

The Fellowship Inn Project Evaluation



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Foreword and Acknowledgements

The research for this report was conducted over a period of a year by a team of researchers from the Centre for Urban and Community, Goldsmiths College, University of London. It presents findings, conclusions, and recommendations in relation to the design and management of the Fellowship Inn project in Bellingham, Lewisham, London. As part of this process, the evaluation team has collected and collated a range of information from primary and secondary data sources in order to gauge how the aims and objectives of the refurbishment of the Fellowship Inn relate to local community concerns and aspirations. The research team conducting the street survey and the qualitative interviews included Crystal Nicholson, Peter Dobbs, Louise Rondel, Charlotte Watson and Zoe Walshe. Additional interviews with Phoenix Community Housing staff and key community stakeholders were conducted by Les Back and Paul Stoneman. In addition, Zoe Walshe and Crystal Nicholson conducted the mapping procedures with the latter also conducting the preliminary analysis of the resident interviews.

The evaluation team would very much like to thank Dominique Stephenson for all her help and guidance through the course of this evaluation.

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Executive Summary

This report offers an evaluation of the renovation of the Fellowship Inn and its transformation into the Fellowship and Star, a new community venue in Bellingham, Lewisham that combines enterprise, heritage and community development. To restore and redevelop the new Fellowship and Star venue a grant of £4.1 million was awarded to Phoenix Community Housing (PCH) from the Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF). Phoenix Community Housing employed a multi-stakeholder approach in which the newly refurbished site will be operated by Electric Star, a leisure and entertainment company, and in partnership with Lewisham Music, a community music education organisation. Established in the 1920s, it provided a vibrant social space for the local community during the interwar period; post-Second World War, it earned a wider reputation as a site of local heritage. By the late 1990s, however, the building was dilapidated, and there were signs of neglect and disrepair. The new Fellowship and Star community venue signals the end of ten-year period of rebirth and renovation out of the ruins of the pre-existing pub.



Current Establishment
THE FELLOWSHIP INN, BELLINGHAM



Proposed Development
THE FELLOWSHIP INN, BELLINGHAM



The key findings of the report can be summarised as follows:

- Small local pubs are closing in London at an alarming rate with approximately 80 across the city annually. This general story of decline masks a counter trend where larger pubs – employing more than ten people - are actually increasing. The re-birth of the Fellowship and Star which aims to create an economically viable multipurpose community venue with a pub at its centre fits into this trend.

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- A thorough consultation exercise was conducted as part of Phoenix Community Housing's initial application to the HLF and on the basis of this it was proposed the site should include a cinema, live music, theatre and comedy venue, café, restaurant, pub and music education hub and rehearsal space (home to Lewisham Music). This evaluation finds strong empirical evidence to suggest that the Fellowship Inn represents a socially appropriate site for such a development.
 - Local residents, overwhelmingly, express a strong sense of attachment and belonging to the local community. Its people have strong passions for film, music (listening and playing) and food (cooking and eating out). When asked what types of interests and activities the Fellowship Inn should cater for, music and a venue to enjoy film were consistent demands.
 - The evaluation team found an impressive level of consultation with local residents and the wider community from the very inception of the idea to redevelop the site. Throughout this journey, Phoenix Community Housing has provided clear and stable organisational structure that has successfully supported the initiative. The initiative has fostered an ethos of inclusivity that communicates an openness to everyone in the locality.
 - The Fellowship and Star initiative has used art and heritage exceptionally well to communicate with and involve local people in the opportunity and vision of the redevelopment. Part of the challenge is that it combines a major renovation of the physical structure of this large building with a series of heritage and art projects. These include: an oral history of the building and its patrons, a film, a tapestry project that documents the story of the community and a site-specific community play. The heritage and art projects have made it possible to generate and sustain interest in the project through the long five-year period of site reconstruction.
 - What has been particularly impressive is the way in which the initiative has fostered a shared vision amongst the variety of partners to create an inclusive ethos for this community venue.
 - The Fellowship and Star has already made significant strides to achieving its promised outcomes notably including 157 Arts Awards with 110 children receiving accreditation, 20 local jobs have been created for local people including 10 local people already employed in the front of house staff in the Fellowship and Star. Also, 2 construction apprentices appointed from the London Borough of Lewisham, and a commitment from Electric Star to have an apprenticeship running at all times in hospitality and catering. The project has documented

and catalogued the entire initiative including the progress of the building works and the physical transformation of the building via social media, heritage projects and a community film.

- As the Fellowship and Star becomes fully functioning our evaluation suggests four key issues going forward: 1) the need to balance the community-based approach whilst appealing to new clientele bases, 2) offer a variety of affordable entry points, 3) for the offer to evolve with the local community and 4) maintain heritage while remodelling the Fellowship and Star.

1. Background

The purpose of this evaluation is to situate the Fellowship Initiative into the wider public and academic debates about the relationship between arts and cultural programmes within patterns of urban and community change and the new urban crisis (Florida 2002, 2017). In doing so, it will aid the Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF) to assess the achievements and impact of the Fellowship programme against its stated aims. The challenge for initiatives like the Fellowship project is how to use arts initiatives for integrated community development without exacerbating urban social inequalities (Cameron & Coaffee 2005, Grodach, Foster & Murdoch 2014). Many arts led urban regeneration schemes face the challenge of how to make arts initiatives a social bridge and meeting place rather than contributing to gentrification and the displacement of lower-income residents. As such, by understanding and measuring the cultural values and habits of local communities, important benchmarks can be developed for evaluating local art initiatives, specifically the degree to which they can be seen as being ‘for’ the local community rather than merely ‘part of’.

The site of the Fellowship Inn represents immense historical importance for the area. Established in the 1920s, it provided a vibrant social space for the local community during the interwar period; post-Second World War, it earned a wider reputation as a site of cultural importance by being the training venue for boxer Henry Cooper and for hosting music performances from bands such as Fleetwood Mac. By the late 1990s, however, the building was dilapidated, and the signs of neglect and disrepair were there for all to see. During these years The Fellowship had a reputation for being unwelcoming for some members of the community. Father Paul Butler, who was the parish priest between 1996 to 2006, commented: ‘I don't think I ever saw a black person in that place. And if they did, it will be somebody who popped in for a drink, and then perhaps didn't realize, you know, it was the kind of pub that you walk in. And they'd be like, the same people always have the same seats.’ For Father Butler the Fellowship Inn development is the culmination of a long process of community change and locally led community building and re-development. He concluded: ‘Yeah, you know... the people can do it themselves. We all need partners, we all need help, but... but people know best about their own lives ... and to think black people in Bellingham talking about The Fellowship and not as a place where you might avoid... you know, something that might bring some

social good to the place and might be a place where people can have a sense of pride again in that place, right by the train station, right in the centre of things. How wonderful is that?’

Fortunately, the long-term future of the building was secured in 2013 when English Heritage granted the Fellowship Inn Grade II listed status, signalling the dawn of a new era for the Fellowship Inn. To restore and redevelop the Fellowship Inn, a £4million cash injection from the HLF was granted. Phoenix Community Housing went through a long and difficult process to buy the freehold and leasehold interest of the pub and then applied to the HLF for the grant, overseeing the project to its completion. In doing so, and after much public consultation involving garnering the opinions of over 1,400 local community members, Phoenix Community Housing employed a multi-stakeholder approach in terms of deciding upon the design and future use of the newly refurbished site. This approach meant that local people, businesses, and organisations from the beginning of the project had a direct input into shaping the future of the Fellowship Inn. On the basis of this thorough consultation exercise, it was decided that the site would include the creation of:

- cinema
- live music, theatre and comedy venue
- café
- restaurant
- pub
- music hub and rehearsal space (home to Lewisham Music)

Notably, the architects used – Thomas Ford and Partners – are located in nearby Sydenham, and Lewisham Music will be responsible for delivering the music hub for the venue.

Redeveloping the site for commercial usage whilst retaining its heritage is no easy task. In order to fulfil these aims, Phoenix Community Housing designed an activity plan as an extension to the consultation efforts that were in place. This plan addressed key audience development and training objectives so that upon its opening, the Fellowship Inn hosted activities which directly engaged with and appealed to the local community. Specifically, the following were promised:

- Delivery of 135 Arts Awards for local young people

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- Employment and training opportunities, including 45 apprenticeships over 15 years, including 2 construction apprentices, and operational apprentices working in the Fellowship (Hospitality and Catering)
 - Significant accredited volunteering opportunities (in cinema, heritage, event management & digital)
 - Digital inclusion programme
 - Cataloguing progress of the building works (through photograph and film)
 - Creation of more than 70 jobs in the Fellowship (60% employees drawn from local community)

Given these stated aims and objectives of the Fellowship Inn, the authors of this report undertook a wide ranging, multi-method evaluation exercise. The methodological framework for this is outlined in section 2. While specifically aiding the HLF in assessing the relative success of the Fellowship Inn project, we envisage that the evaluation will also aid Phoenix Community Housing and similar organisations in terms of wider reflections on devising and managing such local community projects. To what degree community initiatives offer accountability for project outcomes to residents and wider stakeholders, as well as an evidence base to assess the success of the project to funders and other interested parties, are essential evaluation issues for all local initiatives.

2. Methodology

The devising, implementation, and future success of any community project will, at least in part, depend upon the prior sociodemographic and attitudinal nature of the local community. Much sociological work has been done on the relationship between leisure and culture and the marking of boundaries between social classes and their social worlds (Bourdieu 1984, Bennett 2009) as well as geodemographic classifications (Webber & Burrows 2018), and arts and culture based initiatives may struggle to appeal to local communities that are either lacking in cultural capital or have a demographic profile that does not automatically appeal to specific types of initiatives. As such, success of local initiatives will partly depend upon the types of social groups residing within immediate catchment areas, as well as attitudes towards community engagement within such groups. Initially, then, it is important when evaluating the relative success of local initiatives that quantitative measures of demographic profiling, community engagement, and cultural habits are established. Sensitive to the fact that quantitative data offers one portrait of the community, the evaluation team also established a qualitative fieldwork strategy through which more in-depth insights could be generated in terms of local residents' cultural habits, community engagement, and perceptions of the Fellowship Inn. In order to better evaluate the overall stated ambitions of the Fellowship Inn and the process by which it was developed and implemented, the evaluation team also conducted a range of in-depth interviews with key community stakeholders with a direct or indirect role and interest in the project.

2.1 Quantitative Data

The evaluation team conducted two levels of area profiling: (1) a small-area (LSOA level) analysis of the demographic and social profile for Bellingham, Downham and Whitefoot wards; (2) using Mosaic, a geodemographic classification data system, a more fine-grained social profile of the catchment area was produced. Here we were able to profile the whole population within the catchment area, providing a post-code overview of the target community. In particular, we identified the relative mix of different social class communities with reference to housing type, key measures of deprivation, and lifestyle choices.

To supplement the broad demographic analyses for the catchment area, the evaluation team also developed a survey administered to 100 local residents. The primary motive for the development and implementation of a survey was to get a better understanding of local residents' sense of trust, pride, and engagement within the area. Furthermore, the survey was used to measure how the Fellowship Inn features within peoples' perception of what constitutes 'their' community. It explored how much they anchor their lives in very localised communities or feel part of a wider sense of belonging across the Lewisham area as a whole. The survey was also used to audit the specific cultural interests and habits of the local population. The Fellowship Inn aims to cater for interest in music and film in particular, so gauging the extent to which this maps onto the interests of the local population was an important evaluative measure.

Through these quantitative demographic portraits we were able to establish local social and cultural patterns of community segmentation and division. These analyses enable three important evaluative benchmarks to be established:

- (1) The ability for the local population to afford the use of an entertainment venue
- (2) The likely interest in the seeking an entertainment venue in the local area
- (3) The likely interest in seeking a local entertainment venue for socialising, music and film

This quantitative dimension of the study thus provided a portrait of the local areas using the opportunities provided by government official statistics and geodemographic techniques. This macro quantitative portrait – outlined in section 3 – also provided the social setting within which the micro-level qualitative data can be situated and interpreted.

2.2 Qualitative Fieldwork and Interviews with Local Stakeholders

In terms of the qualitative research, we have used a variety of techniques to listen to how those involved in the initiative understand the nature of the challenge of the Fellowship initiative and the wider context of the community. We recruited 16 residents to do 'walking tour' interviews with us in order to understand how local people saw community and the place of the Fellowship Inn Project within it. Engaging with place through visual and mobile methods will help uncover new meanings and understandings of the lives of the members of communities. We recruited 5 local residents to

become observant participants or expert ears and eyes on the ground. They offered us repeated feedback on the conversations that were circulating in the community about the initiative. The evaluation team also conducted a range of in-depth interviews with key local professionals. The orientation of questions emerged from the initial findings from the geodemographic data. Interviews were audio recorded, transcribed and analysed for emerging themes or patterns, and also gave the team the chance to better understand the broad aims and associated processes behind the development and implementation of the Fellowship Inn project. Specifically, we interviewed the following local stakeholders including the operator, local politicians and members of faith communities totaling thirteen interviews namely: Jim Ripley, Pat Fordham, Lesley Johnson, Peter Haywood, Tara Lynch, Dominique Stephenson, Mary Denne, Sarah Thomas, Adam Pope, Yada Krampol, Father Paul Butler, and Councillor Jacq Paschoud. In addition to these interviews we also observed key events and meetings that led up to the opening of the Fellowship and Star including the street parade and theatre performance in February 2019. We continued to conduct interviews right up until June 2019 in order document the full process to the point of opening.

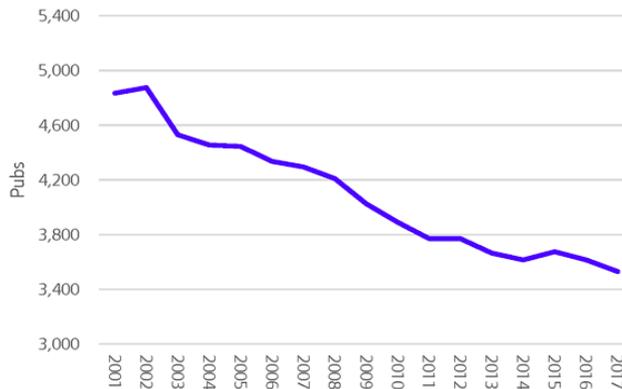
3. The Fellowship in its Community

From the nineteenth century, ‘public houses’ were often key hubs of social life, they provided alternative public places particularly in working-class communities. Their names are often iconic reference points that represent a sense of place and local pride (Brandwood *et al* 2004). This is particularly true of the Fellowship Inn which was part of London County Council’s Bellingham Estate built after World War I as part of aspirations to build what David Lloyd George called ‘homes fit for heroes’. This vision intended to ease inner city overcrowding by building new developments on the edges of the city with facilities for social activities. London County Council had been reluctant to allow pubs to be built on its estates due to pressure from the temperance movement, so pubs were also seen as potentially threatening to the moral life of the community too and plans for the Fellowship were raised in Parliament during a debate on prohibition. The plans for the Fellowship Inn prevailed and it was completed in 1924. It was a multi-purpose community space and included a dining hall and meeting rooms. Latterly in the 1960s and 1970s it also became a thriving music venue and local cinema. Despite the initial post-war popularity of the Fellowship Inn, the 1980s and 1990s heralded a period of decline for the site. Jim Ripley, Chief Executive of PCH, commented: “In 2007, I inspected The Fellowship to see whether it would be suitable for an office for Phoenix. I found it to be 80% burnt out, infested by pigeons, and in a shocking state of repair.” While the pub continued to trade up until just before its re-development it was dying from the inside out. Pat Fordham, community activists and founder of PCH, commented that it signaled a wider sense of decline and lack of investment in public places for the community. ‘They’re worn out, and they’re not places you want to go in because you think, “Oh, God in hell, it’s bloody gloomy, isn’t it?”’

3.1 Public Houses in London

The fading fortunes of sites like the Fellowship Inn are symptomatic of a wider change. Put simply, London is losing its pubs. Understanding the socioeconomic forces that are driving this trend is an important context for understanding the nature of the challenges facing the Fellowship Inn Project. The changing fortune of public houses is a sign of the changing culture and economy of London as a whole. The Greater London Authority (GLA) published an audit showing that between 2001 and 2017, the number of pubs had fallen by a quarter (see Figure 1).

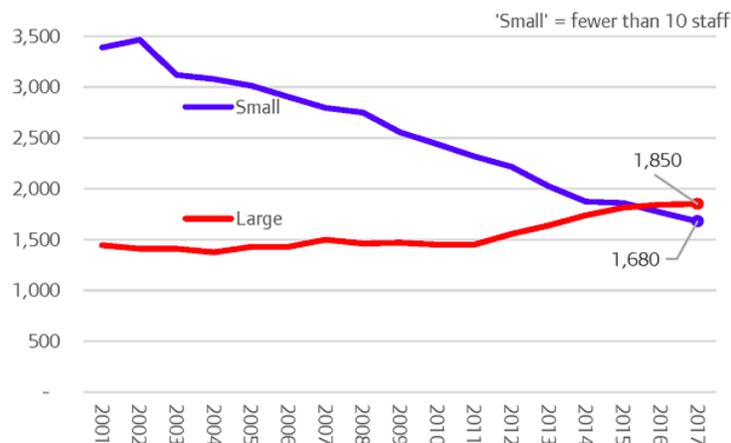
Figure 1: Number of pubs in London, 2001-17



Source: IDBR, ONS

A follow up study found that it is smaller local pubs in outer London residential areas that have been hardest hit by this trend (GLA 2018) noting that a further 85 pubs had closed since their previous audit (see Figure 2). Nonetheless, the GLA 2018 Pub Audit also showed that the numbers of large pubs (employing 10 staff or more) had actually increased since 2011 with the number of people employed in 2017 being 3,800, an increase of 9% compared to 2001. They concluded: ‘This data may point towards changes in what pubs are offering in London, with more becoming ‘gastro’ pubs and becoming more food and family-oriented’ (GLA 2018: 1). Those pubs that remain in London are also prone to forms of gentrification that not only renovate them physically but also change them socially in terms of the make-up of their clientele. Put simply, they serve only those who can afford them and as a consequence they serve as markers of social division rather than shared community life.

Figure 2: Trends in London pub numbers by size, 2001-17



Source: IDBR, ONS

3.2 The Economic Challenge

London is losing its pubs to fire, property speculation and re-development. Some say these institutions of Old London are being run down on purpose because there are more profitable ways to use the land (Snowdon 2014), with every closure representing a new part of the changing urban social ecology. This has been felt keenly in south Lewisham where many iconic like pubs like The Tiger's Head, The Saxon and The Farmer's Gate have disappeared. Significantly, in 2013, when Phoenix Community Housing opened their new headquarters on the previous site of a pub, they retained its name of The Green Man for their new Headquarters. Despite being the historical focal point of many communities, public houses have generally failed to adapt to more recent economic challenges. People are drinking less and low-price alcohol is being bought in supermarkets. With technological developments digital television (like Netflix and pay per view cinema) the home is increasingly an entertainment venue. The GLA conclude: 'While the number of pubs has fallen by 1,305 over this period [2001 to 2017], the number of restaurants and cafes has increased by over 6,000. So perhaps Londoners are simply changing how they spend their leisure time, switching evenings at the pub for meals and espressos.' (GLA 2018: 1).

This broad economic background presented the Fellowship Inn with a considerable challenge. As Jim Ripley, Chief Executive of PCH, commented it was not economically viable to simply restore the Fellowship to a local pub: 'I had been to all sorts of pub operators beforehand, to see if anyone was interested before we got the [Heritage Lottery] money ... So, I remember having a meeting with Fuller's and Wetherspoons and they both said exactly the same, "No way. If it had been up the road in Bromley, yes, but not in that postcode." So, they couldn't see how they could make a pub work there financially.' Tara Lynch, Project Manager of the Fellowship Inn Project within PCH, also pointed out the underlying economic issue: 'The reality is that it's a [Grade II] listed building. It's a pub, which means that it doesn't have a huge value, that building, because in the area it's protected. It can only ever really be a pub. Listed buildings are difficult to do much with. So actually no one is going to invest in that building because... The refurbishment works are like £3m. Even after we've finished, that building is probably going to be valued at about £1m. So who is going to do that? Nobody.'

The key challenge that the Fellowship Inn faces, then, is how to re-imagine the original mission of a 20th century community public space in a way that satisfies the demands of 21st century

economic viability. Preserving the original integrity of the building adds a further economic challenge for the Fellowship Inn project team. The standard 20th century pub was characterized by being a relatively quiet venue for local communities in which a broad sample of beers, ales, cider and wine are offered alongside a simple food menu. This model, however, no longer appeals to a wide enough consumer base and, indeed, it is a model that has been usurped by larger variants of the standard pub. Figure 2 above demonstrates that larger pubs (employing more than 10 people) have, since 2015, outnumbered the number of small pubs. The nature of these 'public houses' is varied. Some are large bars that target a younger clientele with readily disposable income. Such spaces are often very busy, play loud music and contain a dance floor area where little or no food is served, and the emphasis is on serving a range of spirits and cocktails. Gin bars and Vodka bars, for example, have become incredibly popular, and the clientele base often 'hops' from one bar to the next. Other large venues focus again on those with readily available disposable income, but appeal to an older clientele base by offering a more family friendly environment. Such 'Gastropubs' emphasise the quality of the food available which often has a continental flavour to meet the discerning culinary tastes of a more affluent clientele base. A final type of venue to emerge has been bars which appeal to both young people and families by making a sport/activity a focal point of the establishment. Sports Bars with large screens showing sport events (primarily football) have been increasingly popular as live sports events have moved from free terrestrial television to pay-per-view/satellite channels. Newer and more creative sports themed establishments encourage participating in sport whilst drinking such as playing table tennis, darts, or urban golf. Such entertainment facilities are either accompanied by an additional surcharge to enter or increase the price point of beverages to cover the cost of the additional facilities.

What these new trends in public houses demonstrate is that pubs now need to be more than merely a relaxing 'drinking hole' to be economically viable. In doing so, more affluent clientele bases are appealed to both in terms of cultural tastes and price point. Whilst providing a new viable economic model to follow, such a model presumes the existence of a captive audience with sufficient disposable income. On this reading, to meet the new economic challenges of the pub industry, new establishments seemingly need to bypass those who are economically challenged. This poses somewhat of a conundrum for the Fellowship Inn when considering the socio-economic profile of the local catchment area. Using data at a Lower Super Output Area (LSOA) level (clusters of 500-800

households with approximately 1500 residents) it is possible to build a fine grained picture of Bellingham and the surrounding area. We conducted two levels of area profiling: (1) the immediate vicinity of the Fellowship Inn, and (2) the wider local area. The Fellowship Inn is located in Lewisham 29D, and is bordered by Lewisham 25D, 29E, 30D and 34A LSOAs. These five LSOAs are within a 10 minute walk of the Fellowship Inn and are defined as the ‘immediate vicinity’ in this report. The wider local area for this analysis included 42 LSOAs across the Bellingham, Downham and Whitefoot wards (see figure 3) and encompassed the Phoenix Community Housing catchment area.

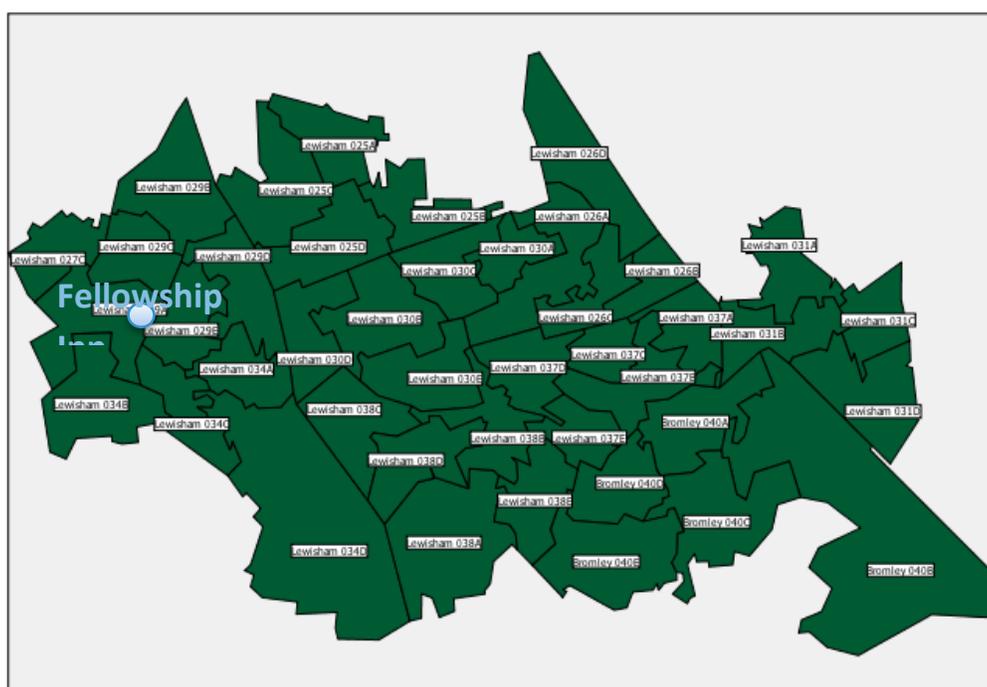


Figure 3. Map of LSOAs that form the local area surrounding the Fellowship Inn (Bellingham, Downham and Whitefoot wards; Lewisham and Bromley boroughs).

Of the five LSOAs that are in the immediate vicinity of the Fellowship Inn, three are within the 20% most deprived neighbourhoods. One LSOA in the immediate vicinity is notably less deprived (Lewisham 25D), sitting just the other side of the Bromley Road to the Fellowship Inn, it is also an area with higher levels of home ownership. Within the 42 LSOAs the housing tenures range from 0% to 70% social housing; 0% - 90% owner occupied; and 0% - 40% privately rented. Within the immediate vicinity, we can see that to the north and west of Fellowship Inn, Lewisham 29D, and to

the south in Lewisham 34A, there is a high proportion of socially rented housing with a proportion of 50 - 60% (with 20% owner occupied housing and 10% privately rented housing). The area south-east is fairly mixed in terms of tenure; Lewisham 34A is made up of 40% social rented housing, 40% owner occupancy and 10% private rented housing. In comparison, the immediate area east of the Fellowship Inn, Lewisham 25D (discussed above), shows 0% levels of social rented properties, 20% of privately rented properties and a high 80% owner occupancy.

Clearly, the Fellowship Project sits amongst an area with significant variation in the types and tenure of housing, and thus serves a variety of different types of communities with regards to economic situation and likely levels of disposable income. This pattern of significant variation in a small geographic area is also apparent when looking at the wider local area and neighbourhoods that surround the Fellowship Project. LSOAs range from 0% to 70% social housing (see fig. 4). Across the wider area there are a number of LSOAs in both Lewisham and Bromley with notably high proportions of home ownership - up to 90% - such as Lewisham 25B and 26D and Bromley 40C and 40E (see fig. 5).

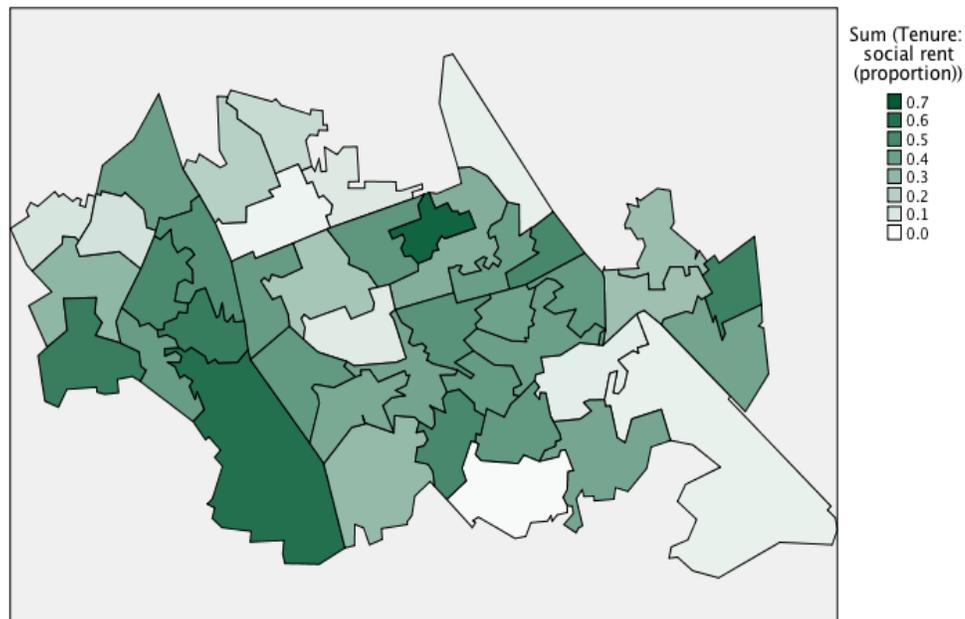


Figure 4. Proportion of social rented housing in the Bellingham, Downham and Whitefoot wards

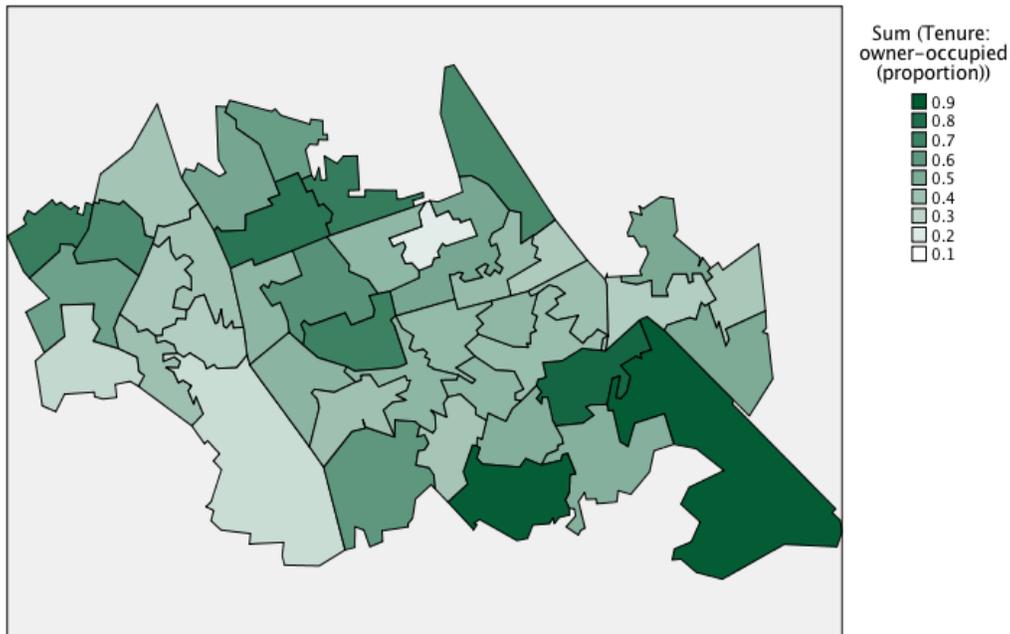


Figure 5. Proportion of owner-occupied housing in the Bellingham, Downham and Whitefoot wards

3.3 The Social Challenge

Phoenix Community Housing’s vision with the £4.5 million restoration of the Fellowship Inn is to include a cinema, a live music, theatre and comedy venue, a cafe, a restored pub and a music hub (operated by Electric Star) and music education studios and rehearsal spaces (Lewisham Music). This vision is seemingly in line with trends towards larger, multi-purpose establishments as outlined in section 3.2 with the caveat that such establishments appeal to a more affluent class of people. While the price point might be an issue for some local groups, there is also the challenge of making sure that the local population wants to engage with and utilize such a venue. In order to explore this, Experian’s Mosaic Public Sector data can be used. This data classifies citizens into 15 groups, 69 household types and 146 person types. This geodemographic classification system uses 440 different data variables, drawn from the census, other official government statistics and a variety media and marketing consumer databases at LSOA, postcode and individual levels. The classifications are made up data points on demographics; property value; socio-economics and consumption; property characteristics; location; and financial measures. Here we draw on the Mosaic groupings and household types to build a fine-grained social profile of demographics and lifestyles of the

communities around the Fellowship Inn.

Looking at the wider area across the Bellingham, Downham and Whitefoot wards (see Table 1 and 2), Lower income workers in urban terraces in often diverse areas (I) are the largest single group making up almost 35% of the households. This population is largely made up of three household types within this group; a significant proportion of Renters of older terraces in ethnically diverse communities (I41) which total 17.5% of the total households in the area; Multi-ethnic communities in newer suburbs away from the inner city (I40) which make up another 9.3% of the area's total households; and Older town centre terraces with transient, single populations (I43) who make up 7.2% of the total households in the area.

Young, well-educated city dwellers (G) make up 16.1% of households in the wider area, and this is overwhelmingly made up of a single household type – Young professional families settling in better quality older terraces (G29) – who make up 13.3% of the area's total households. However, this group is concentrated in particular areas. For example, 12 LSOAs (of 42) across the wider area don't have any households of this type at all, whereas Lewisham 25D in the immediate vicinity of the Fellowship Inn to the east is made 57% of Young professional families settling in better quality older terraces (G29).

The next three most common groupings form between 9% and 12% of the total households in the wider area. Young people renting flats in high density social housing (N) are 11.7%. This group is formed of a mixture of household types including Tenants in social housing flats on estates at risk of serious social problems (N60) that form 5.3% of the total households in the area, Multicultural tenants renting flats in areas of social housing (N63) that are 3.3%, along with five other household types in the group that make up small percentages of the total households. The next most common group is Middle income families living in moderate suburban semis (E) who form 11.4% of the population. This group is largely composed of two household types; Upwardly mobile South Asian families living in inter war suburbs (E20) who make up almost 7% of the wider area's total households, and Comfortably off suburban families weakly tied to their local community (E17) who form a further 4.2%. The next most common grouping - Couples and young singles in small modern starter homes (H) - form around 9% of the total household population. This group is largely made up of one household type, Young singles and sharers renting small purpose built flats (H36), who account for almost 8% of the wider area's total households.

Two groups also worth noting are residents with sufficient incomes in right-to-buy social housing (K) and Elderly people reliant on state support (M), which make up approximately 5% each of the total households in the Bellingham, Downham and Whitefoot ward. The former is largely from one household type often indebted families living in low rise estates (K51), who make up 4.4% of the area's households. The latter are spread across four different household types that are characterized by elderly people living on limited budgets or welfare payments in social housing estates or flats, and/or with less mobility and requiring a degree of care.

Table 1. Most common Mosaic Groupings in the Bellingham, Downham and Whitefoot wards

Household Type	%
<i>I: Lower income workers in urban terraces in often diverse areas</i>	34.7
<i>G: Young, well-educated city dwellers</i>	16.1
<i>N: Young people renting flats in high density social housing</i>	11.7
<i>E: Middle income families living in moderate suburban semis</i>	11.4
<i>H: Couples and young singles in small modern starter homes</i>	9.2
<i>K: Residents with sufficient incomes in right-to-buy social housing</i>	5.5
<i>M: Elderly people reliant on state support</i>	4.5

The Fellowship itself is located in Lewisham 29D and as discussed above, it is bordered by LSOAs with significant variation in terms of levels of deprivation and types of housing. Table 3 details the most common Mosaic household types within the immediate vicinity of the Fellowship Inn. The areas of Lewisham 29D, 29E and 34A surrounding the Fellowship Inn to the north, west and south are characterized by a) ethnically diverse communities and b) high proportions of renters. By far the two most common household types across these areas are; renters of older terraces in ethnically diverse communities (I41), and multi-ethnic communities in newer suburbs away from the inner city (I40). These two household types are part of the larger Mosaic grouping of Lower income workers in urban terraces in often diverse areas (I), which forms the largest single grouping across the wider Bellingham, Downham and Whitefoot neighbourhoods (almost 35% of the total households). Lewisham 34A to the south is also has a significant proportion (22%) of households that are often indebted families living in low rise estates (K51).

Table 2: Most common Mosaic household types in Bellingham, Downham, and Whitefoot Wards

Household Type	%
<i>I41: Renters of older terraces in ethnically diverse communities</i>	17.5
<i>G29: Young professional families settling in better quality older terraces</i>	13.3
<i>I40: Multi-ethnic communities in newer suburbs away from the inner city</i>	9.3
<i>H36: Young singles and sharers renting small purpose built flats</i>	7.8
<i>I43: Older town centre terraces with transient, single populations</i>	7.2
<i>E20: Upwardly mobile South Asian families living in inter war suburbs</i>	6.7
<i>N60: Tenants in social housing flats on estates at risk of serious social problems</i>	5.3
<i>K51: Often indebted families living in low rise estates</i>	4.4
<i>E17: Comfortably off suburban families weakly tied to their local community</i>	4.2
<i>N63: Multicultural tenants renting flats in areas of social housing</i>	3.3
<i>O68: Families with varied structures living in low rise social housing estates</i>	2

Lewisham 25D to the north-east, on the other side of the Bromley Road, strikes a strong contrast being made up of largely young professional families settling in better quality terraces (57%) and comfortably off suburban families weakly tied to their local community (23%). Lewisham 30D to the south-east is a more mixed area where a significant proportion of households are tenants living in social housing flats on estates at risk of serious social problems (21%). A similar proportion are young professional families settling in better quality terraced houses (20%) and another 15% are comfortably off suburban families weakly tied to their community.

Table 3. Mosaic household types in each Lewisham LSOA in the immediate vicinity of the Fellowship Inn

Household Type	29D %	29E %	34A %	30D %	25D %
<i>I41: Renters of older terraces in ethnically diverse communities</i>	44	35	23	7	0.4
<i>I40: Multi-ethnic communities in new suburbs away from inner city</i>	18	9	11	0.5	2
<i>K51: Often indebted families living in low rise estates</i>	6	8	22	0	0.2
<i>N60: Tenants in social housing flats at risk of social problems</i>	1	7	5	21	0
<i>G29: Young professional families in better quality terraced houses</i>	0	0	0	20	57
<i>E17: Comfortably off suburban families weakly tied to community</i>	0	0	0	15	23
Median household income in area	£28,817	£27,381	£27,206	£32,387	£57,276

3.4 Cultural Tastes

As demonstrated from sections 3.2 and 3.3, the catchment area for the Fellowship Inn represents an economically and socially mixed community. New pubs with a higher price points and more culturally affluent appeals can often exclude certain communities such as indebted families and those living in social housing. Such concerns mean that engagement with local communities in terms of their cultural tastes and desires is of key importance. Using a survey-based approach, the evaluation team sought to uncover such tastes and desires of the community surrounding the Fellowship Inn. Table 4 outlines headline figures which demonstrate the degree to which local residents feel part of the community and the types of venues they feel they have good access to. As can be seen, at an attitudinal level, the surrounding area around the Fellowship Inn provides fertile social ground for a multi-purpose entertainment venue for local residents. Not only do a strong majority feel a sense of belonging to the area, and as such would take pride in using local facilities, there is an overwhelming sense of good access to shops and other important facilities such as healthcare, but, importantly for the Fellowship Inn, a majority (55%) disagree that they have good access to entertainment venues.

Table 4: Local Attitudes

	<i>I feel a sense of belonging (%)</i>	<i>My neighbourhood is a good place to live (%)</i>	<i>I can trust most people in my neighbourhood (%)</i>	<i>I have good access to shops where I live (%)</i>	<i>I have good access to healthcare where I live (%)</i>	<i>I have good access to entertainment venues where I live (%)</i>
Agree	66	77	58	86	88	25
Disagree	16	13	22	11	10	55
Unsure	18	10	20	3	2	20

There is, then, a strong latent demand for local residents to have better access to entertainment venues. In terms of the types of entertainment desired, table 5 outlines the headline figures which asked respondents to report how much they like certain types of cultural activities. Overwhelmingly, the local residents have a strong engagement with music, with 94% liking listening to music, and nearly half of those samples (47%) expressed a liking for playing/producing music. The local residents also expressed a strong liking for culinary interests, with cooking (75%) and eating out (79%) being the next most liked activities. There is also a strong liking for television and film with 71% expressing a

liking. These cultural habits and tastes shine through in terms of more qualitative feedback from survey respondents. When asked what types of interests and activities the Fellowship Inn should cater for, music and a venue to enjoy film were consistent demands.

Table 5: Cultural Tastes

Activity	Percent Liking the Activity
Music (listening)	94
Eating Out	79
Cooking	75
Reading	72
Museums	72
TV/Movies	71
Performance Arts	69
Exercise	67
Sport	61
DIY/Gardening	61
Visual Art	48
Dancing/Clubbing	48
Music (playing/performing)	47
Gambling	9

The strong interest in music within the local community is something that Lewisham Music, a key partner involved in the new establishment, can draw upon. As Peter Hayward of Lewisham Music notes: ‘there is the prospect for us to have a wider role and diversifying income streams through taking on different kinds of work and having a base from where we can run activities which we haven’t had for over 7 years. So it gives us both a connection with the community and with Phoenix who have a really good understanding of their patch’.

4. Consulting A Diverse Community

Perhaps the most important aspect of these new and exciting venues is that they will create up to 30 new jobs, along with at least 45 apprentices over the next 15 years and many volunteering opportunities for local people (Phoenix Community Housing, 2019). On top of this, embracing local talent was at the core of the restoration project and can be seen through a number of different avenues. One example is the architects used, Thomas Ford and Partners, who are located in nearby Sydenham. Another example is the partnership with Lewisham Music, a charity and music education hub which aims to deliver and support music making opportunities for young people and children throughout the borough. Lewisham Music will be delivering the music hub and rehearsal space. Ensuring that the restoration of the Fellowship Inn embraced local talent was something that was of particular importance to residents too, who noted that employing local people who live in Bellingham would be a great way to embrace local talents and make the local community feel more involved. As one resident notes: “choose where you advertise stuff so that you don’t put it online or in The Guardian but you put it locally first”. Indeed, a commitment to consult and involve the local community has been evident in terms of the development of the Fellowship Inn project.

4.1 A Resident Led and Place Based Ethos

Phoenix Community Housing is committed to a ‘community gateway’ model of provision that engages its residents. As Sarah Thomas, Communications Manager at PCH, said: ‘It’s not a different way of working for us. Heavy consultation, heavy involvement with local people, is what we do every day. That is our DNA as an organisation, so that hasn’t added any particular burden or challenged our ways of working.’ What is very impressive about the Fellowship Inn Project is the extent of the level of consultation with the local residents and the community from the very inception of the idea to redevelop the site.

In the preparation for the initial application 100 residents were consulted at the Phoenix Community Housing annual summer festival. This helped fund a survey of 1,500 residents that was conducted locally. Adam Pope, a project manager in PCH Special Projects Team, explained: ‘We set up in a shop next to the pub for a month I think we were there. We were literally going and grabbing people off the streets to engage them... That was the main consultation which kind of confirmed

some of our outputs we'd done on the original consultation, which was the 100 or so.' This consultation then shaped the way the bid was constructed, and the future vision of the Fellowship was envisaged. As Tara Lynch, Project Manager of the Fellowship Inn Project within PCH, pointed out: 'Following the consultation, the cinema was by far the most popular part of the project. We actually, at that point, decided that we were going to up the ante on the cinema and put in permanent seating and very high-quality cinema equipment and stuff. So actually, that will be a very, very, nice cinema space now. Small, just one screen, but a permanent space with good quality projection and really lovely comfortable seating.'

While Phoenix Community Housing offers 6,000 properties in the locality it had a clear commitment to all the members of the local area regardless of whether or not they are one of their tenants. Sarah Thomas, Communications Manager at PCH, explained: "This is a pub for the whole community, it won't work if we limit it to the inhabitants of our 6,000 properties but they were always at the forefront in terms of making sure that people were aware and had the opportunity to give their views and had the opportunity to get involved and to be excited alongside us really. That has continued from going through planning, the final funding announcement way back..." While the organisation is led by its tenants they are only a fraction – albeit almost 50% in some parts of the area - of the local community. The initiative communicates an ethos of openness to everyone in the locality.

Another key aspect of Phoenix Community Housing's organizational culture is its commitment to being 'placed-based'. As Lesley Johnson, Director of Property and New Business within PCH, explains: 'The community gateway model, which Phoenix is, is place based. We don't always express that very clearly, but I think with the Fellowship you do see an expression of it. It's about this community, this place and this organisation's relationship and responsibility to it I guess.' This organizational commitment to ongoing consultation engagement and also sensitivity to place, local culture and history is one of the distinguishing features of this initiative.

4.2 Communicating the Fellowship Vision

One of the things that the Fellowship Inn initiative has done exceptionally well is use art and heritage to communicate and involve local people in the opportunity and vision of the Fellowship Inn. Part of the challenge of the project is the way it combines a major renovation of the physical structure of this

large building that had fallen into complete disrepair with a series of heritage and art projects including an oral history of the building and its patrons, a film, a tapestry project that documents the story of the community and a site-specific community play.

The development has benefitted from the infrastructure and media resources within Phoenix Community Housing. As Sarah Thomas, Communications Manager at PCH, explained: ‘For us, it’s been about repeating the message, repeating the message, repeating the message, creating as much opportunity as possible for that engagement to happen...’ Updates about the Fellowship appear in every issue of our resident newsletter, there a dedicated Fellowship email list. The Fellowship Inn development has a prominent feature on the PCH website, and it featured frequently on the organisation’s social media presence. The Fellowship Inn development is advertised on the plasma screens at Phoenix Community Housing’s Headquarters at The Green Man and all its community events.

The challenge of the initiative has been to generate and sustain interest in the promise of the Fellowship throughout the extended time frame of the physical renovation of the building that has spanned almost five years. As Sarah Thomas explains: ‘It’s been really important to keep that live and to keep it visible to people, which we’ve done as best as we can. I think, naturally, there is a degree of, or there is a latent element of scepticism because five years ago we said we were going to do this... Then, four years on, it hasn’t quite happened. I think it’s natural for people to say, “I’ve not heard anything.” Until that scaffold went up, I think there were pockets of people that thought, “Maybe this is never going to happen?” So, it’s just been about keeping that visible and fresh.’

The development has needed to coordinate and try and balance the time frame of the physical renovation with the sometime different tempos of the heritage and cultural initiatives. Tara Lynch, manager of the Fellowship Inn Project within PCH, explained: ‘my background is in construction. For me, trying to think about the arts activities and the community activities and it all coming together for this big grand opening... For a construction project, that’s just nuts. It’s just like, “Let’s just focus on getting the building finished and getting everyone off site and getting it open.” That’s what you would normally do. Now you’ve got, obviously, all the other projects and this big grand opening that people want to set the date for.’ This was a challenge and the building was not completely finished and operational by the opening on 15th February, 2019. However, the Fellowship team showed great resolve and flexibility in coming up with a solution.

The event began with an illuminated lantern parade – some of which were modeled in the shape of the building – helped by 250 local school children. The parade coordinated in partnership with Emergency Exit Arts also included music in the street provided by South London Samba and Lewisham Music’s Saturday Samba Youth Group. A firework display and speeches took place outside the Fellowship. The not yet completed building staged performances of *Jam Tomorrow*, a specially commissioned play by Darren Rapier and produced by Greenwich and Lewisham Young People’s Theatre (GLYPT) in partnership with Phoenix Community Housing. The performances successfully celebrated both the heritage of the building and showcased its potential despite the renovations not being complete.

Tara Lynch, manager of the Fellowship Inn Project within PCH, reflected: ‘If I was putting in another bid, I’d probably think harder about how the activities slot in with the actual physical works to the building. As I say, it’s been quite nice that all these things have run alongside it in waves. It’s just bringing everything together, whether I’d have the play as well as a kind of event in the run up to the opening rather than as part of the opening.’ Despite these challenges the combination of the various strands of the physical and cultural renovation running alongside each other has made it possible to generate and sustain interest in the project through the long period of site reconstruction.

4.3 Delivering the Project, Changes of Staffing and the Steering Group

Phoenix Community Housing has provided a clear and stable organisation structure within which the Fellowship Inn Project has been supported. This project has been integrated well within the ethos of the organization because from the very inception of the project Jim Ripley, the Chief Executive, has been involved in driving the initiative forward.

There is a clear reporting structure within the organization and progress on the project is reported to the board of Phoenix Community Housing. Tara Lynch, manager of the Fellowship Inn Project within PCH, explains: ‘Before we go to board, that report will have gone to the executive management team. That’s all our directors basically. Then it will often go to development subcommittee, they tend to look at all... our new build projects and stuff, but this will go to them as well.’ The project has been able to draw on the pool of expertise within the organization. Over a long

project like this one there have inevitable been changings of personnel in key roles. For example, there have been three different people acting as the lead project worker overseeing the arts and community initiatives. These transitions have been managed very well with effective handover periods for this role. Dominique Stephenson, the current Special Projects Officer who was internally appointed to this role from with PCH, reflected: ‘Yes, there was a very good handover period, actually. I supposed it helped because obviously I was working internally anyway. So Lisa and I, we had, I think, about four weeks of handover – not continuous, so it was just like the odd day that we would meet up and have a few hours to go through things. So I just went through the objectives, through the HLF (Heritage Lottery Fund) application as well, just to make sure I was aware of the outcomes of what we were supposed to be achieving; to learn about all the different art providers that we were working with as well.’

A steering group was set up to consult with the wider community supported by the key project worker. The group met every six weeks and included eleven members from the local businesses, a couple of residents, an ex-councillor and a current councillor. In addition to this another group was set up to discuss the proposed cinema. In both cases the ‘steering group’ acted more as a ‘sounding board’ for consultation rather than having a decision-making function. This led to some confusion on occasion. Tara Lynch, manager of the Fellowship Inn Project within PCH, reflected on her experience of reporting the designs to the group. These designs were shaped by the extensive consultation that had taken place early in the development. She reflected: ‘When I went to the steering group and presented the designs to them, I remember one of the women on the group was quite disgruntled that they hadn’t been involved in designing. [My feeling] was like, “We’re not designing it around the seven people in this room. We’re designing it around what we believe the wider community wants... Maybe calling it a steering group was the wrong thing to do?’ However, on balance these misunderstandings were infrequent and stressing the advisory nature of the group in the title might have avoided them.

Member of the steering group also reported that their experience had been very positive. One group member commented: ‘In the early days I think it was very useful to be able to see the proposed plan for the layout, because we did have an input.’ Another issue that came up was access to the building for people with disabilities. ‘So there were quite a few comments with regards to that’ commented a steering group member. She continued: ‘And we felt as though we were being listened

to, we didn't feel as though this has all been decided, this is just lip service. We did feel that if we raised any issues, as we did at the time regarding the access, that they were being listened to and addressed.'

Being situated within a community housing association with clear organizational and governance structures has been a great advantage in terms supporting the delivery of the Fellowship Inn Project. This supporting organisational structure has supported the project when faced with challenges ranging from ensuring continuity in relation to staffing or responding to issues raised from within the local community.

4.4 Drawing on Local Heritage and a Place-based Ethos.

What the Fellowship Inn Project has done very successfully has been to combine its place-based ethos with a strong programme of heritage initiatives and art projects. Sarah Thomas, Communications Manager, explains: 'For us, it was never about doing up a pub alone. It was about recognising the heritage of the area. The building is so rich, it kind of writes itself.' That past links back to the history of cottage estates and the garden city but also the way the building featured in historic events from the building being a training camp for Henry Cooper in the lead up to his famous fight with Muhammad Ali (then Cassius Clay) in 1968 to the many bands and artists like Fleetwood Mac that performed at the Fellowship during the time when it was a venue on the London blues circuit.

Jim Ripley, Chief Executive of PCH, commented: 'Most people... the young generation don't know who he is now, but we want the Henry Coopers of tomorrow, you know, and I wanted... to see how heritage can drive regeneration, rather than just demolishing everything, take existing buildings and the culture and the history behind them, build on that and give people something to be proud of and then see that it's amazing, because it's right next to the railway station.' Up until the redevelopment the heritage of the building was fading progressively within local memory. The arts and oral history projects linked to the project have in a way revitalized those traces of that past that are tacit within the everyday through drawing on the stocks of community knowledge. This memory work has been a very effective way of bridging the communities of the past with the present and future.

During the restoration Phoenix Community Housing have maintained an ethos of ensuring that the rich cultural and historical background of the Fellowship Inn continues to be recognised and celebrated through a number of exciting arts and heritage projects. The aim here is that these creative projects will engage local people in Bellingham with the restoration, bring the community together and also to support local people in developing new creative interests and skills. One example of this is a performance project by Greenwich and Lewisham Young People's Theatre (GLYPT) who developed a performance piece, which included small lantern parades, of immersive theatre across the building.

Another example is a tapestry project called *Stitches in Time*, who have now created the final tapestry in which residents handmade and stitched their personal memories and recollections of the pub before it closed. This project continues to be thoroughly enjoyed by residents and has evolved into an embroidery workshop on the green spaces of Whitefoot. As one attendee said: "we've enjoyed working together and we have decided to keep going as a group". Another attendee also sees it as a fantastic opportunity to bring people together, explaining "the embroidery group has brought people, in our cases older people, out of their homes and into something that just buzzes". Some beautiful heritage tapestries have been made to celebrate the Fellowship and its exciting history. One attendee made an embroidery paying tribute to the Mods, stating "the pub was the focal point of the community...all I knew about it was that it was a place where Mods went, not Rockers. So, I did an embroidery of a record from 1962 with the name 'Mods of Bellingham Unite'." The final heritage tapestry will go on show at the Fellowship Inn once the restoration has taken place.

The final project is the Echoes: The Working Party Theatre Company who are creating an interactive tour of the Fellowship, a short heritage film and a heritage website as part of an oral history project. Finally, it is important to note here that the Fellowship Inn's architects, Thomas Ford and Partners, specialise in historic buildings and are experienced in conservation and heritage projects. This is something that is also important in maintaining the rich cultural history of the building. When taking a walk around the boarded-up Fellowship Inn, one resident takes notes of this admiring "the beautiful architecture and Victorian tiling...it's important to ensure they keep the character of the building".

What is interesting here is that these projects don't simply tell of the past in a nostalgic way. Rather, they enact community life in the present. Through these initiatives they are also making and

maintain a sense of place (Benson & Jackson 2012). A new kind of heritage is shaped as a result but also the initiatives makes connections between people through their participation in these art projects. The *Stitches in Time* tapestry project is a good example of this. The tapestry was made through the course of the project and a group met regularly on Thursdays at The Green Man to work on it together. The group is predominantly composed of group of women aged over 55. Stitching together brings them together, they are doing heritage work but at the same time they are making new connections. Sarah Thomas, Communications Manager at PCH, commented ‘The ambition is to do more to support older, vulnerable, isolated, residents.’ While the tapestry is now complete the group have continued to meet. Dominique Stephenson, Special Projects Officer for the fellowship within PCH, explains: ‘They continue to meet every Thursday afternoon, or morning to afternoon, should I say. Yes, and they're really enjoying it, to be honest with you. They've created a little group, and they've said that it's prevented loneliness, as well. Majority of them are older, and they are female, as well, but they get on really well, and they've formed some friendships through the group’.

The emphasis on community history within the art projects has helped weave the new development into existing community stories or local narrative. Darren Rapier's play *Jam Tomorrow* produced by Greenwich and Lewisham Young People's Theatre (GLYPT) did this very effectively. An immersive theatre experience it was staged inside the Fellowship Inn. Supported by a professional creative team and a theatre director, the intergenerational cast was composed of 36 performers (aged 12-78). Six young actors were engaged from GLYPT's progression programme and received the experience of a paid role. The play was staged in such a way that there was no separation between the audience and the actors. An audience of 364 local residents saw the performances that took place over the weekend of the 15-16th February, 2019.

Jam Tomorrow is the story of girl who – like Alice in Wonderland – finds herself in an unfamiliar world and travelled back to Bellingham in 1968. Darren Rapier's intention was to use the play to combine the well-known features of the building's history with some of the lesser-known aspects of local heritage. For example, there were references to the Bellingham jam factory and the long closed local boating lake and lido alongside cameos by David Bowie and references to a Fleetwood Mac gig at the Fellowship. It was another example of the effectiveness of using art and theatre to link to local people and the area's heritage. Darren Rapier explained that his title was more than linking to the jam factory workers and the community's past: ‘As the play developed I was able

to interweave all these true stories and facts into the lives of my fictional characters... [but] “jam” is also about the promise of good things to come, good music and camaraderie of those factory workers and the individual working in the area at the time.’ The play’s message is an invitation ‘to jam’ socially and musically and re-invigorate the building in the future and add new stories to its heritage.

The community arts and heritage projects have been really effective in bridging the building past and future in a way that is recognisable to local residents by using the stocks of shared but often tacit memories and recording them. Lakeisha Lynch-Stevens who facilitated the oral history project commented: ‘I thought it would be a struggle for people to kind of be able to articulate exactly what their thoughts [were]... but I was surprised by how much people had a sense of what Bellingham is and where they live and, and what it means to be from Bellingham. And we kind of found out more from each other as well.’ Lakeisha is 28 and has lived all her life in Bellingham and her mother moved to London from Grenada in the 1960s when she was fifteen and has lived in Bellingham for nearly 40 years. The project brought local residents of all ages together in community workshops that included senior citizens groups as well as a project with local school children from Elfrida Primary School. Along with the oral history material the project culminated in a short film entitled Echoes: A Bellingham Film (2018).

The oral history sessions enabled the tacit aspects of community life to be shared and documented. Lakeisha explained: ‘even just things would laugh about, or will say, or even dogs we’d know, it’s a dog called Bella, that’s just about quite a stray dog had several owners over the years right? Or just quirky things like the phone box that is a meeting point, or [the] footbridge. And by the way, we all interact with each other as well, realizing even our dialect, it just felt really specific. And as the workshops continue(d) there was a strong sense of like us all being Bellinghamites in some way.’ This enabled a shared sense of local pride and style to be articulated. Lakeisha continued: ‘some people from Bellingham might say, I’m wrong, and that’s not me. But... it’s like we keep ourselves to ourselves, but we look out for each other. There’s a cheekiness, there’s a laid backness... I live close to Dunfield shops. And sometimes people go to the Londis in their pyjama bottoms... and a dressing gown [on]. And they’re not really that bothered... And I don’t really see that in other parts of London. There’s a kindness [too and] when we have our carols on the green during Christmas time. And when I’m sure this happens in different areas, as well, but when you know, dark things happen, or unfortunate events happen. Everyone kind of comes together.’ She continued: ‘there’s a humbleness

here as well. But people pride themselves in the fact that they know the people that live on their roads and from speaking to people about their experiences of Bellingham decades ago, it seems like that's the one consistent thing, which I wouldn't have known about [without the project]... It is a community, the feel of community.' (See also CUCR 2003).

Through the project these community stories were shared and circulated. These activities were able to take implicit and taken for granted aspects of everyday life in order to give that sense of local pride a name. Lakeisha concluded: 'Now... when I speak to people in general, and I say, I'm from Bellingham, honestly, and I've said this quite a few times to different people in relation to the project and outside of the project, that I honestly feel really, really proud to say, I'm from Bellingham. And I feel like I know what that means.' An aural guided tour of the New Fellowship and Star building will be available using the recordings that were made for the oral history project.

The project has also galvanized other heritage ideas including a 'boxers' group' who are raising money to have a bronze statue commemorating Henry Cooper's career and local connections. The plan is to install a statue at the end of Randlesdown Road close to the Fellowship Inn on a site owned by Phoenix Community Housing. Lesley Johnson, Director of Property and New Business within PCH, commented: "There is something important for me about celebrating working-class culture in a good way.' What the initiative has done very effectively is access the community histories and particularly working-class dimensions of this but at the same time remaining open to the cultural diversity of resident class experiences and the multiple heritages that are also part of the local community. For Ruth Glass (1964), who coined the phrase gentrification, rapid urban change of this type corresponded with a displacement of working-class residents. Lesley Johnson continued: 'I'm clear in my mind that it's not about this sudden arts intervention in order to soften up Bellingham for gentrification. It's so not that.'

What all the heritage artwork shares is the desire to embed the new Fellowship Inn development within the local community heritage. This has been a way to ensure the new development will be located within that community story and not dislocated from it. What seems clear is that so far this strategy has paid off. Through arts and oral history and drama the community's past is being memorialized at the same time this process is creating new bonds and connections and versions of local pride built out of its older ones.

4.5 Balancing Risk and Control and Delivering on Local Employment

From all our research with the local community it is clear that residents recognise the complete lack of entertainment and music venues in both Bellingham and the surrounding neighbouring areas such as Catford, Lewisham and Sydenham. Our evaluation found the majority of residents are extremely excited by the prospect of a local cinema in Bellingham and are extremely looking forward to making use of it once it is open. As one resident notes: “There isn't a cinema in the whole of the Lewisham Borough and so one being right on your doorstep is something I am really looking forward to”.

Another resident sees the cinema as an opportunity to encourage a greater sense of community in the area, stating “There was a cinema in Catford proper- there isn't one now...its not a community without those things.” Residents are also curious about types of films which will be showcased at the new cinema, some seeing the potential for more independent art house films to be shown as well as the mainstream blockbusters to encourage and attract a mix of different audiences: “It would be great you know, if they showed the blockbusters and those type of films but also more art house stuff as well”. What's more, later on in the consultation, the same resident noted that there was a lack of information on this subject: “I think updates throughout project can't really answer what people want to know ..what sort of films and events will be put on and at what cost” (4th March 2019).

One resident also recognised the mixed community in Bellingham due to the many different cultures and ethnicities, they argued that this is something that should be recognised and celebrated at the Fellowship and particularly the cinema. She notes: “It would be great if there was Bollywood films shown to ensure that there is something for everyone”. Ensuring affordability of the cinema was something of high importance to residents and one resident offered some helpful initiatives in which this could be achieved, stating that “affordability of cinemas is an important thing, they should have one of those schemes like they used to where there was a really cheap day.... Discount schemes for families and people who live locally”. Leading on from this, another installation will be the live music theatre and comedy venue. This is also something that was important to residents who note that there are not many local entertainment spaces In Lewisham Borough. As one resident states: “to do music related things I don't really stay in the area, I go outside, I catch a train to Elephant and Castle or Blackfriars and go from there. I don't see anything local going on.” Residents see the live music theatre and comedy venue also as an opportunity to get together with friends, neighbours and other

members of the community to encourage a stronger sense of togetherness: “I don’t feel like I am part of much of a community here because I am quite shy, so I am looking forward to the opening of the music theatre and comedy venue”.

Residents interviewed also recognised the importance of the live music theatre and comedy venue, stating that it was important in relation to maintaining the rich cultural history of the Fellowship Inn. This is also one of Phoenix Community Housing’s core aims. The Fellowship Inn was a live music theatre, where the famous Fleetwood Mac and John Mayall’s Bluesbreakers took to the stage (Phoenix, 2019) and so residents think this is a great way to remember this. As one resident states: “maintaining the rich history and especially the music venue is something that is very important”. Another part of the Fellowship and Star offer is the cafe. Another concern from residents is the pricing of the cafe and to ensure that the cafe was “affordable for all and not something ridiculous like £4 for a cup of coffee”. Another resident was excited at the aspect of the cafe and saw it as an opportunity to integrate the community, celebrate the multiculturalism in the area and learn about different cultures through cooking: “there’s the Turks, the Greeks, the Afro Caribbean’s, the Italians... there’s a mix around here and it would be lovely if they could do taster menu nights where we could learn different cuisines”.

Perhaps the most important aspect of the restoration project is the Fellowship Inn Pub. The pub operator will be Electric Star Pubs and the venue will be known as The Fellowship and Star upon reopening (Phoenix Community Housing, 2019). Many residents are excited for the restoration of the pub and some residents recognise it as a positive change and an opportunity to ‘put Bellingham back on the map’. Likewise, another resident notes that they are ‘looking forward to Phoenix reinstalling the pub for all of the community, which welcomes different walks of life including those from the area and wider parts of the area’. One aspect of the pub that one resident is interested in and hoping to see is a kitchen: ‘there are lots of takeaway restaurants to eat on the same road as the Fellowship but there isn’t anywhere to eat a decent pub lunch. I would like to see the Fellowship pub have a kitchen so it can be somewhere to take my son, daughter in law and grandchildren.’

When speaking to residents about the reopening of the Fellowship Inn, one of the main concerns is that residents will feel as though it is inaccessible for them. One resident notes: ‘the minute you gentrify it, making it trendy with a micro-brewery and so on some people will not feel comfortable in that space, they won’t see it as theirs. That is what concerns me, it’s how you make

sure that there is something there for everyone in the local community'. Another resident also voiced their concern over certain groups in the community feeling unwelcome: 'they're turning all new pubs they're renovating into posh pubs, so for the working-class people there's nowhere'. Another resident showed similar concerns, noting: 'the pub needs to be affordable for all of the community, otherwise the locals just won't go there'. There are two concerns that our evaluation foregrounded, the issue of ensuring affordability and inclusivity for all of the local community.

Lisa, who is 23 years old and lives in Catford in a predominantly middle class neighbourhood, reflected: 'It's getting more and more expensive for people from my area to go out in Central London and so I think nightlife in South London is becoming more popular. One of the problems for young people in going out to local pubs in bars is that, because of gentrification, buying a drink can often be quite expensive and often pubs tailor their menu and prices to older customers who can pay more for their drinks and food. Because of this, [when I was] growing up one of the main factors in deciding where to go for a night out was the price of a drinks and food.' She continued: 'I think coffee shops and bars can be spaces where people from different social and ethnic background can mix but this is often not the case because of the way that they price food and drinks and because of the kinds of activities they offer. I think it's important that the atmosphere and decor of cafes and bars are designed to be inclusive and open to people from of different ages and backgrounds. Ensuring that they are not too kitch or too 'hipster' looking is important to making local people, young and old, feel comfortable. I think that by doing activities that different groups in the community can enjoy businesses can present themselves as diverse and welcoming spaces which are attractive to young people and older people and people of different ethnicities. Cafes and bars can also create an inclusive atmosphere by recruiting staff that reflect the diversity of their clientele. Unfortunately I don't think this is being done enough in my community.'

The challenge of this initiative is that is based on a model of community enterprise where Phoenix Community Housing – as the lead partner and grant holder – has to play an enabling role so that the partner operators can deliver the different aspects of the development like the pub, live music venue, café and cinema (Electric Star) and the music education programme (Lewisham Music). It means balancing risk and control. As Adam Pope, a project manager in PCH Special Projects Team, explained: 'If it was a different organisation, perhaps we could take a more proactive role in the delivery of it once it opens its doors but I just don't think we can. I just don't think we're able to... If

we took more risks we'd probably, rightfully, be asked, "Why the hell are you doing that? [You should] Build homes, not pubs." Mitigating risk has also meant having to transfer control for the operation of the Fellowship over to the partner organisations. This means that delivering the ethos and community vision of the project requires sustaining agreement over the vision and the relationships within the partnership. Tara Lynch, manager of the Fellowship Inn Project within PCH, explained: 'the way that we've got it set up is that we've got a commercial lease in place with an operator that can afford that rent, that will I believe make a really good go of that space. So the building is secure. Then I think, within that, we can still achieve the community benefits.' As we argued at the beginning the success of the Fellowship requires a different kind of business model in order for it to be financially viable.

The initial operator that agreed to take on the Fellowship dropped out the project in autumn 2018 and as a result a new one needed to be found. This posed real difficulties particularly since the physical renovation was moving into its final stages of completion. The new operator is Electric Star who had experience in dance music promotion, music festivals and pop-up street food markets often in derelict or abandoned spaces including the Red Gallery and The Last Days of Shoreditch. The Electric Star Group has moved into pub management and redevelopment in recent years operating five pubs including the Heathcote and Star pub in Leytonstone, East London. They stress that their ethos is 'The humble pub has had to innovate to stay alive' (see <http://electricstarpubs.co.uk>).

Yarda Krampol, the General Manager of the Fellowship and Star, explained 'we are very community minded people, like every single person, in our company. And you know, even going back to our kind of early rave scene.' Their vision seems very much in keeping with the community mission of the project. He continued 'so this place... I don't want to call it pub because I think this place deserves to be called something much more than a pub. I call it [a] community venue myself and then the pub is kind of within the whole building.' Some aspects of community mission of the Fellowship are written into the service level agreement with Electric Star particularly employing local people and offering apprenticeships and work experience for local people. However, there is clear evidence that operator shares Phoenix Community Housing's community mission in the way they have approached the plans for the Fellowship. Firstly, there is a clear commitment to listening to the local community and getting a feel for it and the local sensibilities of its market. Yarda explained: 'there is this beautiful little café [on Randlesdown Road]. I don't want to call it 'greasy spoon' but it is

a little bit of a greasy spoon and which is the Cozy Cafe. And I love it there you know. I love, I love the sandwiches and have my black Americano there and have some random meetings. So we don't really want to become their competition. we want to have really good relationships with our neighbors because it's such a small community that you just want everyone to have their own piece of the market rather than trying to step on people's toes.'

Secondly, there is a sensitivity about issues of pricing and not wanting to price out the local members of the community. Yarda Krampol, the General Manager of the Fellowship and Star, continued: 'I know that it's a concern and we will offer prices that are cheaper than all our other pubs? At least people have entry-level products. Obviously, if somebody wants to drink some craft beer or some premium malt whiskey or premium spirit, or some really good wine, then it's your choice, then you have to pay a little bit more.' There is a commitment to offer affordable 'entry level products' in the café that will be operated in the community and also a commitment to having the tickets for the cinema and live music events set at affordable prices. The sensitivity amongst the local community with regard to pricing was an issue that the operator was keenly aware. Yarda Krampol continued: 'Many people are asking about the ticket prices for the cinema. And obviously because the cinema has been restored to such a beautiful state, and it's really well equipped. And these overheads don't go to us that was paid [for] by the Heritage Fund we want to keep the ticket prices very low. So the cinema ticket price will start around five pounds, or maybe even cheaper for some special screenings.' Similarly, the vision for live music is to combine offering opportunities to local young musicians while bringing established acts to the area. Yarda concluded: 'I would like to bring to the area well known live music that people will see as almost like a breathing space for local musicians. Because I don't think there [are] many places in this area like that.' Much of the detail of what will be offered at the Fellowship remains to be decided but what is clear is that the operator has a supple and imaginative vision for how to combine the business plan for the Fellowship with its inclusive community vision.

Thirdly, another key strategy for ensuring the Fellowship and Star creates a welcoming and comfortable feel is to employ local people in the front of house of the pub. Yarda Krampol, General Manager of the Fellowship and Star, said: 'We are hiring [ten] local people... I just [May 2019] had a final interview with people that came through Phoenix recruitment day. And most of our bar staff are people who live within walking distance from... Fellowship and Star. So I don't know how [much]

more we can actually make it accessible to locals then employing their community members.’ All the preliminary signs are that there is a strong and compatible fit and shared vision between the interests of all the partners in this community venue. It does, however, remain to be seen and while the initial signs are very promising it would require a further evaluation in at least year following the opening to be able to determine whether these ambitions have been realized.

Tara Lynch, manager of the Fellowship Inn Project within PCH, concluded in order to succeed the Fellowship and Star will also need to attract people from beyond the immediate locality: ‘For that building to survive, it can’t just be local residents that are using it. There are not enough people. It’s got to bring people in from around the area. I think that’s what will happen. You’ll have events and stuff going on in that space that will bring people in from other areas. Hopefully that will rub alongside Mr Smith from number 22 who just wants to go in for a pint of an afternoon. I don’t see why all that stuff can’t happen together.’

4.6 Fellowship and Star – ‘A Community of Communities’

Towards the completion of the project Lesley Johnson, Director of Property and New Business within PCH, commented: ‘You’ve made me realise how little of the job is done when the buildings are done. I work in buildings, like built environment stuff but I actually think the buildings are the least important bit. We should get those right. It’s not difficult to get a building right if you’ve got enough money and you’re sensible and you care. But what’s really hard is all the community stuff around it.’ In a way this is a good place to end this evaluation. With the building near completed the challenge is the community “stuff” as Lesley describes it.

The Fellowship Inn project has been built out of a place-based initiative generated out of Bellingham’s local pride and heritage. However, it seems clear that the Fellowship will serve not one but many communities. It is perhaps more accurate to call it a ‘community of communities.’ There are very distinct forms of local pride to be found within Downham and Whitefoot as compared to Bellingham. Also, Phoenix Community Housing is actively shaping that sense of local pride too. , Fordham, founder and Chair of PCH for 9 years, commented, ‘Let me tell you, people now say, in the past say, “Oh, where do you come from?” You’d say Bellingham, they’d say Downham, or North Downham. [Now] they say Phoenix.’

While PCH residents are at the heart of this community the dynamics of the local community is changing. There is also the growing diversity of the local population in terms of the ethnicity and class backgrounds. The opportunity here is for the possibility of a different kind of space that doesn't fall into the stark and blunt divisions seen in other parts of London (see also Benson & Jackson 2018). In order to be successful as a 'community venue' the Fellowship and Star will need to be able to serve and trade within this 'community of communities.' Adam Pope, a manager in PCH Special Projects Team, reflected: 'I suppose any successful business these days has to be agile enough to recognise different trends and different demographics. That's quite interesting. In the area I notice a different type of people starting to come into the area. Traditionally, leaseholders are people who own social housing and right to buy but there is a growing demographic of younger professional people coming into Bellingham, in the area because it's the only place they can afford. You speak to young, quite well to do leaseholders and you don't expect them to be social housing leaseholders but that's the change in areas, places where people can afford to come into. I think that is changing quite a lot.' The success of the project requires being able to bridge the diversity of class background in the local area. Randlesdown Road where the Fellowship is located is quite tightly tied into the Bellingham locality. Residents from the neighbouring more affluent streets tend not to frequent it. Adam Pope commented: 'No one wants to dawdle on the high street, it seems to me. Those communities tend to go up into Corbett Estate across the road. They've probably got a bit more money than the Bellingham people but they don't hang around. Hopefully there will be a bit of that money, they might be more considered to, "I'll get off and have a pint here." Hopefully it will draw some of the more affluent people in the community to linger on Randlesdown Road effectively.'

Lisa is 23 years old and one of our community observers. She has lived in the neighbourhood referred to above by Adam Pope for 16 years. She commented: 'I would personally cross the road to go to The Fellowship but I think Bellingham is a place which people who don't live there visit only for the sports grounds or just pass through on their way to Sydenham. So I think then there needs to be effective promotion of the Fellowship in the areas that are in walking distance from the pub; this could be via social media, by posting leaflets and posters at the leisure centre, Lidl and Sainsbury's and I think it would be good to have a good number of events such as live music or DJ nights, film screenings or comedy nights.'

For Tara Lynch, Project Manager of the Fellowship Inn Project within PCH, the vision of the future is where all members of this community of communities have a connection of a place within the new venue. She concluded: ‘You hope that if you go in there of a lunchtime you’ll have people from all sections of the community and no one will be excluded. Obviously it’s a big space, with the cinema and the entertainment hall at the back, and you’ve got Lewisham Music upstairs. Even if you can’t afford to take a family of five for a meal there, you’ll be involved in that building in other ways. You’ll either be coming to the free film nights or free film day, with your family, on a Saturday, or you’ll be taking part in some of the events in the hall. I think, through the service level agreement that we’ve got, hopefully it ensures that there is that connection with the existing local community. They’re not pushed out. Even just the point that we saved that pub from demolition or just rotting, which was what was happening. Even that in itself, even the fact that we brought the funding in just to refurbish that pub and keep it open, is an achievement for the community I think.’ Peter Hayward of Lewisham Music also confirms the opportunity to get as many different audiences involved in the new establishment: ‘one big thing we can do that we couldn’t do before is to have a room big enough to run training sessions for our staff...and similarly a space were we can bring together partners, schools, teachers and so on, and to be able to do that in a building which is attractive for people to come together there and maybe take advantage of the facilities in the building while they’re...stay on and use the coffee shop or watch a film.’

4.7 Evaluating Outcomes

The building is complete but the full range of activities are yet to be in fully operation. The progress toward achieving the stated outcomes of the scheme are summarized below:

- The target for the delivery of 135 Arts Awards for local young people has been met and bettered with 157 Arts Awards with workshops delivered to Launcelot, Athelney and Elfrida primary school with 110 children receiving accreditation.
- On employment and training a target was established 45 apprenticeships over 15 years, including 2 construction apprentices. So far 2 construction apprentices were appointed from the London Borough of Lewisham. Electric Star have committed to having an apprenticeship

running at all times in hospitality and catering along with work experience opportunities in accordance to its service level agreement.

- Plans for accredited volunteering opportunities (in cinema, heritage, event management and digital) are being made currently as part of the legacy part of the Fellowship project
- Digital inclusion programme is similarly being planned as part of a fellowship legacy project. It will fund a digital champion network training portal that will equip local volunteers with the skills to support their neighbours to enjoy the benefits of the internet; cheaper shopping, instant communication across the street and the globe, searching for jobs or researching their ancestry. In addition to volunteer network PCH will trial a tablet loan scheme for digitally excluded residents to gain access to new technology and break down the economic barriers to getting online
- Cataloguing progress of the building works and the transformation was widely publicised through Phoenix Community Housing's website <https://www.phoenixch.org.uk/community/fellowship-inn> the Working Party's Film Echoes: A Bellingham Film <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SNgAXJiJg2Q> as well as widely within social media via Twitter via social media and the Fellowship and Star @fellowshipstar and Phoenix Community Housing @phoenixtogether
- So far of the job creation target of 70 with 60% employees drawn from local community there has already significant progress. 20 new jobs have been created for local people within the redevelopment and Electric Star have employed 10 local people to work in the operation of the pub.

5. Informing Future Initiatives

The doors of the Fellowship and Star are opening just as our evaluation comes to a close. The future of the Fellowship and Star and its community vision remains to be decided. This ambitious partnership has done exceptionally well to deliver a substantive renovation of a Grade II listed building and an ambitious range of heritage, art and theatre projects. It is our assessment that what is being attempted here is profoundly difficult to realise. Indeed, as we have demonstrated in this report, the changing economic drivers for public houses has required a fresh approach to the classic business model for pubs, made all the more difficult to tailor in an economically viable way as communities become more socially heterogeneous. Given this backdrop, how can the classic local pub find a renewed sense of purpose and viability? This has been the conundrum faced by thousands and thousands of establishments across the country.

We find good reason to believe that the consultative-community approach taken by Phoenix Community Housing provides a blueprint for other similar initiatives to follow. What has been particularly impressive is the way in which the initiative has fostered a shared vision amongst the variety of partners to create an inclusive ethos for this community venue. Key to this is a shared commitment by Phoenix Community Housing and Electric Star to consult with the local community and listen to their potential users. Part of this process is that not only are the hopes of the local population uncovered, but also the fears. Our findings also suggest some pertinent local concerns, that is, accessibility concerns in terms of price, making sure the new establishment continues to evolve in a way that reflects the cultural interests of the community, and making sure the site maintains its heritage. As such, in terms of the initial stages of a new community venue's life, we see four key challenges for the future:

(1) Balancing the community-based approach whilst appealing to new clientele bases

So much of the vision of this initiative is linked to the particular history of this locality. However, as we have illustrated repeatedly, the local area is changing and, in many respects, the economic fortune of this venture is dependent on it finding new audiences and users across difference of income and class and from the wider London community and beyond. The challenge here is to balance the connection with the existing local communities and drawing new social groups to the Fellowship and Star.

(2) Provide a variety of affordable entry points

Given the diversity of the Fellowship and Star's communities and audiences it will be important to provide a variety of affordable entry points within this community venue. While the project's success depends on its

financial viability, its social vision of an inclusiveness resource means providing an affordable stake in the initiative for all.

(3) Evolving with the local community

Often new community initiatives can be initially reflective of the community, but across time can take on a life of their own and evolve in a way which is apart from the local community. Maintaining the consultative-community approach is key to protecting the future of the new establishment as a genuinely community-based site for social activities for local people.

(4) Maintain heritage while remodelling the Fellowship

The emphasis on heritage and community history has played a key role in the success of this project; it is the heart of how the initiative maintains a place-based ethos. Whilst emerging from and reflecting the past, the new establishment needs not to be a hostage to it. While this legacy has been a significant resource, a challenge going forward is how to manage the evolution of the Fellowship in a way which protects the economic viability of the site, where the cultural profile of the establishment evolves with the local community, *and* does so in a way which maintains the historical legacy of the Fellowship Inn.

What we have tracked and evaluated over the past year is the delivery of the renovation of the Fellowship and its attendant programme of arts and heritage initiatives. This has culminated in an extraordinary beginning for this project full of potential and possibilities. However, it is simply too soon to tell whether the vision of the Fellowship and Star as a community venue will be realised. The signs so far are very promising. In order to gauge and measure its success, a follow up evaluation in 24 months is required once it has been fully operational for a significant period of time. Only then would we really be able to conclusively evaluate the degree to which the initiative meets its own aspirations.

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