed certain questions in more detail in order to uncover the overall physical, social and energy impacts of the works.

HOME

Residents were very positive about their homes in general, with over three quarters (76 per cent) feeling positive about their home (Figure 7).

I love my home. I have a very nice flat with a balcony which looks out over St Pauls. I love it here. It’s a bit small but I love the location and the people.

I feel happy. I’m happy with the flat, there is a lot of light.

A bit, yeah. I feel more comfortable: the building is a bit cleaner.

I’ve always liked the place, but I think it did make it better, because it does look a bit better from the outside, you know? Nothing great in the inside, I have to say. But there has been a bit of improvement: even like on the landing, it’s much better than what it used to be.

Yes, definitely. I feel that it has made Shepherds Bush more known…yes, I’m happy with the regeneration, it has made it even better. Due to the Westfield, that’s what encouraged the insulation work, to make the estate look more presentable. Not really. I do think the outside of the flats has greatly improved, aesthetically it looks much better, but I’m not sure that insulation wise it has made any difference to me.

No, nothing has changed.

Residents are most happy with the space and the sense of community they experience where they live, followed by the facilities available, the view and the management of the estate (Figure 8).

Figure 7: How do you feel about your home?

Figure 8: What are the best things about your home?
However, people are least happy with the conditions, with nearly half (24) the interviewees mentioning this and a few specifically highlighting the lifts as being an issue. Damp and problems associated with flooding and leaks were identified by quite a few residents. Space is also a concern for around 10 per cent. On the other hand, a fifth (20 per cent) of those interviewed could not think of anything they would identify as worst.

The condition is the worst: it’s damp and that’s a big problem. You can’t breathe good air.

Leaks from the flat above.

The building is a little bit crowded; we have too many water leaks in the kitchen and the bathroom; old pipes and sometimes the drainage smells and makes noise.

I like everything about my flat, to be honest with you. It’s very quiet…I feel settled, I’m quite happy actually.

When asked what they would change about their homes, in line with the answers given above, most people (52 per cent) said the conditions / layout of their flat, with a further quarter (26 per cent) mentioning the space / size of their flat. Again to support the finding above that people could not find anything “worst” about their home, over a third (36 per cent) would not change anything about their home.

Noise insulation from upstairs only, we hardly hear anything from the neighbours on this level. It would definitely be the case that better insulation between the floors would be the main difference. On an aesthetic level, the windows for instance could be nicer but it’s not really a major thing.

We are on 22nd floor with two children – would prefer somewhere else but really like the flat – is big enough and a nice flat.

Maybe move to a different floor where there is not so much flooding. Who knows which is the best floor to be on? Because I think every floor was affected by flooding. I know definitely that it wasn’t just me, more people have complained. I’d like it bigger, I need an extra bedroom. I would want another bedroom, I would also desperately need more storage space.

Pipes, drainage, water leaks.

Over three quarters of residents say that their home is comfortable, with 14 per cent being somewhat neutral on this issue and only four per cent saying the home was uncomfortable (Figure 9).

Figure 9: How comfortable is your home?

Uncomfortable 4%
Neutral 14%
Comfortable 82%

It’s much more comfortable now and it’s just now that the job is done, it’s more humane now. Like it’s given it a sense of coming home better now, the place is done up now it’s neat and tidy.

Really nice, comfortable. Now it’s clean and painted, was cold before.

It’s comfortable for me, but it could be warmer. It’s not warm enough, that’s the only thing comfort-wise: it’s not really warm enough, and I can’t afford to have the heating on all the time. When I do put the heating on, it can go quite nice, warm and toasty, but that would cost a lot of money. And the thing is that I’m now semi-retired, and I can’t afford it. When I worked full time obviously I was out all day, and I didn’t use the heating so much, plus I was getting a salary. But now I’m on a fixed income, I can’t afford…I have to be really careful with my heating.

Over three quarters (78 per cent) rate the quality of life in their home as good or excellent, 16 per cent rate it as neither good nor bad and only six per cent say their quality of life at home is bad or terrible (Figure 10).

To summarise, people on the Edward Woods estate like their homes, especially the space they have, they are comfortable and have a generally high quality of life. However, there are some concerns about conditions within the blocks, particularly damp, leaks and the lifts.

Figure 10: Please rate the quality of life in your home
Interview respondents in 2013-14 were also generally happy with the estate with 74 per cent feeling positive about the estate, 22 per cent feeling neutral and only four per cent feeling negative about the estate. The interviewees were split evenly between those who said that their feelings about the estate had changed following the regeneration works and those who said they felt the same.

It’s good at the moment, has improved dramatically.

It’s got a lot better with the gardens done up – it looks fresher and smarter. The solar panels look trendy as well.

It’s OK compared to other estates. It’s fine.

Not really no, the only difference I can see is that the buildings are whiter and that’s it.

The most common thing that people identified as the best about the estate was the location and its accessibility with 20 of the 50 stating this, closely behind this was the people (13) and the green/open spaces & facilities (12) on the estate. The aspects of the estate that people liked least were anti-social behaviour for 12 residents and management for a further six. However, around a third (15) of residents answered that they could not think of anything “worst” about the estate (Figure 11).

Best is the trees and greenery and the local accessibility to transport. Worst – I can’t think of anything bad – I have never had any trouble with vandalism or anything, am sure others may say different.

Best – I feel quite safe, people are rather friendly. Worst – first of all security. We don’t have a concierge service anymore, so really people they just come and go. And I feel the inside it’s not clean enough sometimes.

Nothing I would say is bad about the estate. They did a lot of nice things actually, we’ve got the garden outside…I think it’s quite welcoming. If you see, even the towers, the fact that they are white…it’s nice, it’s nice.

When asked what they would change about the estate, over a third (36 per cent) said they would not change anything. The second most common response mentioned facilities on the estate (with lifts being the dominant issue), followed closely by the concierge service (with most people wishing to reinstate the human presence in each block). Other suggestions for improving the estate included: making the estate more family friendly; more maintenance; having a doctors surgery on the estate; better disabled access.

Reinstate the concierge service – but we’ve got no hope!

I would reintroduce the concierge again, so that it’s not only in Poynter House. It would be nice if we had the concierge downstairs again. Because, I mean, I’m a young man and I can deal with my own things, but if an elderly lady needs help, I just feel it’d be better security to have a concierge downstairs, to be honest with you. And talking to other people, it seems other people feel the same.

The lifts: we had a breakdown two days ago, and the lifts didn’t work from about 5pm until the next day. It was a disaster, it was really bad for the old people. I walked two people upstairs to the 21st floor!

We asked residents if living in the estate gave them a sense of pride and over half (56 per cent) said that it did, just over a quarter (28 per cent) felt that they were not proud and a further 16 per cent were neutral on the issue. Reasons for feeling proud ranged from the estate being a pleasant place to live with good maintenance and green spaces in a great location. Other people felt the stigma of it being a council estate and for many, whilst they were happy and satisfied with the estate and surroundings, they were not proud to live there.

Yes, in a way but I don’t know why. It’s a well-kept estate with the trees and the greenery…put it this way, I certainly wouldn’t want to live on some estates in the borough!

Yes, because as I told you it’s in the centre, you can shop easily, tube stations and bus stops are close…Also, in general the people in this area are good: it’s safe. And also the estate is clean in general, it’s not bad.

I’m satisfied, I’m happy living here. Some people think a council estate is not a good place to live, but I’m quite happy to live here myself. I think they have improved the estate a lot.
No. Who can say to be proud of living on a council estate? This is really a funny question to ask!

I'm not proud because the conditions are not good, the area doesn't have a good name. Everybody is idle, drugs and this and that.

Not really. There is no reason why not, but pride… I don't know if I'd use this word. I'm not ashamed of it either! I wouldn't say I'm living somewhere else to somebody. Shepherds Bush has a bit of a name for vandalism and things like that, but I haven't experienced any of it.

Probably because society in general tends to be a bit anti council estates, and high-rises in particular. Even though what people think is not actual facts, I don't think you would be proud to say “I live in a council high-rise estate”, because of the general feeling that people have towards them – even though when people come to my flat and see it they [are surprised], I wouldn't say I'm proud of it.

29 of the 50 residents interviewed said that their feelings of pride had changed since the regeneration works, although many acknowledged that the work had involved considerable disruption to residents while it was ongoing:

Yes, it has absolutely. It does look a lot better! Yes, obviously, they did a very good job. It was an amazingly disruptive procedure, but good came out of it in the end. But the idea of doing it again is very daunting….

The estate does look better. Let's say if I compare myself to residents in other council estates, I'm probably prouder than they are, let's put it this way. I would be much less proud living in White City estate… and much more depressed, like some people I know are, just because they live there. I'm not proud of living here, but it's a good estate.

Yes, it's nicer. The building looks nicer and more up to standards than before, of course. It's just that, as I said, through the process you have complications that you don't know… but you cannot move out, you have to deal with them. Cope with them, actually.

I suppose it does look a bit smarter from the outside. It looks more modern, rather than seeing scruffy walls and graffiti everywhere. Now with the claddings up it looks a lot brighter…

A big majority (82 per cent) of the residents we interviewed described their overall quality of life on the estate as either good or excellent. This compares favourably with the 68 per cent who felt so in 2011. Resident satisfaction on the estate, now that the works are complete, appears to have improved with only six per cent describing their quality of life as bad or terrible, down from 17 per cent in 2011 (Figure 12).

Residents on the estate also appear to be happy with their wider surroundings, with 88 per cent of those interviewed saying they were satisfied or very satisfied with the area and the wider environment. Many think that the regeneration work has helped improve the area:

Yes, the local area… I've lived around here all my life, since I was a young lad. I used to work in the West End, it's quite good. [The area] has improved, [the regeneration works] have made the estate look a lot better, don't they?

The estate does look better, so it is a good feeling.

Yes, I mean, it made it nicer. It made it a nicer area to live in. It's a lot nicer I think personally. Nicer people sort of things… 'cause it used to be quite bad, on Shepherds Bush Green especially you know, a lot of drug addicts and drunks and people like that. Now there is less, I'd say 'cause of the Westfield being built, and the police trying to make the area a bit better.

Has lifted the area, it doesn't look as it used to, it has changed the outlook of the area. It's a nice part of London, there are worse parts.

It looks modern and it looks more trendy. The outside looks beautiful. And all the work they did inside… they lighting [in the corridors] looks beautiful and they made it modern, the building is more up to date than it was before. And you don't hear the fire doors anymore, it's good.

However, there are others who feel that whilst the estate may now look better from the outside, conditions and living standards for those living within the blocks have remain unchanged:

...the whole regeneration is just for market strategy, it's all to do with the outside, not the inside. So, it's all for Westfield to pay the council £20 million to renovate the outside for market strategy. It's no use to me: we live in there. When you come from outside you think you are coming into a nice building, but when you
come inside you see the damp and the leaks of water…

It made a bit of a difference, but not much, because inside is still the same, my windows are still the same, so…

Overall, residents value living on the estate, with only four per cent of interviewees feeling negative about it. The location and accessibility of the estate are the most attractive aspects of the estate. Many residents would like more investment and improvement in facilities, particularly lifts which people rely upon. A quarter would like the concierge service reinstated as it was previously.

People are generally proud to live on the estate, with many saying this had improved since the regeneration, and residents overwhelmingly have a high quality of life. However, some are concerned that the focus of the regeneration was too narrowly focused on the exterior of the blocks and that living conditions for residents were very low down the priority list of objectives.

Figure 13: Images of the blocks when work was complete

SECURITY

How safe and secure residents feel at home and on the estate is an important measure of overall comfort and quality of life. The people we spoke to on the Edward Woods estate generally feel quite safe in their homes, 84 per cent saying they felt slightly safe or very safe in their homes in 2013-14. However, this is down slightly from the 94 per cent who felt this way in 2011 (Figure 14).

The numbers feeling safe or very safe on the estate are slightly lower but still very positive with 76 per cent of those we interviewed feeling this way. However, it is interesting to note that there has been some decline as in 2011 all interviewees said they felt safe or very safe in the estate (Figure 15).

Figure 14: Do you feel safe and secure in your home?

Figure 15: Do you feel safe and secure on the estate?
When we asked what it was that made people feel safe or unsafe the most common answers were the concierge and security patrols of the estate, followed by it just being someone’s personality or having no reason to feel unsafe.

Personally I have never really had a problem with security because I have never let it get to me but other people have complained about it but now we have had the place tidied up and also the policing and the cameras, and also we used to have the concierge but the one concierge still there is being modernised and it’s all CCTV and now it’s quite safe. All the troublemakers fear coming here now because they know they are going to be caught if they try anything silly. It’s improved quite a lot, it’s safe.

I feel totally safe on the estate. I come home after a night shift and feel fine parking up and coming in.

I can’t really say that I’ve felt unsafe.

Interestingly the regeneration works themselves seemed to have only affected the sense of security of a minority (a third) of residents. Main reasons for this included communal entry doors being left open, unauthorised people being on the scaffolding, and being unable to leave windows open.

Yes – the front and side doors were regularly propped open by builders which made it even more insecure than usual, I would go round moving whatever was keeping the door open when I could.

You used to hear people walking around at night on the scaffolding… I mean really they should have had some sort of patrol watching the building at night because of that.

Yes, with the scaffolding you used to occasionally get kids come fleeing past the windows, and things would come dropping down occasionally. It was more an annoyance to me than anything else.

Didn’t go away and leave windows open but now you can – was quite annoying.

Of those who felt unsafe, many felt that the reduction in concierge service had affected this. The concierge service was an issue that arose frequently in our conversations with residents at both stages of our research, in 2011 when it was being discussed and in 2013-14 when the service had been reduced to one centralised location (Poynter House), meaning there was no concierge presence in the reception areas of Norland and Stebbing Houses.

Because without security [concierge service] people are not safe. There are people following as soon as they see someone with a fob; and the fire exit wasn’t working for a long time so they could come in there, but now we’re back to have an alarm in there. They are coming behind you and they could stay on the stairs all night, and once they are there no one patrols! You see, there used to be regular people, very nice people at the security, but now they are not there anymore.

When we asked people specifically about these changes, a small number were positive (six per cent), just under a third were neutral and 62 per cent of residents felt negative about the new concierge system, finding the arrangements inadequate and often very concerning. People felt that the lack of a human presence in Norland and Stebbing was having a detrimental effect, not just in terms of security but also in unwanted junk mail and people door knocking.

Most people are very unhappy with the changes and feel less safe. There is a fear that the estate will drift back to where it was years ago. The negotiation with the Council that wasn’t really a negotiation. The TRA did a survey of the three high-rise blocks and we had 35 responses all from people over 60 and all but one said they didn’t feel safe. We pay £4.60 per week for security – if the Council asked people to pay more they probably would have.

There is no concierge. We have noticed, the main thing since then is not only are there loads more people coming in and out, when we first moved in here there was concierge and we would never get junk mail. Now we are getting it constantly and we are also getting solicited, we’ve had Jehovah’s Witnesses, door to door sales, that was something that just didn’t exist before… The way that it was presented made it sound like there would be regular patrols, it didn’t sound like they were going to close it down completely so that was the whole thing with me, I didn’t have any remarks to make at the time. But to have the concierge totally go away was a bit of a shock. It wasn’t clear to me at all.

Well, you can never replace that human presence with a TV screen. Nobody is happy about that, except for the concierge manager, he thinks it’s the best thing since sliced bread, but in actual fact a lot of the residents grumble about it, and in all the meetings it’s brought up, you know. But ‘cause it’s simple economics they’re never gonna come back, it’s as simple as that.

I think it’s backward step. Having someone downstairs gives a sense of security, because they see people coming in and out, ‘cause sometimes you get some people coming in behind other people, you know, other people have the key but then you get people slipping in behind them!

This resident lives in Poynter House (with a maintained concierge presence at ground level) and outlines the value that many feel the concierge service adds:

They are brilliant, and you feel safe now that there is people downstairs, because a lot of people used to open the door for a mate, and they would go around and check the flats, and then at the end when it’s night they’d break in and steal whatever they could. But now the concierge is there, it’s great. Now it’s worth the money we spend on it.

To summarise, residents on the whole feel safe and secure in their homes and on the estate, albeit slightly less safe than back in 2011. A majority of residents were not happy about the changes to the concierge service and these changes may well have impacted on how safe people felt.
ENERGY

One of the original stated objectives of this regeneration project was to address some of the fuel poverty issues in the estate by delivering reductions in energy consumption and costs. As in 2011, we asked people how much they spent on gas and electricity every month or quarter. People were not always sure of the total annual costs so we extrapolated from the data they could give us to obtain estimates (following the same methodology as applied in 2011-12).

It is important to note that we did not track people’s expenditure over time and that the figures used are as our interviewees reported them to be.

Methodology used to calculate energy bills

- Costs were converted to annualised amounts.
- Some interviewees told us how much they paid in the summer and winter. Winter costs were calculated for six months of the year (October – March), while summer costs were calculated for the other six months of the year (April – September).
- If an interviewee only told us what they were paying at that point, we counted that as a “winter cost”, as the interviews were predominantly conducted between October and February. To calculate “summer costs” we halved the amount quoted; and doubled the amount to calculate a “winter cost” if the bill was from the months spanning the summer.

Muriel

Muriel lives alone in a one-bedroom flat in Norland House. She has lived on the estate for many years and is well known and active in the TRA as well as in various activities at the Community Centre. Muriel enjoys both her home and the estate as a whole:

> I love my home. I have a very nice flat with a balcony which looks out over St Pauls…
> I like the estate very much. We are quite lucky with the trees and greenery. And the accessibility of transport, you can get to anywhere in London from here. Also, it’s friendliness – I know people out and about.

Muriel felt that the process of the regeneration works was quite a difficult one and that it affected daily life significantly:

> Quite a bit for a number of years because of the netting it made it darker. There was a hell of a lot of mess as well – even now when you’re hoovering you still get residues of it – the contractors were fine though, I never had any trouble. And it was done for the right reasons.

However, she is really impressed with the final result and feels that the estate as a whole looks a lot better now:

> I personally think the tower blocks have made a huge improvement on the outlook of the estate. They were dark stone before and now they are light, when you come around the corner on the bus it looks good. I have been meaning to write to ECD [Architects] to say thank you for suggesting the cladding on the north elevation as that’s what people see.

Like many others on the estate, Muriel has concerns about the changes to the concierge service that have been introduced since the works began:

> The lack of concierge means that anyone can get into the block and they do. I query people standing there with no keys but I value my life so can only do so much and someone else will always let them in anyway.

Table 5: Average annual energy costs (estimates) 2011 and 2013-14

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Flat type</th>
<th>Av. annual bill 2011</th>
<th>Av. annual bill 2013-14</th>
<th>Percentage change (2011-2013-14)</th>
<th>Expected cost (based on 9-18% increase)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All flats</td>
<td>£1,034</td>
<td>£996</td>
<td>-3.68</td>
<td>£1,127 – £1,220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Studio</td>
<td>£1,303</td>
<td>£630</td>
<td>-51.65</td>
<td>£1,420 – £1,537</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One-bed</td>
<td>£906</td>
<td>£875</td>
<td>8.56</td>
<td>£878 – £951</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One-bed corner</td>
<td>£998</td>
<td>£966</td>
<td>-3.21</td>
<td>£1,087 – £1,177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two-bed</td>
<td>£1,217</td>
<td>£1,265</td>
<td>3.94</td>
<td>£1,326 – £1,436</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 5 and Figure 16 show the average energy costs reported by interviewees in both 2011 and 2013-14. We show the percentage change for all flats and by flat type and also the expected cost of energy if bills had increased by the 9-18 per cent average price rise between 2010 and 2013.3

Different flat types appear to have very different thermal efficiency levels with studios previously performing the most badly, which may explain the very high energy costs for studio residents back in 2011. During 2011 Breyer was responsible for the installation of central heating systems to the majority of the 132 studios in the estate. This, in combination with external cladding, appears to have made a big difference to the energy usage of those living in studios.

Table 5 and Figure 16 show the average energy costs reported by interviewees in both 2011 and 2013-14. We show the percentage change for all flats and by flat type and also the expected cost of energy if bills had increased by the 9-18 per cent average price rise between 2010 and 2013.3 Different flat types appear to have very different thermal efficiency levels with studios previously performing the most badly, which may explain the very high energy costs for studio residents back in 2011. During 2011 Breyer was responsible for the installation of central heating systems to the majority of the 132 studios in the estate. This, in combination with external cladding, appears to have made a big difference to the energy usage of those living in studios.

Figure 16: Average energy costs by flat type 2011 and 2013-14

From what people told us, average energy costs have gone down significantly for those in studios and have increased a little for those in one and two-bedroom flats by between 3.9 per cent and 8.6 per cent. Even the one-bedroom balcony flats, where the least gain appears to have been made in energy savings reported, still only experienced price changes at the lower level of the widely accepted rises across the board over the same period at around eight per cent.

The one-bedroom balcony flats may have experienced a lower level of improvement in terms of energy saving following the works because of the particular layout and nature of these flats. The external wall of the balconies in these units was clad but not the internal parts meaning that some walls remain exposed to the elements, and heat is still able to escape. This is obviously a limitation to the impact of the works and was raised by a few residents in one-bedroom flats as being a concern.

Some residents of the one-bedroom balcony flats expressed throughout the works that they had been informed that they may not gain as much as some others from the insulation works:

Our flats, the balcony ones, I don’t think they’ve changed as much as the corner ones. I think they were the ones that got the most advantage out of [the works].

Nevertheless, the reported small rises in energy costs were still generally much lower than could have been expected over the specific time period without the additional works, given that prices had risen by an average of 9-18 per cent.

In the past the residents of the studios appear to have been spending a disproportionate amount of money on heating their homes, according to our estimates. From 2013-14 average annual bills now seem to more appropriately reflect the size of the properties; that is studio residents paying the least for their energy and those in two-bedroom flats paying the most.

People’s own perceptions of how much their energy now costs were very interesting with 58 per cent of residents interviewed feeling that their bills had stayed the same or gone down following the works; in contrast around a third believed their bills had gone up (Figure 17).

I’ll tell you what else it’s quite weird, is they’ve put the facades on the front here, and in the balcony, but we’ve still got air gaps in the bedroom. ‘Cause I was thinking why is the bedroom so cold? Why didn’t they do the bedroom? It’s odd, isn’t it? ‘Cause that’s still an… external wall.

3 www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201314/cmselect/cменergy/108/10808.htm#a24
They are about the same, I don’t think it has affected me, although I will mention the cladding – what they did on the building – just keeps the heating longer. For example, if I put the heater on at one stage it gets so hot that I have to turn it off, because it retains the heat longer.

Slightly down, was freezing before the works.

I think it helped a little bit, definitely. With the gas, definitely, because I was paying more for gas, I was using more gas. And maybe the weather it’s not so cold as well, so you don’t need to use the heating so often, just at night and a few hours during the day. While last year, when the winter was a little bit colder…it depends from the weather outside. But I think it [the insulation] helped; if not in the flat, it helped in the corridor, because before there were no windows in the corridor, and you could feel really cold. In the corridor it helped a lot.

They’ve gone up, but not because of the works, because of the [price increase]. [Since the works] the heat stays in longer I think. When I first moved in there was an old electric storage heater which was burning a lot of electricity, then a couple of months later they put a new boiler. This was part of the all operation.

My bills have been about the same, the only real test would be the winter. But I must admit I’m not cold in here, and I haven’t put the heating on yet. I haven’t had to put the heater on yet. You can just put a cardigan on top, can’t you, it’s not really that bad.

They have gone up, and the place is cold the same.

The average annual energy price rise across the big six energy companies (EoN, Npower, British Gas, SSE, Scottish Power, EDF) was around 10 per cent in the time period we asked about. 88 per cent of people interviewed were well aware of the price rises:

They have gone up but that’s because of the increase in prices. I can’t say whether cladding has improved it at all – I hope that it has.

Gone up because of the nature of the pricing of what they charge for the gas, rather than any other inputs. From this winter they are going to put it up again almost 10 per cent British Gas, and the others will follow so in terms of competition. It’s not competitive in that sense. What can they all do, some will be seven per cent, some will be five per cent but they will all go up.

We asked people if they felt the amount they paid for energy was reasonable and slightly more than half (54 per cent) the respondents felt that it was indeed reasonable. However, amongst those who felt this way, many of them expressed resignation at having to just pay whatever things costs in this area. Just over a quarter felt their energy costs were far from reasonable and the remaining respondents felt neutral.

It is reasonable, but I would like to be able to spend more! But I can’t afford to, so I economise. I’d like to be able to use the heating more…

Yes, it’s not extortionate, it has never been extortionate. They can make a few mistakes, but if you persevere and tell them your units, they realise they made a mistake.

I can’t grumble anyway…you have got to pay whatever comes in really, don’t you? You can’t change the gas key going up and up and up. They have got two or three different tariffs, and you can change over to one. I’m on the standard one at the moment. The only say you’ve got is to change your tariff, if it was cheaper that way.

Yes, it depends on us. We can take care, turn lights off, use gas only in cold weather.

I just pay what I can afford to pay.

One parent captured the challenge that many residents felt in deciding whether to eat or heat as times get tougher as a result of welfare reform and rising prices:

It’s too much. Sometimes I go out for something else, but I’m always having these [key/card] in my bag, because sometimes instead of buying the chicken, I think “let me top them up” because for the children it’s very bad…
About a quarter of those interviewed did think that they were now more aware of how much gas / electricity they used following the works. For many residents however, being aware of how much energy their household used was something they were already very used to, because of the very high costs associated with energy use.

I’ve always been aware. I mean, I think the outside of the building needed to be redecorated anyway, you know, because it was really shabby, so if you can do two for one, which it does; and like I said I haven’t had to put the heater on yet, so…

I’m more aware now, I want to save as much as possible, I’ve got two children as well, so…The only problem is the door, but there is less wind coming in now because I’ve put something underneath because of the wind.

I’m always well aware of that. I’ve always been.

I’ll be honest, I haven’t paid a lot of attention.

No, I’ve always tried to save, I’ve always been very aware. I have energy saving light bulbs and things like that. I do try to save some kind of energy and be a little bit responsible. I’m aware of turning lights off…I don’t like wasting, leaving lights on all night…

I’ve always been aware: I’m paying! I don’t know if anybody in the building was aware that these were energy efficient works – it felt more like maintenance of the building than actually refurbishing it and making any change. And indeed, they are still gonna have to do some work for the gas pipes. So, actually, all this work that was done could have saved us some time if it would have been done all together.

No, I’ve always tried to watch my spending, not to waste energy.

Yes, but mainly because of increasing costs.

Another stated objective was to create a flagship renewable energy project within the borough. The original project plan had included the provision for renewable energy through wind turbines on top of each block, although these were later dismissed for safety reasons. However, solar panels were installed on the south facing facade of each block to generate energy for the communal parts. This should provide a major cost and energy saving for the Council although accurate figures have not yet been produced.

Almost all of the people (88 per cent) we interviewed felt that it was important or very important to save energy, primarily for financial reasons but a few also mentioned the wider context of the environment.

It benefits us by reducing our bills; also, it benefits the public, the Government, the environment…so I think it’s a good idea to save as much energy as you can. Obviously it hits you financially if you don’t do it.

For the environment and to cut the cost of living as well.

In late August 2013 Rockwool organised a Community Energy Fete on the estate for residents to learn about energy saving, and to enjoy some family friendly activities such as face painting, a bouncy castle, energy bike, a barbecue and demonstrations of different energy saving products. Whilst only a small number of our interview respondents were able to attend, it brought people together from across the estate from both the high-rise and low-rise blocks to learn about different strategies and tools for energy saving whilst enjoying a fun day out.

We asked people what they felt the best way to learn about energy saving was and a variety of answers were given. The most common included: energy advisors visiting the home; energy companies and the council sending advice; television and radio advertising; and fun-days and social events.

For this area I think fun days / social events work better because people come in, the mums come and bring the children and you can swap ideas. That’s where the community centre becomes useful and they can have people come in like the Citizens Advice Bureaux or people from the department explaining how the system works and how you can actually save things and you can ask questions and have the information on billboards spread around and you can walk around and pick up leaflets.

I think the energy companies and the council sending leaflets and advice would probably be helpful but that’s if people actually read them. Information in communal areas: The best area to put it is where people are waiting downstairs by the lifts, or even inside the lifts because if you put them on the notice boards in the front foyer, people just walk past them. When you’re there [lifts] and you’ve got some of your passive aggressive notes written by residents, people read them.

A man did come and put a gadget on TV and in the bathroom, gas meter and usage monitor to measure how much it used and costs.

Somebody from the company did come and explained that I should make sure the windows are tight closed, because sometimes I’d go out and leave the window open, and then when you come back the flat is cold!

Energy remains a key concern for the residents and while energy costs have not dropped significantly across the board, some residents are paying a lot less than back in 2011 and more than half of those interviewed felt that their bills had stayed the same or gone down since the works. Residents are well aware of how much energy they use because of the very high costs associated with it and a large majority felt that saving energy was important; although they were often unsure of how best to do this.
SOCIAL INTERACTION AND COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION

This study was intended to explore the social implications of energy efficient upgrading of large multi-storey blocks and as such we spoke to residents about how they felt about community activities and social engagement.

As was the case in 2011-12, a relatively low number of residents interviewed described themselves as active in the community (28 per cent) with another 52 per cent saying they were not involved at all. However, informal community engagement appears to be much more widespread with nearly 80 per cent of respondents saying they know at least two neighbours and around 70 per cent say they have people within the estate that they could call on in an emergency.

I’m involved in certain ways, like I know a lot of people that have dogs, and we have a chat… and I get to hear certain things about the estate, about what’s going on and things like that. But I haven’t attended many meetings.

Not involved at all really. I’ve got a few friends [on the estate], we used to have a sheltered housing club over the road, we used to go over there. But now, it’s not closed down but you don’t get so many people over there now.

As of little use. Others were unable to attend because of other commitments such as work, caring responsibilities, ill health or immobility.

I think I did once when they did the kitchens and bathrooms – six years ago – but people like to whine. I thought we were going to have some say on things but it was just people whining. Just people venting and complaining.

They have a leaseholders meeting every couple of months or so but that’s over at Hammersmith. Don’t really go, most of the things they discuss there are of a more general nature and it’s not worth my time. It doesn’t really directly affect me.

I just don’t – I should, but I don’t. I just don’t have time for community meetings, because the TRA does more talking than action…

I just keep myself to myself. I come in from work, I’m knackered…

We wanted to find out whether the local community had been affected by the regeneration project and just over half of the residents felt that this had been the case, although they offered different reasons and different ways in which people had felt the impact. Some believed that it did bring people together, unified either by complaints about the process or by pride at the outcome:

Lots of moaning! There were regular meetings with the contractors if people wanted them.

Yes of course, yes. Complaints obviously went up… but I’ve only been an active member [of the TRA] for a couple of years, so I can’t really speak for what happened through most of it.

More meetings, I see a lot of meeting notices in the security room so yes, there are more meetings but nothing gets done.

I’d say there has probably been a decrease in meetings recently. I never hear anything from the residents association at the moment. It actually brought people together at the time, because at the time people were unhappy and complaining.

In some ways, yes, encouragement, motivation, something like that. For example, the community is encouraged to do something.

In a good way, yes. It’s just a nicer place to live: if you live in a cleaner area, people tend to take more pride in it. If you live in a shithole – excuse my French – but people would just throw rubbish and things like that, and take the piss. I think [the regeneration] has given people pride of where they live.

There are actually less meetings because there is nothing to talk about! We all admire the buildings, when we meet downstairs or in the shop we gossip about the community, and everybody is happy.

However, an equally convincing argument was made by other interviewees that the long, disruptive process of the upgrading works actually made people less inclined to engage in community activities and more likely to isolate themselves:

Seemed to do the opposite [less activity], I mean people seemed to go to the pub more to get away from the building. A lot of the people I know were spending most of the day in the Stewart Arms.

It’s put people off because it’s been deteriorating because of the frustration of the works being done here. I’ve noticed it, even I felt the effect of not wanting to go to meetings because it was taking so long. The TRA has disintegrated and they have to recoup, get some new members because us lot, we were at it for so long, I’ve said I am going to take a little break, stay away for a while. They have a new Chair, a new Treasurer and most of the others, they need new members but the youngsters are not keen to come, they find it too bureaucratic so I won’t be going for a little while, I’m definitely having a break.

I think some people just hid away, some people went to friends’ places, a lot of people stayed out. I think it kind of broke the community spirit, you know, the work wasn’t completed when it should have done, and people just got fed up with it.

A small number of residents interviewed are very active in the local community including playing key roles in the Tenant and Resident Association, but for the majority community interaction is of a much more informal nature, involving speaking to neighbours and helping people out. Many residents felt that the regeneration works had impacted on community relations in either a positive or a negative way.
David

David has lived on the estate for over ten years and is heavily involved in the Tenant and Resident Association. He spoke back in 2011 about the fatigue that many residents felt because of the constant building works happening in the estate:

The council have spent a hell of a lot of money on this estate but as a result it looks good up to a point. But with all the work it just goes on and on and on. I've been on the TRA for quite a few years now and it'd be nice really to sort of have a little bit of a gap!...I appreciate they're spending lots of money on the estate, and of course you can see the improvements – eventually...The estate is never without builders and work people wandering about all the time. It's like out the front where they built the park – that looks nice but of course nobody can see it anymore because of all this scaffold being up and stuff like that. And that's how it's going on, and it gets to you in the end.

During the works David had to adapt his lifestyle somewhat to be away from his flat more often as it was not a pleasant place to be:

Often I would spend two or three days indoors but now I'm sort of out more or less 24/7. It's just a place to go home and kip to be honest – that's all it is.

He likes the estate and whilst he doesn't necessarily feel proud to live there, he says he is not ashamed (as he used to be) and he is happy here. He talks about people willingly wanting to move to the estate now when previously it had a bad reputation. David is unhappy about the changes to the concierge service and fears that the estate may slip back to where it was a few years ago. He feels unsatisfied with the consultation process the Council used and thinks that people would probably have been willing to pay more in their service charge if it meant keeping the concierge service in all three blocks.

He thinks his energy costs have gone up since 2011 but attributes this to the increase in prices more generally, overall he thinks what he spends on energy is reasonable.

David was well informed of the progress of the works throughout but thinks this is because of his active role in the community and that most people wouldn’t have known much about what was happening. He also thinks that the communication should have been clearer with disclaimers and reasons given for the delays in progress:

I personally was fairly well informed because of the working group but generally residents didn't know what was going on, for example there was the Breyer newsletter but it never spoke the truth. Breyer should have said completion dates subject to weather – that's all it would take.

REGENERATION WORKS

The regeneration works went on for over three years in the end, during which there was scaffolding up which was covered with green netting, reducing the level of light entering the flats. There was much noisy work throughout the process, including heavy drilling. Breyer, the building contractor, advised staff to limit noisy work to between the hours of 9am and 4pm Monday to Friday in order to mitigate the problem of excessive noise. Some households appear to have suffered more from noisy work and building related problems, particularly those on higher floors which seem to have been significantly more affected by the construction of the new penthouse apartments.

In our final round of interviews in 2013-14 we asked people to detail their experiences of the regeneration work. When asked how much the works had affected their daily lives, 54 per cent of interviewees felt that it had disrupted them a lot, a further 28 per cent felt it was a little disruptive and around 14 per cent said their daily lives had not been affected at all.

Overall, noise, dust, lack of light and associated building problems such as water leaks appear to have been the biggest issues for residents.

Pardon my French, it was a bloody nuisance, quite honestly. It was the noise from the drilling that drove us mad, and the lack of light into the flats.

To be honest, it was a difficult time, because it was very noisy. The construction workers were very polite, they did a good job, but it was very noisy and this was something beyond their control. Noise and dust...it was a difficult time for us.

It was a nightmare for the fact that we didn't really see any sun...it was too much, too long, too long. The tower took too long. It was getting ridiculous! It wasn't really great to have that green plastic thing that they put out...it wasn't nice. I'm glad it's finished now.
The impact and disturbance of the works affected people differently, based on how much time they spent at home and their particular circumstances, for example, those out at work were generally little affected whilst older people, those with health concerns, young families or people working shift work (including nights) found life a lot more challenging.

It didn’t affect me one bit. I didn’t mind, you get used to it, you know the job had to be done. If they’ve got to make changes, you’ve got to have some noise and scaffolding.

When they were drilling it was hell – noisy – you had to get out of the flat. Expect it with building works and they sent letters of apology to people. Never used to work weekends.

Difficult, had to go out more. My baby didn’t sleep in the daytime until they finished work.

It did, I had to be out most of the time. I suffer from pain in the knees and the ankles and they’d be drilling so I couldn’t be at home. Couldn’t lie in, in your own home.

Well, the noise obviously, there was all sorts of drilling. I imagine for people who are constantly at home, like pensioners, it must have been a nightmare. And if somebody is unwell, I can’t imagine what it was like. But it was really excessive noise. And the dust, there was much more dust than what you’ve had otherwise. And it was dark as well, of course.

For others, whilst the works were an ordeal they viewed it as necessary disruption and pain on the journey to a better outcome for all.

Quite a bit for a number of years because of the netting it made it darker. There was a hell of a lot of mess as well – even now when you’re hoovering you still get residues of it. The contractors were fine though, I never had any trouble. And it was done for the right reasons.

It was terrible: you couldn’t do anything but it had to be done. You couldn’t cook a meal during the day when they were working, because sometimes the gas supply was cut. But that’s actually part of life, you can go through that. They did the work for my benefit, so you’ve got to just accept that.

There was a mixed response from our interviewees on how they felt about their home and the block now with just under half feeling positive (48 per cent), 44 per cent feeling neutral and a small number (eight per cent) feeling more negative.

The most common answer was that the outside looked great, and people felt proud looking at the block from outside, but that the inside of the blocks had been somewhat neglected or forgotten about.

Nothing in particular, I don’t feel any difference inside the home, from what’s happened on the outside. Except that we’ve got better light now that the scaffolding has gone. But I don’t feel any difference. In the block I feel it’s better now that they’ve done the work on the outside with the offices and how they’ve got the landscaping and the nice entrance. That really made a difference for me, wow now it actually looks like a proper building from downstairs so people see that when they walk past. That actually made me feel quite happy.

They look nicer, for sure, you know, you can’t get away from the fact that the whole estate looks a whole lot better! In [Norland House], they spent a lot more money on the interior, the areas in-between the individual flats. They retiled and all the rest of it, but they didn’t do it in this block, apparently they did it a few years before I moved in, so they didn’t consider it necessary, so it still looks a bit tatty compared with that block. But that’s just a personal observation, it doesn’t make any difference: I like living here.

Outside looks better but not inside – looks and feels exactly the same.

Outside nice but inside institutional.

Just feel the same, ‘cause what’s been done outside you don’t see it until you go out!
Some residents (eight) specifically mentioned that their homes and/or the communal parts of the building now felt warmer as a result of the works.

It’s warmer.

I think they’ve done a great job. The flat is warmer because of the new windows. The flat feels warmer. And the atmosphere has changed as well.

It doesn’t seem worth it. I mean my flat is slightly warmer, but you think I went through three years of work for what? It doesn’t seem worth it.

The block is good and nicer, and the corridors are warmer. But the home…the home is home, it’s what you’ve got from the council, that’s it! But the regeneration didn’t really make any difference to the flat. It’s like everything is the same in here, but we had to put up with the noise, the disasters that we had because of the cracks and the floods.

For a number of residents the main feeling now that the works were complete was relief that the whole process was over:

The peace is returned. We now enjoy. Now life is back to normal.

A lot better, the improvements have made a difference so now we are just getting back to normality, forgetting that the work was done. All falling into place hopefully.

We asked Edward Woods residents about how well they felt they were kept up-to-date with progress and information on the works between 2009-2013. Just over half of the respondents (58 per cent) felt that they had been well or very well informed with a further quarter suggesting that the communication had been OK. Only 14 per cent felt that they were badly informed on progress and information.

We were being given information, it just kept changing and it was like oh god what’s happening. [We were] provided with at least some information with the newsletters we were getting on a regular basis saying we are at this stage, we are doing this, we are hoping to get this done.

At least we were informed of that rather than being like oh my god the lift isn’t working I wonder what is happening now. They used to come around with newsheets on at least a monthly basis, sometimes on a weekly basis. They provided us with a little place where you could go – I’ve never used it, but it was there, if I wanted to. And if you wanted to talk to someone, there was always someone you could go and talk to. Yeah, they were all right.

I think they appointed a couple of people, liaison officers and stuff who were very good.

They would always get in touch, there were always leaflets coming through the door.

When it was happening [there was]…lots of information out and at the end they apologised.

One recurrent issue however is that despite there being lots of information available it was often inaccurate and failed to inform people of the real situation underway. For example, final completion dates were given time and time again leading to some residents losing trust in the contractors and the council and losing faith in the messages they were receiving.

They make promises that they would never keep. Usually they would say a date and never stick to it.

They kept on changing the dates as when they would take the scaffolding out. They were sending us letters all the time. But they kept stretching the end date for a few months. So, they were informing us, but they were not necessarily sticking to what they promised in those letters; so the information was there but it wasn’t true!

One big lie! Look, I work in the construction industry; we know we are gonna do this job for two or three years, but the contract says 18 months. Every time they keep telling you we are gonna finish next month, next month, in two months’ time…for two years! It came to the point where everybody on the whole estate just gave up! They kept stretching the end dates…and up until now they have not finished yet! You never get the actual progress of what’s going on, it’s just to put your mind at strain, that’s it.

Figure 19: Personal experience of the works
Overall, most people’s experiences of the works ranged from neither good nor bad (28 per cent) to good / excellent (46 per cent). Almost half rated their experience of the works as good or excellent is extraordinary given the difficult living conditions people endured but also compared with the just 23 per cent of residents feeling this way during the works in 2011. Just under a quarter felt their experience had been bad or terrible, with eight per cent suggesting the process had been a terrible experience.

Nice to have it done but while they were doing it, was terrible. If you were working it would be fine but for pensioners who stay at home.

It varied, at times I felt like screaming, and at other times you didn’t even notice they were there.

In terms of achievement the work was good, but as I told you the noise…it wasn’t their fault, it was beyond their control. The workers did their job very well, and they achieved everything. It was just noisy…

It was bad because it took too long. One year, one year and half…but three years! Or it was even more than that – three years! I was thinking it’s unbelievable. They said it would take one year or whatever…we had to live with that.

I found it quite stressful, because it was such a major work, and I don’t think we were really aware it was going to be so major, that it was going to affect you every day for three years. It wasn’t six months! If they had said at the beginning it’s going to be a major work, a major disruption to your life for three years, at least we would have been prepared for it.

Crap! It was terrible, I must admit, it really affected your life.

Alison

Alison lives in a two-bedroom flat in Poynter House with her two children aged 10 and 15. She is in her 50s and is originally from Africa, but she has got British citizenship. Alison first came to live to Edward Woods estate 21 years ago, when she and her husband got a one-bedroom flat from the council on a higher floor of Poynter House, but moved five years ago to the current flat. She is quite happy with her flat – it doesn’t have any major issues, apart from some damage from water leaks to the ceiling in the kitchen and the bathroom, which she is still waiting for the council to come and repair.

Because of the length of time she has spent on the estate and her friendly nature, she feels very much part of the community. She used to be a member of the TRA and regularly attend meetings. She also attended the Community Energy Fete in August 2013. She claims to know at least a hundred people on the estate. She is very proud of living on Edward Woods estate because is located in a very desirable part of London, and everything you need is close by – shops, bus stops, playgrounds, parks. She thinks the regeneration has considerably improved the outlook of the estate.

It’s getting even better, it’s improving far beyond when I first moved in this estate…It looks modern and it looks more trendy. The outside looks beautiful. And all the work they did inside…they lighting [in the corridors] looks beautiful and they made it modern, the building is more up to date than it was before.

She also feels safe and secure both inside her flat and on the estate. She gets very positive feedbacks from people visiting her about her flat and the estate more generally, and her relatives back home think she is “rich”. She is happy that she lives in Poynter House and therefore still has a concierge presence in her block:

I’m lucky! Having a concierge in this block is a good thing. I’m glad to be in Poynter House and still have the concierge.

She watches her spending on gas and electricity, but says they cannot save that much on electricity as her eldest child, who is deaf, needs proper lighting to communicate with the rest of the family using sign language. She believes she is using less gas since the cladding, because the flat feels warmer and heats up more quickly than before, and is also a little quieter:

There is less noise…and it’s more warm now….I don’t use as much gas as before, because it’s warmer than before.

She claims she has become more aware of her spending and is following the advice she was given when she went to the Energy Fete.

She thinks it was worth going through the regeneration because of the final outcome, but found that dust was the biggest issue due to the amount coming into the flat, which made her into a “permanent cleaner” and triggered asthma attacks. What was disappointing for her was the fact that, when she reported the issue, she was simply told that all necessary precautions were being taken to keep dust to a minimum.

Reducing the amount of dust but also being truthful and responsive to residents’ concerns, are the only suggestion she can think of to improve a project like this in the future.

The only thing I would suggest is they should not lie about the dust levels. That’s the only problem. They cannot help with the noise, we all understand that. There is nothing you can do: you have to drill to put all these beautiful things. But the dust, they thought they took the best precautions for them, but it didn’t help us at all. So, in the future they might find something that reduces the dust.
Finally, we asked residents what they would suggest to improve a project like this in the future for a different estate (Figure 20).

The most commonly cited suggestion was to improve the management of the works, closely followed by communication and timescale. These issues all link together and are unsurprising given the comments made by estate residents throughout our interviews about the ongoing delays and lack of clarity on a final end date.

Other suggestions included less disruption and mess, making realistic promises to residents and preparing them better for the works ahead as well as possibly moving people out of the blocks whilst the work is ongoing.

Don’t promise things that you can’t fulfil. Don’t get people’s hopes up and then dash them, for example, the reception area, we were promised nice lighting and nice flooring and nice new big doors and what we got was a paint job. Try and get people involved but don’t make promises and at least listen to what they say. On our block – it was supposed to take two years and it took nearly three and a half. They came across problems that extended it but something might have gone wrong in the planning stage. The blocks had to be done because bits fell off.

Yeah, you know what, what probably would have helped, rather than being quite definite about dates, put a disclaimer, we hope rather than saying works will be done by, say we envisage we hope to have this, however due to weather conditions something like that it may take longer. I think people would actually have been a lot more accepting of delays had they been given something like weather conditions which is a very legitimate excuse for any delay that actually happens, rather than being “oh work is going to start on the 8th” and then the 8th passes, it’s the 12th, the 15th where is this work?

For me, the most important thing is to get the work done on time. That’s the first thing. The second thing is to make people aware of actually how noisy and how dirty some of the work is going to be, so you can then plan ahead. I don’t think there is anything else you can do really, because they are gonna do the work anyway. But as long as you know about…like, for instance, what they used to do when the work first started is that they would put a notice on the lifts and say from this week we are going to do x so it’s going to be very noisy and very dirty, and then you could arrange to be out, so I could arrange by week so I’d know when I’d need to be out, and I’d know I’d need to be elsewhere. I would just warn people saying it’s a very long process, very long.

To do what they promised and stick to the timetable.

Keep people updated all the time. People love to hear information. When I talk to old women, they haven’t got much to do all day, so they like to know what’s going on, how they are gonna be affected and stuff. So keep people informed at every stage: it doesn’t hurt to hold a meeting once a week and just to let you know exactly how we are and where we are going. But other than that, the builders were all pretty considerate: there is not a lot we can do, you know, we are working and if we are told to do something which makes noise, you can’t not make noise because someone is sleeping, so… I mean, we all have guidance like you can’t make noise before 8am, and they have never done anything like that really. Just to keep people informed: I think that’s the best way forward.

Yeah, take us in a hotel, do the work and then move us back! But it will never happen isn’t it?

There was inevitable disruption to residents throughout the regeneration works the major issues being noise, dust and lack of light due to the scaffolding and netting. Nevertheless, almost half of those we interviewed still rated their own experiences of the work as good or excellent. There was some disappointment from many residents that the focus of the works appeared to them to have been on the outside of the blocks, and for some this
supported a view that the works had been commissioned for the benefit of others not for the residents of the estate themselves. Communication of the original intentions of the building works and indeed throughout the project could have been improved to help residents understand what was happening, why it was happening and when it would be complete.

**Neil**

Neil is a leaseholder and lives with his partner in a one-bedroom flat in Norland House. They moved into the estate during the works and saw the regeneration as a positive sign about the future of the estate and the council’s attitude towards it.

*Overall, it’s going to be quite amazing. When we were looking for a property and I was doing research, they had a picture, even on the Rockwool website about the plans and how it’s going to look, and that actually swayed my decision towards this place. Considering the work that’s being done, and a lot of the energy saving elements to it... it made me think “they’re actually doing something – we know it’s actually happening” – it swayed my decision, it made it far more an attractive place to purchase than anywhere else.*

They enjoy living in Edward Woods and value most the location, the view from the flat and also the green space around the estate. For them the work was not too much of an inconvenience and just accepted that it needed to be done, and that the outcome was worth the effort.

He feels that the energy bills are OK, feel affordable at the moment and it isn’t worth changing supplier as all the companies are the same, although does think it’s important to try and save energy by, for example, limiting how many lights are on and wearing an extra jumper rather than turning the heating up.

Neil doesn’t attend Tenant and Resident Association meetings, but does occasionally go to leaseholder meetings within the council more widely.

Neil feels that the biggest problem with the regeneration was the shifting timetable and the fact that people lost faith in what they were being told as deadlines came and went again.

*So before giving any dates to be quite clear that this is a planned date but things can happen and things do happen. That would probably help the most, especially when it comes to relations with residents. People would be more willing to put up with things if they have some idea that things can go wrong rather than being definite. The issues I mentioned about trust, and then any information from the company becomes meaningless, you lose it and that’s when friction occurs between residents and the developers.*

Neil is unhappy about concierge changes and feels that the concierge presence in the block was a great asset, helping to create a good atmosphere and that they served an important liaison role. Back in 2011, Neil explained how important the concierge service was to the estate:

*The concierge are lovely, genuinely helping people. Never too much trouble for anything, and I’ve never seen them angry, upset, narky or anything – they’re always happy – so they are a true asset.*
FEELING ABOUT HOMES, ESTATE AND SECURITY

Overall, people felt more positive about their quality of life in their homes and on the estate after the works than they did in 2011.

• 78 per cent describe quality of life in their home as good or excellent and just six per cent say it is bad or terrible. This is compared with 68 per cent and 21 per cent respectively in 2011.

• 79 per cent describe their quality of life on the estate as good or excellent, with again just six per cent saying it is bad or terrible, again compared with 68 per cent and 17 per cent respectively in 2011.

I feel it’s better than before. It’s warmer, and helped in energy saving. [The works] affected us very positively. You can feel the difference between now and before.

I personally think the tower blocks have made a huge improvement on the outlook of the estate. They were dark stone before and now they are light, when you come around the corner on the bus it looks good. I have been meaning to write to ECD [Architects] to say thank you for suggesting the cladding on the north elevation as that’s what people see.

We look a lot smarter! And a lot of people coming to visit have all commented that the blocks look a lot nicer now, ‘cause they are shiny white now. You can see them from miles: when I come into Euston station, and come out onto the road, you can see them, because with them being white you can spot them in the far distance.

The vast majority of residents felt safe and comfortable both at home and on the estate.

• 84 per cent of those interviewed feel safe or very safe in their homes – slightly down from 94 per cent feeling so in 2011.

• 78 per cent feel safe or very safe on the estate – 100 per cent felt this way in 2011.

There has been a slight decline in how safe residents feel between 2011 and 2013-14, but some of this can be attributed to a reduction in the concierge service in two of the three blocks and also that now there will be fewer people around the estate as the builders have moved on.

Community activity and social interaction on the estate remains mainly informal, with a minority of residents participating in more formal structures such as the TRA.

The majority of the 24 residents we spoke to in both rounds of interview were very happy with their homes and the estate more generally, with 16 feeling positive about their homes and 21 feeling so about the estate in 2013-14. They were mostly comfortable with only one saying their home was uncomfortable and 19 rated their quality of life in their homes and on the estate as good or excellent, compared with 16 and 17 respectively in 2011. Furthermore, all but one of the interviewees were...
satisfied or very satisfied with their wider neighbourhood and area in 2013, again a slight improvement from 2011.

Most people still felt safe in their homes and on the estate, with 17 feeling safe or very safe at home and 19 feeling this way on the estate. Back in 2011 all but one felt safe or very safe in their own home and all 24 felt safe or very safe on the estate. The majority, 16 of 24, were negative about the changes to the concierge service.

**ENERGY**

It is important to note that we did not track people’s expenditure over time and that the figures used are simply as our interviewees reported them to be. For the residents we spoke to in both rounds there were mixed results in terms of whether energy bills were higher or lower than in 2011. 11 of the 24 reported that they were paying less than in 2011, with the amount varying from one per cent to almost 50 per cent less. A further 11 reported higher energy bills, with the percentage change varying from three per cent to over 100 per cent. The average for the 24 people we re-interviewed was an increase of 11 per cent from 2011-2013/14.

**REGENERATION WORKS**

During our second round of interviews, people were generally relieved that the works were now finished and the builders had moved on so that they could focus on living their normal lives again.

While the works were ongoing, people were unsurprisingly less positive about them, with 28 per cent rating their personal experience as bad or terrible and only 23 per cent rating it as good or excellent. In 2013-14, once people had had some time to reflect on the experience, almost half (46 per cent) now rated their experience as good or excellent and 22 per cent as bad or terrible.

People similarly felt that how they were kept informed about the works was better after the event, with 58 per cent suggesting that they were well or very well informed, compared to just 23 per cent feeling this way at the time.

In 2011 people mainly expected their block to look and feel nicer as the assumption was generally that the works were being carried out to improve the appearance of the estate. Only a quarter of those interviewed during the works were aware that energy efficiency improvements could be expected. 16 per cent of people did say in 2013-14 that their fists felt warmer and more comfortable after the work, in addition to many more feeling positive about the aesthetic changes.

The most common ways to improve work suggested by our 24 repeat interviewees were consistent with those of the wider survey: better management of works, improved communication and sticking to the timescale. The personal experiences of the works of our tracked residents were slightly better post-works with almost half (11), saying good or excellent, and just two having a bad or terrible experience, compared with seven whose experience was good or excellent, and four whose experience was bad or terrible back in 2011.

“There has been a slight decline in how safe residents felt between 2011 and 2013-14, but some of these can be attributed to a reduction in the concierge service in two of the three blocks.”
In 2012 we concluded that a number of aspects of the work could have been improved:

• **Management** of the timetable and associated delays to the project – communication with residents is vital to ensure residents do not feel left behind / abandoned in difficult circumstances.

• **Better advance preparation** before the works began would have been useful – particularly for vulnerable residents (young families, ill or elderly). In special circumstances, some could even be offered the opportunity to move if they had health concerns.

• **Communication** of the nature of the project and its energy saving potential (not just aesthetic improvement) – linked with post-regeneration energy advice and support for residents.

• **Resident fatigue** at incessant regeneration works to the estate – coupled with huge delays – created feelings of despondency that it would never end.

From our second round of interviews in 2013-14 **these themes have remained consistent** with many residents specifically mentioning better management of the works and improved communication as ways that a project like this could be improved in the future. For many, there was a lack of understanding of the main purpose of the works, which meant that coupled with long delays and over three years of disruptive building works (with the associated noise, dust and mess), people grew frustrated and exasperated with the building works and were desperate for it all to be over.

**LESSONS TO LEARN FOR FUTURE SCHEMES**

• **Improved communication with residents** – before, during and after works, e.g., explaining to those with disabilities / illnesses / young children how they will be affected; communicating effectively the purpose of the works and potential benefits to residents; keeping residents more informed of delays and the reasons behind them. Ensure that **when residents are inconvenienced**, for example through a lack of water, gas or electricity supply, or when lifts are taken out of service, that effective communication takes place and times given for the lack of service are not breached.

• **It is necessary to find a way to engage residents in the purpose of the works** – including giving energy efficiency advice throughout the process and post works to help people to change their energy behaviour, lower bills and remove suspicion that the works are being done “to them” in order to benefit others, e.g., Westfield shoppers. Ensure that residents help to make choices about final paint colours and flooring (as was done through the Residents Working Party) and feel engaged in the process throughout. While 16 per cent of residents did feel thermal improvements in their flats, perhaps more may have felt this way had they fully understood the purpose of the works.

• **Make realistic promises to residents** about the final outcome in terms of quality of works.

• **Changes relating to management or maintenance** of the estate that occur during the regeneration process will be seen by residents as inextricably linked to the project. In Edward Woods, this manifested itself in the change to the concierge service which many residents are unhappy about. Whilst not directly related to the works it is prominent in many residents’ minds and integral to how they perceive quality of life and safety and security on the estate.

• **Staff presence is important** – Breyer’s Resident Liaison Officers were respected and valued, helping people to stay well informed of actions and progress albeit with constantly changing information.

• **Find ways to help promote community involvement and engagement** – ask residents how they think people can learn about energy saving and offer assistance in making this happen, even by informal means.
From our research over three years in the Edward Woods estate we show that the estate is generally very popular with residents, a view that may be contrary to public opinion of how residents would feel about a high-rise, low-income estate in inner London. People are very happy with the location of the estate, appreciate that the flats are a good size, are comfortable and on the whole feel safe and secure living there.

The works undertaken on the estate were significant and great disruption was caused to the residents of the three tower blocks as building works went on for over three years. Projects like this are incredibly valuable for a number of reasons, all of which are demonstrated through the work on the Edward Woods estate:

- Addressing issues of fuel poverty and energy efficient improvements to the existing housing stock;
- Improving quality of life and conditions in individual homes and wider estates and neighbourhoods;
- Making people feel proud of the aesthetic improvements to their area and general upgrade – people feel their area compares well with others;
- Retaining community networks while improving the image and condition of the estate.

However, work carried out on this scale does need to be carefully managed and planned, and communication with residents needs to be clear and consistent throughout the process. Whilst residents remain in situ, in their own homes, as work happens around them, it is vital that they are part of the journey and feel involved and engaged in the process. It is also essential that residents see and understand the value of the works so any suspicion and mistrust around the purpose of regeneration can be dispelled.

The installation of energy efficiency measures as part of wider regeneration schemes can help extend the life of existing buildings for the future whilst ensuring that long-established communities are able to enjoy improved conditions in a secure, well maintained environment. These types of neighbourhood improvements may also help promote more mixed communities as people want to move into areas that are innovative, forward thinking and energy efficient. Improving the quality of housing leads to greater satisfaction and pride among existing residents meaning that people will want to stay where they are, helping to ensure a stable local community.

The fact that the Council landlord, the London Borough of Hammersmith and Fulham, felt that it was well worth investing considerable resources in a large high-rise concrete council estate housing many low-income residents during a time of austerity, is an encouraging sign and offers a model to cities and social landlords across the country. This estate works well, residents like living there and the Council manages it well – although recent cuts in Council services have raised the alarm bells that the intensive, on-the-ground management which has made the estate successful over a long period could decline if the Council landlord decides to make false economies.

In the current climate, social landlords have a built-in incentive to improve energy efficiency in their stock for several reasons:

- Social – tackling fuel poverty, improving buildings and the general environment of estates and neighbourhoods;
- Economic – tenants will be more able to cope with increased rents and energy bills if their homes are more energy efficient;
- Environmental – improving the energy efficiency of their stock.

Insulating and externally cladding tower blocks in addition to carrying out repairs on basic structures, although costly, does radically transform the image and the performance of hard-to-heat dwellings. It also improves the quality of life for those living there who otherwise may be in serious fuel poverty. The experience of the Edward Woods estate shows it is a complicated and challenging task that requires detailed coordination and supervision alongside the strong involvement of residents throughout.

It does bring wider social and energy saving benefits to the local community and over time justifies the cost of the investment.

8. CONCLUSIONS
APPENDIX 1: ROUND 1 QUESTIONNAIRE
(Throughout encourage people to express their own views and bring up any other issues if relevant)

STAGE ONE: DURING WORKS

1. Home
   a) How do you feel about your home / flat?
   b) What are the best things?
   c) What are the worst things?
   d) What would you change if you could?
   e) How comfortable is your home at the moment?
      • Do you feel that external noise (eg, traffic, aeroplane, music etc.) has a detrimental effect on the comfort in your home?
   f) What things about your home and your surroundings do you feel proud of? What things make you feel bad about where you live?
   g) Please rate your quality of life in your home now (1 is terrible and 5 is excellent)

   |-------------|--------|------------------------|--------|-------------|

2. Estate
   a) How do you feel about the estate?
   b) What are the best things about the estate?
   c) What are the worst things about the estate?
   d) What would you change if you could?
   e) Does living in Edward Woods give you a sense of pride?
      • If so why?
      • If not, why not?
   f) How would you describe your quality of life on the estate (1 is terrible; 5 is excellent)

   |-------------|--------|------------------------|--------|-------------|

   g) Can you give us an idea of how satisfied you are with your area and the wider environment (1 is dissatisfied; 5 is very satisfied)

   |-----------------|-----------------------|--------------------------------------|-------------|-----------------|
3. Security
a) Do you feel safe and secure in your home / on the estate? How safe (1 is very unsafe and 5 is very safe)

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b) Why / why not?
c) What would help this? What makes this worse?
d) Has the regeneration work affected your sense of security while it has been going on? If so, in what way?

4. Current energy bills
a) About how much do you spend on electricity every month / quarter / year?
b) About how much do you spend on gas every month / quarter / year?
c) Do you think the amount is reasonable? How does it compare with other places you have lived?
d) Have your bills gone up or down in the last few months?
e) What do you think will happen to the cost of energy now and in the future? What impact will this have?
f) What do you know about how you can save energy?
g) What are the most useful ideas / methods / tips?

5. Levels of social interaction or community participation;
a) How would you describe your role in the local community?
   Active / not active / not involved at all
b) How many neighbours do you know? How many could you call on in an emergency?
c) Do you ever attend local groups eg, residents’ association meetings?
   • If yes, when was the last one?
   • If not, why not?
6. Regeneration works
a) How has the work affected your daily life? And the scaffolding?
b) Have you had contact with the staff from LBHF / Breyer? How have you found them?
Please circle those that apply:
- Approachable
- Helpful
- Knowledgeable
- Unhelpful
- Unapproachable
- Ill-informed
- Other – please specify

c) How well do you think you were kept up to date with progress?

|---------------|----------|------|--------|-------------|

| d) How do you expect your home and your block to look and feel after the work? |
| e) Please rate your personal experience of the works from 1 to 5 (1 terrible and 5 excellent)? |

|-------------|--------|------------------------|--------|-------------|

Please tell us anything that you would like to add
APPENDIX 2: ROUND 2 QUESTIONNAIRE
(Throughout encourage people to express their own views and bring up any other issues if relevant)

STAGE TWO: FOLLOWING WORKS

1. Home
a) How do you feel about your home / flat? Has this changed following the regeneration works?
b) What are the best and worst things?
c) What would you change if you could?
d) How comfortable is your home at the moment?
e) Has the insulation made a difference to noise levels (eg, from neighbours / or traffic and street noise)\
f) Please rate your quality of life in your home now (1 is terrible and 5 is excellent)

|-------------|-------|------------------------|--------|-------------|

2. Estate
a) How do you feel about the estate?
b) Have your feelings changed following the regeneration works?
c) What are the best and worst things about the estate?
d) What would you change if you could?
e) Does living in Edward Woods give you a sense of pride?
   * If so why?
   * If not, why not?
   Has this changed following the regeneration works?
f) How would you describe your quality of life on the estate (1 is terrible and 5 is excellent)

|-------------|-------|------------------------|--------|-------------|

g) Can you give us an idea of how satisfied you are with your area and the wider environment from 1 (dissatisfied) to 5 (very satisfied)

|-----------------|-----------------------|--------------------------------------|-------------|------------------|

h) Has the regeneration work affected how you feel about your home / the estate and the local area more widely?
3. Security

a) Do you feel safe and secure in your home / on the estate? Please rate from 1 to 5 how safe you feel (1 is very unsafe and 5 is very safe)

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b) Why / why not?

c) What would help this? What makes this worse?

d) Has the regeneration work affected your sense of security?

e) What do you think about the changes to the concierge service?

4. Current energy bills

a) About how much do you spend on energy (gas and electricity) every month / quarter / year?

SEE BILLS if possible and record units used and cost

Does your bill / your meter show the units used?

Which supplier(s) do you use?

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b) Do you think the amount is reasonable?

c) Have your bills gone up or down since the regeneration works?

d) Did you know that energy bills have gone up by nearly 10 per cent in the last year?

e) Would you say you are now (following the works) more aware of how much gas / electricity you use?

f) Did you attend the Community Energy Fete in August 2013? Why / why not?

g) How do you think you can save energy? What are the most useful ideas / methods / tips?

h) How important do you think it is to save energy?

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What do you think is the best way to learn about energy saving? (Select as many as you think)

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<tr>
<td>Council sending leaflets / advice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Information in communal areas in the estate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Advice Centre eg, CAB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Energy advisers visiting home</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From other residents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Television / radio advertising</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Online information / quizzes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OTHER</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5. Levels of social interaction or community participation;
   a) How many neighbours do you know? How many could you call on in an emergency?
   b) Do you ever attend local groups eg, residents association meetings?
      * If yes, when was the last one?
      * If not, why not?
   c) How would you describe your role in the local community? Prompts: Active / not active / not involved at all
   d) Has the local community been affected by the regeneration project? Prompts: more or less activity, eg, Working Group Meetings

6. Regeneration works
   a) How much has the regeneration work affected your daily life? In what ways?
   b) How do you think your home and block feel now?
   c) How well do you think you were kept up to date with progress and information?

|---------------|----------|------|---------|-------------|
d) Please rate your **personal experience** of the works from 1 to 5 (1 terrible and 5 excellent)? Please tell us anything that you would like to add.

|-------------|--------|-------------------------|---------|--------------|


e) Would you suggest anything to improve a project like this in the future?