

The background of the entire cover is a photograph of a multi-story apartment building in Brighton. The building has a curved facade on the left side and several balconies with metal railings. The windows are dark, and the overall color palette is muted, with greys, browns, and some greenery visible in the background.

R S JOURNAL


Issue 5 summer 2018

BRIGHTON

AND THE

"HOUSING CRISIS"

A CITY IS A COMMUNITY BUILT OF ITS HOUSES



Welcome to issue 5 of your *Regency Society Journal*, in which we cast our glance at what is ever more clearly seen as the biggest divisive issue in England - and in our own city.

The *Journal* currently comes to you twice a year, the winter issue centred on an element of the city's historic fabric, and the summer one on a current topic for our built environment. Nothing is more topical than the issue of housing. We raise questions in the following pages, as well as showing you a range of ways in which the streetscape around us is being renewed with interesting new housing.

One thing learned in putting this issue together, is that the housing question is not a visual issue, not portrayed in pictures.

Some of the issues will inevitably appear combative. We raise questions - for local and national government, for landlords and tenants - to encourage your response; and particularly to offer context as well as focus for the Regency Society forum on housing in November which promises to be an important event. *(Details are on back page)*

STOP PRESS

As this *Journal* is going to press at the end of June, two events happened on one day. The government announced £1.67 billion for social housing outside London, at last

seeming to respond to public concern. And the Chartered Institute of Housing launched a major report joining the voices urging a policy shift, but also showing in Ipsos MORI polling how strong is the public support.

That £1.67 billion is not additional money, just a minor reallocation in the public financing of housing, which currently gives 79% of its £53 billion to the private market, 21% to 'affordable' housing, and which makes life impossibly difficult for any socially concerned local authority.

Access to good health, education and housing for all was the post-war settlement of which Britain is rightly so proud. Aneurin Bevan was minister of Health & Housing; his NHS of 1948 is still felt worth fighting for. His 1949 Housing Act, with the renting of quality, new, publicly owned, homes available to all, deserves equal celebration - and revitalisation - when 70 next year.

Because this Chartered Institute of Housing report so clearly supports the positions of the many housing experts used for this issue of the RS *Journal*, the 'Stop Press' is being added as editorial at the start, rather than hidden at the end. I hope you enjoy your RS *Journal* - and come to the housing forum in November!

John McKean, June-July 2018
editor and author of this RSJ issue 2

AMBITIONS OF THE CITY



A city is a big house, a house the city in microcosm (as the Renaissance thinker Alberti mused). And the goal of our own City Plan is summed up in its words: 'to secure better and healthier condition of life for the people.'

Here is how it starts:

'There is a growing realisation among the general public that our towns must not be allowed to develop as they have done in the past, without regard being paid to the general wellbeing of the public. At present, communities are compelled to live under such conditions as may be imposed on them by the whims and fancies of those who have personal profit as their primary object

Towns must be regarded as living things, whose growth and development require regulation much as does the human body.

The purpose of a town planning scheme is not to hinder or restrict individual endeavour, but so to organise public and private enterprise that all pull together for the benefit of the whole community. To achieve this object, the scheme may cause, in isolated cases, individual injury so that a general benefit may be obtained. The whole purpose [of the plan] is to secure better and healthier condition of life for the people.'

Thus was our first city plan introduced 90 years ago. Led from the front by Herbert Carden (who surely penned this introduction), it was the Brighton, Hove and District first city plan of 1928, authored by the corporations of Brighton and Hove and the districts of Portslade, Shoreham, Southwick, Chailey, Cuckfield,

Steyning East and with the cooperation of Lewes and Newhaven. (Seaford and Steyning East withdrew.) It detailed statistics on land and its values, on roads and traffic, on population and its housing and occupancy, on journeys to work, road bottlenecks and regularisation of Downland Ways.

As a survey, it was a massive step, in providing data for planning. It showed clearly how, either side of the First World War, the number of households in Brighton and Hove with 10 or more rooms halved while the number living in one room rose, and those in only two rooms rose much faster.

In the early 1920s a fifth of Brighton households were crammed into two or even one room. The city's new extensions would remain largely a green belt for leisure, with new villages, like the large estates of North Moulscoomb and Whitehawk, model homes at 10 dwellings to an acre surrounded by their green slopes.

500 dwellings were built in 1922 alone (90 years later, in 2011-12 we could only manage 300). Not only in housing ambition but, for example, in traffic planning – such as its proposed removal of through traffic from Rottingdean High Street – it would seem visionary even today

A few years later, Carden spelled out his own *City Beautiful: A Vision of the New Brighton*, looking forward to 1960 and unaware of another world war just over the horizon.



"Brighton is a vast and noble city stretching from the Adur to the Ouse, with unrivalled amenities of sea and sunshine to make it one of the most favoured residential resorts of the world. Brighton air is still a tonic unequalled anywhere. We still have the wide rolling Downs around us, and the sea, and the sun's health-giving rays. We have secured a spacious green belt of land right round the town, some 11,000 acres including parks.

Brighton should become, in the next twenty-five years, the finest residential city in the world. To the older residents in Brighton and Hove, the lines along which this development must take place will appear startling.

First we must plan our new City, the City of Brighton, stretching from the Adur to the Ouse. Hove will no longer be a separate town – it will be part of the greater city. We must plan the cultural life of our city. The University of Brighton must be brought into being. The gibe that Brighton has "a Queen Anne Front and a Mary Anne back" must be

refuted. Stately new buildings to house the new residents must arise. Embassy Court – that modern block of ten-storey flats designed by that talented young architect, Mr. Wells Coates – has shown us the way to build for the new age. The wide arterial road surrounding Brighton must be completed and developed to carry away from the Front and the residents much of the through motor traffic

The incorporation into Brighton of the western districts, Portslade, Southwick, and Shoreham means that large open spaces and parks should be secured for them, and particularly all the Downs at the back should be purchased and become public open spaces. Five thousand modern houses for the working classes should be built and let at reasonable rents, say 10s. per week inclusive, for the workers in these western districts, and many of the workers taken out of the crowded central areas of Brighton and Hove. Peacehaven and Newhaven, would be improved out of all recognition.

What a chance lies here, if we have the courage to grasp it! What a City of Brighton we could build!





*left: 1818 seafront
facades for rent.*

*right: 2018 Albion St
council apartments
for rent (by Feilden
Clegg Bradley Studio)*

*below: Adelaide
Crescent took 1830-
1850 to complete.*

*opposite top:
Carden's image of
our City Beautiful.*



*Noble buildings, fine hotels, modern flats and
houses, great university halls – indeed a city worthy
of one of the finest sites in the world.*

*Shall we hand over to posterity the City Beautiful,
or shall we still think of day trippers and wheel
stalls as the destiny of Brighton? The decision lies
largely with our Councillors."*

+ + +

That was 83 years ago. Can we better it today?
The great expansive energy between the world
wars, hugely increased the city's boundary
(largely land which, slowly bought up by Carden,
he then sold to Brighton at cost), and the
number of new dwellings built within it. This
was never equalled in the second half of last
century, though (as David Robson puts it on our
website) 'large swathes of Victorian housing
were demolished to make way for unloved
blocks of high-rise flats.'

The council (still a long way from becoming
Carden's City of Brighton) bought Stanmer Park

in 1947 and kept up the energy for his Brighton
University, officially opened as 'Sussex at
Brighton' in 1960, where student housing began
spilling westwards behind the new academic
buildings.

But, post-war, we also followed Carden in his
disrespect for the historic place. Hove council in
1946 intended to demolish Brunswick Square
and Terrace (saying 'it would in no way alter the
character of the town') and soon Brighton was
commissioning the Wilson & Womersley Central
Area plan. This would drive a major, elevated
expressway through the North Laine –
destroying 700 dwellings, some already
considered unfit for habitation.

By then the Regency Society was well-
established and campaigning. In 1973, following
a 1500 signature protest supported by the
newly formed Brighton Society, the council
rejected Wilson & Womersley, and what
remained of the North Laine was saved by
becoming a Conservation Area in 1977. These





were what Anthony Seldon, in his polemic on our *Brave New City*, called 'The Locust Years.' *'Many of Brighton's 20th century buildings were either, like the Kingswest complex and the Brighton Centre, truly bad or, like the Thistle Hotel, the revamped Churchill Square Shopping Centre and Boots Department Store, had been worn down to mind-numbing mediocrity by the stultifying planning control system.'*

(Seldon's ire at the grandiose ugly to replace the loved and ordinary is, however, often more accurate than is his aim on target.)

Yet before the century ended, we had a marina and conference centre, not one but two universities. But what of Carden's goal of a well-housed citizenry? The dotted tower blocks from the 1960s appeared more as random response to necessity than elements of a coherent care for the housing of residents, far less a representation of any desired urban form.

As we entered this millennium, Brighton now had a fine central library, a national-class football stadium and soon our Downs were

secured as part of the South Downs National Park. These were among the '2008 Vision' goals for Brighton, in its bid to become European Capital of Culture. Yet, once again, as Seldon notes, omitted from the vision was 'the city's chronic housing shortage.'

+ + +

And so we reach today.

When the last issue of this Journal - the Marlborough House issue - reached today, that section was headed 'Another Fine Mess'. Now, however you look at housing, all talk is of 'the crisis'. The nature of this 'crisis' may be far from agreed, but this certainly does seem to be another fine mess. Dishearteningly, it is almost impossible to find any expert in the world of housing who supports the direction in which our national government is currently steaming.

Indeed there is now widespread urging for fundamental policy change in housing, a call notably joined by The Resolution Foundation, chaired by recent minister David Willetts.



top: Marine Gate designed by recent Architectural Association star graduate Herbert Taylor with David Green for Wimperis Simpson & Guthrie, 1936-9.

left: Another glimmer of a hopeful future: two new developments provide 96 council homes in Whitehawk, opened in May 2018. Early design by Feilden Clegg Bradley Studio, detail design Brighton & Hove council in-house team.

'BREATHING DOWN YOUR NECK TO MAKE SURE YOU DELIVER ON THOSE NUMBERS'



This spring, the prime minister called housing her key domestic priority. The previous day Sajid Javid, her minister recently elevated to Housing Secretary (and now Home Secretary), warned local authorities that overhauled planning laws will give councils targets for how many homes they should build each year. And he threatened: 'We are going to be breathing down your neck day and night to make sure you are actually delivering on those numbers.'

So what is this housing crisis? We witness the great difficulty of a really sizable proportion of our fellow citizens in obtaining a home which they can afford. Almost totally disconnected from that, we are also told that there is an 'objectively assessed need' for many more houses, mostly based on predicted population growth. Brighton and Hove council has reached an agreement with Whitehall that it will plan 'to deliver' a figure of under half the objectively assessed need in our city. Even that will clearly be a struggle. How the council can 'deliver' houses is as much a mystery as a virgin birth. Its power to affect this 'assessed need' seems to be extremely limited. The kind and size of dwellings, their costs and forms of tenure, is barely mentioned; "deliver the numbers!" is the demand from central government. Yet, experts seriously question if there even is any need for a huge number of new houses.

Councils which fail to deliver on target will be stripped of planning powers and independent government inspectors will take over. 'Nimby councils' that refuse to build the homes Britain

Seafront opposites. Eastern 'urban bookend', Marine Gate (opposite) and western bookend (above), Hawarth Tompkins latest vision for the King Alfred site (also glimpsed on page 22). But (below) is not an enviable record for our city.



needs, Javid said, will be stripped of their right to decide where houses are built, in a 'revolution' in planning laws. 'We have a housing crisis in this country. We need a housing revolution.'

We wonder about the capability of England's continually embattled and disabled local authorities, however hard they try, to be 'actually delivering' those nationally imposed 'targets'. So what, for housing, is Brighton and Hove's City Plan?



The government is too caught in the headlights of Brexit to focus properly, which is an irony since they only have to look across the Channel to find ways of getting out of this mess.

Many of the answers are found in Europe, such as a properly regulated rental sector, a healthier and a more diverse house-building industry with local authorities leading the way. All this provides better quality and quantity of houses.

Award-winning architect Anthony Hudson,
The Architects' Journal, 19 December 2017

Laura Graham, the inspector of our City Plan, said that to build new houses we must "look down every rabbit hole." BHCC's RIBA competition winners for little groups of homes on four un(der)-used parking areas (see RS Journal 2, page 7) have been through consultation/amend and hopefully will soon go to planning. One entry we did not show is DK-CM's for Holingbury, beautifully illustrated here (right).

once that was achieved, they smiled but then faded right away like the Cheshire cat. Now there is great building activity where once was the market behind Grand Parade and also where once was Preston Barracks on Lewes Road; each is producing many homes, we hear.

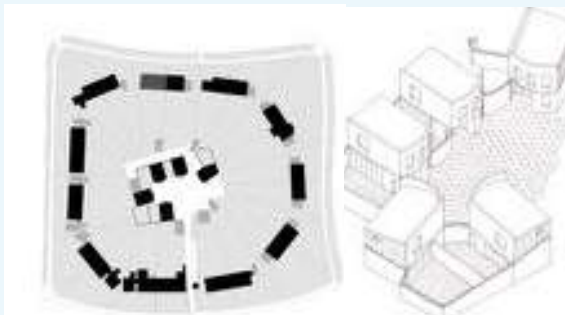
What is the plan? And what, really, is our 'city's pressing housing need'?

The national government has a formula for calculating our Objectively Assessed Housing Need (OAN), for the twenty-years 2010-30. With all the data squeezed with statistical forecasting into their mincer, out came the OAN: Brighton & Hove was to build 30,120 new homes by 2030. That would be a yearly average of 1,506 homes. It would include, by 12 years from now, 2,105 to be 'affordable.' Dream on.

'Affordable homes' is a phrase which has come to be seen as Orwellian newspeak. It is grammatical nonsense for a start, and not by chance. Insidiously it pretends to have the client, the purchaser as its subject when actually that is the seller. With any good, it is users with the knowledge of their own resources who decide if something they want is affordable. Here the seller is offering (and only under

Our City Plan (second part at consultation stage) talks of 'the city's pressing housing needs.' It is not easy to disentangle what this means. As citizens, we all see occasional new houses built from great wealth, usually uphill in the city, and we see the homeless in doorways, usually down in the centre, often right next to Brighton Town Hall. We see small straggling encampments of travellers on the fringes and we see new blocks of council and privately developed flats. We all know someone insecure in their two-month notice private rent, unable really to feel it a long-term home and often unwillingly sharing to afford the high rent.

Over the years we have heard of the seafront being marked by four elegantly swaying towers at the King Alfred in Hove and, even higher than Gehry's 'maidens', the streamlined 40-storey tower in the Marina. We also heard how they struggled for years to obtain permission and,



Encircled by the wagons of Rotherfield Crescent's semis, David Knight aimed 'to bring some of Brighton's Regency grandeur to the suburbs.'

The little enclave idea is most charmingly realised at the Diggers community just across Ditchling Road, self-built in the Walter Segal method (left).

There are other sensitive little council schemes today. But making a quick buck from building on back gardens is the obverse of these coins. That is

duress) the goods themselves at a discount. This discounted cost is defined as 80% of our high market price for housing – a cost which is unaffordable for a considerable proportion of our citizens. This is defined as 'affordable.' (Newspeak in housing abounds: 'social housing' for anti-social housing, for example. The opposition Green Paper on housing (April 2018) would replace the 'affordable' with 'living rent', an equally odd phrase. It would link to 1/3 of key local earnings and the focus be on 'social rent' (set by the existing national formula.)

OAN said nearly half of all B&H's discounted - but only 15% of the remaining - new homes should have one bedroom, a tenth should have four bedrooms and around a third each should be 2- and 3-bed dwellings. The city was then told to prepare a plan for how this amount of new dwellings might be realised. To cut the story short, the council spent two years preparing a City Plan, but found the demanded number of new built housing preposterous and quite unrealistic. Its aim for 11,300 new homes was submitted in June 2013 but rejected as inadequate in its response to the national goals for more housing. The problem, said the Government Inspector Laura Graham, was that



seen in a current proposal for four mean, cramped and badly-planned, tiny houses squeezed into the gardens of three semis in Woodingdean, recently submitted for planning and seen on our website at <https://regencysociety.org/planning-forum-january-2018-2-2>

'the starting point for analysis of the [urban fringe] sites has been Brighton & Hove's desire to resist development.'

For well over another year, councillors were not happy with the changes proposed by their officers, but eventually a revised plan was submitted and approved, removing the threat of Whitehall seizing planning control 'to ensure targets were reached.'

The approved City Plan 'makes provision' (as they say) for 'the strategic target of at least 13,200 new homes' built in the two decades from 2010. Under yet another government method for calculating local authorities' housing need, revealed last September, Brighton and Hove's housing need is anticipated to increase from 924 to 1,450 homes built each year from 2016 to 2026. The council argues for a significantly lower figure than this new calculation (*BHCC 2015-16 Annual Monitoring Report*). But even its goal – a minimum average of 924 new homes a year – seems a dream. The most 'delivered' in the city in any year since 2010 was 687 built in 2015-16.

Relating local government's attempts to respond to central government's blusterings



Half the city's agreed minimum housing 2010- 2030 will be in the 'Development Areas' at quite high density. Two typical developments already in the planning system raise concerns. When plans are studied closely, they include some extremely unattractive designs for homes.

Right:: Locals protest over-development at Edward Street including the old Amex site (Buckley Gray Yeoman).

Largely a commercial plan, it proposes 168 dwellings not the 65 in the council's brief, yet will halve the proportion of 'affordable' units from the council's 40% - something MP Lloyd Russell-Moyle 'would not countenance.'

Left: King's House at the bottom of Grand Parade (Crowther Associates). Its 169 homes also fails to offer the



council's 'affordable' demand

Top left: a flat (1.08) no part of which would ever get sunlight (as the rendering admits!) and whose main bedroom looks directly into a blank wall 3 metres away.

Was it for this that a century of designers fought for amenity standards in all housing?

and either of them to reality is not easy. There are many people in our city in real need of better and more secure housing which they could afford. The city is in real need of care and conservative surgery (to use Patrick Geddes' phrase of over a century ago) in ensuring developments enhance the lives of households, neighbourhoods, and the pride of the city.

But what is meant by the council 'making provision' and then 'delivering' these many new dwellings to ensure that the 'target is reached'? The council is on the edge of starvation and itself could actually only 'deliver' a small fraction of what is demanded. Is the only way it can 'make provision' in its control on permission for private businesses to exploit the city's land? And what is the 'target' beyond a simple number of dwellings built? Particularly, what target for the urban form of the city as a whole?

'A key objective for the City Plan is to provide people with a choice of decent quality housing to meet their need for a stable home at a cost they can afford,' starts the plan's Part Two. But what tools are available to it to turn such a fine and universal hope into an achievable objective?

The Regency Society's Housing Forum on 21 November 2018 will surely interrogate these central points. Meanwhile this issue of our Journal aims to offer us some context and background, to aid understanding and to approach that meeting constructively, in an informed and enquiring manner. And we hope to offer some cheer by illustrating some of the decent new faces appearing on our streets.

LATEST: Social housing starts in England in June down 42% on June 2017 (Glenigan Index, 9 July 2018)

SO WHERE ARE WE?

Here are the best recent statistics for Brighton & Hove (of varied dates and even appearing contradictory).

In the 12 years from 2001, our city population grew by 12% to 278,100 in 2013. This is the fastest growth rate, and within the fastest growing region, in England. **We expect Brighton & Hove to have 300,400 residents within seven years;** there were also already 40,000 students by 2011. Though half our population is young adults under 45 (well above the 2/5 for England as a whole), a rather different expectation is that in this decade and the next it will be the proportion of those over 60 which grows, and that by 30%.

House prices in our city tripled in just ten years up to 2007, and they remain 36% above the national average. Meanwhile (in 2015), a third of all Brighton & Hove households had an income under £20,000, another third up to £40,000 and the further third above that. The middle house sold in 2015 for £275,000, and the average for £331,000. (In other words there were fewer but much higher-priced houses sold above that middle.) The typical first home ranged from a flat at £178,000 to a detached house at £322,400.

The average first home in Brighton & Hove today costs nearly 10 times average household income. The national average is 6.5 times. **In 1997, 2/3 of under 35 year olds in Brighton & the south-east owned their own home. In 2017 it is under 1/3, less than half.** Twenty years back, a first property here cost 3.9 times the household income. Way back in that distant 20th century I, like so many, was refused a mortgage on any property costing more than three times my income. Then came easy credit, loads of money, the bubble. Houses became wealth, usable to create more unearned wealth, and most easily as tools of landlords.

B&H house rental in 2015 averaged £725 a month, ranging from £550 for a 'studio' to £1,646 for four bedrooms. There were around 1623 private lettings to households claiming local housing allowance (LHA) - in other words,

those who would be defined as needing 'discounted housing.' Astonishingly, **2/3 of new households forming in Brighton & Hove simply cannot afford today's market cost.**

Between 2001 and 2011, the proportion of city households privately renting rose by 8% and has accelerated since; ownership fell by a similar proportion, and social renting barely changed. Today over-occupation is concerning, with houses in multiple occupation (HMOs) 'significant and increasing.' The city's *Housing Strategy 2015* suggests there are 6,460 HMOs in the city, others informally consider that quite an underestimate. But even that figure represents 1 in 35 of all HMOs in England and Wales and is nine times the national average. The current flood of 'student bedplaces' which developers fall over each other to build should be a short term help, but their unregulated tiny space standards are surely building the future's slums.

Not just students but (as *City Plan draft part 2* points out) many younger working people and others on low incomes are living in HMOs, which play an important role in terms of providing an alternative form of affordable, if insecure, housing.

The OAN Report for Housing in Brighton and Hove tortuously concluded: 'The affordable needs evidence provides justification for considering higher housing provision in order to enhance affordable housing delivery.' In English that reads: 'While it is obvious that there is great need for subsidised housing, that need justifies building more.' Well, maybe.

And onto this mix is layered our topographical reality: easy commuting distance from London, the one place where housing cost and availability is more skewed than our own. So London workers, their 'London bonus' spent on on the season ticket from Brighton, can fund the home here. They have been priced out of the capital, but further accelerate the Brighton price rise. In 2015-16, more people moved out of London for Brighton & Hove than to anywhere else other than Birmingham.

Commuting figures in and out are large, but interestingly similar. In 2008, there were 2500

FROM 'AFFORDABLE' APARTMENTS TO LUXURY



New coastal additions strung along Kingsway.

The two quasi-'white 30s seafront' apartment blocks have buildings between them and the lagoon; left, in Portslade, by Trevor Horne; right: 40 housing association flats for rent, mix of 'affordable', 'intermediate' and 'market' rents. centre: currently on site, replacing the Texaco garage between Albi pub and King Alfred, 51 apartments above shop, by LCE (who were not retained for detailed design).



one-off houses left from top: Western Esplanade (Conran & Partners), Tongdean Avenue (Farshid Moussavi), The Droveaway (Alan Phillips).

Clockwise from right: inside and street view of three houses on Withdean Road (John Pardy), RIBA prize-winner, 2017.

Dyke Road (BBM Sustainable Design) and Hove Park Road (Liam Russell), both discreet on the street. Tongdean Avenue (Carl Turner), a wonderful visual of reality still under construction.



Below: The Curve, Withdean Road, was on sale in 2015 for £4,500,000. (The Argus, August 31, 2015)



'Lower income groups prefer traditional architecture, claims think tank', *The Architects' Journal*, 20 June 2018
(this refers, misleadingly, to the Policy Exchange report, see page 20)



MY DREAMS : BRIGHTON & HOVE RECENT HOMES





MIXED ISSUES

left: Pollard Thomas Edwards' Manor Road housing mix, before & after, winning 'best development in the affordable sector' 2017.

right: Best tradition of quality council homes, Court Farm on Albion Hill, opened 1980.

far right: In May 2018, 78 of the new flats at Brighton Marina had owners registered in off-shore tax havens. How is it aiding our 'housing crisis'? (Michael Goodier, Witness BTN)



continued from page 11, before the colour supplement

daily commutes to work in our city and 2800 outwards. However if the inbound are coming from the hinterland of Sussex, the outbound are much more likely to be off to claim their London salaries to pay their Brighton mortgages or rents.

These pressures on housing, however, do not necessarily decrease with an increasing housing stock. It is essential to keep reminding ourselves that there is no such object as an 'affordable home.' (There are dwellings, there are streets, a cityscape which lasts and whose occupancy changes.)

'You can build as many new homes as you like: but it all trickles through to market rent in the end.' *Claire Bennie*

The more the supply side discounts its products, be they Regency terraces or new blocks in the Marina, the more the demand side will find them affordable. And vice versa;

raise prices and they are less affordable by those seeking homes. There are virtually no checks on this market thinking in England today, no regulation on rent or security of tenure, no dampening of easy loans for buy to let, no use of taxation of wealth or land-value taxation, no way to control the escalating cost of living in existing housing stock. This is wildly out of line with our neighbouring European 'advanced democracies', as Anthony Hudson notes (quoted on page 8).

But without shifts in government direction, it is only with new build, only in the granting of permissions to build, that the public realm (in the form of our council) has any leverage. It is at this strategic level, proposing density of building and thus urban form, that the city exerts power as planning authority.

When it calls calling for '40% affordable' as a condition of the permission to build (the jargon is a 'section 106 agreement'), it is demanding a share of discounted housing - shaking its fists but on its knees. The corporate lawyers battle against the public good of the city to avoid their clients having to deliver, claiming they might loose 'viability' (literally 'die') if anything like the

Two approaches to tight, North Laine sites.

right: 12 new council homes in Kensington Street currently on site to be ready next May.

left: directly to its west, 8 streets further up the hill, in St Nicholas Road, 5 new houses in the conservation area by LCE architects.





'Despite research showing that the profits of the five biggest housebuilders increased by a staggering 480% between 2010 and 2015, building genuinely affordable housing is rarely considered viable by them.'
Anna Minton, *Big Capital*, 2017



amount due were taken from them. In this tussle no council ever wins.

Yet our council continues to hold an optimistic, if flickering, candle for city values in building its few, often well-designed and commodious homes on scraps of its own land. It even makes what housing committee chair Anne Meadows at the end of June called 'hidden homes from neglected or underused spaces' found around the city's estate.

Small infill sites (as seen on pages 6 and 9) also range from a few recent houses in Portslade to Albion Street and in the North Laine (below).

Below right (and on page 5): 45 new 'extra care' council flats, encouraging independence in tenants with low/moderate dementia and carers on site 24/7. This is an exemplary project designed by Feilden Clegg Bradley Studio, currently also recreating the Royal Pavilion estate's western end.

Back to the big picture, another City Plan **'key objective is to achieve sustainable, inclusive and mixed communities'**. How this is an objective within their control is not so easy to see. It talks of 'resisting the loss of housing from within existing housing stock', but its power rather than hope here is not clear. And again 'the need for the city to maintain and deliver a stock of general housing' is a repeated given, which begs explanation. For in normal parlance it is a landlord who maintains, a builder who delivers and it doesn't appear that this plan intends such major roles for 'the city'. So what do they mean?

No doubt our housing forum in November will help us non-specialists understand (and even influence?) the forces shaping our city.



Housing's recent story in a nutshell:

Right-to-buy (RTB) saw **two million** homes sold by 2013 and 55,000 since. It is now revitalised with lucky tenants being offered up to £108,000 off the market price.

'The short-term gain for individuals was huge. The long-term impact is a major contribution to our present crisis.' *National Housing Federation, 2018*

'A fire sale, which pushes more into private renting, drives up both benefit spending and rents and exacerbates the homelessness crisis.'
The Local Government Association, 2018

Buy-to-let (BTL) on easy loans, this ridiculously attractive investment, absorbed much of the vast financial injection after the 2008 crash. Many RTB homes have become BTL. The number of children living in insecure private rental has tripled in England since 2003 to nearly **two million**.

Help-to-buy, the current government flagship, is an £8.3 billion scheme, for helping people to buy, but the average household income of those benefiting is £50,000, and in London almost £72,000. The Brighton figure is probably not much less. The UK average household income is £25,700 a year. *The Independent, 29 May 2018*

The Prime Minister recently promised a further £10 billion investment in this scheme. Such money could build 400,000 new homes.

Homelessness has risen by 134% since 2010, with a lack of social housing acknowledged as a key cause. In 2018 to May, rough sleeping rose by 15% in England. Evictions from private sector tenancies account for 78% of the rise in homelessness since 2011.

Public funding of housing

'Whereas in 1975 more than 80% of housing subsidies were supply-side subsidies intended to promote the construction of social homes, by 2000 more than 85% of housing subsidies were on the demand side aimed at helping individual tenants pay the required rent. Today the UK government spends an eye watering £25 billion on housing benefit.'
Laurie Macfarlane, Senior economist at New Economics Foundation

Today, 4,218 people in Brighton & Hove are classed as homeless.

Please, Mrs May, give us a Housing Minister who will do something positive for the poorest of the poor, who will ensure that council homes with social rents are built, and ensure that "the operationally messy, socially unfair and unforgiving" universal credit (as described by former PM, John Major) does not continue to wreck the private rented sector...

Andy Winter Chief Executive of Brighton Housing Trust and speaker at the Regency Society Housing Forum, (see page 24), The Argus, 12 July 2018

Housing is one of the three cornerstones of public health, alongside decent work and positive social connections

Melanie Rees, Head of policy, Chartered Institute of Housing, 27 June 2018

Danny Dorling has demonstrated that the cause of the so-called "housing crisis" is not a lack of accommodation but a malaise of acute mal-distribution, whereby those with the financial muscle over-consume in an orgy of "buy to leave" while social cleansing and rough-sleeping escalates. This was confirmed by ex-Treasury official Ian Mulheim in an interview on Channel 4 News in November 2017 when he confirmed that the rate of house-building had for years outstripped overall population growth.

Repeating the Tory mantra that we must increase the housing stock at all costs ... results in an overall reduction in social housing, while buy-to-leave and buy-to-let landlords increase their obscene accumulation of wealth and the vulnerable are deported to ghettos of the already needy.

What is required is: rent control, as in Germany; penal taxation on non-doms buying-in, as in Vancouver; scrapping of right-to-buy, as in Scotland and Wales; the equalisation of VAT between new-build and renovation/repair; the introduction of land value taxation to eliminate land-hoarding; and the full restoration of democratically controlled planning."

Housing architect Kate Macintosh, The Guardian, 9 December 2017

She will be addressing the Regency Society on 6 February 2019

'But we can shift the tax base to property and land - in Britain an extreme concentration of wealth.'

This journal appears almost exactly two years after the crudest divide of public opinion in English history, the Brexit vote. There is no doubt that our country is splitting apart. One fault line seems to be generational, and by far the deepest cause of that rift is housing. Secure, affordable and pleasant housing seems beyond the reach of so many, mainly younger, citizens. Home ownership, a dangerous political mantra of the 1980s whose golden eggs would just keep appearing as values effortlessly rose, has provided life-long security for so many, predominately older people, and a godsend for those offered right to buy (RTB). But, denigrating social renting, it first drove the wedge into the crack.

Deepening the fissure, the new class of landlord has mushroomed, adding easy wealth to those already rich enough to buy.

A long generation has been led to value private greed and be blind to public squalor. There being 'no such thing as society' was believed, and spending our communal wealth for the wider public good deemed bad. This fundamentally altered English society's stake in building houses; indeed in building our proud city. This is our concern as the Regency Society, for the quality of the public realm of our historic city is at the core of our focus.

Nationally, the 'rescue' of quantitative easing, the injections of vast new billions, went not into real

roads, schools, hospitals and most importantly houses. It largely went into raising house prices and almost all was snapped up by buy-to-let landlords. As a leading economist noted, 'For every pound invested, 15p went into economic

growth. Those with assets benefitted hugely, those without assets – usually the younger across all financial ranges – lost out.'

Expenditure from the public purse on housing, however, has not diminished. The flow of public money towards housing, far from drying up, has exploded in the benefits system which struggles to ensure some sort of home for those unable to meet 'market prices.' In other words, instead of creating long-lasting cultural capital - literally high quality, building stock, it pays the rent for the

most needy often in shoddy buildings, and fills the landlords' pockets.

Earlier this year the Institute for Fiscal Studies argued that: 'Middle income young adults born in the late 1980s are now no more likely than those lower down the pay scale to own their own home.'

The likelihood of home ownership is no longer linked to income but to wealth.'

(The quotation at the top of these pages is from the present Liberal Democrat leader, Vince Cable.)

For a civic amenity society, a central question therefore is: how can we aim towards a more inclusive and less polarised public realm?



THE BIG PICTURE



'The long term-aim must be to return to a society where houses are viewed as somewhere to live, not as vehicles for accumulating wealth. This can't happen overnight, and it won't be easy. The task involves taking on the unholy alliance of private developers, banks and – most difficult of all – ordinary homeowners, many of whom now view ever rising house prices as normal and just.'

This may seem ambitious. But the alternative is growing polarisation in society, ever increasing levels of household debt and bleak economic prospects.

Laurie Macfarlane, co-author of Rethinking the Economics of Land and Housing, 2018

A recently emerged English class is the landlord. One in 30 adults - one in five MPs - is a landlord. Rental income is roughly 3% of GDP.

I speak to two socially concerned landlords, both Regency Society members and sometime trustees, with differing outlooks on the situation. One bought his first property when a student and holds to the 'if I could, then you can' philosophy. The other sees himself providing quality accommodation for a young middle-class which can afford the rent; 'the people who, back when I was their age, would have bought, as I did.'

And what, I ask these two landlords, is the housing crisis? To the former it is immigration and a decline in family values: not taking in granny when she needs support, or welcoming back home the prodigal son off the street. To the latter it is 'the simple economics of supply and demand. Build more houses.'

The first position recalls housing expert Claire Bennie's ironic talking of gunposts on the M25 to deal with London's crisis. The second position is widely disputed: indeed housing expert Anna Minton's recent book *Big Capital* is, as she says, 'an exposure of the lie that the housing crisis is a market question of supply and demand'.

Recent research by Inside Housing (which was co-founded by Bill Randall, former chair of Brighton & Hove's housing committee) estimates that up to 70% of properties sold under right-to-buy are now privately let. So it is no surprise that the proportion of households renting privately has doubled over the last decade. Landlords can now pull in up to four times the rent that would have been paid to the council for the same property.

A century ago, we were almost all renting, more or less securely, with more or less space. Renting our urban dwelling is the historic norm. The landlords of the less secure and less spacious were then progressively replaced by social landlords, up till the last 35 years.

Landlords and developers remain essential elements in the structure of housing and the good deserve public support not opprobrium.

Rather counter-intuitively, building more houses is not the right prescription. A more affordable housing market will not be achieved by building more private housing, or by channelling more subsidies into propping up the property market.

Ann Pettifor, Director of Policy Research, Macroeconomics

On 22 May 2018, our Kemptown MP, Lloyd Russell-Moyle spoke eloquently in the House of Commons on the problems faced by ordinary, working, often professional tenants in our city.

His audit began with 'the scandal of letting fees. The agent's holding fee of £500 is non-refundable, so tenants unlike buyers, if they withdraw simply lose it. £250 is the average administration fee, he continued, with substitution fees up to £420, guarantor fee of £190, and with check-in check-out of up to £270. 'The cost overall is over £1000 and that's not even started on the deposit.'

'Every month renters pay over £13 million in unfair and uncompetitive fees, and with the lack of tenant security and prevalence of no-fault eviction (now banned in Scotland), Russell-Moyle bemoaned the imbalance distorted in landlords' favour as 'systemic failure in the market.'

From large providers (such as Hyde, which has just done a deal with BHCC for 200 homes behind Varley Halls and 100 in Portslade), to one whose only pension is rental from a second property, good landlords are paralleled by developers concerned with the quality of their actual built houses not simply with profit. An example is Baobab Developments - 'Brighton's boutique developers' as they call themselves - their houses in Withdean (which won a 2017 RIBA award) and Tongdean are on page 12.

Put more housing into the hands of communities by establishing co-operatives and community land trusts (CLTs), which have the power to decouple housing cost from market value, and link rent cost to earnings, with the uplift in value retained by the community co-operative – not wealthy private individuals. There are over 200 examples of small scale schemes in England... The relaunched Community Housing Fund will go some way to boosting activity here."

Jo Richardson, Professor of housing & social research, De Montfort University, 23 April

LET A THOUSAND FLOWERS BLOOM

If housing is a simple cultivation of land (as a government housing advisor once said to me), there are also valuable plants in the adjoining meadow. Efforts to loosen the dumb developer stranglehold and broaden housing possibilities, can turn a crisis into an opportunity. The origin of Walter Segal self-built timber-frame houses, of which we have three groups in our city, was in the exploitation of inaccessible or sloping land where the local authority felt it impossible to build. Today, for a later generation, BHCC is having to encourage such opportunities in every little way it can, working with the creative efforts of local groups.

A self-build housing co-op has leased from the council a small, overgrown former garage site with very long, narrow access. Its two 3-bedroom houses for rent have planning consent and will start on site later this year.

The council is starting to work with locals to regenerate the most needy housing estates. It may build for sale to fund homes for rent, and perhaps use Help to Buy for shared ownership first homes with part-buy/part-rent.

One current council plan, for small back-court sites is to build homes with factory-made modular units. Their effect on urban form and community culture we await to see with concern. Unlike post-war prefabs, these are 'designed to last as long as traditionally built homes'. Meanwhile, YMCA Downslink Group, a Hove charity, has leased part-destroyed council garages in Moulsecomb to build modular 'Y:Cube' homes for local single young people.

The attraction of 'intentional communities' is clearly growing. The members typically hold a common social, political, or spiritual vision and may share responsibilities and resources. I spoke with one, a co-housing group of single women over 55, planning for their retirement. Brighton & Hove is a natural city within which to nurture such collective households (intentional HMOs), co-housing and co-operative groups.

A natural enabler is the very lively B&H Community Land Trust (BHCLT), started in 2017. This non-profit community-led organisation

works to put housing development back in the hands of people who need it. From a national Community Housing Fund of £60 million, our council was allocated £464,500 and awarded it to BHCLT's programme for community-led housing: sorting financial support, discovering suitable land and helping acquisition, providing expertise in the processes and, indeed, in house building.

'Unintentional communities' are no less interesting, and their icon is the 6 or 7 storey mansion block, of which Claire Bennie, formerly leading Peabody, is a great advocate. Such build-to-rent developments are now England's fastest growing housing idea, if yet to reach us here. At Manchester's Bonnington brewery site, for example, with 181 homes for sale and 375 rent, as Dipa Josi of Assael architects says, 'the design-led, consumer-focused product means that the residents' interaction with the building is integral to its success. ...There is less focus on incorporating private external and internal amenities and more on the design of shared space. Residents should feel that they are renting the whole building, not just their apartment, and this should follow through with active usage of the facilities...' These include ground-floor retail, a gym, lounges, rooftop terraces and a large communal garden which can be an open-air cinema. Next stop, Brighton?

SUMMARY

Yes. There is a housing crisis.

No. The very rich and the very poor are very visible - but other than as a symbol of our polarised society, both are peripheral to the housing crisis.

No. It is not an issue that will be solved by 'house building'.

Yes. It is primarily fuelled by lack of social control of land cost and lack of social control of housing stock.

Yes. It is fuelled by a rental market given free rein to exploit, rather than to provide secure housing and be fairly remunerated for it.

Yes. Encouraging local communities to develop new neighbourhoods would help. And releasing the monopolising grip of the few biggest developers would help. Help, yes, but not resolve.

Yes. We must decide the city we want.

HOUSE FORM AND CITY APPEARANCE

For James Stuart, in his 1771 pamphlet *Critical Observations on the Buildings and Improvements of London*, it was clear that **‘people accustomed to behold order, decency and elegance in public, soon acquire that urbanity in private, which forms at once the excellence and bond of society’**. As a critique, suitably modified, of later criticisms of the slums and a defence of their rational replacement, this would be hard to beat.

A report on housing has just been published, as this journal goes to press, by the right-wing Policy Exchange, entitled *Building More, Building Beautiful*. Its cover features a terraced city street which James Stuart would surely have recognised as mimicking the decent elegance of his time. For respondents to the Policy Exchange surveys in May 2018, this is the favourite building form for new urban housing. Terraces mimicking the inner London suburbs of the early 19th century – what the Georgian pattern-books called ‘second class houses’ and rather more modest than our own Brunswick or Kempdown terraces.

What does this surprising result suggest? It overturns the easy presumption that everyone wants a semi with front and back garden, and it suggests that new urban form in Brighton could be much bolder than either our planners or developers dare, and might be really welcomed as well as of benefit to the city at large.

Looking at the issue of built form through the lens of ‘density’ is arid, one-dimensional. Nevertheless it is useful. Our City Plan (and the *Urban Characterisation Study*, 2007) point out that in central Brighton and Hove ‘residential densities of between 60-200 dwellings per

hectare (dph) are commonplace’; not just in the great seafront parade but in our row upon row of 19th century terraces.

Developers are generally very conservative. National statistics show that in 2010 urban English new dwellings were built at an average density of 43 dph. Our council calls for new housing to be at least 100 dph in its Development Areas, but only expects half of this density in the rest of the city and, crucially, in our largest opportunity for a really new urban neighbourhood, on Toads Hole Valley. The SPD

for that site talks about its ‘landscape sensitivity’ and ‘visual impact’ as it abuts the National Park. But the motorway-standard (in noise, visual impact, etc) A27 bypass utterly separates them. The unspoken implication seems to be that Toads Hole Valley should be as unobtrusive and boring as humanly possible – whereas a positive physical impact, a contrast to the park, could be far better for the visual and environmental integrity of the national park (as well as the city), and go some way to minimising the existing disruptive, screaming



streak across the landscape. The council suggests, rather defensively, hiding taller building at the bottom of the valley to make them less visible to motorists on the bypass (yes!) or from the non-existent humans on the great roundabout at the top (yes!! – see SPD fig 4.2). This might lead directly to the opposite of the best solution for our city. Why not create a safe and enclosed new city quarter with wonderful views from the dwellings at the top?

There is a well known difficulty for developers that, in England, houses are said to lose their appeal over 50 dpa, while the appeal of apartment living really kicks in at 100 dpa. (David Birkbeck discusses this in the latest *Architecture Today*, June 2018, which illustrates new interesting solutions.) For example, a

repeatable unit (on the model of the early 19th century pattern-books) has been designed and developed by house-builders the Berkeley Group, which will be manufacturing high-quality new houses in a factory at Northfleet from next year, to be built as attractive terraces at 120 dpa. Brighton could be just as bold.

The lazy dream that every family wants the lowest density around them is what haunts conservative policymaking of all political persuasions and has blighted our English cities for a century. Not only does a resultant 'nimbyism' halt badly needed development, but an ever growing popular demand for urban, denser living, closer to local work, shops and to commuting transport hubs, is simply unfulfilled.



This image shows the proposal for 45 homes on a field at Ovingdean won on appeal against council refusal (on 29 June 2018).

High-quality new dwellings, built near to the ground can feel spacious and part of recognisable communities at well over 100 dph. Currently, Brighton & Hove (even excluding the national park) has a surprisingly low average of 25 dph. Our traditional little 19th century two-storey terraces have upwards of 75 dph. Four storey urban terraces on the street and around open squares – the form favoured in the polls for the new Policy Exchange report – can easily double that density to 150 dph. While, away from streets, highly prized 7 or 8 storey mansion blocks – we have examples from Furze Croft and Wick Hall inland in Hove, Marine Gate and Embassy Court on the seafront – can raise that figure considerably further.

The City Plan states that all proposals should be *'of a high standard of design and help to maintain or create a coherent townscape; ...and respect, reinforce or repair the character of the neighbourhood and contribute positively to its sense of place.'*

The Regency Society must hold the council to its

promise here.

Constructively, the City Plan adds: 'development will be permitted at higher densities than those typically found in the locality where it can be adequately demonstrated that the proposal would [meet all these criteria and] provided it contributes positively to creating or maintaining sustainable neighbourhoods.'

This must mean the careful use of tightly controlled planning permissions and, surely, the demand that they are conditional on the architects who win the planning approvals for their developers designing the housing built. The 40-page Toads Hole Valley SPD discussed above is bravely optimistic and exhorts, in words and illustrations, how a well thought-out, really positive quarter here might be enhancing our whole city in a decade or more. It is full of interesting and valuable examples and suggestions – from sloping landscape ideas, pathways and community gardens to local outdoor meeting places and cafés, with denser development where homes and local workspaces mix, integrating surgery and shops and hopefully not isolating the fine new secondary school required.

The city needs our support, and the strength to hold developers to the fire here, achieving a real urban place for the city and not just bucks for the pockets of those with 'personal profit as their primary object' as our first City Plan put it.

Planning for new housing need not be a war of attrition, fought around the trailing fringes of our city

Let us hope that our councillors are not instinctively second-guessing what their voters *don't* want, rather than leading with vision as to what might be desirable. Planning for new housing need not be perceived as a battle of attrition against development, fought around the trailing fringes of our city – whether in Ovingdean, on the Sussex University campus, or at many smaller edges of suburbia.

Where is the land for new houses? Over 17% of our built-up land is in conservation areas where

Estimated densities of existing residential areas (in dwellings per hectare – dph)



Hanover



Poet's Corner



Brunswick Town Area

216

80-100

110

we would expect new build to enhance at similar (not low) density. (Two thirds of our building stock predates the First World War, which is considerably more than the English average of under half.)

Over 40% of the city's land cannot be built up as it is in the national park (including the ancient woodland at Stanmer Park). North and south, the city is hedged in by park and sea: but this is an opportunity. Ambitious Brighton & Hove must think itself a city, and there could be a very different way of looking at it. We might usefully build *urban* fabric to these edges. As a walled garden, so why not a conceptually walled city, with the contrast strengthening both. Our city's definition does indeed fade west and east, merging along the coastal strip towards Shoreham and Peacehaven. But, to the north and south, at the strong boundaries of the green and blue we could be building up to our conceptual city walls – for there is just no way we will ever breach them.

Much of the green edge is divided from us by the major arterial bypass, and the city plan has its eye on all open land up to it, as it curls round the top of Portslade, forms the edge ridge to Toads Hole, encloses Patcham and Coldean Lane. But rather than such areas helping define a city by its edge, they are seen as 'urban fringe,' A carpet fringe can fray away to nothing.

So such areas are allocated in the city plan for housing, but grudgingly. Planning chair Julie Cattell, on 29 June 2018 when over-ruled at Ovingdean, said *'I'm sorry for any residents who feel badly affected by this. We have to abide by the independent Planning Inspectorate's decisions. There is a massive housing need locally. This is*



one of the sites we have identified where appropriate development might be acceptable. This will help protect other sites where we believe development is not acceptable. ... We scored a major victory when we successfully rejected a plan for 85 dwellings.' So the site now gets 45 houses, two years later. Is this the positive tone of active leadership by an ambitious city?

Other fringes, perhaps less policed by articulate local gamekeepers with verbal shotguns, may seem appropriate for Community Land Trust schemes, co-housing, co-ops, self-build and all the essential if still tiny attempts to break from the current strangleholds.

It is great to have less planned, less formal areas in our city, and encouragement of self-build, custom-build or CLT group is to be heartily supported. But why just sweep them to these edges (almost as if they housed peripheral citizens). Why not here build strong urban developments, with sturdy, centred, new neighbourhoods up to our unchangeable northern edge - punctured with frequent hidden escape tunnels opening into the national park beyond. And why not then softer, looser more open areas contained within the city?

Having an existing anti-social moat as northern boundary, and then allowing development to trickle towards it seems contradictory. Similarly contradictory is the blue edge to our south. Here we have strong urban seafront walls, a built city edge. From the centre eastwards, it is of greatest civic value by the clifftop of Kempdown. To the west, while echoes of the lower, great sea-facing walls of Brunswick quickly fade, other opportunities offer themselves.



King Alfred site, Hawarth Tompkins' latest sketch ideas

When the pattern is breached with the arrogance of Courtney Gate blocking Hove Lawns, here is the opportunity for the block's other end, at King Alfred, finally to respond with equivalent assertion of fine seafront housing for the 2020s (see above).

With low-lying Hove, there's no way to fudge this edge. But back east, hidden beneath the top of Brighton's cliffs from where the edge appears unchanging, is the strange jumble spilling out between the piers from the arches, and becoming sadly bathetic by the time it reaches the marina. But that eastern end reminds us the sea edge *can* be boldly breached: the Brighton Marina Act *was* passed. It just didn't need to result in the architecturally sad affair we now have today. Now it could be brilliantly doubled in size. Designed and developed with flair and vision and with the essential easy access (seafront tramline) in place, the new Brighton Marina could be densely populated with homes affordable by local people as well as an immensely attractive urban neighbourhood.

We could really exploit sea-edge living. Alan Phillips' notion of an offshore artificial island some decades ago may have been a wild dream. But without such sparks, no fire is lit in the image of the city. We easily forget the audacious vision which resulted in Lewes and Adelaide Crescents; or the civic assertiveness which doubled the city size in 1928 and nestled the inter-war suburban villages in its hollows.

Thoughts like these are not the only or even the best ideas. But they do offer images of our city. And it is imagination which generate debates and leads to vision for the city.

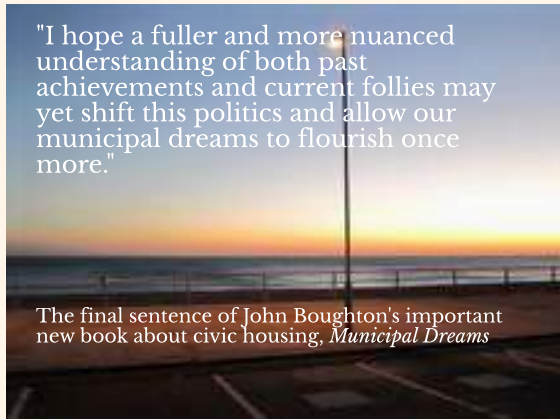
It is interesting that at the launch meeting of Radical Futures Housing Forum at the University of Brighton on 30 April 2018, the form of housing, the shape of buildings and environments was virtually never mentioned (apart from the local resident protest about towering over-development on Edward Street). There was much talk about different forms of housing, about guardianships and social landlords and co-housing and homelessness. These are much easier to talk about than the crucial role of the relationship between house form and culture (*House Form and Culture* was a ground-breaking book a generation ago). For this needs a subtlety of study and understanding – which is indeed a 'charitable object' of our Regency Society. (Mark Devenney of the university did say that their next meeting would address the architecture of housing.)

This is where the Regency Society's traditional strength comes from: the shape and form of our city, and its importance. A city is made up of houses; they give physical form to our community and thus to our sense of ourselves as sharing our street, our neighbourhood, as coming from Fiveways or Poets Corner, Whitehawk or Tongdean, as Brightonian or Hovian.

At that same seminar there was a call for councillors to be educated about the city's housing issues ('and especially potential councillors', someone added.) The Regency Society is not expert in socio-political issues but we should be stressing the importance of what our city looks and feels like. This is an education we could help lead.

"I hope a fuller and more nuanced understanding of both past achievements and current follies may yet shift this politics and allow our municipal dreams to flourish once more."

The final sentence of John Boughton's important new book about civic housing, *Municipal Dreams*



RS JOURNAL 5 HOUSING



The editor (former RS trustee and author of this issue), is grateful to Claire Bennie, B&H City Regeneration Team, Andrea Jones of B&H Community Land Trust, Paul Zara, Nick Lomax, David Knight, Paul Templeton, Dickon Robinson, and the Regency Society trustees and the many others who have offered advice and tried to answer my question:

"So what is the housing crisis?"

I have also leaned on the easily sourced recent books of Anna Minton, Laurie Macfarlane, John Boughton, Duncan Bowie, Jim Kemeny and Rowan Moore among others. (Do start at: 'Blueprint for British housing in 2028', by Rowan Moore, *The Observer*, 21 January 2018.)

BHCC City Plan Draft Part 2 appears as this goes to press, too late to be discussed.

Links to mentions in the text include:

The Radical Futures Housing Forum:

FuturesAdmin@brighton.ac.uk

The B&H Community Land Trust: //bhclt.org.uk/

Sussex co-housing: //www.sussexcohousing.org.uk/

Bunker selfbuild: //www.uk.coop/directory/bunker-housing-co-operative-limited

Claire Bennie's blog: //www.wearemunicipal.co.uk/

Building More, Building Beautiful, Roger Scruton et al., Policy Exchange, June 2018

House Form and Culture, Amos Rapoport, 1969

We gratefully use images in RS Journal 5 from:

John McKean, front cover, page 2, 4, 5, 6, 8, 14, 15

Regency Society SPBC website page 3

Jim Stephenson, page 5 (top rt), 13 (centre), 15 (bottom rt)

Haward Tompkins architects, page 7,

Google maps, page 8; DK-CM architects, page 9

Paul Zara, page 12,13; Paul Templeton, Baobab, page 13

Mike Harris, courtesy Knight Frank, *The Argus*

31-08-2015, page 12; LCE architects, page 13, 15

B&H City Regeneration Team, page 15

Shelter campaign images, page 17

Other images are from BHCC City Plan documents and current planning applications on BHCC website

Regency Society Housing Forum

13,000 New Homes for Brighton and Hove What? Where? How?

7.00 pm 21 November 2018 Metropolitan College, Pelham Street, entry free

"The city plan identifies sites for 13,000 new homes. The likely need is well over twice that number. This raises some big questions." What sort of homes do we need to build? Where can these new homes be built? How can land, finance and ambition be brought together to get development moving?"

A panel of expert speakers will help us try to find answers. There will be plenty of time for comments and questions from the audience.

SPEAKERS

Andy Winter, chief executive of Brighton Housing Trust, and committed campaigner for action to address both the causes and the results of homelessness

Liz Hobden, B&H City Council Head of Planning and one of the authors of the City Plan.

Claire Bennie, Housing consultant, chair of B&H Design Review Panel (for housing), former Development Director of the Peabody Group, one of our oldest and most important social housing providers

Bill Randall, housing journalist and former chair of the B&H City Council's Housing Committee, will chair this event

Views expressed in Regency Society Journal 5 are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect the views of the Regency Society of Brighton & Hove. (c) 2018

Do browse www.regencysociety.org and contact us at news@regencysociety.org



John McKean was housing editor of *The Architects' Journal* in the mid 1970s and Professor of Architecture at the University of Brighton for 11 years from 1996.