

Community Voices for Holloway What People want on the Holloway Prison Redevelopment

A REPORT by Community Plan for Holloway 2021

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Closure of Holloway. Source: Erika Flowers. Flowers.

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Community Plan for Holloway is an independent organisation working to ensure that the community is at the heart of the redevelopment of Holloway Prison.

Executive Summary

The Holloway prison site in the London Borough of Islington represents a unique opportunity for Peabody Housing Association to provide an exemplary development, meeting Islington's pressing needs for social housing, green spaces and community facilities, alongside an iconic Women's Building. This research by Community Plan for Holloway expands upon existing understandings of these priorities by building upon previous studies that have reported on people's aspirations for the Holloway Prison redevelopment (Community Plan for Holloway 2017). This report is based on 217 community narratives collected online and offline in 2020, with street-level interviews and group discussions that enabled people to explain their views in detail.

This research builds upon previous studies in two specific ways:

It provides more up-to-date and greater in-depth information on people's views on the Holloway Prison redevelopment.

It provides vital information about whose voices are being heard or, conversely, whose voices have been missing, depending upon whether they were consulted by online surveys or via discussions individually and in groups, on the street and through community organisations.

Key Findings A: What people want on the Holloway site and why

People stressed the importance of social housing being provided at council rent levels, demonstrating their awareness of the problems inherent in the term 'affordable' rent. Additionally, there was opposition to the provision of shared ownership, which was not seen as an affordable option in Islington. People wanted quality homes to be built at liveable densities, without closed off, segregated private spaces.



HMP Holloway 2016. Source: Erika Flowers

People felt that the development should promote a sense of a community 'with a soul' on the site. This should be environmentally sustainable with green spaces and community facilities, including facilities for young people. There was specific interest in community spaces to foster social networks amongst residents and the wider community, such as community gardening and growing food. This could be part of strategies to tackle food poverty as there was widespread concern generally to address issues relating to poverty. There was very wide support for the Women's Building. It was generally agreed that the Women's Building should be a "special place" with sufficient space to provide supportive, progressive and safe spaces and a range of services for all women in the community, embedding the principles of social justice and enhancing women's well-being as an appropriate legacy to the prison.

The previous Peabody consultation process was widely considered to have been inadequate. This is important information, with significant implications for the next phase of the consultation process.

Key findings B: How to reach diverse groups during Consultation

In comparison with previous consultations, there was more evidence from the street interviews and group discussions about how participants' aspirations and needs were grounded in their own experiences, such as the implications of overcrowding, homelessness and food poverty.

The group discussions revealed more about the needs of specific groups, such as working-class women, Muslim women and people experiencing housing problems and poverty.

The street-level engagements also reached a wider range of ethnicities, age and social class groups than the online consultations, including a higher proportion of working-class residents living in the adjoining estates and a more even distribution of gender. Inversely, electronic forms of consultation were not reaching groups such as young people and working-class people effectively enough and disproportionately fewer male participants.

Recommendations

• That the next consultation phase reflects and builds upon these findings about community priorities.

2. That the consultation process includes the use of inclusive and participatory methodologies that facilitate processes of dialogue and discussion, including the use of zoom meetings for housebound participants and if lockdown restrictions continue.

• This should include reaching out to specific groups and organisations to ensure that those who are less likely to respond to online surveys get heard, in particular young people, working class residents and diverse ethnic groups, especially those living near the prison site.

4. That demographic data is collected to enable the consultation to be – and to be seen to be – genuinely inclusive.

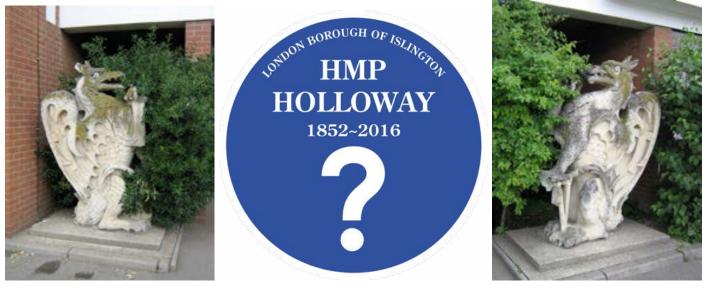
1. Introduction

Introduction

"I know Peabody wants to be regarded as a positive model for community and social housing so this is a chance for them to put in the money needed to benefit both the community and their own reputation... I'd like Peabody to be excited by the opportunity this site offers to build something really exciting and forward looking for the community."

The Holloway prison site in the London Borough of Islington represents a unique opportunity for Peabody Housing Association to provide an exemplary development, meeting Islington's pressing needs for social housing, green spaces and community facilities, alongside an iconic Women's Building. This report by Community Plan for Holloway provides more understanding of these priorities and needs, building on previous studies of people's views on the Holloway Prison redevelopment (Community Plan for Holloway 2017). The report is based on 217 community narratives collected online and offline in 2020.

Firstly, the report aims to inform interested communities and decision-makers by providing upto-date, in-depth information. Secondly, it aims to contribute to the consultation processes with implications for key stakeholders, such as Peabody, Islington Council and the Mayor of London.



HMP Holloway Griffins. Source: Niki Gibbs

HMP Holloway Blue Plaque. Source: Anonymous

1. Introduction



HMP Holloway dorm, 2020. Source: Niki Gibbs

This 10-acre Holloway Prison site is the biggest development in Islington for 30 years, bought in 2019 by Peabody Housing Association from the Ministry of Justice for £82 million, assisted by a £42 million loan signed off by Sadiq Khan, the Mayor of London, and a £39.2 million Greater London Authority Strategic Partnership grant for 'affordable' housing. Peabody received a further £10 million grant in 2020 to support the supply of council-level (target) rented social housing. Given the extensive public financial support for a redevelopment of formerly public land, it is particularly important that all the communities impacted by this development can participate meaningfully in its future shape.

Three years on from the previous Community Plan for Holloway survey (2017), this research was conducted between September and December 2020 and takes into account more recent public discussions and local understandings following Peabody's draft Master Plan (released in 2020). The research used a range of consultation methods, on the streets and through community organisations local to the site as well as online, capturing over 200 diverse and too often unheard community voices. Demographic data was also collected to provide vital understanding of whose voices are being heard – and conversely whose voices may be missing – depending on the consultation methods used.

The recommendations at the end of this report will be fed back to the relevant decision-makers, providing a sound basis from which to evaluate Peabody's revised planning proposals and the adequacy of their associated consultation processes.

Context



Mural proposed for Holloway hoardings, 2018. Source: Niki Gibbs

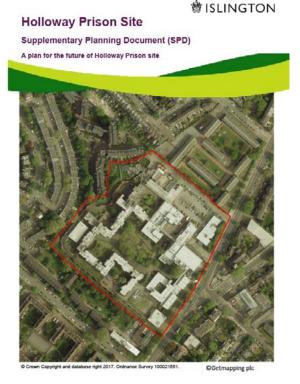
"The future development of the site can set a benchmark for the potential of public sector land in the capital, delivering much needed affordable housing as part of a high quality sustainable new neighbourhood...public open space and important community facilities, including a prison legacy project, which could provide a range of services for women." (Foreword, Islington Council's Supplementary Planning Document, 2018)

Islington Council's policy framework for the Holloway Prison redevelopment was set out in their Supplementary Planning Document (SPD, 2018). The SPD provides a detailed planning framework and guidance for the development of the Holloway Prison site and needs to be considered when planning applications are made. It therefore provides a site of democratic accountability between the community and the developer. This significant document indicates that the redevelopment represents a major opportunity to support people by addressing the problems they face as a result of poverty.

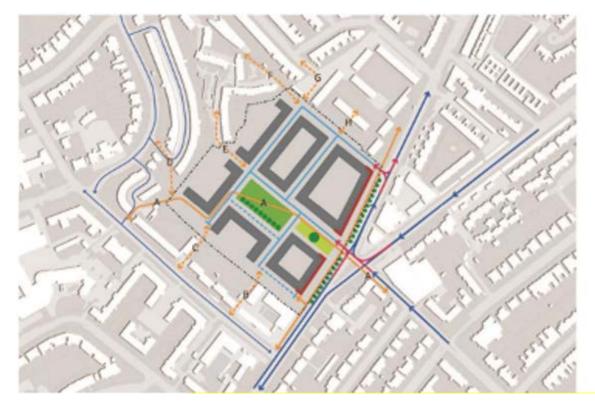
The SDP drew upon existing knowledge about social and environmental needs in the borough, which had been summarised by the Centre for Crime and Justice Studies in the Islington Local Needs Analysis (Ford 2017). This document set out the context for planning the redevelopment by highlighting

the extent of poverty and inequality amongst the borough's 230,000 diverse residents. It reports that although Islington has had a reputation as a relatively privileged area, the area is characterised by high levels of poverty and inequality. Major problems of housing and homelessness were identified and the 26% residents living in privately rented accommodation were typically spending two thirds of their incomes on rent. The report also pointed to high levels of domestic violence, along with concerns about the number of children who were in poverty in the borough. Finally, it highlighted that Islington had the lowest percentage of green space of any borough in London.

Meanwhile, people's own views on the redevelopment were collected by Community Plan for Holloway's survey with 929 people and organisations, including 100 children and 50 women in the Criminal Justice System. The results were published in *Holloway prison: Community perspectives* (CP4H 2017) and *Unlocking Holloway for the Community* (CP4H



Supplementary Planning Document (SPD). 2018. Source: Islington council.



An indicative site concept plan of the Holloway Prison Site: Supplementary Planning Document 2018. Source: Islington council.

2018), which set out what the participants would and would not want to see on the Holloway site, giving a clear picture of local people's priorities. In order, these were affordable housing, community spaces and services and green space (CP4H 2017). Affordable housing was mentioned in 527 responses, with particular emphasis on genuinely affordable housing. Community space came next with 365 people mentioning this, along with green space (mentioned in 270 responses). There were specific references to the need for a community garden and allotments. Some 254 responses referred to the need for community services, with specific references to the need for a community health centre, including a playground and provision for apprenticeships for young people. There was also support for a Women's Building.

The demand for a dedicated Women's Building on the site by the Reclaim Holloway and Sisters Uncut campaigns was also influential. They wanted a sustainable home for the vital women's services that were lost when the prison closed and envisaged the Women's Building as a transformative alternative to incarceration that could meet both the needs of women leaving the criminal justice system, as reflected by Women in Prison (2017) research, and the needs of women more widely. So, the Women's Building was conceived as a progressive space to provide support, rehabilitation and personal and collective transformation, with huge potential to keep women out of the criminal justice system and avoid the destruction of lives that comes with prison sentences. Such a building could provide supportive safe spaces for all women in the community, embedding the principles of social justice in practice and enhancing women's well-being more generally (Women in Prison 2020).



Sisters Uncut call for "community healing" and "a community run Women's Building": Placard Parade 2020. Source: Stefano Cagnoni.



Mural in Holloway Prison. Source: Debbie Humphry

Islington Council's Supplementary Planning Document (SPD, 2018) for the Holloway site clearly responded to these analyses of need. This provided the basis for taking the development forward for the future. It prioritised maximising the provision of housing on the Holloway site, with at least 50% of this to be affordable housing, prioritising social rented housing (with an affordable housing tenure split of 70% social and 30% intermediate housing).

This was supported by the Mayor's Affordable Housing Viability Supplementary Planning Guidance (2017) and later embedded by Islington council's Local Plan (2020), in which they state that low-cost social (target) rents at council- equivalent rent levels are the priority. It is essential to build housing to be let at council-level rents given the context that one third of Islington households have incomes of less than £20,000 per year, and the median income to median house price ratio in the borough is extremely high at 1:14.49 (ibid 2020.). These statistics emphasise that shared ownership, affordable rents linked to market rates and even the Mayor's affordable rent, are not 'genuinely-affordable' in Islington.

The SPD (2018) also specifically recognised the needs of women and children, supporting the need for the Women's Building. It also emphasised the need for public green space and community facilities. It was clear that the site should not be developed too densely, with a target of 900 dwellings. Overall, the SPD was a centrally important document as it took genuine account of local needs and local people's aspirations for the site. Most importantly, the SPD gave very clear signals to potential developers that this was a site that was to be developed to meet people's needs rather than for the realisation of private profits via the provision of unaffordable luxury housing.



Overall the SPD has significant implications for the redevelopment of the Holloway Prison site. It indicates that the redevelopment represented a major opportunity to address the acute problems of housing in the area. The site could also provide much-needed green space along with community facilities, supporting people to address the problems being faced by so many, especially by those in poverty and by so many women and children in the borough.

The Mayor of London also underlined the need for the site to meet community and housing needs in 2018 when the Greater London Authority provided a loan of £42 million and an affordable housing grant of £39.2 million grant up front to Peabody Housing Association to purchase the site for £82 million (Mayor of London 2016). Following continued mobilisations by Community Plan for Holloway and Islington Homes for All the Mayor provided a further £10 million loan in 2020. This was to support Peabody's original commitment to provide 42% of the site's housing at council-equivalent social/target rent (of a total 60% of affordable housing) (Mayor of London 2019).



Disabled parking bay, HMP Holloway, Source: Niki Gibbs



Councillor Diarmaid Ward, Executive member for housing and development, Placard Parade 2020. Source: Debbie Humphry



Methodology

"It's been great meeting so many different kinds of people on the street today, hearing their stories and understanding so much better what is needed."



Community Plan for Holloway talking to local people outside the prison, 2020. Source: Debbie Humphry

This was qualitative research that encouraged people to articulate their aspirations and concerns in their own words, rather than simply seeking 'tick box' type responses to pre-set questions. This meant that we were able to gain an in- depth understanding of what people wanted to see on the redevelopment and why. The study also took an action-research approach, aiming to effect change by engaging people in consultation processes and encouraging them to express their views, including through engaging with Community Plan for Holloway. We were keen to ensure that we accessed local residents, lower-income groups, women of diverse ethnicities and young people, who all stood to benefit from additional housing, community services and spaces as well as from the Women's Building. We collected demographic information to monitor the extent to which different populations were reached and how effective different consultation methods were.

See the Appendices for: fuller methodological details (Appendix A); Street and community centre interview schedule (Appendix B); Survey questionnaire (Appendix C); Community Plan for Holloway Placard Parade Leaflet (Appendix D); Campaign engagement leaflet (Appendix E); Table of gender distribution amongst street, placard parade and online participants (Appendix F); Table of age distribution amongst street and online participants (Appendix G); Table of ethnic distribution amongst street and online participants (Appendix G); Table of ethnic distribution amongst street and online participants (Appendix G); Table of ethnic distribution amongst street and online participants (Appendix H).



Findings

"Housing and Women's Building NOT Housing versus Women's Building - There is enough room on this site for both. There needs to be a proper legacy Women's Building with all the services under one roof that will provide help women for generations to come and be an integral part of the community, not a signposting hub or flexible space facility"

The findings provide understanding in two key areas:

- A. What people want on the Holloway site and why
- **B.** How to reach diverse groups during consultation



Cell door hatch, HMP Holloway. Source: Niki Gibbs

A. What people want on the Holloway site and why

Our first set of findings (A) relate to what people want on the Holloway Prison redevelopment. Our study provided confirmation of the overall priorities that had already emerged from previous studies as well as adding in new ones. The qualitative approach also provided a fuller and more in-depth and detailed understanding both of *what* people wanted and *why they wanted this.*

Five key themes emerged across the 217 views that were collected online, on local streets and via relevant community group discussions. They were people's views on:

4.1. Housing

- 4.2. Women's spaces
- 4.3. Community
- 4.4. Public outdoor

spaces and site design

4.5. Political concerns



Placard Parade 2020. Source: Stefano Cagnoni

4.1 Housing

"We need as many homes for social rent on the development site as possible. The maximum possible percentage of social rent homes. We've got 14,000 people on our housing register. They all need a home. Many are overcrowded families, homeless families in temporary accommodation. The biggest issue in this ward is making sure everyone has got a safe secure genuinely affordable home."



Housing

What would George Peabody have said? Source: Stefano Cagnoni

Affordable housing was almost universally agreed to be the top priority particularly social/council housing. And conversely, people were opposed to the development of luxury housing.

The research identified widespread awareness of the severity of housing needs in the borough; many were aware that Islington's council housing waiting list was over 14,000. Several participants were in serious housing need themselves. For example, one father with a primary school aged child described having to sofa-surf in order to stay in his local area,

"I'm sleeping on sofas. I can't get a flat. I've been told 'no chance' and that I'll have to go to Essex. I grew up across the road, been here over 40 years, and I can't stay, the rents around here are too high." (Street interview on nearby estate)

Several local participants were living in overcrowded accommodation and looking for larger properties themselves. As a father who lived in an overcrowded council property explained,

"I'm overcrowded. I've got four children and we're overcrowded... I'm bidding for a three bedroom but I've got no chance". (Street interview)

4.1 Housing



Placard Parade 2020. Source: Debbie Humphry

Whilst there were some differences of emphasis about the balance between private and social housing, the urgent need for genuinely affordable social housing was overwhelmingly the key issue. This was the case for both online and offline participants. A local single mother with a two-year old child described how, despite having a professional job in IT, she still had to choose between rent, childcare and food,

"I rely on government handouts for me and my kiddo to stay there. So, I'd really like to see some rent-controlled affordable housing ... I get £2,100 a month and my rent's £1,400. So, I wouldn't be able to live without government support. So it would be nice not to rely on that as much. If you take childcare, I'm just living on credit cards at the moment, passing from one buck to the other. My child is 15 months now so we're not eligible for any kind of help, so I'm just getting further and further into debt" (Street interview on nearby estate). In summary then, genuinely affordable housing and specifically the provision of social/council rented housing was what local people needed,

"The percentage of affordable housing should be a lot higher because the community mostly benefit from more affordable housing. If privately owned I feel it's not people around here who'll benefit, it'll be more for new people coming in. To be affordable it needs to be council level rent. I'd like to see at least 55%, more. Because that would be for local people". (21 year-old young woman, student, street interview)

Most importantly, it was felt that the housing should be provided at social rents equivalent to council rents - with security of tenure. It was pointed out that many families would even struggle to pay these.

"My main concern is to see AT LEAST 60% of the homes for homes at council-level rents in view of the critically acute housing crisis in Islington with 14,000 households on the housing waiting list and many others who are living in substandard, overpriced &/or overcrowded private accommodation. As well as receiving a loan from the GLA to cover half the cost of the site, Peabody received a grant of public money of £39.8m which paid for the other half, So the homes should be for those members of the public in most urgent housing need." (73 year-old woman, retired, online survey participant)

"Preferably some more council housing and not just private housing. Because there's so much overcrowding and people are struggling to get housing. I'd like to see council housing for working people. Me and my partner struggled for ages to get a council house. It's not geared for working people. For people on incomes of £16,000 to £23,000 it's impossible to rent privately and impossible to get on a council list." (28 year-old man, health worker, with his 8-year old child, Street interview near the prison)

The housing problems facing young people were a particular concern. The barriers were that they couldn't get enough points to access scarce council housing - but neither could they afford high private sector rents; nor could they afford to take out mortgages to buy homes in the area. As one participant said,

"I grew up in social housing and I feel for youngsters it's hard to get on the ladder".

The problems for young adults unable to leave their parents' homes were mentioned several times, as was the situation of overcrowded housing with teenage children of the same gender having to share a room.

Overall, housing needs were closely linked to the need to retain social and community ties as people wanted housing in the area that they grew up in and/or where they had friends and family. As the man who was bidding for a larger council flat put it,

"I want to stay here because my children are at the local school. And my brother works here at the market. I have family here'. There was awareness that local people were being squeezed out of the area because they were unable to afford the available housing, with strong objections to the processes of gentrification and displacement.

"No gentrification. It must not happen. There is far too much social cleansing. People are being sent as far away as Harrogate... I don't want it to be like Paris, with the poorer people on the outside of the city". (Parent and community worker, group discussion)

"If privately owned I feel it's not for people around here who'll benefit, it'll be more for new people coming in. To be affordable it needs to be council level rent". (21 year-old woman, street interview)

There were effects on staffing and key services too, as one former school governor commented,

"I used to see it with people I was working with, pushed out of London. You'd see staffing problems because of not being able to afford housing. We noticed that pupils moved out". (Street interview)



Placard Parade 2020. Source: Stefano Cagnoni



Placard Parade 2020. Source: Stefano Cagnoni

There was also anxiety that the development of private housing might present a barrier to community integration.

"More expensive flats that only the rich can afford can bring in the sort of people who don't want to mix in with the area but instead change the entire nature of the area. There should be no private security guards and there should be amenities for everyone in the area rather than just for the new resident" (49 year-old woman, Service worker: online survey)

There were references to the problem of socially rented homes being sold off and then let to students "so they are not family homes".

AirBnB, buy-to-let and buy-to-leave were also linked to an erosion of community.

"I don't want to see buy-to-let or airbnb as this destroys communities." (60 year-old woman, online survey).

"No social segregation, Airbnb, buy-to-leave or shared ownership traps. There is already too much of that in London and Islington." (57 year-old man, online survey).

Shared ownership was also regarded as inappropriate, being too expensive for local people.

"Some of the Affordable housing will be Shared Ownership which is not a product that is needed in Holloway. What Holloway needs is social housing" (68 year-old man, with two children on the housing waiting list: online survey)

There was also recognition of the importance of good design. This included the need for dual aspect homes to ensure airflows throughout (more essential than ever in the context of Covid-19). More specifically Muslim women referred to the important of separate rooms for cooking and living/ eating. The need for generous storage space was also mentioned. In summary the homes should be 'lifetime homes', of high quality adapted for current and future needs.

"Lifetime homes which integrate accessibility, features like shelves and cupboards, height of electric sockets, or even electronic devices in the home (taking account of the needs of people with disabilities). Why? Because it meets the requirements of a very mixed population (and their changing needs over their lifecycles) and this is cost effective in the long term. Build it now, and it won't have to be adapted later." (40 yearold woman, online survey)

"Do not sacrifice quality for maximum amount of housing. We want dual aspect wellbuilt housing. Green spaces need sunlight" (60 year-old women, online survey)

Whilst the overwhelming majority expressed strong support for social housing at council level rents there was, however, a minority with different views. Some felt that there was some potential for mixed housing to foster social integration.

"A mix of flats for the wealthy and council residents to come together". (Shopkeeper, street interview)

Whilst a few private owners were concerned that too much social housing would lower their property values or depress the economy of the area.

"Better if (the) price of flats is higher, I've got a vested interest as I'm a home-owner". (Man living on nearby estate)

"It is leaning much more towards an area of higher crime. The result is struggling restaurants and local shops on the main road because the area doesn't attract those with enough income to support local businesses. Anything like job centres, homeless shelters or lower end shops will tip the area over the edge, result in huge underfunding and lowering of local standards to the detriment of hundreds of thousands of local home/shop owners." (Household living next to the site)

The research did not specifically ask about co-housing on the site but in a Community Plan for Holloway public workshop in February 2021 it was clear that there is strong public support for this form of community-oriented housing. This is represented by the CP4H Co-housing working group. **Therefore the report recommends that future research and consultation on the site include an explanation of and questions about the provision of co-housing.**



Placard making workshop, 2020. Source: Debbie Humphry.

" I was always aware of what a hugely important site it was for the state's treatment of women. The state- sanctioned murders and force-feeding that took place on the site. But also the brilliant therapeutic work, it was possible to transform lives on the same spot as well. We really need a Women's Building to keep this legacy alive and going for the community" (psychotherapist at HMP Holloway for 25 years).

Women's Spaces

There was widespread support for the Women's Building, with a greater emphasis than previously, as more people were aware that this would be included in the redevelopment. This would be an appropriate legacy for the women's prison, as well as providing services for women's support and well-being. As one participant said, "I think a Women's Building is a good idea, a safe space to go and speak to someone. It's a good idea because it was a women's prison". The building was envisioned as a stand-alone " iconic and historic legacy building" by a wide range of participants. Generally, more women than men mentioned this, but many men were also supportive.

Several participants had either worked in a prison, been incarcerated or visited or known people in prison. This meant that they had informed understanding of the need to replace the support and rehabilitation services that were lost when Holloway prison was closed. There was also evidence of an understanding of how women's incarceration had resulted from issues related to poverty (such as debt, addiction, mental health, domestic violence). Addressing these issues in a Women's Building would not only address the problems resulting from incarceration, but also help to prevent women's entry into the criminal justice system in the first place. As such, the Women's Building was conceived as an opportunity for an alternative form of justice, addressed through healing, therapy, sharing, support and opportunities for women; with knock-on effects for women's families and society more widely. Thus the Women's Building would promote women's well-being more generally, open to the whole community, "including those from outside the estate/development".

"The women's building could offer support services. Help with childcare. I'd like to see it open up. It's always been blocked off and you never know what's going on so if it could be opened up to people so they can walk in" (21 year-old woman, street interview)

4.2 Women's Spaces





Campaigning for enough space in the Women's Building. Source: Debbie Humphry.

Campaigning for an iconic Women's Building 2020. Source: Niki Gibbs



www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/p08zIm57

Talking to BBC Radio 4 Womens Hour about the Women's Building. Oct 2020. Source: Jack Cheshire Women from Black, Asian, minority ethnic and diverse faith and migrant backgrounds suggested that a Women's Building would be an ideal place for women to learn about each other, improving mutual understandings.

A range of particular services was suggested, such as rehabilitation for women who had been in prison, childcare services, rentable workspaces, workshops and exercise classes. Mental health services were a particular emphasis. As one local woman explained,

"Women need counselling, we all do. We women are quite good at being multi-skilled but we need to know when to stop. Some people need an individual, a stranger, to talk to because not everybody wants to talk to family and friends about their problems." (Street interview, nearby estate).

Younger women also said they thought counselling would be helpful. Others discussed the value for mothers with babies or children with special needs to meet in more informal therapeutic spaces to share their experiences and build networks.

Some people emphasised a women-only dimension for the Women's Building, "a relaxing time just for women" and "a special place for women". A faith/spiritual room for women to go and pray or reflect was suggested in this context.

The Women's Building was also regarded as offering potential for training, "They should have a resource centre that offers job opportunities, training skills for women whose first language is not English. There should be a women-only gym and creche" (Black African woman, 50 years, online survey)

"Good to have health and fitness for women only because some women are uncomfortable training around men." (Street interview)

But there was also a view that part of the Women's Building should be accessible and inclusive for everyone. Women's issues need to be related to the broader familial and social contexts in which they are situated.

It was also suggested that a museum/exhibition and/or history room for students should be provided, to mark the prison's past. This would be a significant element, part of an appropriate legacy, fostering wider understanding in the community. One participant's great Aunt, Marion Wallace Dunlop, was the first hunger striker in Holloway, arrested in July 1909 for militancy. Her great niece commented,

"It's really important that as well as affordable housing for local women, we have a legacy for the suffragettes who suffered here. We need a women's history centre where women can come and learn about women's history and also learn skills on this site, as a legacy for every woman that has been in Holloway" (Placard parade)

4.2 Women's Spaces



The Gym Tree, symbolising the Women's Building as a legacy of healing, integration, support and transformative justice for women. Source: Erika Flowers.

"I want to see communal facilities such as community rooms for food co-ops, shared digital access, sewing groups and meetings, outside spaces for nature environments too."

Community

The sense of community was highly valued, with an overall feeling that the redevelopment "should be for the community". There was a desire to promote a sense of inclusion within the Holloway site and its surrounding communities as well as addressing issues related to poverty. The need for facilities for particular groups was also highlighted, such as spaces for parents, children and older people; with attention to disability needs when designing the site. Community integration between different socio-economic and cultural groups would be fostered by an open design. There should be outdoor spaces accessible to all and the provision of shared facilities such as communal gardens and a community centre where people could meet and develop mutual support networks.

The need for training and employment services for all ages was recognised, including the need for workshops and spaces for art and carpentry as well as spaces for businesses and start-ups. The construction of the site was also seen to have the potential to offer opportunities for high-quality training and meaningful qualifications, for local people, women, former prisoners and young people.

Young people's needs were frequently mentioned. Young people faced housing and employment barriers and should be given opportunities, including training on the site. Facilities such as a youth club were suggested, as "there isn't a youth club round here" (teenage young woman, street interview). Sports facilities were also high on the list for young people, with suggestions for a gym, a swimming pool, a running track, table tennis and BMX, and football or volleyball spaces open to all. It was felt that Peabody should be contributing to the community, such as with "An indoor pitch for young people to train in winter. Because it's a huge site. So, they can put something back onto the community." (Street interview).

The health benefits of sport and fitness facilities for the whole community was emphasised too, "It would help to get people fit, help fight the obesity problems we face as a society" (young woman, email interview). Having these facilities close to home was especially important for people on low incomes. As one participant explained, she wanted a swimming pool locally "because I can't afford public transport."

The need for mental health services was regularly mentioned too, often with reference to people's own or family members' experiences - situated within a wider concern for issues arising from poverty.





Campaigning for enough space in the Women's Building. Source: Debbie Humphry.

Campaigning for enough space in the Women's Building. Source: Debbie Humphry.



Local women standing up for women's rights. Source: Halaleh Taheri, MEWSO.



"There's a lot of drugs in the area. Drugs impact on me and my kids and it's nice to see support for that... I'd come and get support because I need it and because it's right round the corner."

Some were more generally concerned about a local drug problem, "it is rife around here. I know from personal experience, that we desperately need more help with this huge and ever-growing problem". Some participants had personal experience of being harassed or mugged in this context, emphasising the need to address social problems, including the provision of adequate security measures to "attend to the safety of existing residents".

One participant summed these needs up as follows;

"We need funding and provisions for people in need. We need services for homeless people as a lot of services have been taken away; services for social and emotional issues and mental health services." (Resident on local estate)

That the facilities and services on the site should be affordable was a key concern, particularly the housing. This concern also applied to retail outlets, community services and childcare facilities. And there were references to the importance of other strategies to tackle poverty in the community such as providing a food bank on site.

There was, in addition, some concern that the existing social infrastructure could be overburdened by the number of new residents, with references to pressures on parking spaces, rubbish collection, health services and schools; as one participant commented, "the neighbourhood doesn't have infrastructure for 1000 homes on this site!! Open space, community facilities, library, health and schools." (Online interview).

The focus on community was often coupled with a willingness to be actively involved and to volunteer, which many people already did. Some people needed support to build sufficient confidence to do this though. As one participant said, "I would really like to help with trying to get the very best for the community and local people from the Holloway prison site. Although, I fear I don't have the confidence." A willingness to participate in community building could be fostered by the provision of the inclusive community services and spaces that have already been suggested above.

There were also suggestions that residents could not only volunteer but have governance powers as well, as one participant commented,

"I would like to see transparent tenant governance structures put in place with a space for local people to meet and discuss." (60-year-old woman, online survey)

4.3 Community



Illustration by a community member, 2020. Source: Debbie Humphry



Community activists picking up litter outside the prison, 2020. Source: Stefano Cagnoni. "If you are designing green spaces they should be properly functional and integrated into the overall community and not just the very samey corporate green spaces that tend to pop up with new developments. Perhaps a community vegetable garden might be an idea."

> Mural in HMP Holloway Gardens' Hub. Source photo Niki Gibbs

Outdoor Space and Site Design



Outside space was seen as very important. A key aspiration was for green spaces for recreation, particularly given the lack of green spaces in Islington. There were references to the importance of nature and trees, with an adequate ratio of green spaces to residents. Green spaces were seen as important for bringing people together.

Several participants suggested the need for community gardens and growing spaces where people could work and come together, such as a community vegetable garden. This could potentially be a roof garden. Vegetable growing was also regarded as an important part of a strategy for food security, with a food hub and a co-operative in order to provide access to cheaper food wholesale. This integrates with concerns more generally to address food poverty locally.

Whilst some participants welcomed a car-free site, emphasising the importance of environmental sustainability, others felt this excluded working class people, such as those reliant on vans for work. Others added that a car-free site would simply push the parking problem onto the streets surrounding the prison. However, there was support for an innovative and comprehensive bike-friendly development.

"This whole development should be a bike heaven... a living breathing bicycle organism. Let's come up with some environmentally friendly road surface, something smooth. A nice bike park where they don't have bikes nicked, and a really good bicycle repair centre so that everybody can learn how to fix their own bikes on site." (Placard Parade)

4.4 Outdoor Space and Site Design



4.4 Outdoor Space and Site Design

There was also a wider concern that the development should be environmentally friendly.

"Green space that meaningfully supports local wildlife. Birds, bats, foxes, squirrels, insects, wildflowers." There was a concern that the build should not negatively impact on climate change by producing zero carbon impact. "I'd like to see a park, green, because the environment is struggling."

There were concerns that the site not be overdeveloped, over-dense or overcrowded, with people also worried about the height of the buildings with the fear of too much overshadowing.

"NO HIGHRISES - NOTHING more than 6 stories. They are inhuman, dangerous, ugly places and there are way too many flats in London already." (Online survey)

This is in line with recent scientific evidence supporting compact forms of development up to six storeys, which are capable of optimising the rates of energy consumption and CO2 emissions per sq./m, compared with anything built higher (UCL 2018; Hooper 2021).

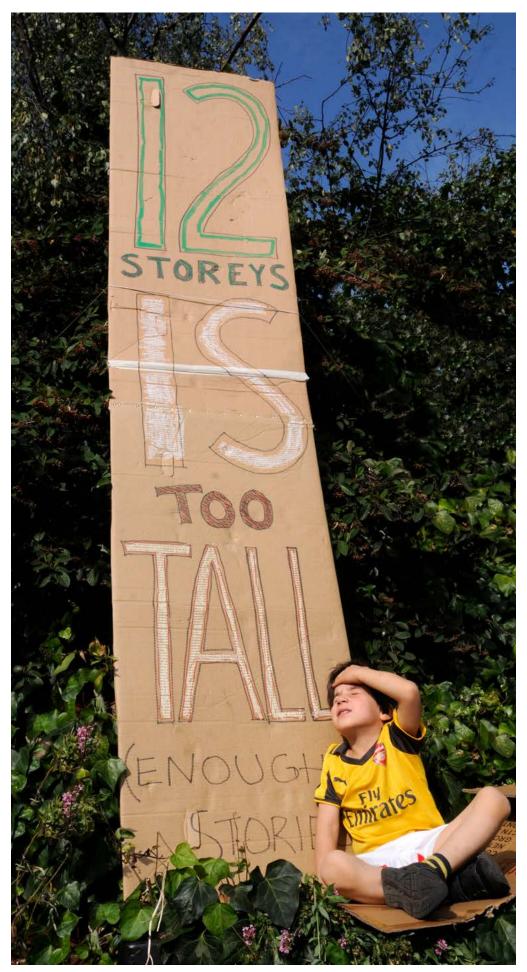


Placard Parade 2020. Source: Debbie Humphry.



Placard Parade 2020. Source: Stefano Cagnoni.

4.4 Outdoor Space and Site Design



Placard Parade 2020. Source: Stefano Cagnoni. "Peabody's 'consultations' have been superficial and cursory. They give the impression that they are just jumping through hoops rather than being genuinely interested in the community's wishes and needs."

Political concerns

There was evidence of considerable awareness of the political context for the redevelopment. The need for services associated with poverty were contextualised within government austerity cuts to welfare, housing benefits and public services. Some participants emphasised the impact of the inflated global property market, understanding that extremely high housing costs in Islington were part of a London-wide problem, fuelled by investors driving the wrong kind of house building, for profit and not for local need.

Some participants were highly critical of Peabody, suggesting that, like developers more generally, they were trying to push up the amount of housing for sale to boost their profits. There was an awareness that large amounts of public money had been invested, which was felt to engender a particular responsibility to provide for public needs;

"I know the developers will say they need to sell a majority of flats at market rates to make the site viable (which is what they ALWAYS say) but in this case it turns out they've had both a huge loan and a huge grant from the Mayor of London to buy the site. That means Londoners own that site. We've paid for it and our needs should come first and that means social housing and truly affordable housing." (57-year-old local resident, Online survey.)

Such expressions of distrust included comments such as the following:

"I don't believe what they say. I don't trust these housing associations or the council." (Local 62-year old woman, street interview)

"It's a waste of time, they aren't going to listen. The council don't listen." "It's Peabody. "None of them listen." (Young family, street interview)

There were concerns that decision-makers were not listening effectively to the community and that Peabody was just going through the motions of consultation. A number of participants local to the

site said that they had not been consulted or knew nothing about the development. Several people actually refused to participate in the research, saying there was no point, their views would not be listened to and that those in power had already decided to do what they wanted to do on the site, as expressed by the comment "You can't stop it, they'll do what they want to do, their plans are going to go through" (street interview). On the other hand, some of those who expressed such views were then engaged in discussion. This was a very positive outcome from doing street consultation.



Placard Parade 2020. Source: Stefan Cagnoni.

4. Summary of key findings (A)

Summary of key findings (A)

New data on what people want on the Holloway Prison redevelopment can be summarised as follows:

There was emphasis upon the importance of social housing being provided at council rent levels, with considerable awareness of the problems inherent in the term 'affordable' rent.

2) There was opposition to the provision of shared ownership homes, which was not regarded as an affordable option in Islington.

There was more detailed interest in the overall design and density of the development. People wanted quality homes, at liveable densities, without closed off private spaces. They believed that the development should promote a sense of a community 'with a soul' on the site. There were also a number of specific design features that Muslim residents would require.

4) There was more emphasis on the need to tackle poverty, including food poverty, overcrowding and homelessness. There were also concerns about the social problems associated with poverty and that issues such as addiction and crime be adequately addressed. The development should provide mental health and addiction services, support for homeless people, women leaving prison and the victims of domestic violence, with adequate security measures on site.

5) The research provided more detail on community needs, with concerns that integration amongst the different socio-economic groups living on the site should be taken into account and that there should be inclusive access to the site for wider communities. This type of inclusive access could be facilitated by the provision of diverse communal spaces. Many participants were willing to be proactive and volunteer to help build a sense of community on the site.

O There was more detailed interest in green spaces and environmental sustainability on the site and specific suggestions for leisure facilities, including facilities for young people. There was also specific interest in gardening and growing food, related to strategies to tackle food poverty.

There were more detailed views about the Women's Building, with evidence of broad support from both men and women. There were calls for services to support all women, including, but not limited to, those involved with the Criminal Justice System; such as services to support women and girls experiencing domestic violence. It was generally agreed that the Women's Building should be a "special place" with adequate space to be an appropriate legacy to the prison.

8) Participants situated their comments within a political context, including references to Peabody Housing Association and Islington council, funding from the Greater London Authority, government housing and planning policy and the global property market. There was some evidence of distrust in decision-makers. It was widely felt the Peabody consultation process had been inadequate. This is important information for those involved in the consultation process and indicates that those impacted by the development need to understand better where and how they can meaningfully influence the shape of the development.

4. Summary of key findings (A)



Local people setting up a street workshop outside the prison. Source: Debbie Humphry



Placard Parade 2020. Source: Stefano Cagnoni



Placard Parade 2020. Source: Debbie Humphry

B. How to reach diverse and relevant groups via consultation.

Our second set of findings (B) relate to how to reach diverse and previously under-represented groups via consultation processes. Of the 217 narratives collected, around half were collected online and half through discussions on the streets, estates and through community organisations nearby. Through collecting demographic data from participants, the research revealed that there were differences as to who was reached and also in the information that was provided, depending on whether online, street-level or group- based discussions were used.

The street interviews engaged more working class people, younger people and a higher proportion of people of more diverse ethnicities. The gender balance was also more equal (Appendices F, G, H). The difference in who was accessed on and offline has been echoed in other research, for example the Morning Lane People's Space report (2020) similarly found that younger people, working class people and diverse ethnic communities were under-represented in the online data and better represented in the offline data.

The street interviews and discussions also accessed participants' own experiences, which assisted understanding of pressing needs locally. This demonstrates the need for consultations to capture the views of those living near the site who have experiential knowledge. It also explains how community views and desires are driven in very personal and emotional ways, hence the passions and sensitivities around whether people feel adequately listened to by decision-makers. The discussion-based work with individuals and in groups did encourage participants to speak freely of their own concerns and provided in-depth data from these under-represented groups.

In particular young people did not respond to online consultations in proportion to their numbers in the local population. It took specific efforts to reach them via schools and other gathering places.

Women from some Black, Asian, minority ethnic and migrant communities needed to be consulted through their own community groups where they felt safe to express their views.

Finally, working-class people and men were likely to be under-represented in online consultation processes. They were reached more effectively through the street work and via the community centres.

The street interviews and group discussions also enabled dialogic explorations of why participants held the views that they did, which enabled a better understanding of community needs. For example, we heard narratives of homelessness that underpinned the need for secure genuinely affordable council/social rented homes, and stories of working people who still had to choose between paying the rent or paying for food for their families. We heard of how poverty was driving a mental health crisis and people felt that services in the Women's Building could meet these needs. Local people were also concerned that the prison's legacy should be marked not only by symbols but also by the provision of support services and facilities to promote people's well-being via leisure and the arts.

4. key findings (B)



Placard Parade 2020. Source: Stefano Cagnoni



Build a Women's Centre worthy of the Suffragettes. Source: Debbie Humphry



Placard Parade 2020. Source: Stefano Cagnoni

4. Summary of key findings (B)

This is crucial information for Peabody and Islington Council, to inform the design of further consultations. There are vital implications regarding both where and how they collect their data. This emphasises the importance of monitoring the demographics of who is reached through consultation processes – and by what methods.

Additionally, as mentioned earlier, the research did not specifically ask about co-housing on the site but as subsequent consultation by CP4H indicated strong public support for this form of housing, future consultation should include an explanation of and questions about the provision of co-housing.

Summary of key findings (B)

The research and consultation approaches were different in the following ways:

1) There was more evidence in the street interviews and group discussions about how participants' aspirations and needs were grounded in their own experiences, such as the implications of overcrowding, homelessness and food poverty.

2) The group discussions revealed more about the needs of specific groups, such as workingclass women, Muslim women and people experiencing food poverty.

5) The street-level engagements reached a wider range of ethnicities, age and social class groups than the online consultations. This included a higher proportion of younger people, more working-class residents living in the adjoining estates and a better gender balance. Conversely, electronic forms of consultation were not reaching groups such as young people and working-class people effectively enough and there were more female than male participants and more participants in the older age groups.

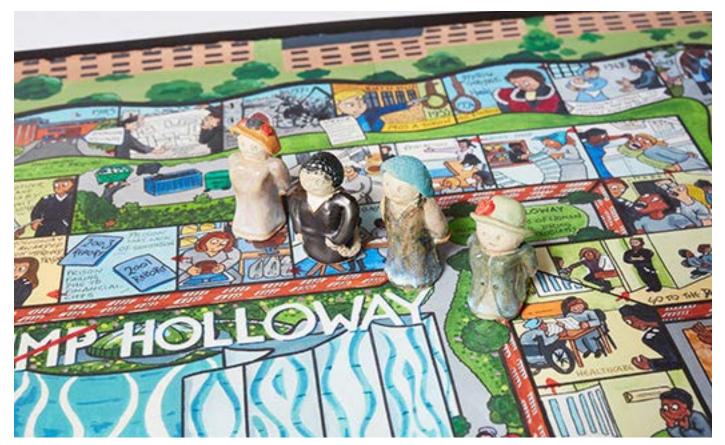
4) The street interviews provided more awareness of young people's interests and aspirations. To reach young people more effectively it was necessary to work with schools, community centres and youth groups.

5) Both street and online interviews largely failed to engage people who were not confident in speaking English, despite translating the online surveys into several languages and circulating them via appropriate contacts. Their views had some expression via one of the group discussions with community leaders from Black, Asian, minority ethnic and migrant women's groups, however. The implications of this particular finding are very important for future consultations.

4. Summary of key findings (B)

6) The street and group discussions revealed that there were considerable numbers of people who were still unaware of plans for the redevelopment of the Holloway site, including people who lived in the surrounding streets.

There were some expressions of alienation and disengagement due to distrust of those in power, with some street participants commenting that there was no point in getting involved or responding to consultations because key decision-makers would forward their own agendas rather than listen to the community. The contact via the street approach, however, meant that some of these people did become engaged and were persuaded to express their views.



Holloway Women's Building Game by Erika Flowers. Koestler Platinum award 2019 Source: Koestler Awards

5. Conclusions/Recommendations

"There is an opportunity for Peabody to develop a flagship site"



Conclusions

Placard Parade 2020. Source: Debbie Humphry

There are implications for the ways in which to evaluate both the form and the content of the next phase of the consultation process. The research provided new information on what people want and need from the Holloway Prison redevelopment which can inform planning and development decisions in the immediate future and for the longer term. The research also indicates the need for open and innovative consultation approaches that can reach wider populations, especially working-class people, young people and women of diverse ethnicities who would benefit from the Women's Building, in particular.

There are particular challenges involved in engaging people who have previously had negative experiences of consultation. Relationships of trust need to be developed over time. The research suggests that this is best achieved through processes of dialogue, as evidenced via the discussions with community organisations and the street interviews in which some distrustful and disengaged participants were nevertheless drawn into discussions, thereby enabling their views to be articulated. Consultation processes during lockdown are of course challenging. But different approaches urgently need to be developed for the next consultation round. Even during the lockdowns it was possible to organise zoom discussions with particular groups, for example.

The range and depth of the findings from this research emerged because of the different approaches used, blending online open survey methods with more direct individual and group discussions. Whilst it may prove impossible to organise face-to-face discussions due to lockdown restrictions, online group discussions can be organized through existing and trusted community groups.

In order to know whether consultation processes have been comprehensive it is crucial that demographic questions are included. As a result of capturing age, ethnicity, occupation and people's postcodes, this study was able to identify under-represented groups and plan effective strategies to reach them. Peabody has suggested that demographic questions would be off-putting, thereby reducing response rates overall, but we found no evidence of this. Almost all of the respondents to our online survey did fill out the demographic questions (55 of 59) and **those who were asked for demographic data on the street and during group discussions were happy to provide them. It is vital that demographic questions are included in the next and any future consultations.**

5. Conclusions/Recommendations



Recommendations

Placard-making workshop. 2020. Source: Debbie Humphry

• That the next consultation phase reflects and builds upon these findings about community priorities.

2. That the consultation process includes the use of inclusive and participatory methodologies, including the use of zoom meetings with particular communities and groups, if lockdown restrictions continue during the next phase.

5. That demographic data is collected to enable the consultation to be – and to be seen to be – genuinely inclusive.

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Placard Parade 2020. Source: Stefano Cagnoni

Appendix A:

Details of the Methodology

Overview of Methodology

We accessed this qualitative data by collecting 217 narratives from a range of interested communities. Much consultation by developers, housing associations and government bodies is driven by regulatory compliance with a predominant approach of presenting closed questions that are framed by their own concerns, with responses largely limited to 'yes', 'no' or 'don't know'. This was the case with Peabody Housing Association's most recent consultation in 2020. Therefore our research aimed to fill a gap by an open approach that invited participants to express their aspirations, needs and fears in their own words. An open narrative approach not only allowed us to understand what people wanted but also, crucially, to understand why they held the views they did. Thus, we heard narratives of homelessness that underpinned the need for secure genuinely affordable council/social rented home, for example, or how local people cared that the prison's legacy be represented not only by symbols but by the substantive provision of services, training, support, art, leisure and other shared spaces in The Women's Building.

Overall, the narratives provided a richer and better understanding of local and community needs and how that could be met by the right kind of redevelopment.

Methods

The data collection of community views on the streets and estates near the prison site was conducted by the lead field researcher and seven other CP4H activists, with training given where needed.

We used semi-structured questions to collect community views mostly from individuals, but also some couples, families and small groups, on the streets and estates very close to the prison. There was also some door-to-door knocking and talking on a nearby estate. We asked open questions about what participants did and did not want on the site, with follow up questions appropriate to what the participants were saying, which elicited more detail. As all the researchers were also CP4H campaigners and often local residents, the street interactions were situated within a dialogic context in which casual conversations about the prison redevelopment emerged when handing out leaflets and sometimes when talking to neighbours. We allowed conversations to develop in their own way, according to participants' interests, allowing them to speak on their own terms. If participants had time, we provided a brief overview of Peabody's plans for mixed-tenure flats, a

Women's Building and green and play spaces, inviting the participants to comment. The length of time we talked to the participants varied according to how much time they had. We also collected demographic data on gender, age, ethnicity, occupation and postcodes, where participants had time; or recorded demographic characteristics through our own observations. Whilst we recognise the possibility of error in estimating demographic characteristics such as a participant's age or ethnicity, we nevertheless felt this was a useful approximation to help monitor who we had spoken to and who we still needed to reach (see Appendix B for the interview schedule).

A similar approach was taken for a group discussion at a local community centre, where we spent one-two hours listening to participants respond to and discuss similarly open questions. We went to a second local Community Centre/food hub on two different occasions, spending an hour or two each time, taking the same open dialogic approach with individuals and small groups. A similar, but slightly more structured, version of the questions was used for the online surveys (Appendix C). This survey was translated into Turkish, Spanish, Bangla and Somali and circulated amongst relevant networks, aiming to reach key demographic groups in Islington. The fourth community group discussion was amongst community leaders and representatives of Black, Asian and migrant women's groups. As we were invited as guests, some of the participants designed and led the questions. We listened to a lengthy group discussion amongst the women about many aspects of the redevelopment, including the views on the housing and the Women's Building.

Additionally, we collected narratives at the Community Plan for Holloway (CP4H) Placard Parade (Appendix D), recording 23 participants who had come to express their views on what they wanted - or did not want - on the redevelopment. The narratives in this case responded to one key question asking the participants why they were protesting. In order to reach more young people we liaised with a local secondary school who collected some online responses to our questions.

Most of our interactions with participants were accompanied by informing the participants of the aims of CP4H. We invited them to be involved in working for what they wanted on the site, collecting contact details and finding out what and how they wanted to get involved with CP4H (see the leaflet, Appendix E).

As discussed above in the report, our mixed approach of online, street and community interviews were aimed at reaching a diverse range of relevant participants. Whilst we think we were largely successful, more young people still need to be reached (see Appendix F, G & H for Tables of gender, age and ethnicity distributions amongst street, placard parade and online participants).

Data analysis

To analyse the qualitative analysis, we used manual coding methods. Firstly we used inductive coding techniques to identify key themes from the participants' narratives, selected according to what was important to them. This framework was then used as a guide to identify both typical and counter narratives in order to understand predominant views, but also the complexity and contradictions between different participants' views. The framework was also used to compare the street and the online interviews.



Appendix B:

Interview Schedule for the street interviews and community centre discussions

1.	What do you want to see on the Holloway site?
2.	Why?
3.	What do you not want to see on the Holloway site?
4.	Why not?
5. There are going to be around 1000 flats, a Women's Building and some green, public and community spaces - do you have any ideas for these spaces? Such as the Women's Building?	
6.	Gender
7.	Age
8.	Ethnicity
9.	Dis/ability
10	 Occupation (student, retired & former employment), parent etc
https://docs.google.comforms/d/17VBhm6E2HEjUfQvh-WfbOoQ5JhXz7O24iko78PM8TO0/edit	



Appendix C:

Survey questionnaire

Community Plan for Holloway is seeking your views on the Holloway prison redevelopment. Please spend a few minutes filling out the questions. By submitting your response you agree that we can use the information anonymously for a report, the press and other campaigning activities: to campaign for a development that the community wants. We will store the information securely and not use people's names or any identifiable information. Please contact Debbie at **engage.plan4holloway@ gmail.com** if you have any questions. Or find our website **https://plan4holloway.org/** THANK YOU!

• What do you want to see on the Holloway prison redevelopment? Why?

2. What do you not want to see on the Holloway prison redevelopment? Why not?

O. There will be: 800-1000 flats; a women's centre with facilities & services for women; outdoor public green spaces, a community garden & play space? Is there anything you think is particularly needed by the community? (and why)

4. Do you have any other comments, concerns or questions about the site?

The following information will help us understanding if we have reached a representation of local people:

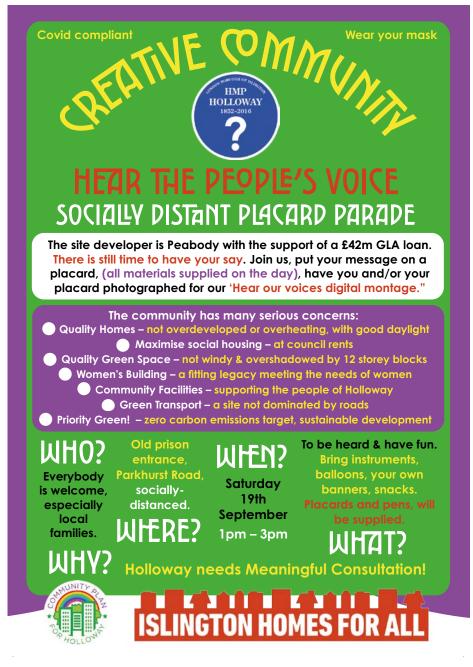
- **5.** Gender:
- **6.** Age:
- **7.** Ethnicity:
- 8. Dis/ability

J. Occupation (student, retired & former employment), parent etc:

10. Faith group (if applicable)

Appendix D:

CP4H Placard Parade Leaflet



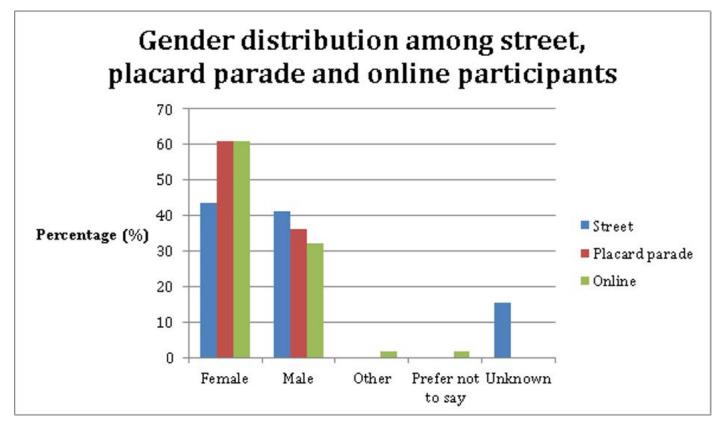
Appendix E:

CP4H Campaign Engagement Leaflet

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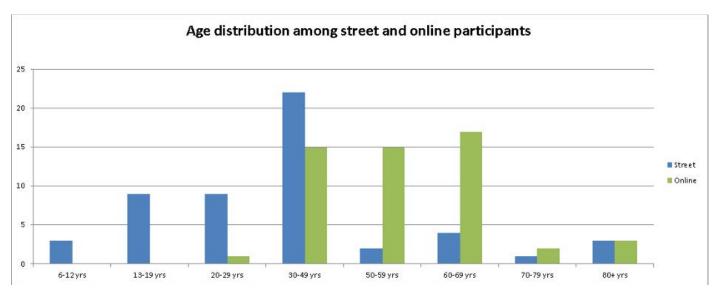
Appendix F:

Table of gender distribution amongst street, placard parade and online participants^{*}



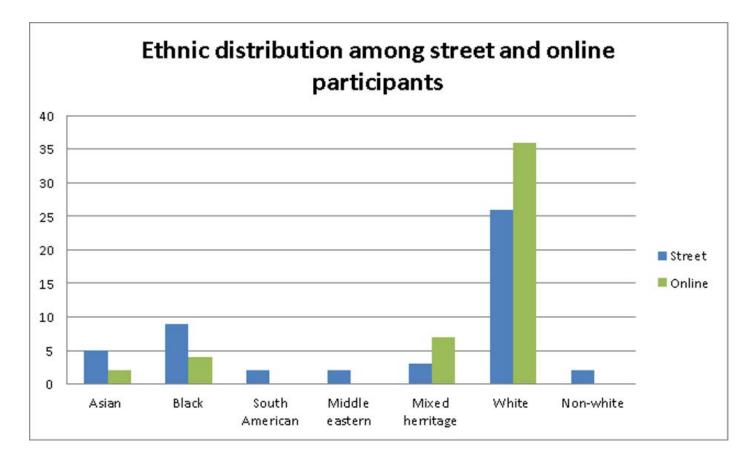
Appendix G:

Table of age distribution amongst street and online participants*



Appendix H:

Table of ethnic distribution amongst street and online participants^{*}



* These statistics are based on existing data. Some data is missing where participants did not provide details for some sections. Sometimes demographics characteristics for the street interviews were observed, such as ethnicity. Whilst we are aware of the limitations of this, nevertheless we accessed sufficient information for these statistics to be meaningful.

FUNDERS and CONTACT



Community Plan for

Make Space for Women. Source: Debbie Humphry

Holloway is an independent organisation working to ensure that the community is at the heart of the redevelopment of Holloway Prison.

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Trust for London. The National Lottery Community Fund. The Tudor Trust.

To find out more about our activities email engage.plan4holloway@ gmail.com





Placard-making workshop. Source: Debbie Humphry





Placard Parade 2020. Source: Debbie Humphry

To find out more about our activities email engage.plan4holloway@gmail.com

www.plan4holloway.org

