

The London School of Economics and Political Sciences

**Examining the impact of housing refurbishment-led
regeneration on community sustainability: A study of three
Housing Market Renewal areas in England**

Luciana Catalina Turcu

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Abstract

This thesis investigates whether the regeneration, and in particular, *housing refurbishment-led regeneration* of deprived urban areas can contribute to the creation of *sustainable communities*, by looking specifically at the impact of the current *Housing Market Renewal Programme* on three areas in the North of England.

Research has long acknowledged the multifaceted nature of sustainable communities. Evidence has shown how sustainable communities are determined by the complex interdependencies of economic, social, environmental and institutional phenomena and the need to balance these over time. At the same time, the government's drive to 'create sustainable communities' through its prominent and 'holistic' Housing Market Renewal Programme has been well publicised. Many studies have challenged what is and what is not a sustainable community, and whether progress towards sustainable communities is currently being made in Housing Market Renewal areas. This study addresses these two issues.

First, the thesis seeks to address issues related to framing, defining and evaluating sustainable communities within the context of the built environment. It suggests a framework for doing so which is anchored in the Housing Market Renewal context and draws on the values and understandings of those involved in the 'making' of sustainable communities in this context. Second, the framework is applied to three case study Housing Market Renewal areas: Langworthy North in Salford, North Benwell in Newcastle and the Triangles in Wirral. The study involves a survey of approximately 150 residents, semi-structured interviews with over 50 regeneration officials and other stakeholders, and secondary analysis of existing survey data and Census analysis.

We find that the proposed framework for assessing sustainable communities is overwhelmingly supported by residents in the three areas and that housing

refurbishment-led regeneration has had an overall positive impact on community sustainability in those areas. However, the impact is varied in intensity and scale: *all* aspects of an area's physical environment and *some* economic and social aspects of areas benefit significantly following regeneration, while aspects of local governance, resource use, services and facilities benefit to a lesser degree. We also examine the scale and extent of the Housing Market Renewal Programme and assess how the Programme's wider challenges impact on local communities.

The research concludes by acknowledging that sustainable communities are subject to a continual process of change and that housing refurbishment-led regeneration can contribute to creating more sustainable communities. The thesis also observes that urban intervention, no matter how 'holistically' delivered, is only one among many dimensions of sustainable communities; the integration of different policy areas, continued investment and support, and, above all, community empowerment are key to the *sustainable communities* agenda.

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Statement of Originality

I declare that the thesis – *Examining the impact of housing refurbishment-led regeneration on community sustainability: A study of three Housing Market Renewal areas in England* – I have presented for examination for the PhD degree of the London School of Economics and Political Science is solely my own work.

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Signed: Luciana Catalina Turcu

Abbreviations

ADF	Area Development Framework
BSF	Building Schools for Future
HMR	Housing Market Renewal
LA	Local Authority
LAA	Local Area Agreement
LAMP	Liverpool Asset Management Project
MAA	Multi Area Agreement
NDC	New Deal for Communities
NMI	Neighbourhood Management Initiative
NNIS	Newcastle Neighbourhood Information System
RSL	Registered Social Landlord
SALT	Seedley and Lagworthy Trust
SCP	Sustainable Communities Plan
SLP	Strategic Local Partnership
SRB	Single Regeneration Budget
UTF	Urban Task Force

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*For my father
who sowed the seeds of social enquiry for me
but did not live long enough to see me through this*

Foreword

People make cities and cities make citizens.

Richard Rogers, the launch of Urban Task Force Report, 1999

The words above encapsulate the intrinsic relation between cities and people, which have been seen at times as worlds apart. On one hand, ‘analytical’ professions such as urban economists, sociologists and geographers have looked at a world of inter-relations, interactions and behaviors. Their analysis, most famously illustrated by Georg Simmel’s influential study of the Metropolis at the turn of the century (Simmel, 1950) or Richard Sennett’s more recent work on cities (Sennett, 1991; Sennett, 1994) is most compelling. Urban economists are trying to show how location patterns in cities affect the character of many specific problems. The urban geographer in turn seeks to understand how factors interact across space, what function they serve and their inter-relationships, while the urban sociologist answers why these things happen by looking at social life and human interaction in urban settings. Yet their analysis is incomplete without understanding how physical structures are designed and function.

On the other hand, ‘physical’ professions such as architects, planners and engineers have looked at a world of physical structures, technical and technological acts. Yet their analysis has often led to misinterpretation and misuse. For example, Le Corbusier’s idealistic ideas of housing as a *machine for living* and city’s *Plan Voisin* have resulted in unmanageable and isolating public housing estates scattered across Europe and the US. As Lewis Mumford wrote in *Yesterday's City of Tomorrow*

The extravagant heights of Le Corbusier's skyscrapers had no reason for existence apart from the fact that they had become technological possibilities. By mating utilitarian and financial image of the skyscraper city to the romantic image of the organic environment, Le Corbusier had, in fact, produced a sterile hybrid (Mumford, 1962).

However, Le Corbusier opened up an avenue to social urban investigation by recognizing in his seminal work *Vers une Architecture* that “it is a question of building which is at the root of the social unrest of today” (Le Corbusier, 1995).

These are indeed worlds apart and in writing this thesis, I have come to realize that both worlds are deeply embedded in my own personal and professional journey. The relation between cities and people is a story about cities, people and more than that: everything outside them.

I grew up under a communist regime, where there was no room for social enquiry and where few questions were asked about deprivation, injustice or inequality: nobody was poor or rich, we were all equal, inequality did not exist and injustice did not happen. I remember my father taking me on biking rides to visit his patients in the 'Gypsy quarter' of my drowsy provincial home town. At the time, not many people used to go to this 'no-go' area and children at school talked about 'bad things' happening there: people did not work and were violent, houses were crumbling, and children were dirty and missed school. But my father did not give up his regular trips, to my mother's horror and neighbors' rumor, and with time and his help I learnt that the only bad thing happening there was poverty. Yet how this was possible in such an 'equal' society I did not quite understand at the time.

By the time I had to apply for university, my father had for 'disciplinary' reasons been moved from his clinic to a school and I found out to my surprise that I could not become a doctor, teacher or psychiatrist because he had a 'bad' party file. I was not allowed to train to 'work with people' because I came from a 'corrupted' background which challenged the rules and values of the regime. I had few options left and one of them was architecture – architects did not work with people, only with buildings and that did not pose a threat for the regime! Luckily, I loved drawing, my maths skills were fairly strong and I always loved building things at the back of our garden.

I then trained to become an architect. I loved my university years: I learnt to draw buildings, I learnt to design buildings and I learnt how to build buildings; I learnt about complex structures of two line formulas, about blocks and bricks, glass and steel. It was a world of imagination and innovation, one where one could play with tiny people, cars and trees models in order to beautify the designed 'masterwork'. But it was also a world of those set apart, of those who secretly listened to subversive foreign radio posts and challenged the very values of the regime.

The Revolution came and went, and by the time of graduation, deprived urban areas started to ‘surface’ and capture media and politicians’ interest in a Romania tormented by a strong post-communist legacy. My graduation project ‘examined’ a rather ‘boring topic’ for architects: it was not about fancy museums or concert halls, schools, hospitals or airports, but about the housing-led re-development of a highly deprived and ‘ill-famed’ area of Bucharest which was mainly inhabited by Roma people. Prompted by my childhood memories, I pursued questions about the way those communities lived and what happened to them once re-development was under way. I also sought to understand how cities generated and re-generated such situations and what kind of housing was suitable and available to them. I then designed a ‘Lego-prototype’ of housing which was flexible enough to allow component units to expand or shrink with growing or reducing families. The whole site was also linked into the existing neighborhood and offered a mix of other uses such as shops, cafes, small office units, a crèche and small local gym. The project won me a first prize at an international design competition one year later.

My interest in housing and deprived communities took me to the LSE for a master’s degree. Here, my ‘physical’ understanding of buildings and the built environment started to take on an ‘analytical’ perspective and acquire sociological foundations. For the first time, I was able to examine and understand the complex relationships between people, the buildings they inhabit or use, and a whole range of social, economic and environmental aspects of cities. Explanations for my childhood memories started to emerge and in doing so, my life took a significant turn: I decided not to return to the drawing board but to pursue an alternative field of lateral thinking where buildings and people were responsive to each other and a complex set of factors were at play in shaping both the built environment and its inhabitants.

How could one ever think that architects do not work with people? They do so indirectly through their buildings and ideas that have a significant impact on people’s daily lives. What was the role of the built environment in shaping society? Clearly it had a fundamental part to play, but the nature of its influence was sufficiently complex and subtle to remain unclear. I have never felt much connection with the idea that *architecture is frozen music* (Goethe); it made about as much sense to me as calling music ‘defrosted architecture’. However, one thing that I felt buildings do

share with music is their capacity to shape, not just physical space, but the intangibles of life. The way in which buildings can make us feel, much as music can, optimistic or fearful, lusty or spiritual, happy or sad, was something that deserved far much attention.

I then worked in the field of design and urban regeneration, trying to apply my new ideas. In the early 2000s, the whole sustainability agenda was in its infancy in the UK and nobody quite knew what it really meant and how to deliver it. The architectural, planning and building businesses were getting to grips with it and my 'unconventional' background put me in a good position to work in this new and exciting area which seemed to bring together my range of interests. I worked on a series of 'socially-aware' designs and put together one of the first sustainable design standards for an architectural practice in London. After that, I moved to the wider area of planning, as it made sense to me to work in the field which laid the foundations and projected the direction of future developments.

For the next few years I worked on a range of projects mainly related to housing and sustainability in the area of urban regeneration. During this time I learnt that decision-makers, planners and city designers were operating under a widely shared set of assumptions. They tried for many years to increase residential density in order to maximise the efficiency of urban living and prevent sprawl; to create socially mixed communities and de-concentrate poverty; or to work with economists and sociologists to understand or assess the extent of their actions. Now they worked under additional pressure to deliver sustainable developments and communities. At the same time, I felt it was still a world of 'physical' analysis and interpretations; it was still a world of beautifully presented buildings and design solutions. What was the fruit of their ideas and how did this impact on ordinary people and communities? Did their actions and plans make a difference for deprived communities by helping them to overcome problems and become more self-reliant, more sustainable?

At the same time, a growing number of regeneration initiatives began to be planned with sustainable principles in mind. These initiatives exhibited the latest thinking in built-form and construction technology. The sustainability of certain physical aspects of the built environment such as density, compactness and design have been subject

to extensive research (van Diepen, 2000; Williams et al., 2000; Williams, 2000). In places, these studies cast doubt on the link between built form and community sustainability, which itself suggests a need for further research (Barton and Kleiner, 2000; Kettle et al., 2004a). Other studies have concentrated on the 'inputs' which made up a sustainable built environment (Llewelyn Davies, 2000; Brownhill, 2002). Moreover, there was a belief, mainly among policy makers, that 'applying' principles of sustainable design and construction in areas of urban regeneration would result in more sustainable communities. Does urban regeneration have an impact on the sustainability of local communities? Do communities indeed become more sustainable through area regeneration?

This thesis is the result of searching for answers to these questions. I set out to examine the complex relationships between the built environment, people and wider sustainability issues, and learn from their interaction. I also set out to explore current urban regeneration practice in disadvantaged urban areas, to understand and decipher the intricate nature of community sustainability in these areas. Can urban regeneration transform disadvantaged communities into sustainable, 'self-regulating' systems – not only in their internal functioning, but also in their relationships with the outside world? Maintaining stable linkages with the world around them is a completely new task for city politicians, administrators, business people and the community at large. Yet there is still little doubt that the world's major sustainability and environmental problems will only be solved through new ways of understanding and running our communities, and the way we lead our urban lives.

Chapter One

Sustainable Communities and Housing Market Renewal

1.1 Introduction

1.2 Setting the context

 Creating sustainable communities

 The case of Housing Market Renewal in England

1.3 Research questions, aims and original contribution

1.4 Structure of the thesis

1.1 Introduction

Sustainability is one of the key research and policy areas in the early years of the twenty-first century. As early as the 1970s, ecologists pointed to Meadows, Randers and Behrens' 1972 analysis *The Limits to Growth*, and presented the alternative of a *steady state economy* in order to address environmental concerns (Daly, 1973). The concept was coined explicitly to suggest that it was possible to achieve economic growth without environmental damage. In the ensuing decades, mainstream sustainable development thinking progressively developed through the World Conservation Strategy (1980), the Brundtland Report (1987), and the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (1992) in Rio, as well as in national government planning and wider engagement from business leaders and non-governmental organisations of all kinds. Yet there is a profound paradox here. On one hand, our time is widely heralded as the era of sustainability, with an alliance of government, civil society and business designing strategies for increasing economic growth and human well-being within environmental limits. On the other hand, evidence suggests that man-made enterprise is rapidly becoming *less* sustainable. Much has been achieved, but is it enough? Are current trends moving towards sustainability or away from it?

This thesis is an exploration of these complex questions. It sets out to investigate how sustainability can be framed from the perspective of urban communities and intervention in the built environment. It also examines local perceptions of sustainable communities and the impact of urban regeneration on local areas, by looking at the prominent Housing Market Renewal (HMR) Programme which aims to *create sustainable communities* in deprived urban areas in the North and Midlands of England.

The study sets out to provide an approach that can be built on and evolve over the following years, focussing on the particular aspects of the built environment. It seeks to address the issues related to the definition and operationalisation of sustainable communities within the context of the built environment and to provide a way forward. It is about how we can recognise, structure and assess all aspects that affect whether a community is sustainable in the medium to long term. It is also about how

we try to balance and ‘orchestrate’ these aspects and how this contributes to our understanding of sustainable communities. The study also provides a new window into how the HMR Programme is designed, delivered and implemented at local level and how local residents see the role that urban regeneration plays in changing their areas and communities. It explores the scale and extent of HMR intervention and the way wider challenges shape the fortunes of local communities and areas.

The term ‘sustainable communities’ is relatively new in terms of its current meaning and will definitely evolve and develop over time. Our understanding of what we mean by the term, and how it should be viewed, will probably evolve too. At the same time, the HMR Programme is only halfway through its initially planned life span. Whether it survives or not in its current form following the economic downturn will have an impact on its overall outcomes and plans for ‘sustainable communities’. This thesis is not exhaustive as we believe there is still much to learn and develop about both ‘sustainable communities’ and Housing Market Renewal but it provides another step towards a more grounded approach to the subject, a structure and a reference which will provide a springboard for the subject to grow and develop.

1.2 Setting the context

This research is situated at the crossroads of two current government policy areas: *sustainable communities* and *urban regeneration*. More specifically, it is about the delivery of *sustainable communities* in the context of *Housing Market Renewal*, within the broader British *urban renaissance* agenda.

Urban renaissance has for the past decade been the leading theme of New Labour’s urban policy. The agenda was developed and promoted through the work of the Urban Task Force appointed by the government in 1999 as an independent body of experts to investigate the decline of British urban areas. Previous to this, policies were largely anti-urban, encouraging suburban living and promoting large-scale clearance. In fact, the policy landscape started to change in the 1980s, when the economic renewal of former industrial areas and city centres became a concern of great prominence. Under Michael Heseltine, then Conservative Secretary of State at the Department of the Environment, the first two Urban Development Corporations

were set up in the Docklands of London and Liverpool in order to regenerate two historic but dying urban areas. This kick-started an era of government preoccupation with declining urban areas, which culminated with the establishment of the Urban Task Force (see Box 1.1).

The Urban Task Force undertook a thorough and widespread examination of British cities and towns and through its seminal report, *Towards an Urban Renaissance*, coined the use of the term *urban renaissance* and made recommendations which influenced a whole next decade of British urban policy (UTF, 1999). Its recommendations set out a new vision for what towns and cities should look like in twenty years, founded on the principles of design excellence, social well-being and environmental responsibility within a viable economic and legislative framework. Many of the recommendations were adopted by the government, first in its Urban White Paper (DCLG, 2000) and then in a number of detailed Planning Policy Guidance (PPG) such as PPG3 (Housing) or PPG13 (Transport). In the wider literature, *urban renaissance* has been related to the re-emergence of cities as centres of general social well-being, creativity, vitality and wealth; to environmental concerns about urban sprawl; and to the recognition of the benefits of more *compact cities*, encapsulating a mix of ideals of social, cultural, economic, environmental and political sustainability (Porter and Shaw, 2009; Power, 2009c).

Box 1.1 – Main regeneration programmes targeted to the revival of inner- and post-industrial urban areas since 1980s

<i>1979 – Michael Heseltine is appointed Secretary of State at the Department of the Environment, under the newly elected Conservative government</i>	
1980 – mid 1990s	Urban Development Corporations (UDCs) Established under the <i>Planning and Land Act 1980</i> , they had a limited life with a broad remit to secure the regeneration of their designated areas.
1981 – 1991	Enterprise Zones Fiscal incentives provided to developers and businesses for re-development of post-industrial riverside areas
1991 – late 1990s	City Challenge Round 1-2 The first ‘competitive’ regeneration programme which adopted a comprehensive and strategic approach. It was targeted to specific urban areas, time-limited, output-driven and based upon partnership (including local residents for the first time)
1994 – 2006	Single Regeneration Budget (SRB) Round 1-6 The first programme that aimed to bring together a number of programmes from several Government Departments with the aim of simplifying and streamlining the assistance available for regeneration.
<i>1997 – New Labour government in power</i>	
1998 – 2010	New Deal for Communities (NDC) A programme targeting social exclusion and the most deprived neighborhoods.
<i>1999 – The Urban Task Force (UTF) is appointed under the chairmanship of Richard Rogers and its report, ‘Towards an Urban Renaissance’ is published</i>	
<i>2000 – The Urban White Paper is published drawing significantly on the recommendations of the UTF report</i>	
2000 – ongoing	Neighborhood Renewal Fund (on a yearly basis) Yearly funding to improve the quality of life in the most deprived neighborhoods by targeting employment, crime, education, health and housing.
<i>2003 – The Sustainable Communities Plan is published</i>	
2003 – 2018	Housing Market Renewal A programme targeting post-industrial urban areas and taking a ‘holistic’ regeneration approach of low demand housing areas in the North and Midlands
2003 - ongoing	Urban Development Companies Inspired by the 1980s’ Urban Development Companies, these bodies were set up stimulate new investment into areas of economic decline and to co-ordinate plans for their regeneration and redevelopment.

Source: Compiled by the author

Urban regeneration has been considered to be the main instrument for delivering British *urban renaissance*. As Allan Cochrane (2007, p.33) observes, *urban regeneration* is a term with many interpretations:

The definition of the 'urban' being 'regenerated' and, indeed, the understanding of 'regeneration' have varied according to the initiative being pursued, even if this has rarely been acknowledged by those making or implementing the policies. So, for example in some approaches, it is local communities or neighbourhoods that are being regenerated or renewed (learning to become self-reliant). In others, it is the urban economies that are being revitalised or restructured with a view to achieving the economic well-being of residents and in order to make cities competitive. In yet others it is the physical and commercial infrastructure that is being regenerated, in order to make urban land economically productive once again. And there has also been a drive towards place marketing (and even 'branding'), in which it is the image (both self-image and external perception) of cities that has to be transformed.

All these aspects are indeed the subjects of vaguely defined urban regeneration strategies, in various combinations and sometimes all at once.

Urban regeneration is defined in this research as a range of strategies or initiatives, encompassing and addressing a number of inter-related economic, social, environmental or physical aspects of urban areas. In sum, areas in need of regeneration suffer from a weakened economic base, combined with high concentrations of unemployment and socially disadvantaged residents. These problems are often manifested in an area with a poor physical and environmental setting such as contaminated or derelict land and poor quality housing and amenities. This nexus of conditions can lead to poverty, crime and other problems. Thus, *urban regeneration* is defined here as the sum of interventions that seek to address these inter-related problems.

This research often makes reference to *housing refurbishment-led regeneration*. This refers to the urban regeneration of residential areas, whereby the main component is housing, as opposed to commercial or cultural areas. Residential areas usually contain, to a greater or lesser degree, some commercial and cultural facilities and services, public transport, parks, shops, schools and GP practices. We look at the combination of all these elements, in a predominantly residential area. It also refers to the refurbishment of an area, usually in the form of extended *physical* upgrading

but also including other less 'visible' types of interventions such as those referred to under the definition of urban regeneration. In addition, housing refurbishment-led regeneration could include a range of other physical regeneration strategies such as selective demolition of housing and/or other uses; conversion from one type of housing to another, from housing to other uses or vice-versa; and infill or small-scale development on previously demolished or vacant land.

Creating sustainable communities

Alongside the *urban renaissance* agenda, the *sustainable communities* agenda is another area that has been pursued by New Labour since it took office in 1997. Its foundations were built on three policy documents:

- the *National Strategy for Neighbourhood Renewal* (1998), highlighting the challenges of the poorest neighbourhoods and communities in Britain; and
- the *Urban White Paper* and *Rural White Paper* (2000), based partly on the recommendations of the Urban Task Force.

In early days, the terminology used was *all about communities*, which the government wanted to help achieve their full potential, whether they were urban or rural (Conway and Johnson, 2005). The rural and urban agendas were developed in parallel until 2003, when they converged under the government's Sustainable Communities Plan.

The Sustainable Communities Plan (2003) used the term 'sustainable communities' to emphasize a 'step change' in policy towards creating *prosperous, inclusive and sustainable communities* in both urban and rural areas and the aspiration to look beyond simple investment in housing and take account of the economic, social and environmental needs of current and future generations. The Plan focused on six main themes:

- Three centred on improvements to the housing and planning system:
 - Investment and regulation to create 'decent homes' and greater supply of housing;
 - Planning system reform; and
 - Governance delivery;
- One focused on the protection of the countryside local environment; and

- Two focused on ‘creating sustainable communities’ in two particular geographic areas:
 - The HMR in the North and Midlands; and
 - The Growth Areas in the South-East.

It also set out a programme of action for both urban and rural areas, with a focus upon ensuring that these communities have “*good quality customer-focused services, good design and deliver clean, safe, healthy and attractive environments which people can take pride in*” (ODPM, 2003).

A great deal of debate has arisen over the Plan because of the incompatibility between the overall goals of sustainable development and the promotion of *large scale clearance* in the North as opposed to mass house building in the South East. Rydin (2007) noted that the Plan has emphasised the economic and social dimensions rather than the ecological one in order to achieve its targets. The Plan has also been challenged on issues such as community involvement and tools for delivery (Power, 2003); and its relation to planning for housing in the context of social cohesion alongside environmental protection and economic prosperity (CIH and RTPI, 2003).

In 2003, Sir John Egan was asked by the government to conduct a review of the skills needed to deliver the Plan. *The Egan Review* published in 2004 outlined a *vision* for ‘sustainable communities’ and identified what *skills* were needed for their delivery (ODPM, 2004a). It also named the key components of sustainable communities together with a set of *sustainable communities indicators*. A more comprehensive statement on the government’s view of what makes a sustainable community was published in 2005 in two national strategies: *Sustainable Communities: Homes for All* and *Sustainable Communities: People, Places and Prosperity* (ODPM, 2005a; ODPM, 2005b). The former revised many of the Sustainable Community Plan’s topics and updated the definition of sustainable communities, while the latter addressed policy and action on public services, community engagement and good governance, with empowering communities and government devolution running through its core. At the same time, each region produced a *Regional Sustainable Communities* strategy which detailed the regional contribution to ‘sustainable communities’.

By 2005, *creating sustainable communities* represented UK's government overarching goal and long-term vision for the future. *Securing the Future* (2005), the government's sustainable development strategy, reiterated this. The strategy cited sustainable communities as one of the four national priorities together with sustainable consumption and production, climate change and natural resource protection and aligned sustainable communities with the core principles of sustainable development. It also introduced a new set of *quality of life indicators* in order to monitor national progress (HM Government, 2005).

The 'sustainable communities' title for the Plan has lately been dropped from the government communications on this programme (SDC, 2007). The latest development, however, was represented by the *Sustainable Communities Act* of 2007. The Act made provision to promote the sustainability of local communities, starting from the principle that local people know best what needs to be done to promote the sustainability of their areas and communities, but sometimes need government support to enable them to do so. The Act was designed as a channel for local people to ask the government to take action (DCLG, 2008c). Based on the Act, statutory guidance was published by the government in 2008, as the final part of *Creating Strong, Safe and Prosperous Communities* (2008).

Box 1.2: Developments of the ‘sustainable communities’ agenda under New Labour

1998 National Strategy for Neighbourhood Renewal

- Aims to regenerate existing communities
- Marks the emergence of Local Strategic Partnerships (SLPs)

2000 Urban White Paper, Our Towns and Cities: The Future, Delivering an Urban Renaissance

2000 Rural White Paper, Our Countryside: The Future – A Fair Deal for Rural England

2003 Sustainable Communities: Building for the Future (The Sustainable Communities Plan)

- The term ‘sustainable communities’ is articulated for the first time

2004 The Egan Review: Skills for Sustainable Communities

- Suggests a set of sustainable community indicators
- Lays the foundations of the Academy for Sustainable Communities

2005 Sustainable Communities: Homes for All

- Updates the definition of sustainable communities
- Promotes more sustainable construction and announces the Code for Sustainable Buildings

2005 Sustainable Communities: People, Places and Prosperity

2005 Regional Sustainable Communities Strategies

2005 Securing the Future, the Government’s Sustainable Development Strategy

- Cites sustainable communities as one of the four national priorities
- Suggests a new set of quality of life indicators.

2007 The Sustainable Communities Act

- It is designed as a channel for local people to ask the government to take action

2007 Eco-Towns

- The Government announces a programme to built new small zero carbon eco-towns on brownfield land. Each eco-town would contain between 5,000-20,000 homes. Developments would be zero carbon, contain a range of facilities, including schools, shops and leisure facilities and be an exemplar in at least one environmental technology.
- Eco-towns have attracted controversy and skepticism and more recently, organizations such as CPRE have suggested to developed them based around the urban renaissance agenda, in form of eco-extensions or eco-quarters, since most homes are in urban areas or will be built there.

Source: Compiled by the author

The case of Housing Market Renewal in England

The *urban renaissance* focus on reviving the core of industrial British cities coupled with the Sustainable Communities Plan's drive to *create sustainable communities* in areas of low demand housing and abandonment in the North and Midlands, marked the birth of probably the last and largest regeneration programme undertaken under the New Labour government.

During the 1970s and 1980s the then government started to look into 'unpopular' and 'difficult-to-let' housing across the country (DoE, 1981). However, only during the 1990s did news about the collapse of property values due to housing abandonment in the former industrial cities of the North make the headlines. At the same time, a series of studies emphasised the high turnover rates and number of vacant properties in parts of the public and private housing sector in these areas (Urban Task Force, 1999; Power and Tunstall, 1995; Power and Mumford, 1999; Power and Tunstall, 1997; Holmans and Simpson, 1999; Cole et al., 1999; Murie et al., 1998).

In order to present a convincing case to the politicians and decision makers, and establish the scale of the problem, the Centre for Urban and Regional Studies carried out a detailed study of the metropolitan North West, which was to become the well-known *M62 Study*. The study carried out for the first time a cross-regional overview of the emerging areas of low demand housing. Its findings were dramatic in scale and implications: 900,000 homes were identified as being in areas which were either suffering from, or at risk of, low demand in the West Midlands and North of England (CURS, 2001a). The implications of this widespread phenomenon could have been dramatic: as many as 250,000 houses might have needed to be demolished in the following 15 years to stop the problem spreading further (Owen-John, 2003).

The *M62 Study* was subsequently complemented by research in Yorkshire and Humberside, the North East and the rest of the North West. Parallel studies also looked at the West Midlands and North Staffordshire and a similar range of problems were uncovered in these areas (CURS, 2001a; Murie et al., 1998; Murie, 2001; CURS, 2001b; Nevin, 2001; Lee and Nevin, 2001; CURS, 2002). This prompted the

Core Cities Group¹ to make a submission to the Government's spending review, advocating financial support for these areas of low demand housing (HNHF and CIH, 2001; RICS, 2004).

The government's response came in 2002 when the HMR Programme was announced. The Programme aimed to address housing market failure by taking a 'holistic' approach to tackling the very roots of low demand housing and creating sustainable communities in areas of high deprivation. One year later, tackling low demand housing areas was declared a key action area of the Sustainable Communities Plan and £500 million was invested in these areas between 2003 and 2006 (ODPM, 2003). The government planned to close the gap between HMR areas and their regions by one third by 2010, and eradicate the problems caused by low demand housing by 2020 (ODPM, 2005a). Nine new local authority partnerships called HMR Pathfinders, submitted proposals to tackle weak housing markets in parts of the Midlands and North and received their first funding installment between 2003 and 2004. From its very onset, the government encouraged local innovation to address housing market problems and maintained a *hands-off* or devolved approach (Audit Commission, 2005a).

In 2004, the government published the *Northern Way*, which called for the replacement of low-demand housing, the creation of sustainable communities and increased investment in the transport links between the city-regions (ODPM, 2004b). It also suggested the potential demolition of up to 400,000 homes. The strategy received a great deal of criticism for its lack of consultation and integration of environmental and climate change issues (Forum for the Future, 2004; Cousell and Houghton, 2005). However, the HMR Pathfinders had now to be developed and implemented within the context of the *Northern Way*. Although the strategy contained proposals helpful to them, there was a risk of losing out if growth occurred outside them (Audit Commission, 2005a). The government's report *Sustainable Communities: Homes for All* (2005) reinforced once more its commitment to tackle

¹ The Core Cities Group is a network of England's major regional cities, including eight cities: Birmingham, Bristol, Leeds, Liverpool, Manchester, Newcastle, Nottingham and Sheffield. They form the economic and urban cores of wider surrounding territories, the city regions.

low demand housing and announced funding for three additional low demand areas (ODPM, 2005a).

The policy landscape around the Pathfinders took a turn in 2006. The new *Local Government White Paper* (2006) talked about local government as *a strategic leader and place-shaper* and the need to align services provided by different agencies in council areas. In addition, new performance frameworks were announced to streamline local priorities, pool resources and join up public services: these were Local Area Agreements (LAA) in local areas and Multi Area Agreements (MAA) in city regions. The LAAs were agreements between the central government, local authority and main local public services and institutions, and aimed to set out local priorities and devolve more power to local stakeholders. The MAAs were similar but differed in being much larger and acted across administrative boundaries, at regional and sub-regional level. Many corresponded roughly to the old Metropolitan Counties and were a step forward for policy coordination, although they were sometimes smaller than the real economic areas around major cities. These announcements challenged the role of the HMR Pathfinders which were also cross-boundary partnerships and had a relatively devolved position from the central government.

In the summer of 2007, the government published two new documents of great importance for the future development of the HMR Programme. First, the Treasury's *Review of Sub-national Economic Development and Regeneration* included a series of proposals regarding the future allocation of regeneration resources in the medium and long term, which was to influence the way funding was allocated to the HMR Pathfinders (HM Treasury, 2007). Second, the Government's new Housing Green Paper, *Homes for the Future: More Affordable, More Sustainable*, highlighted the importance of economic development, more devolution and institutional change, and noted that the Programme "*needed to provide greater focus on areas of deep-seated structural problems*" (DCLG, 2007b), p.26).

Following the economic downturn, the policy framework within which the HMR programme has been delivered underwent a process of fundamental review. Both the Government's sub-national review, *Prosperous places* (2008), and draft regeneration framework, *Transforming places, changing lives* (2008), highlighted the need to

produce comprehensive plans to align economic development, housing, planning, energy supply and transport, as well as tackling the underlying causes of economic decline in deprived areas by addressing unemployment, skills and promoting enterprise (DCLG, 2008a; DCLG, 2008e).

Five Multi Area Agreements were established in 2008 and 2009 directly affecting five of the nine HMR Pathfinders. For the first time since their establishment, the HMR Pathfinders were directly accountable to another body, which was positioned between them and the central government. They also had to revise the geographic boundaries within which their funding was spent so that it was consistent with the Multi Area Agreement area, which meant their resources might have had to spread even more thinly across larger areas than their initial scope.

Box 1.3: The origins of low demand housing

The term ' <i>difficult-to-let housing</i> ' made its debut in press reports in the late 1960s, following the Ronan Point disaster when a tower block collapsed due to a gas explosion.	
1974	<i>Difficult-to-let Tower Blocks Investigation</i> – The Government starts an investigation of difficult-to-let tower blocks on council estates.
1974-1979	<i>Housing Action Area</i> – The Government launches this area-based initiative to tackle housing quality problems. It lasts for five years (1974-1979).
1976	<i>Difficult-to-let Housing Investigation</i> – The Government launches a complete investigation of difficult-to-let housing looking at all housing types.
1979/1989	<i>Priority Estates Project (PEP)</i> – Twenty rundown, hard-to-let social housing estates are investigated, and localized management is introduced as a rescue measure.
1981	<i>An investigation of difficult to let housing</i> (DoE, 1981) – Thirty 'unpopular' housing estates and remedial measures are investigated.

Sources: Compiled by the author

One of the main debates at the heart of the HMR Programme, especially before the onset of recession, was over the scale and scope of its proposed interventions. The government advocated *large scale clearance* of older and poor-quality housing in former industrial areas, in contrast to the increase in house building targets to meet a shortage of housing, proposed in the Sustainable Communities Plan. The demolition taking place during the first years of the HMR Programme covered whole areas, rather than single properties, taking out some well-maintained properties alongside inadequate or derelict ones (Power, 2008; Power and Houghton, 2007). Even in the

most run-down areas proposed for demolition, on average over 70% of homes were occupied (NAO, 2007). Demolition proved to be deeply unpopular with existing residents and more expensive than expected, due to rising property values in these areas. In addition, the previous experience of slum clearance programmes in the UK showed that saving existing homes is a less disruptive and more socially considerate approach than wide scale demolition (Power, 2008). As a result, in the aftermath of the economic downturn, the government seems to be rethinking its HMR Programme. The housing refurbishment-led regeneration that this study investigates could be a cheaper, faster, more successful and certainly more popular alternative to demolition to deliver 'sustainable communities' in England's Midland and Northern regions.

Box 1.4: The main policy developments of the HMR Programme

<u>Body of academic research prior to the onset of HMR</u>	
Mid 1990s	CURS (Centre of Urban and Regional Studies) at University of Birmingham starts research on low demand and changing housing markets.
1998	<i>Unpopular Housing</i> (Murie et al., 1998).
1999	<i>Housing Abandonment in Britain: Studies in the causes and effects of low demand housing</i> (Lowe et al., 1999).
1999	<i>The slow death of great cities? Urban abandonment or urban renaissance</i> (Power and Mumford, 1999).
1999	<i>Low Demand - Separating Fact from Fiction</i> (Holmans and Simpson, 1999)
1999	<i>Changing Demand, Changing Neighbourhoods: The response of social landlords</i> (Cole et al., 1999).
1999	<i>Unpopular Housing PAT 7</i> (DETR, 1999a).
2000	<i>Low Demand Housing and Unpopular Neighbourhoods</i> (Bramley et al., 2000); <i>Responding to Low Demand Housing and Unpopular Neighbourhoods: A Guide to Good Practice</i> (DETR, 2000)
2000/2003	<i>The M62 study</i> (CURS, 2001a), <i>The West Midlands Housing Markets: Changing demand, decentralisation and regeneration</i> (CURS, 2001b), <i>Yorkshire and the Humber: Changing Demand and Urban Regeneration</i> (CURS, 2002), <i>Birmingham/Sandwell Housing Market Renewal Area</i> (CURS, 2003a), <i>Changing Housing Markets and Urban Regeneration in Cheshire, Cumbria and Lancashire</i> (CURS, 2003b), <i>Housing Market Renewal Research for South Yorkshire</i> (CURS, 2003c).
<u>Lobby and Government action</u>	
2001	The Core Cities Group and Northern Housing Forums make a submission to Government's spending review on HMR (HNHF and CIH, 2001).
2002	The Government announces the HMR programme in nine HMR Pathfinders in the North and Midlands.
<u>Policy framework</u>	
<u>From establishment of HMR until economic recession (the research timeframe)</u>	
2003	<i>Sustainable communities: building for the future</i> (ODPM, 2003); £500million HMR Fund is announced.
2004	<i>The Northern Way</i> (ODPM, 2004b).
2005	<i>Sustainable Communities: Homes for All</i> (ODPM, 2005a).
2006	<i>Strong and Prosperous Communities - Local Government White Paper</i> (DCLG, 2006c); LAAs and MAAs are announced.
2007	<i>Review of Sub-national Economic Development and Regeneration</i> (HM Treasury, 2007); <i>Housing Green Paper – Homes for the Future: More Affordable, More Sustainable</i> (DCLG, 2007b).
<u>From the onset of economic recession to present day</u>	
2008	<i>Prosperous places</i> (DCLG, 2008a); <i>Transforming places, changing lives</i> (DCLG, 2008e).
2008/2009	Multi Area Arrangements (MAA) are established affecting five HMR Pathfinder areas in Greater Manchester, South Yorkshire, Tyne and Wear, Merseyside and Pennine Lancashire.

Source: Compiled by the author

1.3 Research aims, questions and original contribution

Despite the recent growing interest and investment in ‘sustainable communities’, scholars and practitioners still lack the tools necessary to determine whether sustainable communities policy and initiatives achieve their intended goals. Among the challenges associated with achieving sustainable communities, two in particular are related to the topic of this research. First, defining *what makes a sustainable community*, that is to say breaking down community sustainability into constituent parts, and second, knowing *when a community has achieved sustainability or is sustainable*, namely, assessing or evaluating a community’s progress to or regression from sustainability. If the first one can be seen as a theoretical challenge, the latter could offer significant lessons and help practitioners and policy-makers at the forefront of the ‘sustainable communities’ agenda.

This research seeks to examine sustainable communities initiatives in areas of HMR intervention and its purpose is twofold. First, it aims *to understand how sustainable communities are understood and defined* in these areas. Second, it aims *to explore the scale and extent of ‘sustainable community’ initiatives in HMR areas and understand whether sustainable communities are being created in these areas*. More specifically, the research focuses on housing refurbishment-led regeneration, as defined in the beginning of this chapter. Using a comparative case-study methodology of three areas and an extensive survey of the HMR Pathfinders, this research explores the following main questions:

- *What is a sustainable community?*
- *What makes a community sustainable from a built environment perspective?*
- *What do people think about what makes a sustainable community?*

This research is the first in the UK, to my knowledge, to directly investigate the question of sustainable communities in a housing refurbishment-led regeneration setting by looking at wide-ranging economic, social, environmental and local governance indicators that impact on local communities during the regeneration of an area. First, it introduces a consistent and rigorous framework for assessing sustainable communities in a built environment context by drawing on discourses of sustainability, urban regeneration and community. Second, the framework is applied

in three HMR areas of housing refurbishment-led regeneration, in order to uncover people's 'values' of sustainable communities, and to examine local communities' progress, or lack thereof, towards sustainability. In doing so, this thesis sets out to discuss the implications of this research for the broader sustainable communities and HMR agenda by looking at:

- *how housing refurbishment-led intervention in HMR areas impacts on the sustainability of local communities; and whether housing refurbishment-led intervention creates more sustainable communities in these areas;*
- *the extent and scale of intervention in HMR areas; and*
- *the impact of wider HMR challenges on the sustainability of local communities.*

Moreover, the research aims to make three specific contributions to the existing knowledge on urban intervention in HMR areas:

- it creates documented evidence on the extent of urban regeneration in HMR areas, and looks at the 'big picture' of the HMR Programme by drawing on comparisons between and across areas;
- it examines in detail and compares the sustainability of communities undergoing housing refurbishment-led regeneration in three areas; and
- it uncovers good practice in area regeneration from a comparative perspective, of relevance for urban, regeneration and sustainable communities policy in the future.

Finally, it is important to note that the study was not designed to evaluate the impact of urban intervention on wider urban sustainability, although this could be pursued by future extended research. It seeks to examine community sustainability at area level and thus takes a narrower and area-focused approach. It does not engage extensively with wider issues of urban sustainability and sustainable communities such as climate change, resource conservation or 'green economies', although their importance is acknowledged throughout the thesis. Moreover, the research focuses on communities rather than areas or neighbourhoods, a distinction which we discuss later in Chapter Two.

1.4 Structure of the thesis

The thesis has three main parts: the conceptual framework, the evidence, and the analysis and conclusions.

The conceptual framework, introduced in this chapter, continues in Chapter Two and Three. Chapter Two addresses the first main theme of the research: sustainability and sustainable communities in the context of the built environment and urban regeneration. First, a wide range of issues is discussed including definitions and models of sustainable development as well as interpretations and challenges of sustainable communities. The chapter then reviews various approaches to measure sustainability, highlights their strengths and limitations, and discusses at length sustainability indicators. Second, the chapter looks at how principles of sustainable development are translated in the built environment context. It discusses a series of concepts relevant to our discussion such as ‘sustainable cities’ and ‘sustainable buildings’ and considers the impact of current regeneration practice on the various economic, social, environmental and governance aspects of urban areas. The chapter concludes by bringing together the research’s key themes and identifying gaps in the literature which the research seeks to address.

Chapter Three presents a proposed framework of sustainable communities in HMR areas undergoing housing refurbishment-led regeneration, which is based on a ‘people-centred’ definition of sustainable communities and a ‘prism’ interpretation of sustainability. The framework draws heavily on consultation with stakeholders and, more importantly, local communities. The chapter starts by discussing a method to derive components or indicators of sustainable communities, through a robust, transparent and deliberative process. It then goes on and develops a list of sustainable communities. Finally, the chapter puts forward an approach for evaluating sustainable communities and the definition of sustainable communities that the research endorses.

Chapter Four describes the research methodology adopted for testing the framework of sustainable communities developed in the previous chapter. It opens by discussing the choice and use of a large scoping case survey; a multiple case study approach

applied at area level; the selection of field research areas and interviews; methods of data collection and analysis; and research challenges encountered during field research visits.

Chapter Five looks at the second main theme of this research: urban regeneration in the context of the Housing Market Renewal Programme. First, it examines closely the HMR Programme, discusses its progress and challenges to date, and raises further questions relevant to the research. The chapter then discusses the baseline research undertaken in the HMR areas, in order to uncover the scale and extent of intervention in these areas and introduces the three fieldwork case studies, which form the body of the following three chapters.

Chapter Six, Seven and Eight present the case study fieldwork and focus on the impact of housing refurbishment-led regeneration on local communities living in these three HMR areas in the North of the UK. Each chapter starts by describing the general context and history of the area and preceding the onset of the HMR Programme, a socio-economic profile of its resident population and residents' general attitudes towards living in the case study area. The main body of the case study then examines the impact of area regeneration on the domains and components of sustainable communities as defined by the framework for assessing sustainable communities proposed in Chapter Four. Each chapter concludes with an overview of the impact that area regeneration had on community sustainability in each area.

Chapter Nine examines the case study evidence in the light of research questions and theoretical issues. It brings together the evidence from the case studies to identify common trends and patterns across the three areas, understand how local communities perceive the sustainability of their areas and what role urban regeneration plays in changing these areas. The first section examines residents' views of what makes a sustainable community based on the survey findings. The second section looks at 'life in the area' by drawing on residents' attitudes towards living in each of the three areas. The third section discusses the impact of area regeneration on community sustainability in the three case study areas and highlights areas of *clear positive*, *somewhat positive* and *uncertain* impact. The chapter concludes by reflecting on residents' values and understanding of sustainable

communities in relation to regeneration achievements and considering whether the three communities have become more sustainable following housing refurbishment-led regeneration.

The final chapter, Chapter Ten, provides an overview of the answers to the original research questions and discusses implications of the research for wider regeneration and HMR policy, using the evidence and analysis contributed by this research. The thesis concludes with lessons for sustainable communities and an agenda for further research.

Part One – The FRAMEWORK

Chapter Two

Of Sustainability and Urban Regeneration

- 2.1 Understanding ‘sustainability’ and ‘sustainable communities’
 - Competing interpretations of sustainable development
 - Untangling ‘sustainable communities’
 - Can we actually measure sustainability?
- 2.2 Sustainability in the built environment
 - Cities and buildings
 - Indicators of urban sustainability
- 2.3 Discussion

Chapter One introduced the sustainable communities agenda in the context of urban renaissance and Housing Market Renewal in the UK. It also set out definitions of urban regeneration in general and housing refurbishment-led regeneration in particular. In order to inform the research, this chapter brings together the key themes and identifies key gaps in the literature. It starts by focusing on the conceptual and theoretical aspects of sustainability and sustainable development and their relevance to the built environment agenda and highlights the implications of the broader literature for exploring and testing a set of sustainable communities indicators. It also examines the impact of current urban regeneration intervention on economic, social, environmental and governance aspects of urban areas. The chapter does not focus specifically on HMR regeneration and outcomes, but provides a wider discussion of the background on which the HMR Programme is examined in Chapter Five.

2.1 Understanding ‘sustainability’ and ‘sustainable communities’

Almost every article, paper or book on sustainability bemoans the fact that the concept is broad and lacks a broad consensus; this is usually followed by the authors’ own preferred definitions which in turn add to the lack of consensus! (Bell and Morse, 1999)

A consistent definition of *sustainable development* or *sustainability* has proved to be elusive. Both terms can be used to cover very divergent ideas and encompass a complex range of meanings (Lele, 1991; Adams, 2001; Adams, 2006). Parkin (2000) found more than two hundred formal definitions of sustainable development. The lack of agreement and uncertainty over the definition, however, has not reduced the popularity of the concept. ‘*Sustainability*’ and ‘*sustainable development*’ have gone high on the political agenda especially after the *Brundtland Report*, published by the World Commission on Environment and Development, in 1987, which coined what has become the most often-quoted definition of sustainable development as:

development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs (UN, 1987).

Almost every national government in the United Nations now has a minister and a department of the environment and since the Rio Summit in 1992 the volume and quality of environmental legislation at international, national and local levels has

expanded hugely. Moreover, international agreements such as the Kyoto Protocol (1997) have not only raised the profile of environmental change but also begun to drive global policy change. Yet despite the fact that the recent Copenhagen Summit (2009) failed to continue ‘the drive’ of policy change in this area, citizens in almost all countries not only know the issues, but tend to feel that the quality of the environment is important both to their own wellbeing and to the common good.

The Brundtland definition which we quoted above is, however, imprecise. Its concept of sustainable development is holistic, attractive, but too elastic. In addition, no way of defining the extent to which sustainability had been achieved in any policy programme has been agreed so far. As a result, reactions in the academic circles have been largely sceptical and the dream of a ‘win-win-win’ scenario – of achieving progress within economic, social and environmental development, the three supposedly being mutually beneficial – is increasingly being seen as unrealistic (Purvis and Grainger, 2004; Ayre and Callway, 2005). Furthermore scholars all over the world argued that the concept needs to be further understood and accepted, as it currently resembles ‘jargon talk’ and lacks a blueprint of how it would translate into practice (Rydin et al., 2003b; Marvin and Guy, 1997). As Priemus (2005, p.5) wryly notes

sustainability is profit, people and planet at the same time; it seems to mean something like happiness...

while Campbell (2003, p.442) notes that the concept

is so malleable as to mean many things to many people without requiring commitment to any specific policies. Actions speak louder than words, and though all endorse sustainability, few will actually practice it.

Sustainable development was also seen as a ‘veiled declaration for economic growth’, with little concern for environmental protection and social cohesion (Lafferty and Coenen, 2001). Castro (2004) develops this position from ‘an environmental Marxist’ perspective, arguing that sustainable development as it is currently defined is basically economic growth on capitalist terms. This perspective questions the possibility of an environmentally sustainable capitalist economy, arguing that economic growth *relies upon* exploitation of natural and social capital and the avoidance of wealth redistribution, or equity, both at the national and international level. Therefore, by its very nature capitalist development does not

foster the goals of environmental sustainability, cultural diversity or more equitable social development where poverty is eradicated.

More recently this position has started to change, in particular through the involvement of the third sector. Voluntary organisations have helped to both stimulate debate and generate positive action towards sustainability; often providing successful and inspirational examples of what and how is possible to achieve development which is more sustainable. They have also contributed to increase agency participation in the process, make the whole process more transparent and build trust between agency and institutions. It is now largely acknowledged that over time the sustainable development agenda has developed people's environmental awareness and helped them to see how such issues are related to broader social issues (Church and Young, 2001). Moreover, despite their frustrations with the *woolly thinking* of sustainable development, many scholars, policy-makers and practitioners have been prepared to work within the framework of its overarching guiding principles of economic and social development within environmental limits because they approve of their moral and practical intentions.

Competing interpretations of sustainable development

A great deal of academic and policy literature emerged in the ten years following the Brundtland Report, concerning and articulating the core principles of sustainable development. The subject of sustainable development is one of the key research and policy issues as we enter the early years of the twenty-first century. Yet, as one may expect, there is a spectrum of views. At one end of the spectrum are those who take an *eco-centric* or 'conserve at all costs' view that puts global ecology first and limits economic and population growth in the interest of sustaining and enhancing the natural environment and resources. At the other end are those who advocate an *anthropo-centric* perspective, which puts human beings first, and argue that humans will find a 'technical fix' to mend the natural environment or replace natural resources. *Box 2.1* illustrates these two main directions together with sub-approaches to defining sustainable development.

Box 2.1: Two competing views of sustainable development

ECO-CENTRIC interpretation

- ENVIRONMENTAL (resources version)

Focusing on the consumption of resources, this approach seeks to avoid lasting adverse impact on the world's stock of natural resources (*Brundtland Report: Our Common Future*, 1987 – Meadows, *Limits to Growth*, 1972).

- ECOLOGICAL

The ecological approach emphasises the characteristics of living organisms in communities, such as the ability to self-regenerate, self-sustain and the ability to respond to changes (Ramwell and Saltburn, *Trick or Treat, City Challenge and the regeneration of Hulme*, 1998; Copus and Crabtree, *Indicators of socio-economic sustainability*, 1996; Page, *Developing communities*, 1994).

ANTROPO-CENTRIC interpretation

- ENDURANCE

In this approach, sustainability is achieved by undertaking activities which produce lasting benefits – like training – or which deal with long term problems (Aldbourne Associates, *Planning sustainable communities*, 1999; Thake, *Staying the course, the role and the structure of community regeneration organisation*, 1995).

- DEMAND BASED

Undertaking activities that encourage people to live in communities, equating the definition with popularity and/or quality of life (Evans and Fordhan, *Regeneration that lasts*, 2000; Smith and Patterson, 1999).

- ENVIRONMENTAL (social version)

This approach seeks to optimise both environmental and human resources, with an emphasis on democratic and participative outcomes (DETR, *A better quality of life – A strategy for sustainable development in the UK*, 1999; Local Agenda 21, *Indicators for Local Agenda 21 – A summary*, 1996).

Source: Adapted from Long (2000)

There has also been frequent reference, especially throughout the 1990s, to two visions of sustainability which have differed mainly in the costs incurred in attaining them: *strong* sustainability and *weak* sustainability (*Box 2.2*). *Strong* sustainability can be related to an *eco-centric* interpretation of sustainability and *weak* sustainability to the *anthropo-centric* position. Loosely speaking, *strong* sustainability argues that we must live within the environmental and ecological limits of our planet and trade-offs between environmental, social and economic dimensions of sustainability are not allowed or are restricted. *Weak* sustainability argues that such trade-offs are permissible and the humanity will replace the natural capital we have used, and still depend on, with human-made capital.

In practice, however, development decisions by governments, businesses and other actors allow trade-offs and emphasise the economy above other dimensions of sustainability. As a result, theorists virtually unanimously agree that *weak*

sustainability has formed the conceptual basis for sustainable development (Dresner, 2002). The all-pervasive nature of neo-classical economics has also come to permeate thinking on sustainable development, with a broad acceptance that intra-generational and inter-generational equity can only be achieved within the confines of economic growth (Common and Stagl, 2005).

Box 2.2: Interpretations of sustainable development

STRONG sustainability

Strong sustainability takes little consideration of the financial or cost aspects of attaining sustainability and focuses mainly on the environment. Some equate this to so-called *ecological* sustainability.

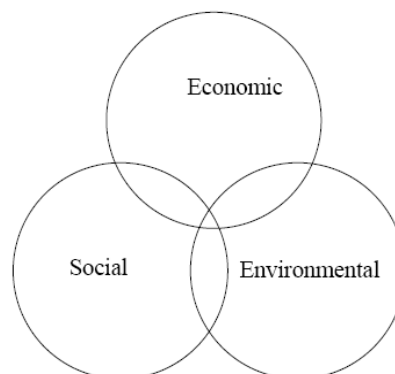
WEAK sustainability

In *weak* sustainability, financial and costs aspects in attaining sustainability are important and typically based on a cost-benefit analysis which inevitably involves tradeoffs between the environment and other social and economic benefits. This can be equated to some sort of *economic* sustainability where the emphasis is upon allocation of resources and levels of consumption.

Source: Adapted from Bell and Morse (1999)

Despite this range of views, a number of theoretical models of sustainable development were pursued from the late 1980s such as the *greening the economy* or *environmental utilisation space* approach, which culminated with the Venn or Trefoil diagram of sustainable development symbolising the interaction between the social, environmental and economic dimensions of sustainable development, also called the ‘people, planet, and prosperity’ or ‘triple bottom line’ model (Pope et al., 2004; Parkin, 2000). According to this model, sustainable development is achieved when the three dimensions coincide, or in graphical terms overlap in the diagram (*Figure 2.1*).

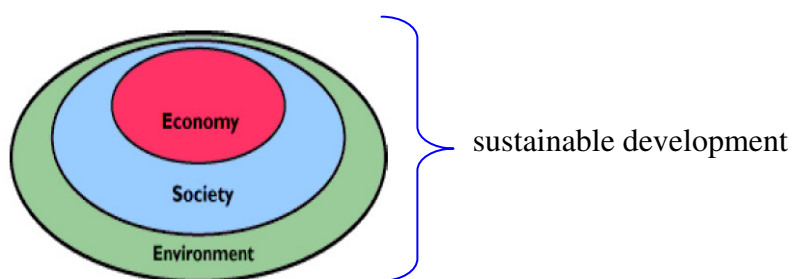
Figure 2.1 - The Venn or Trefoil diagram of sustainable development (Adams, 2006)



Despite being the most popular and accepted representation of sustainable development as a result of its simplicity and informative nature, this model has been criticised because of its static interpretation which can distract from the original complex vision of sustainable development. For instance, the overlapping area in the diagram can be seen as a specific or scientific domain that has to compete with the other legitimate but ‘unsustainable’ domains within society (Adams, 2006). Also, some authors have separated the three main domains of sustainable development into ‘environmental sustainability’, ‘economic sustainability’ or ‘social sustainability’, as independent domains of action which, it has been commented, could detract from the complexity of the concept (Pearce et al., 1989). In addition, the ‘social sustainability’ domain, considered the ‘weakest pillar’ of sustainable development, because it is more abstract and harder to measure, could be overshadowed by the other two domains (Lehtonen, 2004; Davidson, 2009; Litting and Greisler, 2005).

Since the late 1990s, a movement towards a more sophisticated understanding of sustainable development has emerged, illustrated by the ‘embedded’ or ‘Russian Doll’ model (O’Riordan et al., 2001). This model endorses the principle that economic activity should be bent towards social progress which must be achieved within environmental limits, and moves the focus of the debate from *weak* to *strong* sustainability (see *Figure 2.2*).

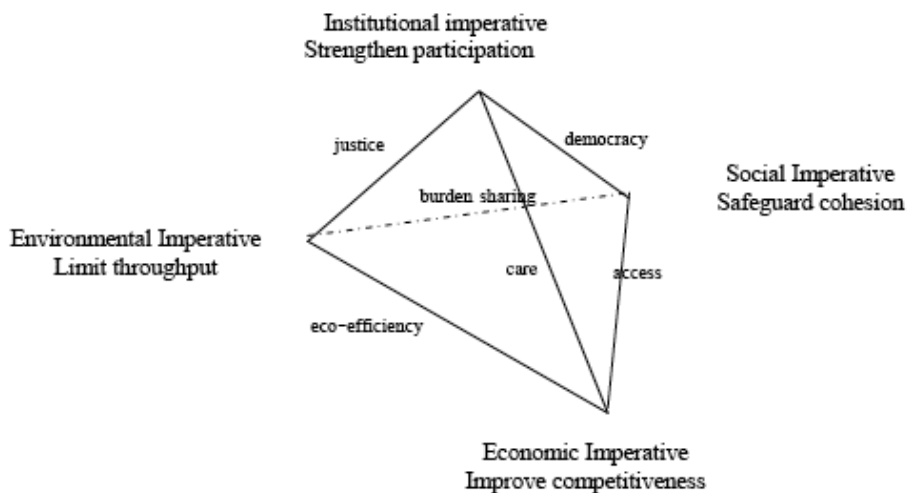
Figure 2.2 – The Russian Doll diagram of sustainable development (O’Riordan et al., 2001)



The most useful model for this research is, perhaps, a model developed by Valentin and Spangenberg (1999) of the Wuppertal Institute, and represented in ‘the prism of sustainability’ (*Figure 2.3*). The prism model adds the fourth pillar of governance, or the ‘institutional’ domain, to the previously-existing three pillars of sustainable development and places a greater emphasis on social equity and the participative,

democratic and political aspects for achieving this (Spangenberg, 2003; Spangenberg, 2004). In fact, the model directly mirrors the Agenda 21 document produced as a result of the summit in Rio de Janeiro (1992) which identified citizen involvement and people's active participation in democratic processes at local level as central prerequisites for change towards more sustainable development. It also provides a space, rather than a two-dimensional area, where the four dimensions of sustainable development can interact. This allows for approaching the issues of sustainable development from any direction of the four main domains, without losing the links to the other domains.

Figure 2.3 - The prism of sustainability (Valentin and Spangenberg, 1999)



In addition to these various interpretations and models of sustainable development, there are three further points to be made for what follows in the thesis. First, these interpretations and models of sustainability have all come under criticism, despite the generally accepted Brundtland definition on which they are based. Brandon and Lombardi (2005, p.13) astutely note that the Brundtland definition went on to say that:

In essence sustainable development is a process of change in which exploitation of resources, the direction of investments, the orientation of technological developments and institutional change are all in harmony and embrace current and future potential to meet human needs and aspirations.
(Author's emphasis)

They commented on the evolving nature of sustainable development and point to the fact that sustainable development should be seen as a *process of change* and not an

end goal or destination. This means that sustainable development is open to further learning, adaptation and change as knowledge evolves and so does not have a final position. This is very much the position adopted by this research. Sustainable communities are in an on-going process towards an evolving state of sustainability. Moreover, sustainable development is likely to be imprecise in terms of measurement and evolving in terms of content. It is about reaching consensus and *harmony* between often conflicting aspirations and needs, which may require negotiation or compromise, on occasions. This also fits well with the idea of a democratic and consultative process in which those involved in the 'delivery' of sustainable development should be involved, discussed later in Chapter Three and Four.

A number of authors have also commented that the issue of time is central to the concept of sustainable development in terms of measuring its progress and assessing its future configuration. Over what period of time should one view sustainability? Is it 5, 10 or 100 years? This is an open question which highlights the fact that sustainability could look different in a short-, medium- or long-term perspective, and that some of its aspects may be more a matter of urgency than others. This research takes a shorter perspective, mainly as a result of our personal limitations. A short-term perspective is popular with policy-makers and stakeholders, as they want to see early results and quick returns. However, sustainability needs time to establish itself and thus, a longer-term perspective should be pursued by future extended research.

In addition, the research is largely concerned with the impact of interventions on community sustainability within the built environment. The built environment is by definition concerned with localities and spatial scales. Rydin (1992) categorises environmental impacts in an urban context in three main groups: local, regional and global. She also argues that the relation between the three groups is one of interdependency by which impacts at any level bear an effect on the other two levels and so they are *spatially exported*, and the larger the scale, the more the overall impact is likely to be the aggregate impact of many smaller scale impacts. This research mainly focuses on local contexts and impacts; however, their relations to broader contexts and impacts are examined where possible and significant.

Untangling 'sustainable communities'

At the start of this research in 2006, 'sustainable communities' projects in the UK were typically considered pilots and associated with a number of other initiatives such as 'healthy cities', 'urban villages', 'millennium communities', 'mixed communities', 'growth areas' and 'housing market renewal' initiatives. There is a body of literature documenting the physical aspects of urban sustainability, but remarkably little attention has been paid to the socio-economic processes by which urban sustainability was achieved. Many studies have focused on the discussion of sustainable communities from a 'physical' or 'urban design' perspective which looked at the built environment's characteristics such as layout, density, building design and specification that make a 'sustainable', 'healthy' or 'vital' neighbourhood or urban area (Green et al., 2005; Groves et al., 2003; Barton et al., 2003).

More recently, a notable body of research of sustainable communities has emerged, including assessments of the government's Sustainable Communities Plan (CAG Consultants, 2006; SDC, 2007), insightful case studies highlighting the achievements or limitations of sustainable communities initiatives (Brownill and Carpenter, 2009; Smith, 2008; Dale and Newman, 2009; Russell and Redmond, 2009; Bunce, 2009), and several thoughtful books about 'balanced' or 'liveable' communities (Bullard, 2007; Power and Houghton, 2007; Raco, 2008).

So what are sustainable communities? It may be useful to look at the meaning of both words. According to the Oxford Dictionary to *sustain* means "to keep going, to keep up, to endure without failing or giving way; to bear up against and to withstand". However, the previous section of this chapter showed that despite this literal definition, what *sustainable* may be and mean is unclear. *What is a community then?* There have been countless studies about different types of communities, observing and analyzing the 'everyday lives of ordinary people' (Crow and Allan, 1995). 'Community' represents a sense of mutual pride and commitment, keeping people together and in touch. It bestows both rights and obligations, promoting active citizenship and communal responsibility (Etzioni, 1993). 'Community' embraces a quality of life that seems universally valued: a sense of belonging which absorbs some of the stresses and strains of an increasingly fragmented existence. Community

refers to that layer of society in which interaction takes place between people who are neither close family and friends, nor total strangers (Gilchrist, 2002).

The definition of 'community' usually encompasses two main connotations: one of *shared interests* such as personal affiliations and cultural heritage, and one of *locality* or *place*, closely related to the residential area where people live. First, 'community' is a *social* term. It means a network of people with common interests and expectations of mutual recognition, support and friendship. These social networks, based on chosen connections rather than residential proximity have been termed *communities of interest* or *identity* (Willmot, 1987). Second, the locality or local residential area may provide the focus for a number of overlapping and interacting interest communities such as children in school, baby-sitting circles, local shops, pubs, allotments and faith groups, which together with casual public realm meetings make for much more social interaction than the sum of the parts, thus *place communities* (Barton, 2000; Gilchrist, 2002).

Mazmanian and Kraft's (1999) overview of the evolution of modern environmental policy culminates with the 'epoch of sustainable communities'. They argue that linking sustainability concepts and concepts of community has particular advantages, since communities represent the social and physical expression of interdependencies. Yet sceptics argue that no-one knows what sustainable communities are like and that there are few places or whole communities that have incorporated sustainability across their entire social, economic process and physical fabric (Beyond Green, 2004; Barton and Kleiner, 2000).

Moreover, Church and Young (2001) note that the 'sustainable communities' phrase is increasingly employed by a various range of initiatives from 'eco-villages in rural Wales to those based around tower blocks in depressed urban areas'. They also point to the difficulty of evaluating what is and what is not a sustainable community, as some tangible components of sustainable communities are easy to measure such as 'people completing training schemes', while other more intangible components such as community pride are much harder to assess (Church and Young, 2001).

‘Sustainable communities’ have been described in the literature as an aggregate of characteristics including among others economic security and growth, environmental quality and integrity, social cohesion and quality of life, empowerment and governance. *Table 2.1* illustrates some examples. The complex interdependencies between economic, social and environmental phenomena, and the need to *balance* or *harmonize* these over time, have been the focus of particular attention in delivering sustainable communities (AtKisson, 1999; Lafferty, 2001)). *Balance* requires integrated and strategic policy responses, which have lately shifted from top-down control to networking and partnerships between different actors (Rydin et al., 2003b; Keen et al., 2006; Newman and Dale, 2005)

Table 2.1: Definitions of sustainable communities (some examples)

(Long, 2000)	<i>A grouping of up to several thousand households, whose occupants share common experiences and bonds derived from living in the same locality</i>
(Gilchrist, 2002)	<i>Sustainable communities are heterogeneous and therefore adaptable, formally and informally organized and require reciprocal and reliable relationships that are based on trust, equality and the honoring of diversity.</i>
(Green et al., 2005)	<i>Think of the sustainability of a community in terms of what happens to the welfare of residents over time. Specifically, sustainability obtains when community welfare does not diminish over time.</i>
(Lafferty, 2001)	<i>Sees sustainable communities as the implementation of sustainable development principles at the local level i.e. Agenda 21.</i>
(Putman, 1996)	<i>Sees building sustainable communities as a result of building social capital which is mainly about building trust.</i>

Source: Compiled by the author

The UK government defined ‘sustainable communities’ for the first time in its Sustainable Communities Plan in 2003 as:

The way our communities develop, economically, socially and environmentally, must respect the needs of future generations as well as succeeding now. This is the key to lasting, rather than temporary, solutions; to creating communities that can stand on their own feet and adapt to the changing demands of modern life. Places where people want to live and will continue to want to live (ODPM, 2003).

The Plan also identified the 12 key aspects of sustainable communities, summarised in *Box 2.4*.

Box 2.4: Key requirements of a sustainable community

What makes a sustainable community?

Some of the key requirements of sustainable communities are:

- 1/. A flourishing local economy to provide jobs and wealth;
- 2/. Strong leadership to respond positively to change;
- 3/. Effective engagement and participation by local people, groups and businesses, especially in the planning, design and long-term stewardship of their community, and an active voluntary and community sector;
- 4/. A safe and healthy local environment with well-designed public and green space;
- 5/. Sufficient size, scale and density, and the right layout to support basic amenities in the neighbourhood and minimise use of resources (including land);
- 6/. Good public transport and other transport infrastructure both within the community and linking it to urban, rural and regional centres;
- 7/. Buildings – both individually and collectively – that can meet different needs over time, and that minimise the use of resources;
- 8/. A well-integrated mix of decent homes of different types and tenures to support a range of household sizes, ages and incomes;
- 9/. Good quality local public services, including education and training opportunities, health care and community facilities, especially for leisure;
- 10/. A diverse, vibrant and creative local culture, encouraging pride in the community and cohesion within it;
- 11/. A ‘sense of place’;
- 12/. The right links with the wider regional, national and international community.

Source: Adapted from ODPM (2003)

The *Egan Review* (2004) went some way to articulating the key factors for progressing sustainable development at local level and defined the seven key components of a sustainable community or the ‘common goals’ (*Box 2.5*). Sustainable communities were defined as communities that:

met the diverse needs of existing and future residents, their children and other users, contributed to a high quality of life and provided opportunity and choice. They achieved this in ways that made effective use of natural resources, enhanced the environment, promoted social cohesion and inclusion and strengthen economic prosperity.

Box 2.5: The Egan Review: components of sustainable communities

- 1/. SOCIAL AND CULTURAL – Vibrant, harmonious and inclusive communities
 - 2/. GOVERNANCE – Effective and inclusive participation, representation and leadership
 - 3/. ENVIRONMENTAL – Providing places for people to live in an environmentally friendly way
 - 4/. HOUSING AND THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT – A quality built and natural environment
 - 5/. TRANSPORT AND CONNECTIVITY – Good transport services and communication linking people to jobs, schools, health and other services
 - 6/. ECONOMY – A flourishing and diverse local economy
 - 7/. SERVICES – A full range of appropriate, accessible public, private, community and voluntary services
- A COMMON SUB-COMPONENT across all components is:
- All provision and/or activity to be high quality, well-designed and maintained, safe, accessible, adaptable, environmentally and cost-effectively provided.

Source: Compiled by the author

The government's definition of sustainable communities was further revised in *Securing the Future* (HM Government, 2005) which embodied the principles of sustainable development at local level. Along with balancing social, economic and environmental components, it considered impacts in the wider region and internationally, and gave consideration to future generations (*Box 2.6*).

Sustainable communities are places where people want to live and work, now and in the future. They meet the diverse needs of existing and future residents, are sensitive to their environment, and contribute to a high quality of life. They are safe and inclusive, well planned, built and run, and offer equality of opportunity and good services for all (p.121).

The Sustainable Development Commission, the UK's sustainable development watchdog, criticized this definition arguing that it should have been even more closely aligned with the government's sustainable development principles, which stated clearly that:

we want to achieve our goals of living within environmental limits and a just society and we will do it by means of sustainable economy, good governance and sound science. (SDC, 2007)

Box 2.6: The 'Securing the Future' definition of a sustainable community

Sustainable communities should be:

- 1/. ACTIVE, INCLUSIVE AND SAFE – fair, tolerant and cohesive with a strong local culture and other shared community activities
- 2/. WELL RUN – with effective and inclusive participation, representation and leadership
- 3/. ENVIRONMENTALLY SENSITIVE – providing places for people to live that are considerate of the environment
- 4/. WELL DESIGNED AND BUILT – featuring a quality built and natural environment
- 5/. WELL CONNECTED – with good transport services and communication linking people to jobs, schools, health and other services
- 6/. THRIVING – with a flourishing and diverse local economy
- 7/. WELL SERVED – with public, private, community and voluntary services that are appropriate to people's needs and accessible to all
- 8/. FAIR FOR EVERYONE – including those in other communities, now and in the future

Source: Adopted from HM Government (2005)

Can we actually measure sustainability?

There is no agreed way of defining the extent to which sustainability is being achieved in any policy programme. On the one hand, it has been argued that the issue of sustainability is a moving target and that developing measures at any one point in time is not worth the effort (Hempel, 1999). Existing methods are seldom influential in the sense that influential players such as policy makers and politicians take little note of subsequent results and findings (Innes and Booher, 2000). On the other hand, it is important to monitor progress, as people need a reality check to ensure that things are moving in the desired direction (Innes and Booher, 2000; Hemphill et al., 2002; Brandon and Lombardi, 2005).

Given this disparity of views it is not surprising that “*there is no textbook which gives an accepted methodology which could be applicable across regions and sectors*” (Hardi et al, 1997, quoted in (Bell and Morse, 2003)) and many authors employ rather ‘ad-hoc’ check-lists of sustainability without a clear methodological framework (see for example (Brownhill, 2002; Barton, 2000; Barton et al., 2003; Bell and Morse, 2003)). We agree that monitoring progress towards sustainability is important, and indeed, the literature offers a number of approaches to do so. For example, *Table 2.2* describes some of these approaches and explains why they were not adopted by the research. However, the most popular approach in measuring sustainability is the use of *sustainability indicators (SIs)* and *indices*, which are discussed in detail by the following section.

Table 2.2: Examples of numerical approaches for assessing sustainability

<i>Approach</i>	<i>Explanation</i>	<i>Limitations/ Criticism</i>	<i>Why not appropriate for this research</i>
<i>Ecological footprint (EE)</i>	<i>A spatial unit (e.g. country or urban area) can be described in terms of its carrying capacity or impact in terms of the land area required to support it.</i>	<i>Does not account of all aspects of sustainability i.e. social. A static model, whilst all domains of sustainable development are dynamic – so it cannot directly take into account things such as the adaptability of social systems or technological change.</i>	<i>Cannot be employed to account for social aspects such as community mix or sense of community or broader economic factors. Also takes an eco-centric environmental (resources version) interpretation of sustainability.</i>
<i>Material intensity per unit of service (MIPS)</i>	<i>Explained in terms of the mass of material input per total units of service delivered by ‘a good’ over its entire lifespan.</i>	<i>Does not take into account eco-toxicity of materials (i.e non-toxic materials). The current climate change and CO2-emissions debates show vast amounts of non-toxic materials may contribute to environmental problems.</i>	<i>It approach takes an eco-centric environmental (resources version) interpretation of sustainability and is too technical.</i>
<i>(Solar) Energy approach</i>	<i>Converting inputs/flows into a common energy equivalent (usually solar energy)</i>	<i>Criticised by economists, physicists and engineers. Some critics have focused on detailed practical aspects of the approach, while others have taken issue with specific parts of the theory and claims.</i>	<i>Based on a technical analysis which is beyond the scope of this research. Moreover, some aspects such as community spirit or involvement are difficult to convert into solar energy equivalents.</i>
<i>Cost-benefit analysis (CBA)</i>	<i>Comparison of financial values of the costs of achieving sustainability with the benefits</i>	<i>It seems most of the criticism focuses on three dissenting themes: cost-benefit analysis does not provide unbiased information; it is inherently anti-environmental; and efforts to use monetary cost-benefit analysis for environmental and safety regulations erode the self-evident values upon which our society is based.</i>	<i>Cost benefit analysis draws on traditional economics based on income, productivity, growth, etc. and does little to consider individual choices and needs. Sen challenges traditional economics on this and introduces a ‘sociological turn’ into contemporary mainstream economics.</i>

Source: Compiled by the author

Sustainability indicators

There are many sets of sustainability indicators (SIs) but no set has emerged so far as having an universal appeal (Mitchell, 1996). Some SIs are especially made for a certain community or organization (AtKisson, 1999; Roberts, 2000) while others are universally applied across a number of areas, projects or organisations in a comparative exercise (European Communities, 2001; Expert Group on the Urban Environment, 2000; Schlossberg and Zimmerman, 2003). They have been seen as a tool that both *defines* and *operationalises* sustainability and it has been argued that their potential power in formulating local (but also national and even international) sustainability policies is vast (Brugmann, 1997a; Brugmann, 1997b; Pinfield, 1997).

Various authors agree that SIs should be ‘contextual’ and ‘contested’ and that they are ‘socially constructed’. Views on how to choose indicators, however, are split, as there is a on-going relation between subjective and objective in SIs development and use (Rydin et al., 2003c; Astleithner and Hamedinger, 2003b). On the one hand, indicators should be largely objective, ‘measurable’, easy to understand, ‘eye-catching’ and reflect local circumstances (Cartwright, 2000). On the other hand, they do not need to be purely objective, as in fact, few of them are. They are the result of a highly subjective selection process which is rooted in the fact that most of us already have indicators in the back of our minds, ‘beloved indicators’ that reflect issues of great concern for us and measure *what is measurable, rather than what is important* (Meadows, 1998; Cartwright, 2000; Gahin et al., 2003b; Hemphill et al., 2004).

There is no consensus as to what the SIs should contain and what should be their method of assessment. Some consider that data collected for each indicator should be quantified, while others argue that indicators do not have to be numbers. They can be signs, pictures, colours and where possible they should be reported as time graphs, therefore dynamic not static (Meadows, 1998). Indicators have also been aggregated into ‘indices’, whereby each indicator has been weighted and brought with other indicators into one number. Sustainability *indices* have been widely employed by governments and international organisations, practitioners and policy-makers. Benchmarks and ‘sustainability levels’ have also been set up in order to depict the trend or direction of the sustainable development process. Yet critics have

highlighted that indexes could ‘hide’ the complexity of individual indicators and assigning indicators relative weights can be difficult, while ‘sustainability levels’ and ‘benchmarks’ are often impossible to determine (AtKisson, 1999; Meadows, 1998). What weighs more *access to employment* or patterns of *energy consumption*? How could one establish a ‘sustainable level’ for *crime* or *pollution*?

Thus, SIs need to be clear, accurate, informative and easy to use. They also need to be relevant to community issues and include interpretations that help people make sense of the data. More importantly, the development and use of SIs is a valuable endeavour. In fact, in their study examining the effectiveness of indicators in promoting more sustainable communities, Gahin and colleagues (2003) argue that:

indicators are a worthwhile effort. They can yield many intangible benefits that provide a foundation for change. Indicators build connections between people, foster discussion in the community, and provide a powerful educational tool to raise awareness.(Gahin et al., 2003a) p.666

Following from this, there are two more aspects to be discussed regarding the development of SIs development. The first concerns the *substance* of SIs, what they should include or what they should look at, and Holman (2009) identifies three main categories: *science-*, *community-*, and *governance-* *sound* indicators. The second is related to the *process* of developing SIs and Eckerberg and Mineur (2003) notes two key approaches: *expert-* and *citizen-led* indicator development.

- ***Science- versus community-sound indicators***

‘*Science-sound*’ indicators are based on “sound science” and the principle of technocratic policy-making, whereby the policy process is viewed as linear and indicators seen as an input into that process. These SIs have mainly been the focus of early literature on sustainability indicators which presented indicator development ‘*as a relatively technical task even if the intended purposes of the indicators were to communicate and engage with community groups*’ (Rydin et al., 2003a). Despite the fact that they acknowledge the complex nature of sustainability, the importance of inter-dependencies and networks in indicator measurement, and have the aspirational role of feeding information into the policy process, the development of science-sound indicators has been criticised for its linear and input-driven policy view which cannot explain the complex nature of modern governing bodies (Holman, 2009).

'Community-sound' sets of indicators have been the centre of more recent literature and focused on the effects that indicators have as decision-making tools and their benefits to local communities, such as capacity building, participation and engagement. This approach investigates the convergence between "reductionist" approaches to indicator development based on expert-driven technocratic policy and the softer more community-based "participatory" approaches (Fraser et al., 2006; Reed et al., 2006; Reed, 2005). It also emphasises the educative nature of SIs development, 'the learning is the doing' (Bell and Morse, 2005) which is 'the first step in making progress' towards sustainability (Becker, 2005). In response to this, a number of 'alternative' frameworks for SIs development have been pioneered such as, for example, Capra's 'web of life theory' (Becker, 2005), Kolb's 'learning cycle' (Bell and Morse, 2005) or Dooyeweerd's '15 modalities' (Brandon and Lombardi, 2005). Yet it has been argued that the approach lacks by not explicitly discussing the role that indicators can play in network integration between policy-makers, departments and stakeholders both across spatial scales and policy sectors (Holman, 2009).

The third and less developed direction is that of *'governance-sound'* indicators which engage directly with notions of governance and the contested nature of sustainability itself. This approach focuses on the effect that indicators can have on local governing arrangements, especially in negotiation terms between central and local government bodies. As a consequence, SIs are seen as a platform to open up dialogue between the different tiers of government (Journel et al., 2003) or shape networks more broadly (Astleithner et al., 2004b). However, despite continuous efforts to pin-down the relationship between sustainability and governance, this approach has often found it difficult to discern clear links between the development of an indicator programme and actual changes in decision-making and policy outcomes (Rydin et al., 2003a; Holman, 2009).

- ***Expert- versus citizen-led models of SIs development***

Another debate at the heart of SIs literature regards the process of their development, which can be either expert- or citizen-led. *Expert-led* processes, also called top-down or government approaches are based on traditional and formal hierarchies and tend to monitor change on a more aggregate level, while *citizen-led* processes, also known as

bottom-up or governance models are based on networks and the blurred relationship between private and public, and tend to measure issues that are linked to individual behaviour (Eckerberg and Mineur, 2003).

The tensions between expert-led (or top-down) and citizen-led (or bottom-up) models of SI are well documented in the literature. The strained relationship between governments and citizens can inhibit the effective use of any type of indicators (see the Pinfield-Brugmann debate (Brugmann, 1997a; Brugmann, 1997b; Pinfield, 1997)) and make difficult to bridge the gap between policy makers and end-users (Eckerberg and Mineur, 2003). Moreover, tensions could build up not only between institutions and citizens, but also between the different tiers of government. For example, Pinfield (1997) notes that most UK performance indicators have been imposed on local government by central government and used to make comparisons between 'good' and 'bad' local authorities, which in turn led to the local government being 'resistend' to 'top-down' indicators (Brugmann, 1997b; Pinfield, 1997).

In order to lessen these tensions, researchers have argued for the integration between 'top-down' and 'bottom-up' approaches to indicator development as the best hope for measuring progress towards sustainability (Fraser et al., 2006; Reed, 2005; Reed et al., 2006). For example, Reed and colleagues (2006) note the importance of participatory approaches setting the context for sustainability assessment at local scales, but stresses the role of expert-led methods in indicator evaluation and dissemination. It has also been argued that for SIs to be effective it is important to include the views of target audiences and users who are ultimately intended to benefit from them—because it is far more likely that if these groups are allowed to participate in the conceptualisation and development of the indicators they will also use and appreciate the results (Rydin et al., 2003a; Pinfield, 1997; Bell and Morse, 2001).

2.2 Sustainability and the built environment

Achieving sustainability depends (in part) upon producing sustainable built environments from the cities and towns already in existence. In the short term, only limited changes can be made in a physical sense but more significant changes can be made in lifestyles. In the medium term, but starting immediately, the built environment can be changed in form to reflect and facilitate those lifestyles. The requirement is for steering rather than overnight radical change, whereby over a period of time gradual change to behaviour and action leads to substantial changes to the built environment (Smith et al., 1998).

This research is largely concerned with the built environment which by definition is concerned with mankind's activity in creating shelter and accommodation for itself, an act which inevitably changes the environment in some way. In particular the development of cities, and the underlying social cohesion and culture created through cities, has a big impact on the use of resources, the way people behave, their interaction with nature and the waste products that result from this type of living.

Most interventions in the built environment have a negative effect on the environment. Buildings and structures use raw materials which are scarce and some of which are non-renewable. They also use energy to extract these materials and to manufacture components and, once the structure erected; these affect the heating and cooling requirements of the accommodation space. The manner in which people use the space could well affect the energy requirements too and may lead to energy loss through natural ventilation, for example, creating in turn demand for use of more fuel which may come from a non-renewable resource.

In fact, it has been suggested that consumption associated with the built environment is as follows (HM Government, 2008; SDC, 2006):

- The consumption of each UK person averages 6 tonnes of material per year broken down into 1.5 tonnes for new infra-structure (roads, railways, etc), 1.5 tonnes for new buildings and 3 tonnes for repair and maintenance;
- Of the 300 million tonnes of quarried aggregates per annum only 10% to 15% is recycled;
- Over 70 million tonnes of construction waste is created per annum which represents 17% of the total UK waste;

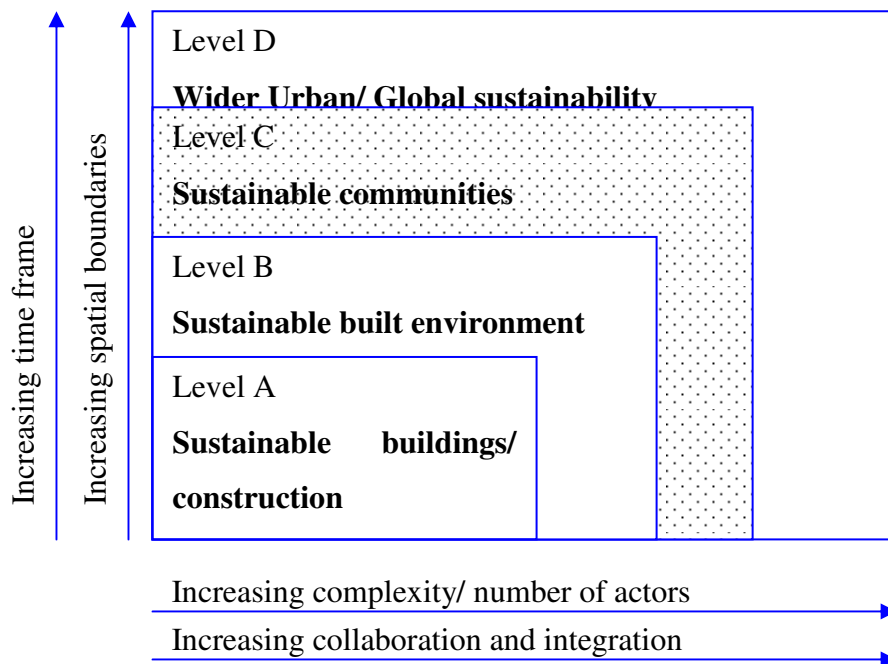
- Around 50% of energy use and carbon dioxide emissions, the major greenhouse gas, can be directly attributed to buildings;

These are frightening statistics and reveal how important the built environment is to any policy and evaluation of sustainability. But where does the built environment fit into the bigger picture?

Brandon and Lombardi (2005) propose a useful diagram showing the relationship between different parts of the built environment, the communities that exist within it and the wider sustainability agenda. We adapt their interpretation in Figure 2.4 to reflect our research topic. The diagram starts with individual buildings, moves on to the built environment, made of buildings and the infrastructure required to sustain human activity, and then moves up to the communities themselves and wider sustainability agendas. This diagram is useful for classifying the broad areas that sustainability encompasses, when viewed from the built environment perspective.

The diagram shows a continuum between different elements but focuses on the particular areas and stakeholders or actors involved. Level 'A' would be addressed by architects, designers, developers, building contractors and clients of individual structures; level 'B' would be primarily the decision-making area for planners and urban planners, consultants and local government; and level 'C' would be all of these actors, plus the resident communities. Level 'D' reflects the wider interdependence of natural resources, man-made resources and human interaction with both. The diagram shows the interdependence and overlap between all these elements, the complex mix of actors involved and works both ways. The environment shapes our needs for a certain type of living and accommodation, while the built environment is largely 'man-made' by the communities that dwell there and shapes these communities in turn, and the buildings reflect the needs and culture of individuals and groups of people within a certain built location.

Figure 2.4 – A diagrammatic representation of the relationship between different parts of the built environment, the communities that exist within it and the wider sustainability agenda



Source: Adapted from Brandon and Lombardi (2005)

Cities and buildings

Cities are major consumers of natural resources and major producers of pollution and waste. Thus, if cities can be designed and managed in such a way that resource use and pollution are reduced, then a major contribution to the sustainable development agenda can be made. How could that be achieved? Among the various proposals that authors have put forward, two stand out: the wider and encompassing proposal of ‘sustainable cities’ and the narrower and more focused proposal of ‘sustainable buildings’. Each of them is discussed in turn below.

The ideal of ‘sustainable cities’

The idea of ‘sustainable cities’ draws on the 1970s’ idea of ‘autonomy’ or self-sufficiency in the built environment, when it became popular to strive for autarkic buildings or settlements. However, these were not completely new ideas and recalled some of the early twentieth century’s ideas of Garden Cities. An extensive body of literature on ‘sustainable cities’ developed throughout the 1990s. One of its leading thinkers and advocates had been Herbert Girardet the so-called ‘cultural ecologist’.

Although he did not initially use the term, *The Gaia Atlas of Cities* was one of the earliest texts to stimulate an interest in the role of cities as a major source of environmental damage: *the city as parasite*. Girardet noted that the inputs and outputs of urban living are unsustainable and advocated a change in the way they were planned and organized. Cities were based on what he termed 'linear metabolism' made of finite energy resources and other material inputs together with waste outputs. Instead, he called for a 'circular metabolism', in which the inputs were efficiently harnessed and the waste products were reduced, reused, or recycled. He went further and defined a sustainable city as a city in which

citizens are able to meet their own needs without endangering the well-being of the natural world or the living conditions of other people, now or in the future (Girardet, 1999b; Girardet, 1999a).

Richard Rogers, the prominent British architect and chair of the Urban Task Force, borrowed from Girardet both the idea of circular metabolism and sustainable cities, or rather 'convivial cities', which could take many forms: a beautiful city, a city of easy contact and mobility, a compact and polycentric city, a creative city, a diverse city, an ecological city and a just city. Rogers also advocated sustainable urban planning, including citizens in decision-making at every level, and the sustainable (urban) design of 'compact' or 'convivial' cities, where clusters of buildings and integrated human-scale transport infrastructure among other features could enhance energy conservation and reduce cities' environmental impact (Rogers, 1997).

The idea of 'sustainable cities' has attracted much criticism. It has been argued that cities rely on too many resources crossing their boundaries to be sustainable and only by, for example, 'rehabilitating' natural capital stocks, such as local fisheries, forests and agricultural land, cities can become more self-reliant (Rees, 1997; Rees and Wackernagel, 1996; Renn et al., 1998). Owens (1992) points out that the notion of urban sustainability is a contradiction. Urban areas will always be net consumers of resources, drawing them from the world around them. They are also likely to be major degraders of the environment, simply because of the relative intensity of economic and social activity taking place in such places. Despite the fact that urban or cities' sustainability is so contested, the term is a useful label for those who seek to move towards a greater degree of sustainability in urban areas. Cities can become 'sustainability heroes' and offer a better quality of life by being well-governed, using

resources efficiently and lowering their waste and greenhouse gas emissions (Satterthwaite, 2002).

Sustainable buildings and energy efficiency in homes

According to the OECD Sustainable Buildings Project (2002), *sustainable buildings* can be defined as those buildings that have a minimum adverse impact on the built and natural environment, in terms of the buildings themselves, their immediate surroundings and the broader regional and global settings (OECD, 2002). Thus, the rational use of natural resources and appropriate management of the building stock will contribute to saving scarce resources, reducing energy consumption, and improving environmental quality. At the same time, a number of studies point out to the long-term financial benefits and returns of ‘sustainable’ or ‘environmentally-friendly buildings’: they can have lower tenant turnover, command higher rents or prices, and attract grants and other subsidies (Miller et al., 2008; RICS, 2005). Much of the focus of current literature is on how to design or build new buildings or make existing buildings more resource-consumption efficient. Typical approaches are, for example, using energy and materials in buildings more efficiently.

However, Cooper and Curwell (1998) argue that every building is an act against nature and that, in ecological terms, every building is a parasite, while Rees (1992) described building as *a mode of pure consumption* which called on extensive external resources to sustain the life that it housed. Buildings have an impact on the natural environment at any stage along their lifecycle. The building process generates pollution and waste from construction works, and thus has implications for resource use. Once buildings are inhabited, they need energy, create domestic waste and by doing so contribute to further pollution. They also need maintenance, repairs or replacement which lead to a further use of resources. *So, how can they respond to the sustainability challenge?*

New buildings can respond to the challenge in different ways. Rydin (1992) defines four ways in which urban form could influence resource consumption: density, layout, size and shape of buildings. Higher density, compact and mixed-used layouts have been associated with a decrease in the number of trips by car, fewer and shorter transport journeys as a result of more walking and also more use of public transport (Owens, 1992). They have been related to less energy consumption due to smaller

unit sizes and more efficient consumption of energy as a result of the possibility to provide energy through combined-heat-and-power plants. The right orientation and shape can also increase the amount of day-light and solar exposure and thus reduce energy consumption. For instance, over recent years BedZed in Surrey, an environmentally-friendly residential scheme built in 2002, has been among the most visited and influential recent housing developments in the UK: it has become a test bed from which planners and house builders have learned and adapted features to minimise the environmental impact of other schemes.

However, the existing housing stock is by far the biggest challenge. There are around 24 million homes in the UK today and around 80% of these (19 million) will still be standing in 2050. While new housing adds at most 1% a year to the existing housing stock, the other 99% of buildings are already built and produce 27% of total UK carbon emissions, use half of all public water and generate 8% of total waste (Power, 2008). Evidence to date suggests that it is feasible to make the existing housing stock more environmentally friendly by:

- putting in place the right energy-efficiency measures which would save an extra 9-19 MtC savings per year by 2020;
- reducing demand and retrofitting efficient appliances and fittings which could contribute to 30% of water savings; and
- cutting by 50% waste to landfill and by 20% household waste with targeted household measures (SDC, 2006).

Most research focuses on how to make the existing housing stock more energy efficient in order to reduce its carbon emissions. Energy in dwellings is used for space heating, hot water, lighting and to power appliances and its use varies widely across the stock. The energy efficiency of many older homes will have been improved as a result of householder improvements such as installing new boilers, draught-proofing and insulation. But, overall, the factors that have the greatest correlation with the energy performance of existing housing are age, dwelling type and size (DCLG, 2006b). In other words, Victorian properties are much less energy efficient than post-war homes and bigger dwellings such as houses suffer more heat loss than smaller ones, such as flats.

While the government has given serious attention to reducing the impact on the environment from new homes in England, setting a goal of all new homes being zero carbon by 2016, it has comprehensively failed to set out effective policies to significantly reduce emissions from the homes we already live in (Boardman, 2007). The majority of the existing housing stock was constructed prior to the development of building energy standards and, to date, the mechanisms for improvement have been government-sponsored voluntary initiatives promoting efficiency upgrades or low-carbon technologies. The result has been the sporadic application of upgrades (Clarke et al., 2008). For example in 2006, 61% of cavity-walled homes had no cavity insulation and 43% of lofts had no insulation or were poorly insulated, that is to say they had less than 100mm of insulation (Utley and Shorrocks, 2008). As a result, in 2008 the government introduced the Energy Performance Certificates which aim to help to improve the energy efficiency of buildings. The Certificate is required now whenever a building is built, sold or rented out and considered as unlocking a ‘tremendous potential’ for more energy-efficient buildings (Boardman, 2007) p.43.

The UK has a legacy of poorly performing buildings, with 85% of the housing stock being more than 20 years old (Clarke et al., 2008). The poor quality of the building stock has also contributed to an estimated 2.5 million households being classified as ‘fuel poor’, meaning that some vulnerable households or individuals fail to maintain their homes to an adequate temperature (DBERR, 2007). This is more common in deprived urban areas with a concentration of low income groups and poor housing and area conditions, such as the areas this research looks at. The government aims to tackle these problems through programmes that combat fuel poverty, such as the Warm Front Scheme, the Decent Homes Standard (to which all council owned and managed properties should conform by 2010) and the Energy Efficiency Commitment, which focuses largely on low income groups (Royal Commission on Environmental Pollution, 2007a; Royal Commission on Environmental Pollution, 2007b).

This research focuses neither on the large scale of ‘sustainable cities’ nor on the smaller scale of sustainable or energy-efficient buildings. However, some of the issues discussed under ‘sustainable cities’ are important for what follows in this

thesis and are developed further in the next section which looks at how the urban regeneration agenda plays into this wider discussion of sustainability within the built environment and impacts on various elements of cities. In addition, this research examines housing refurbishment-led regeneration and thus the importance of upgrading or recycling existing buildings and making existing homes more environmentally friendly and energy efficient are relevant to the subject discussed here.

Indicators of urban sustainability

Urban regeneration and the land-use planning system have come under considerable scrutiny as the core mechanism for the delivery of sustainable urban development (Bruff and Wood, 2000; Owens and Cowell, 2002; Rydin, 1998). As Owens (1994, p.440) notes:

Planning and sustainability share two fundamental perspectives: the temporal and the spatial. Both are concerned with future impacts on and of particular localities.

The strategic aims of urban regeneration are amendable to the goals of sustainable development in various ways. At the most basic level, it can be argued that all urban regeneration contributes to sustainable development through the recycling of derelict land and buildings, reducing demand for peripheral development and facilitating the development of more compact cities (Couch and Dennemann, 2000). Similarly, regeneration projects encompass a spatial-temporal dimension across a range of organisations which offer scope for joined-up thinking and multi-agency partnering implied by more recent models of sustainable development which we discussed in the previous sections (Davoudi, 2000; DETR, 1999b). Planning and designing of 'compact' or 'convivial' cities can contribute to a more sustainable way of life, particularly in industrialized societies. This can be done by encouraging the development over time of integrated mixed-use urban communities where people have a say in the making of their cities, more 'liveable' and greener places, in much the same way that has been advocated by a diverse range of architectural critics and urban planners (Florida, 2002). Such cohesive and convivial human settlements could provide diverse, yet socially balanced, communities in an attractive setting.

These ideas fitted neatly with the agendas of multi-agency partnership working, inclusiveness and community cohesion, mixed communities and the shift from government to governance that have been pursued with great enthusiasm since the election of the New Labour in 1997. Under the ‘urban renaissance’ agenda, the government has advanced a holistic set of initiatives to tackle multiple disadvantage and promote local sustainable development. As Kingwell (2008, p.64) notes:

modern distributive models of justice rightly place emphasis on the fate of the least well-off: in a non-distributive idea of justice, we can update and expand this idea: a city, like a people, shall be judged by how it treats its most vulnerable members.

Yet despite this apparent compatibility, a growing body of research suggests that urban regeneration and sustainable development emerged as parallel strands of urban policy, and there has been little co-ordination between them and an imbalance in action (Evans and Jones, 2008; Couch and Dennemann, 2000). Moreover, the intrinsic vagueness purported by the concept of sustainable development acted as a barrier to successful holistic or sustainable urban redevelopment (Astleithner et al., 2004a; Davies, 2002) and fuelled a microcosm of pre-existing local conflict and interests (Rydin et al., 2003b).

Current urban regeneration practice has also been seen as a tool to create ‘incubation zones’ for sustainable communities (Dale and Newman, 2009) and its implementation has received considerable attention in the literature. Redmond and Russell’s (2008) study of Irish housing estates identifies many factors at play in the demolition and replacing of estates, publicly deemed as ‘unsustainable’, with a market-driven model for mixed tenure, ‘regenerated’ and socially – or more accurately, economically – stable communities. They show the extent to which regeneration programs overlook residents’ conceptualizations of their own communities and their subjective meaning of ‘sustainability’. In another analysis of the implementation of sustainable urban regeneration at the neighbourhood scale, Bunce (2009) reviews the regeneration of Toronto’s Waterfront where the process of area gentrification is veiled by claims of ‘developing sustainability’ and argues that ‘sustainable communities’ may become the domain of urban elites, marginalizing, or ignoring, social justice and equity concerns in the process. Adding to the gentrification-sustainability debate, Dale and Newman’s (2009) case study analysis

of brown field regeneration in Canada note that there is no guarantee that applying principles of ‘sustainable regeneration’ encourage or even maintain existing social diversity and equity within a neighbourhood.

Despite the above criticism, various authors argue that urban regeneration has had a positive impact on the overall quality of life of many urban communities over the last two decades (Power, 2009a; Cole, 2008; SDC, 2007); and that current area-based regeneration practice has been seen as an example and inspiration for future approaches of delivering sustainability at local level (Foresight, 2008). Moreover, Evans and Jones (2008) note that intertwining principles of sustainable development and urban regeneration made a difference in practice by improving many aspects of the overall urban sustainability.

What are these aspects of urban sustainability? How do they make a difference in practice for urban areas and communities? The following sections seek to answer these questions by setting out an overview of those aspects which have received most attention. It is worth to clarify here that many of these aspects are associated in practice with urban sustainability *indicators* which seeks to measure these specific aspects of sustainability. The impact of urban intervention on these indicators is discussed in further detail below and structured under four main headings which mirror the ‘four pillars’ in the ‘prism’ interpretation of sustainable development, this research’s preferred model of sustainability. They are:

- Economic indicators, including overall economic performance, house prices and land values, housing affordability and area gentrification;
- Social indicators, including community cohesion, community crime and safety, and community mix;
- Environmental indicators, including aspects of the both natural and built environment, such as for example use of local resources, local physical environments, green space, services and facilities and public transport; and
- Governance indicators including community participation and local partnerships.

Economic indicators

The interpretation of sustainable development along purely economic lines is a common theme within the regeneration literature, and the ambiguity of the term is often depicted as enabling the economic agenda. Couch and Dennenmann's (2000) study of the regeneration of an inner-city area in Liverpool found that economic aspects were prioritised over social and environmental concerns and that economic regeneration and more precisely property development were the main driving forces regenerating the area, while Raco's (2003) study of Reading found a similar bias towards the economic, this time articulated through the concept of growth.

A major study looking into the impact of urban renaissance on **overall economic performance** of British cities presents a startling picture. The study finds that overall and relative to other cities, 'urban regeneration cities' that were struggling in 1997 are still struggling today. These cities failed not only to catch up but have fallen even further behind. Their GVA was 13% below the national average, and the gap has increased by 40% since 1997; inhabitants were 33% less rich than those in other cities, a 3% increase since 1997; even after a decade of falling unemployment, unemployment rates were 40% above the national average; and people were 38% less likely to register a new business. The study concluded that the UK story was not one of successful urban policy convergence, but a tale of two kinds of cities, one free to prosper, the other dependent on regeneration funding (Leunig and Swaffield, 2007). Parallel research also noted that regeneration budgets had failed to focus on the roots of economic deficiency such as for example long-term unemployment and neglected to boost enterprise and skills which would have helped broader economic outcomes (Hayman, 2009). In addition, residents living near regeneration schemes appeared to benefit little from the training or employment created by regeneration programs (All Party Urban Development Group, 2009).

It is broadly agreed that **house prices and land values** typically increase in deprived areas undergoing regeneration (Roessner, 2000; Turok, 1992; Razzu, 2004; Groves et al., 2003). This increase has been attributed in the UK to three broad factors: the impact of **public intervention** manifested through various regeneration programmes; **speculative buying**, also stimulated by public intervention (NAO, 2007); and a growth in the **buy-to-let** market (Sprigings, 2007). Yet the relationship between

speculative buying and buy-to-let is more complex and problematic, for these factors are sensitive to market fluctuations. For instance, some of the buy-to-let locations in highly visible properties in central city locations or low-value terraces, experience during economic downturn some of the largest price falls (Parkinson et al., 2009). Moreover, speculative buying is usually a short-term investment, whereby private investors move fast in and out of an area to maximise profits, and thus they are unlikely to have medium- and long-term plans in the area and therefore to contribute to the regeneration and sustainability of the local community (Nevin and Leather, 2007).

Increases in prices have been associated with an increased lack of local **housing affordability**, defined here as the ratio between average house prices and average household incomes for working households. Housing affordability has been the subject of various studies, as well as sustained government intervention over the past ten years (Barker, 2004). Moreover, it is a main concern for the general public. A recent study found that, despite the recession background of falling house prices, the public was still concerned about housing affordability (NHPAU, 2008). An explanation of this is the steady increase in the ratio of house price to household income over the last decade, as income increases lagged behind increases in house prices: for instance, the ratio of house price to household income for working households exceeds five to one in thirty-three (out of 152) local authority areas in England (Wilcox, 2003). Moreover, research assessing the impact of the HMR Programme found that the affordability gap between local regeneration areas and their regions has been increasing steadily over the last decade mainly at the loss of low-income households and first-time buyers (Nevin and Leather, 2007; Cole, 2008).

The implications of rising house prices and lack of affordability for low income households are twofold. On the one hand, low-income homeowners may benefit from increasing land values, as the worth of their asset appreciates (Rusk, 2001). On the other hand, increasing property and land values could be problematic and may result in the **gentrification** of the area, a process by which wealthier people move into, renovate, and restore housing and sometimes businesses in these deprived areas and thus push out the poorer original population.

In fact, the displacement of the area's original residents has been the most important criticism of gentrification. Displacement can occur on several levels: as *intentional displacement*, the planned outcome of slum clearances for example; as *unintentional displacement*, the by-product of rising property values, or, to use Marcuse's term, *exclusionary displacement*, to describe how future generations of low-income households are excluded from living in the neighbourhood due to the rising prices (Marcuse, 1986). Since gentrified areas are often located in the run-down urban core, lower income residents are eventually priced out and are sometimes left with no place to go. In addition, retail chains, services, and social networks are also priced out and replaced with higher-end retail and services. This second generation displacement or 'exclusionary gentrification' is likely to be problematic in renewal areas where residents may expect to continue living near to friends and relatives. As the cost of new homes in the neighbourhood increases and better-off people start moving into the area, low-income homeowners may find difficult to improve their housing situation within the area, and their relatives and other social tenants looking to move into home ownership may be priced out of purchasing in their neighbourhood (Lupton, 2004).

It may be the case that such a 'negative' or 'aggressive' gentrification process may be experienced by large and 'fashionable' cities and so it is less likely to be found in areas of low demand housing, where instead area gentrification could be perceived as a positive phenomenon (Butler, 2007). Power calls this 'low level gentrification', a process of improvement that integrates new residents within the existing urban frame by reclaiming spare spaces whilst organically improving them, in sharp contrast to extreme gentrification which displaces existing residents (Power, 2009b). She also argues that 'gentrification is the inevitable price of success' in the rebirth of run-down inner-city areas (Power and Houghton, 2007). Yet a central question for current sustainable communities projects in HMR areas remains whether they represent another variation of 'negative' gentrification and therefore result in the displacement of existing residents, or whether they represent a distinctly different form of neighbourhood upgrading, which improves an area without displacing the low-income residents.

Social indicators

Helping to build more cohesive communities has been one of the main aims of current regeneration practice. The **community cohesion** agenda in the UK represents the political response to the ethnic riots of 2001 in Bradford, Burnley and Oldham (Burnett, 2004). Discriminatory housing practices and ethnic self-segregation, especially among South Asians households, have been regarded by the government as the main threats to community cohesion, while residential integration and inter-ethnic mix have been considered to promote and foster community cohesion.

Research shows that urban regeneration intervention has an overall positive impact on areas with poor community cohesion through promoting more interaction among different resident groups (SDC, 2007; Audit Commission, 2008a). It has also been noted that levels of crime are related to levels of community cohesion: the higher the levels of cohesion within a community, the lower its crime rate (Hirschfield and Bowers, 1997). Yet Dekker and Bolt (2005) argue that increasing socio-economic and ethnic diversity in deprived urban areas, one of the aims of the government's 'mixed communities' agenda which we discuss later, was likely to lead to less social cohesion.

Reducing crime has been seen as a prerequisite for achieving regeneration in deprived areas, and the provision of 'safe', 'clean' and 'orderly' spaces have been regarded as crucial to successful urban regeneration (Coleman, 2004a; Coleman, 2004b; SEU, 2001). Yet Hancock (2003, 2006), in a series of papers, argues that this relationship is regarded too simplistic and is not always true, as the UK's plethora of area-based initiatives, which failed to restore deprived areas by tackling crime, have shown. At the same time, it is widely recognised that the socio-economic context of neighbourhoods and communities can be a significant factor in whether or not people become involved with criminal activity or associated behaviours (Farrington, 2001). Increasing attention is paid to how upgrading area conditions can make a difference to people's behaviour and perceptions of crime and safety (Mumford and Power, 2003). As area conditions are improved following area regeneration, fear of crime is also found to decrease (Page and Boughton, 1997; Lawless, 2006). The 'broken windows' theory is a famous example of this, premised on the understanding that the neglect of local environments will signal to people that more extensive and serious

instances of negative behaviour will also be tolerated, or at least not effectively opposed (Wilson and Keeling, 1982; Keeling and Coles, 1996).

Since the late 1990s, the government has been advocating the advantages of **mixed communities**. 'Mixed communities' have mainly been seen as a tool to tackle poverty by 'discouraging' residential segregation through increased social interaction and reducing income inequality. The Urban Task Force (1999, p.65) noted that:

Mixing households is an important factor in creating more balanced and sustainable urban communities. This requires genuinely mixed cost housing for mixed income neighbourhoods.

Research on the validity of this theory is not conclusive. On one hand, the belief that mixed community policies can effectively tackle area deprivation or income inequality has been challenged on the basis of residential segregation that is a consequence, not a cause, of income inequality (Cheshire et al., 2008). On the other hand, the most common rationales for mixed communities were found to remain valid, despite questions regarding their implementation (Tunstall and Fenton, 2006).

Empirical evidence shows that regenerating deprived areas with principles of mixed communities in mind can attract back and retain families in the cities, may improve facilities, services and educational attainment; increase employment levels through 'role-models', discourage area stigma, negative perceptions, crime and anti-social behaviour through greater informal enforcement of social norms (Tunstall and Fenton, 2006; Silverman et al., 2006). Mixed communities are also described as more 'sustainable', reflecting the capacity of neighbourhood to continue to meet the needs of its residents over time (Kearns and Turok, 2006).

One of the questions that runs through the literature is *what is being mixed*. Some research refers to a mix of residents' characteristics, including housing tenure, income, ethnicity, age or household composition, while others refer to a mix of building types or uses. This research explores mix of tenure, income and ethnicity. Many studies focus on tenure mix rather than income mix as the Census lacks data on household income, based on a perceived or actual reluctance to disclose income levels (Tunstall, 2003b).

Academic views on **tenure mix** as a means for greater social mixing and interaction are competing and some authors have questioned altogether the efficacy of mixing tenures as a policy for improving social well-being (Graham et al., 2009). On the one hand, tenure diversification is expected to improve areas' stability by increasing the potential for social mixing and well-being: tenure diversification helps to reduce stigma (Martin and Watkinson, 2003) and even more so when it is design-blind (Camina and Wood, 2009); it also attracts better quality services (Turok et al., 1999; Atkinson and Kintrea, 2000; Kearns and Parkinson, 2001). On the other hand, tenure mix could promote little scope for social interaction between different tenure groups (Atkinson and Kintrea, 2000) and even in cases of successful tenure-mixed communities, people could live parallel lives or in divided communities (Camina and Wood, 2009; Wood and Vamplew, 1999).

Tenure mix is usually used as a proxy for **income mix** on the assumption that lower socio-economic groups will be found in social housing while higher ones in homeownership. However, this is not always the case, particularly in former council estates where homes have been bought through the right-to-buy, in areas of low-demand housing with problems of negative equity and in low-income homeownership schemes, where owner-occupiers can be low-income households. One study found that owners of right-to-buy homes had a similar income profile to those in social housing (Towers, 2000), while another study noted that the two estates with the highest concentration of deprivation in York had 50% right-to-buy owners (Page, 2005).

The **ethnic mix** and ethnicity can be an important factor in neighbourhood affiliation. Work in Hulme, in Manchester, found that some black families saw the ethnic diversity of central Hulme and neighbouring Moss Side as an appealing feature of the area (Fenton, 2005). Further research into two adjacent Bangladeshi and white areas in West Newcastle, found that the estate with a majority of Bangladeshi residents was in high demand and had low turnover, its residents also being relatively well integrated into the local economy and community, while the white population in the other estate had more housing choice as a result of low demand, but exhibited greater exclusion for the labour market and 'civil society' (Cameron and Field, 2000b).

Natural and built environment indicators

We noted previously the importance of upgrading the existing housing stock and how current research has mainly focussed on energy use in homes, above **use of resources** more generally. In fact, research carried out by the Sustainable Development Commission (2007) found that overall the use of energy is better documented and supported by government policy than the use of water and waste recycling. Couch and Denneman (2000) also suggest that the policy goals of urban regeneration and reducing use of resources have failed to be effectively integrated in practice because of three types of barriers:

- *perceptual*, by which different professions involved in delivery such as economists, engineers, planners and environmental coordinators have different perceptions and do not share a common agenda as they have not worked together historically;
- *institutional*, whereby the complex network of institutions involved in delivering urban regeneration perpetuates an ambiguity over responsibilities and a configuration of local interests; and
- *economic*, when short-term financial efficiency seems to be the predominant criteria.

Energy efficiency in homes has received a great deal of attention recently. There are a number of existing technologies, mainly targeting the thermal efficiency of the building that can help reduce carbon emissions from the existing domestic stock. Improving efficiency involves a combination of improving insulation and using the most efficient heating systems. The most commonly applied measures are: water tank insulation, cavity wall and loft insulation, draught proofing, condensing boilers, solar water heating and double glazing (DCLG, 2006b).

The least efficient properties are, generally, the oldest – all types of pre-1919 homes – and any others that also have solid walls. Many of them are owner occupied and above average in value. In reality, the energy efficiency of the housing stock varies by tenure. The private rented sector is the least energy efficient sector, followed by owner occupation and best social renting (DCLG, 2007a). The social stock is on average more energy efficient. This can be explained in part by improvements made to the social stock, which is demonstrated in the English House Condition Survey;

when comparing similar dwelling types, the social sector properties perform better on average than private (DCLG, 2006b). Scottish research also found that social landlords successfully demonstrated their commitment to reducing energy use in homes (Gassner et al., 2008). One of the most difficult groups to influence is private landlords, who own about 12% of the UK housing stock, because they are largely unregulated and comprising almost entirely of single property landlords. In England, much of this is known to be energy inefficient, in comparison to the properties owned social landlords (Boardman, 2007).

Many energy efficiency measures have been cost effective for households for many years, but they have not been installed. This is partly because households perceive the cost of these measures to be considerably greater than they are and they similarly underestimate the benefits (Oxera, 2006). Moreover, their perceptions are likely to be affected by factors such as fuel prices and their media coverage, cost of efficiency measures, technology available, good information about how to improve and the impact on energy bills, level of thermal comfort achieved, and attitudes to the environment and climate change. As an example, only 5% of home owners consider the heating of their homes to be ineffective and therefore in need of improvement (DCLG, 2006b). Steg (2008) found three barriers to greater energy efficiency in homes:

- the insufficient knowledge of effective ways to reduce household energy use: individuals need to be aware of the need for and possible ways to reduce household energy use.
- the low priority and high costs of energy savings: they need to be motivated to conserve energy; energy use is not driven by concerns about environmental and energy concerns and other factors are at play such as status, comfort and effort.
- the lack of feasible alternatives: energy-efficient equipment may not be available or be un-affordable.

Upgrading local environments can generate positive externalities and establish an upward spiral of improvement which eventually turns run-down neighbourhoods into more attractive to live and invest in places (Turok, 1992). There is a broad consensus that, in areas of regeneration, standards of external appearance, cleanliness and safety

are improved (Page and Boughton, 1997; Jupp, 1999; Beekam et al., 2001). Upgraded housing and 'image construction' have also contributed to significant improvements in residents' overall satisfaction with their areas (Lawless, 2006; Rhodes et al., 2005).

Yet many authors have aired doubts about the ability of 'physical' upgrading to trigger broader regeneration. It is worth heeding the words of Grant (2006, p.227) who opines:

If we believe (and not everyone does) that good communities should be inclusive, empowering, democratic, affordable, adaptable, and environmentally responsible, then attractive physical places will not be enough.

Arthurson (2001), for example, argued that improved housing environments and image did not automatically benefit existing socio-economically disadvantaged residents. Similarly, physical upgrading that can spiral into gentrification and contribute to the displacement of existing poorer residents, can be a factor in the decline of neighbouring areas and may even have damaging effects on local business and communities by hiking rents and land values (Kaplan et al., 2004; Harvey, 2000; Vicario and Monje, 2003).

The green infrastructure such as parks and green open space is an essential element of liveable cities and towns. According to a recent CABI report, 91% of people think that parks and green spaces contribute to their quality of life (CABI Space, 2006). Despite their importance there is no statutory national requirement associated with parks, nor a coordinated funding stream, and so the provision and maintenance of these places can end up adding pressure to already strained local authority budgets. A study carried out by the Sustainable Development Commission found that the regeneration approach to green spaces and the natural environment was highly variable. The study looked at a number of regeneration initiatives in HMR and Growth areas and found that the best results occurred in areas which planned to encroach into green field land such as some of the Growth areas (SDC, 2007).

Public services and facilities in regeneration areas may suffer during the process, especially when demolition and redevelopment are involved. They usually rely on

high volumes of users and when demolition and decanting take place there may temporarily be insufficient numbers of residents to maintain services, leading to decline and even closure, particularly of schools (Power and Mumford, 1999; Allen et al., 2005). New services and facilities may open only once a sizable number of residents are living on site, which is usually well into the regeneration lifespan. Residents of different income levels have different needs for local services. As a result, local services are likely to be geared to the predominant population. One study found, for example, that a greater proportion of owners could bring greater improvements to services (Page and Boughton, 1997), while another found that community centres in renewal areas were avoided by owners and better-off residents tended to shop and use other services outside the neighbourhood, rather than supporting local services (Atkinson and Kintrea, 2000).

There is little dispute in the wider sustainability debate that improved **public transport** in urban areas is desirable. Potentially, the biggest contribution that urban regeneration could make to the reduction of energy consumption and pollution in cities is to minimise the need for travel by maximising the provision for transport modes other than the car as well as encouraging walking and cycling (Barton, 1992; Howard, 1990). For instance, Owens (1992) found that where propensity to travel was low, local facilities were more likely to be used and fuel consumption was relatively low.

There is also a representative body of research about the relationship between investment in transport and regeneration investment. Barton (1992) argued that the greatest gains occurred where public transport provision was part of a major investment in green strategies of transport integration, car restraint and enhanced pedestrian facilities. The key to more sustainable urban forms, he argued, were integrated land-use and transport planning and firm commitment on the part of both local and central government. Lawless (1995, 1999) found that the impact of urban regeneration on public transport was not particularly strong and the probability of securing transport benefits from urban regeneration initiatives was related to the lack of co-ordination and integration between the two policy areas, and the increasingly fragmented nature of urban governance policy.

Nevertheless, transport investment has a significant and positive impact on the property market. A study of property values following the opening of the Victoria Line in London in 1969 by Wachter (1971) estimated that values in the catchment area of the line had increased up to 5% compared to properties outside the catchment area. Another study on the impact of light rail in Manchester found that properties within walking distance of light rail were significantly more expensive than similar properties outside its catchment area (Forrest et al., 1996). Pickett and Perrett (1984) studied the effect of the then new Tyne and Wear Metro on residential properties in districts through which the lines passed. They found that there was an average increase of 1.7% in values of properties near to the Metro stations between the two months either side of the date on which each section of the line opened.

Getting **schools** involved in regeneration can be particularly challenging, partly since their performance is primarily evaluated on the basis of pupils' educational outcomes and little value is placed on their extra-curricular activities (West and Noden, 2009; Clark et al., 1999). Yet school quality is an important consideration for households with children. Some studies have placed schools as the single most important criterion for middle-class families when deciding to buy a property (Housing Building Federation 1997). The dividend a desirable primary school adds to the property value of family homes within its catchment area has been calculated to be as much as 34% in the UK (Cheshire and Sheppard, 2004).

Governance indicators

Community participation has been identified by *Agenda 21* as a central prerequisite for change towards sustainable development.

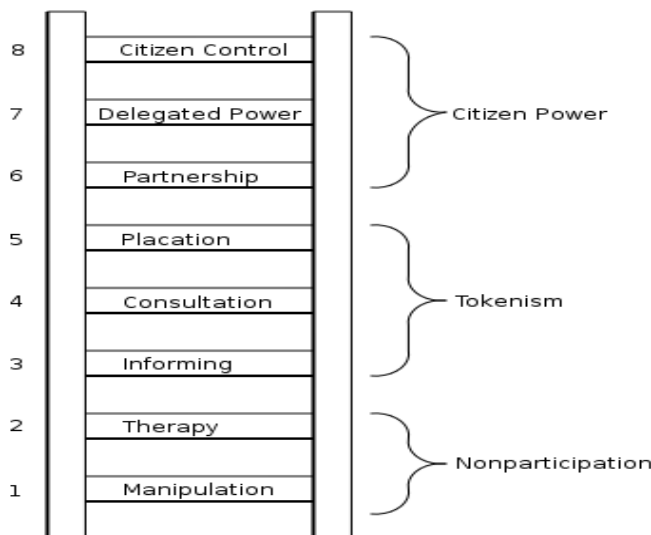
The idea of citizen participation is a little like eating spinach: no one is against it in principle because it is good for you. (Arnstein, 1969)

Arnstein (1969) implies that it is hard to be against community involvement, but even harder to be explicit about what one actually means by it. For example a recent study found that both residents and officials were uncertain about how to translate community engagement or involvement into practice (Ray et al., 2008; Foot, 2009). The complexity of governance mechanisms and the speed at which they change were confusing. Yet the study found there was also disagreement about why residents

should be involved: was it for tapping into local knowledge or to effectively involve them in the decision-making process?

Arnstein proposes a ‘ladder of citizen participation’ with a three-tier incremental structure, starting with non-participation, ending with citizen power, with eight degrees of citizen participation (Figure 2.5). He argues that the closer a community is to the top, the more effective its involvement becomes. The two bottom rungs of the ladder, *manipulation* and *therapy*, describe levels of ‘non-participation’, ‘engineered’ to substitute genuine participation. In contrast, at the top of the ladder, citizens can negotiate and engage in trade-offs with traditional power holders or decision makers.

Figure 2.5 – Arnstein’s ladder of citizenship participations (Arnstein, 1969)



Community involvement builds up local links, knowledge and understanding of the local area and increases residents’ confidence and team-working (Hay, 2008). Regeneration areas with high levels of community involvement tend to have residents with a stronger sense of commitment to the area, and the regeneration staff tend to be more positive about and value more community involvement (Ray et al., 2008). Community participation in mechanisms of local governance is central in three ways. First, it plays an important role in improving public services, by strengthening the hand of service providers petitioning for more or flexible resources. Second, it tackles the ‘democratic deficit’ and thus local residents become more influential in local political processes (Maguire and Truscott, 2006). Third, it

creates 'linking' social capital between the community and local service providers (Skidmore et al., 2006).

Yet community involvement can be dominated by a small group of insiders, the so-called 'usual suspects', that benefits the social capital building with no guarantee that the wider community benefits further beyond them (Skidmore et al., 2006). The prominence of this 'usual suspects' group is explained in the literature by two types of barriers (Rai, 2008). First, *institutional barriers* such as the complexity and bureaucracy of governance mechanisms, lack of resources, time, dedicated staff and sometimes gender and race discrimination. Some officials may also prefer to work with 'good engagers' or 'the usual suspects' who facilitate on-going dialogue, feedback, understanding and help develop reciprocal trust (Ray et al., 2008). Second, *individual or agency barriers* such as lack of time, expertise, information and confidence. For instance, a study found that over two thirds of BME women who were actively involved in community felt that there was a 'glass ceiling' which made their progress through governance structures difficult and slow. The same study also found that community beliefs and attitudes also impinged on the ability of some Bangladeshi, Indian and Pakistani women to participate (Rai, 2008). In addition, new arrivals/migrants have been found to be generally overlooked by the community involvement process and traditional leaders do not necessarily represent the voices of women or younger people (Blake et al., 2008).

'Joined-up' or 'multi-agency' **partnerships** have been seen as one of the strengths of recent urban regeneration initiatives, with one evaluation noting that "*when the level of participation was low, performance was poor*" (Cullingworth and Nadin, 2002), p.303). A number of studies have praised the partnership and multi-level working arrangements of recent regeneration initiatives (Cole, 2008; Shelter, 2009; Audit Commission, 2009a). In contrast, earlier regeneration initiatives such as some of the Urban Development Corporations did not develop local partnerships, bypassing the local authority and residents, resulting in bureaucratic resistance, insufficient attention to local needs and recurring problems (Foster, 1999; Robson B. et al, 1994). Most of New Labour's urban regeneration initiatives have adopted some kind of local partnership agreement. These have usually included local public authorities such as local councils and social landlords, local service providers, residents and

community-based organisations and sometimes local business as well. Their role has been to provide leadership, create a vision and build consensus, translate a vision into workable objectives, bring together the public, private and voluntary sector, maximize resources and encourage private investment. Yet two difficulties were associated with local partnerships. First, large multi-agency partnerships tended to marginalise the contribution of residents and residents in low-income areas were expected to invest far more time in these partnerships than if they lived in middle class neighbourhoods (Barnes et al., 2008; Foot, 2009). Second, service providers in fields such as health, education and leisure may find it difficult to engage with issues beyond service delivery and their agendas, draining time from business-as-usual. Their time and input into these extra activities are also little acknowledged when their national performance targets are evaluated.

2.3 Discussion

This chapter has placed sustainability and sustainable communities within the broader context of the built environment, and more specifically intervention in urban areas. The first part of the chapter distinguished between different interpretations and models of sustainable development, and found that the concept has become salient, undergone a significant transformation and preoccupied both academics and policy-makers since the late 1980s. Despite its popularity in both the policy-making and political spheres, there still is disagreement and debate in the academic world over its definition, application and measurement. The discussion then focused on sustainability indicators, a 'worthwhile' tool that could both define and operationalise sustainable communities, and highlighted their potential in formulating and impacting on policy and practice. Chapter Three, which develops the conceptual framework of the research, draws heavily on this first section.

The second section of the chapter reviewed the sustainability discourse from the built environment perspective: it examined theories and aspects of the built environment which were prominent to the delivery of urban sustainability, such as the larger-scale of 'sustainable cities' and smaller-scale of 'energy-efficient buildings'. Brandon's and Lombardi's (2005) adapted diagram showed how our research will focus on neither the wider sustainability agenda nor individual buildings but will rather looked

at the communities that lay within. This second part also examined various economic, social, environment and governance indicators of urban sustainability. Some of these indicators, such as gentrification, community cohesion, community mix or community participation, were presented in a rather simplified manner and could be expanded in studies in their own right but that would have been beyond the scope and focus of this research. Nevertheless, they represent an important point of reference for this research and inform the rest of this thesis and specifically Chapter Five to Eight, which set out to test the framework proposed in Chapter Three. They will also assist to put Chapter Nine into a wider perspective, as it discusses people's perceptions of community sustainability and the role of housing refurbishment-led regeneration in changing areas and communities.

This review of literature highlighted two main gaps in the research of sustainable communities: one is related to the way sustainable urban communities are defined and operationalised and another regards how progress towards sustainability is measured. First, the field is besieged with sets of sustainability indicators, many partial, unclear or unstructured. Many sets overlook the very community they are targeted to and local governance networks. Second, the sustainability of urban communities has been mainly assessed by focusing on their 'physical' and 'design' characteristics and little attention has been paid to the broader dynamics of socio-economic and governance processes by which urban sustainability was achieved.

Thus, this research aims to fill these gaps by exploring a conceptual framework and set of indicators of sustainable communities based on local community's and stakeholders' values and taking into consideration the dynamics of local governance arrangements. The set of indicators will be then tested by examining community sustainability through the lens of a wide range of economic, social, environmental and governance indicators of urban areas that are bound up in the framework. The implications of what this chapter discussed for exploring and testing a new framework of sustainable communities are two: one theoretical, concerning the clarification of concepts used, and one practical, regarding the steps and up-front decisions taken in developing the framework and set of sustainable communities indicators.

First, we will use concepts of ‘sustainable communities’ and ‘community sustainability’ as interchangeable terms. However, the research will take an *anthropo-centric* (interpretation of) sustainability and a *locality* or *place* (connotation of) community. As we seek to define urban sustainable communities and examine the impact of urban regeneration on community sustainability from a community perspective, a *people-centred* perspective of sustainability seems more appropriate than one that focuses on global ecology for example. A people-centred definition of sustainable development is also embodied in the Brundland and UNEP definitions and stated clearly in Principle 1 of the Rio Declaration, that is to say ‘human beings are at the centre of concerns for sustainable development. They are entitled to a healthy and productive life in harmony with nature’. This means that the study will aim to highlight key local values (of sustainable communities). Relating a community to a certain locality is also important in areas of urban regeneration which have a well-defined geographical focus and thus, clear boundaries.

Moreover, Valentin’s and Spangenberg’s (1999) *prism of sustainability* bears significant influence on the conceptual framework of this research. We understand sustainability as sitting on the four ‘pillars’ of economy, society, environment and governance, as opposed to more traditional three-pillar interpretations of sustainability illustrated by the ‘trefoil’ diagram which overlooks the role of governance arrangements in shaping sustainable communities. We also acknowledge the *time* dimension of sustainable communities which implies that sustainability should be seen as a *process of change* and not a goal end or destination.

Second, we think that a new framework and set of indicators of sustainable communities should:

- reflect the local context and various levels of ‘expertise’

Research found that people show an interest in indicators only if they relate to what they value and if they can verify what the indicator shows from their own experience. We think that sustainable communities indicators need to reflect the values that people, not experts, see as important and therefore a bottom-up, community-led approach suits better the research than a top-down, expert-led approach. It is also important that stakeholders have the opportunity to comment on and contribute to the development of indicators, so that they feel ownership over the indicators (Rydin et

al., 2003a). Such approach will facilitate a ‘common’ understanding of the vocabulary of sustainable communities at various levels, including citizens, professionals, government officials and decisions makers, and will lessen the tensions between top-down and bottom-up models of sustainable communities.

- acknowledge that SIs are socially constructed and therefore their development is constantly changing

The development of SIs is not a self-evident and linear process, but emergent and evolutionary, which avoids imposing solutions but facilitates thought and debate on the issue of sustainable communities, a pre-requisite for common understanding and harmony. This flexibility also allows for the evolution of knowledge about sustainable communities as time progresses, thereby incorporating the process dimension of sustainability.

- reflect the close relationship between the indicator development and the dynamics of governance tied to their use.

The sustainable community indicators can act as portals of communication between various audiences and users and thereby ‘shape networks’.

The following chapter explores a new framework and set of sustainable community indicators which builds upon these concepts and reflexions.

Chapter Three

A Proposed Framework for Evaluating Sustainable Communities

- 3.1 A *list* of sustainable communities
- 3.2 *Evaluating* sustainable communities
- 3.3 A *definition* of sustainable communities
- 3.4 Discussion

Chapter One and Two put forward some of the challenges associated with assessing sustainable communities in the context of the built environment. They discussed how difficult is to define and operationalise sustainability in general and sustainable communities in particular, not just because of their complex, multi-dimensional and ambiguous nature, but also because they are generally not easily understood by all those involved in their making. Experts usually deploy a specialised and codified vocabulary that is not common to all disciplines and stakeholders involved in the delivery of sustainable communities. For instance, Brandon and Lombardi (2005, p.76) found that

each discipline brings its own agenda, its own classification system and its own techniques to the subject. Often the disciplines are unwilling (or unable) to consider the views represented by others because there is not a common language or a systematic methodology that will allow a fruitful dialogue to take place.

The previous two chapters also articulated the focus of this thesis: community sustainability in the context of *urban intervention more specifically housing refurbishment-led regeneration, through the lens of local communities*. People and communities are at the very heart of the research. This fits well with the adopted *anthropo-centric* interpretation of sustainability, which will contribute towards our definition of ‘sustainable communities’.

This chapter aims to explore two questions raised in Chapter One:

- *What is a sustainable community?*
- *What makes a community sustainable from a built environment perspective?*

It proposes a new framework for assessing sustainable communities in the context of housing refurbishment-led regeneration in HMR areas, which assists in answering the questions above and establishes the foundations for what follows in this thesis.

The framework consists of:

- *A list* of components or indicators of sustainable communities;
- An approach for *assessing* sustainable communities; and
- *A definition* of sustainable communities.

The three components of the framework are discussed in detail by the following sections.

3.1 A *list* of sustainable communities

In order to examine sustainable communities, we need to decide which are their most central and valuable aspects. There is no pre-defined approach for this purpose, although there are a number of routes available to derive a list of aspects or indicators of sustainable communities – for example, through normative reasoning, participatory processes or drawing on pre-existing agreements on central and valuable aspects of sustainable communities. We found that most of the assessment approaches in the literature were not transparent or open to scrutiny and so, their merits, or otherwise, could not be freely debated. Moreover, many did not rest on people's or communities' values and understanding of sustainable communities, but rather on what 'experts' thought these values might be.

At the end of Chapter Two we summarised the merits and challenges associated with the development of *lists* of sustainability indicators and put forward the idea of a new approach for defining and operationalizing sustainable urban communities. The approach should rely on transparent and 'democratic' processes, reflect the context one looks at and be 'valued' and 'understood' by all stakeholders involved in the process of sustainable communities, including decision makers, regeneration officials, planners and designers, economic and social development officers, community and environmental activists, and, more importantly, citizens. It also should draw on 'different forms of knowledge' (Astleithner and Hamedinger, 2003a) and be founded on a four-partite interpretation of sustainable communities whereby governance arrangements play an equally central role to that of local economy, society and environment.

We think that only such approach could lessen some of the tensions between top-down and bottom-up models of sustainability by which 'expert-led' sets of sustainability indicators are often in conflict with the communities to be evaluated that frequently come with their own specific indicators regarding issues that they want to address. Moreover, it appears that not all aspects or indicators of sustainable communities are equally important to all communities, as a result of intrinsic people and place features and circumstances. For example, a study of two urban areas with similar profiles in Salford and Turin found that Salford residents placed *reduction of*

crime as their highest priority while Turin residents placed *environmental quality* as their highest requirement (Curwell and Lombardi, 1999).

Method for deriving a *list* of sustainable communities

Searching for a method to develop a ‘list’ of aspects or indicators of sustainable communities, we started to look at how other multidimensional concepts such as poverty, inequality and social exclusion were measured and broken up into easier to understand components. Through our readings and discussions with colleagues at the LSE’s Centre for Analysis of Social Exclusion we were introduced to the methodological literature developed around the capabilities approach², which has increasingly become an alternative ‘point of departure’ for multidimensional concepts such as human development, poverty, inequality, quality-of-life and well-being. More specifically, we found the methodological aspects involved in the operationalisation of these concepts by a series of authors valuable. They argued that in ‘operationalising’ ambiguous or multidimensional concepts, the real problem is that researchers do not make explicit the way certain dimensions or components have been chosen so that an ‘outsider’ cannot probe, trust and question their choice (Alkire, 2008; Robeyns, 2005; Alkire et al., 2008).

In order to respond to this challenge, Alkire (2008) identifies five methods employed alone or in combination by researchers when selecting the most central and valuable aspects of multidimensional concepts. She also notes that researchers should provide the reader with an ‘*explicit documentation of selection procedures*’ and by sharing their assumptions they invite public dialogue and scrutiny which lead in turn to a more efficient and constructive approach. *Table 3.1* describes these methods and discusses some of their limitations and applications. In brief, they are as follows:

- Use of *existing data* or available statistics;
- Use of researcher’s *normative assumptions* or informed guesses;

² Over the last decade Amartya Sen’s capability approach has emerged as the leading alternative to standard economic frameworks for thinking about poverty, inequality and human development generally.

- Use of *existing lists* usually generated and developed via public consensus;
- Use of *participatory processes* including extensive and on-going consultation of those involved; and
- Use of *empirical evidence* of people's values and/ or behaviours.

Table 3.1 – Methods employed by researchers in designing a 'list' of 'central and valuable' aspects of multidimensional aspects

Method	Description	Comments	Examples
1. Existing data	Dimensions are selected because of convenience or because these are the only data available .	Limited as data availability should not be the main driver. When used, it should be used with other methods in order to address its limitation.	(Partially) Human Development Index
2. Normative assumptions (value based judgment)	Dimensions are based on explicit or implicit assumptions about what people should (or do) value .	The most common method perhaps. Strong method when the authors transparently communicate their assumptions in order to catalyze public discussion.	Human Rights, Millennium Development Goals
3. Public 'consensus'	Dimensions are related to lists that have public consensus.	The lists are considered a relative stable point of departure due to legitimate consensus building at one point in time; they were shaped and changed in response to some criticism.	Human Rights, MDGs, Sphere Project
4. Participatory Processes	Dimensions selected on the basis of ongoing purposive participatory exercises .	Time and resource consuming, but ideal to reflect a 'democratic' process of selection.	World Values Survey
5. Empirical Evidence	Dimensions based on expert analysis of people's values .	Empirical accounts (some of them surveys) of cross-cultural values (1), poor people's experiences (2); happiness (3) etc.	World Values Survey (1); Voices of the Poor (2); Economy of Happiness (3)

Source: Adapted from Alkire (2008)

One of the limitations of any selection process is the presence of potential biases along the way. In fact, as the selection process is based on an 'act of reasoning' and thus, researchers' individual background, the social experiences and values of the researcher, may influence how choices are made. *So, how could one avoid these biases?* Robeyns (2003a, b) suggests selecting in accordance with four main

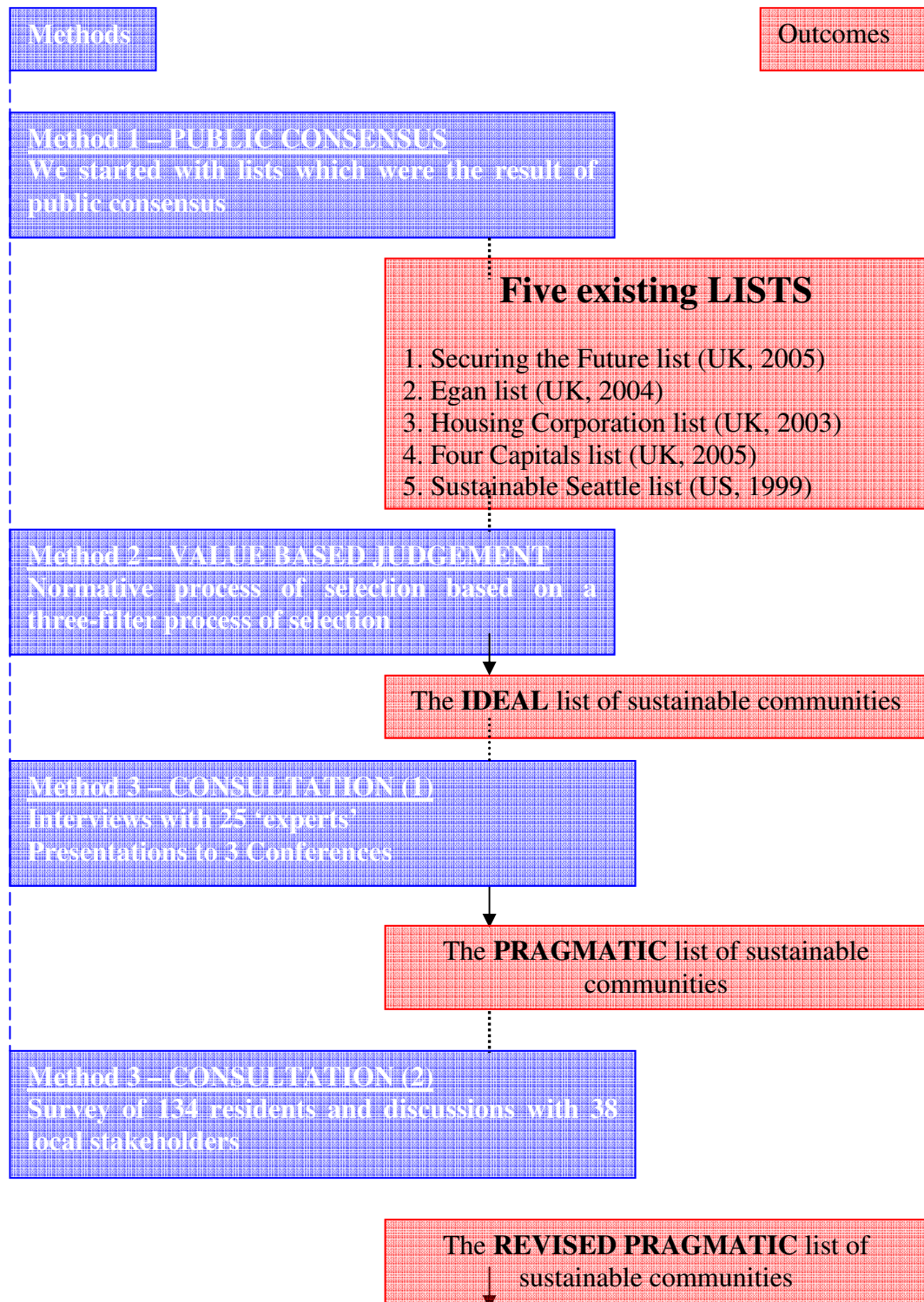
principles. First, the selection process and its outcome, the list, should be made explicit, discussed and defended. Second, the method that has been used to generate the list should be clarified, scrutinised and defended. Third, if the list has policy relevance, the selection should be done in at least two stages: the *ideal* stage, where ideal or theoretical dimensions are included; and the *pragmatic* stage, where constraints such as data limitations or policy viability come into play. Fourth, the list should include all the important dimensions and none should be left out.

Our approach to deriving a *list* of components or indicators of sustainable communities draws on three of the methods described by Alkire (2008) as follows:

- **Public Consensus**: Domains and components of sustainable communities are derived from five existing ‘lists of sustainability’ that have achieved legitimacy either through intensive public consultation or in the academic field;
- **Value based or normative judgement**: An *ideal list* is first developed and refined through value- based reasoning and applying a three step filtering process;
- **Consultation and empirical evidence**: The *pragmatic list* is second developed, as a result of the *ideal list* being discussed, examined and amended following presentations at three academic conferences and in-depth interviews with 25 *experts*, senior level staff involved in the creation and delivery of sustainable communities in HMR areas. The *pragmatic list* is then empirically tested with 38 local stakeholders and 134 residents living in three HMR areas of urban regeneration; the result of this consultation is a *revised pragmatic list* which represents both local stakeholders’ and community’s values of sustainable communities.

As shown above, we also decided to develop the *list* of components or indicators of sustainable communities in two steps, one *ideal* and the other *pragmatic*, as a result of its relevance to the specific policy context of Housing Market Renewal. Figure 3.1 illustrates diagrammatically our approach.

Figure 3.1 – Deriving a list of domains and components of sustainable communities



Source: Compiled by the author

We considered initially whether to have consultation with local stakeholders and residents before developing the *ideal* list of sustainable communities. Prompted by findings in the literature which highlighted the diversity of understanding, or lack thereof, we piloted a ‘what is a sustainable community’ discussion with two

‘experts’: one government official (CLG) and one built environment professional (CABE). Despite a semi-structured interview, we found it difficult to develop a focused discussion or look at a range of aspects, as each person had an individual understanding of sustainable communities, mainly drawing on his/her professional experience: for example, the government official tended to focus on governance issues and delivery mechanisms such as partnerships, while the built environment professional talked mostly about urban form and buildings, planning and design. Seeing how difficult we found it to have an effective discussion about sustainable communities with ‘experts’, we concluded that such discussion would be even more challenging and time-consuming when members of the public were involved. As a result, we decided to develop first an *ideal* list of sustainable communities drawing on five existing lists of sustainability indicators and normative reasoning, and then discuss the list with local communities and stakeholders.

The *ideal* list of sustainable communities

Alkire (2008) suggests that the process of developing a *list* of community sustainability indicators can start by engaging with *all* the relevant literature. Five existing *lists* of sustainable communities and urban sustainability were selected. They ‘*were derived from, embedded in, and engaged with the existing literature in the field*’ (Roybens, 2003, p.38) and chosen on the basis of their relevance to either the policy or academic literature. They also were the result of public consensus, an outcome of intensive consultation exercises, in the case of policy literature, or high level reasoning, in the case of academic literature. The five lists were:

1. The UK government’s *Securing the Future* list of 39 indicators of sustainable communities (HM Government, 2005); and
2. The *Egan’s* list of 46 indicators of sustainable communities (ODPM, 2004a);
3. The UK Housing Corporation’s *Toolkit* of 49 indicators of sustainable communities (Long and Hutchins, 2003);
4. The *Four Capitals* list of 18 neighbourhood sustainability indicators (Green et al., 2005); and
5. The *Sustainable Seattle* list of 40 urban sustainability indicators (AtKisson, 1999)

The five lists of sustainable communities and urban sustainability brought together thirty six sustainability themes or domains which are shown in *Table 3.2 (Appendix 6)*. They represented a relevant starting point of what different officials, professionals and academics thought the main themes of discussion in the context of sustainability and urban regeneration may be and should look like. Following a careful analysis of the five lists we found that they all had similar main themes or domains running through and thus, we categorised them under the following eleven domains: *economy, society, environment, housing, built environment, transport, accessibility, education, health, governance and others (Table 3.3 in Appendix 6)*.

These were further amalgamated into *six core domains*, listed in *Table 3.4 (Appendix 6)* which roughly could be grouped under the four ‘pillars’ in the ‘prism of sustainability’. The core domains were as follows:

- *Economy*;
- *Society*;
- *Natural Environment*;
- *Built Environment*;
- *Education and Health*; and
- *Governance*.

Further in the selection process, the *Education and Health* domain was excluded for three reasons. First, both education and health outcomes were represented by a number of ‘hard’ indicators. This could ‘skew’ the analysis towards these areas and lessen the regeneration focus. Second, significant changes in health and education outcomes were likely to occur only over relatively long periods of time. Their short-to medium-term evaluation was difficult and ascribing causation was problematic. Third, both fields took strategic views by looking at larger geographical areas than our research focused on. Fourth, in the UK, both policy areas drew on dedicated funding streams which were not related in any way to regeneration programmes and investment.

This left us with five *core domains* of sustainable urban communities: *Economy*; *Society*; *Natural Environment*; *Built Environment*; and *Governance*. The first three

domains describe the three main pillars of sustainability as embodied by the ‘Trefoil Diagram’, the most popular and acknowledged model of sustainability, also common to all sustainability frameworks. The fourth domain, the *built environment*, seeks to single out aspects of the physical/built environment and looks at things such as design, area conditions and housing, services and facilities, transport and accessibility issues. The last domain, *governance*, represents the fourth pillar of sustainability in the ‘prism of sustainability’, our chosen model of sustainability. This domain also incorporates the *time* dimension of the sustainability concept. In fact, a way in which this domain could be assessed is to consider whether certain governance mechanisms, usually associated with the ‘maintenance’ of sustainable communities over time, are in place. The existence of local partnerships, community involvement and management arrangements proved to be examples of such governance mechanisms (Kettle et al., 2004a).

Once the core domains of sustainable communities were selected, the following question was asked:

What are the relevant aspects or components under each core domain?

Table 3.5(Appendix 6) shows approximately 170 different aspects or components of sustainability under the five core domains defined above, drawing on the original five lists. This number was reduced to 23 by applying a three-filter process of selection. First an *overlapping* or *similarity* filter was applied which aimed to exclude dimensions which were *identical*, *similar* or *overlapped*, in the sense that they provided the same or similar information. For example, dimensions such as ‘workless households’, or ‘economically inactive’ contained similar information which could be reflected by the ‘employment’ dimension; similarly, for ‘availability of employment’ and ‘access to jobs’.

Second, a *local* filter was employed, which was suggested by both the *anthropo-centric* definition of sustainability and the definition of *place-community* adopted by this research. This filter aimed to answer the question whether *a specific aspect was likely to be perceptible or relevant at local level and in the HMR context*. As a result dimensions such as ‘local employment’, ‘local business activity’ and ‘local public transport’ have been identified, while others such as ‘air quality’ and ‘household

formation', which were considered less 'visible' at local level or unrelated to the HMR context, have been excluded altogether.

Third, a *regeneration* filter has excluded aspects that were unlikely to be directly influenced by housing refurbishment-led regeneration. This filter resulted from the need to assess the relation between regeneration and community and the impact of specific regeneration initiatives on community sustainability. Thus, measures such as 'mix' and 'community satisfaction with local area' or 'public transport', which were more likely to be affected by area regeneration, have been selected whilst others such as 'noise pollution', 'air pollution' and 'road accidents', which are less likely to be influenced by regeneration in general or by our type of intervention in particular, have been excluded. Yet some of the aspects we chose to exclude might have been relevant to other regeneration contexts or types of interventions. For instance, 'road accidents' could be influenced by applying 'secure by design' principles in re-designing the street layout. In our case, however, this was not a viable component as little new development or re-design of street layouts was carried out under housing refurbishment-led-regeneration.

The 23-dimension *list* presented in *Table 3.6* in (*Appendix 6*) has been subsequently reduced to a list of 20 components as follows:

- *Child and pensioner poverty* have both been excluded as focusing on specific segments of the population. We considered their focus too narrow in relation to the research topic as they look specifically at children and pensioners. The research did not aim to focus on either children or pensioners but on all types of residents. *Childhood poverty* is closely related to parental employment and increasing levels of child poverty have also been related to raising levels of household worklessness (Steward, 2004; Gregg and Wadsworth, 1999). Thus, the *employment* component can be considered an indirect indication of child poverty levels. That is to say that high levels of unemployment among households with dependent children indicate high levels of child poverty within these households.
- *Housing affordability* is here measured as the ratio of average house prices to average household income. Thus, we considered that the *house price* component could capture some information on local housing affordability.

The domains and components of sustainable communities listed in *Table 3.7* below constitute the *ideal list* of sustainable communities, the result of a value-based reasoning which had as its point of departure five lists of sustainable communities and urban sustainability. The following section discusses the process by which the *ideal list* of sustainable communities was open to scrutiny and consultation, in order to develop the *pragmatic list* of sustainable communities.

Table 3.7 – An IDEAL list of 5 core domains and 20 components of sustainable communities

<i>Core domains of sustainable communities</i>		<i>Components of sustainable communities</i>
<i>Economy</i>		1. <i>Employment (including access)</i>
		2. <i>Business</i>
		3. <i>House prices</i>
		4. <i>Skills/ Training</i>
<i>Community</i>		5. <i>Demography (moving, turnover)</i>
		6. <i>Community participation (activity, involvement, decision making)</i>
		7. <i>Crime/ Safety</i>
		8. <i>Community mix</i>
		9. <i>Community spirit</i>
		10. <i>Levels of satisfaction (area, local services, home)</i>
<i>Natural Environment</i>		11. <i>Environmental quality</i>
		12. <i>Energy use</i>
		13. <i>Water use</i>
		14. <i>Waste recycling</i>
		15. <i>Open/ green space (public realm)</i>
<i>Built Environment</i>	<i>Built Environment and Housing</i>	16. <i>Housing and area conditions</i>
		17. <i>Housing state of repair</i>
	<i>Public infrastructure</i>	18. <i>Public transport</i>
		19. <i>Access to facilities/ services</i>
<i>Governance</i>		20. <i>Satisfaction with services provided by the local authority</i>

The pragmatic list of sustainable communities

The *ideal list* of domains and components of sustainable communities was further exposed to consultation with local key actors or stakeholders: 25 ‘public experts’ involved in the creation and delivery of sustainable communities in urban regeneration areas of Housing Market Renewal. This included semi-structured interviews with heads of policy, strategy and development, and senior regeneration officials in seven HMR Pathfinders. The list was also presented at three academic conferences: the 2007 Housing Studies Association Conference in York, the 2007

European Network Housing Research Conference in Rotterdam, and the 2007 European Urban Research Association Conference in Glasgow. The comments and suggestions which followed this consultative process helped to revise the *ideal* list and develop the *pragmatic* list of domains and components of sustainable communities, made of six domains and 25 components of sustainable communities.

The six domains on the *pragmatic* list of sustainable communities were the following:

- *Economy and Jobs* – including components related to local jobs and training, business activity, and housing markets;
- *Community* – including components related to community cohesion, crime and security, and community mix;
- *Use of Resources* – including components related to energy and water conservation, and waste recycling;
- *Housing and Built Environment* – including components related to local physical environments such as housing, public realm and green infrastructure;
- *Services and Facilities* – including components related to transport and public infrastructure such as general local facilities and services, schools and health services;
- *Governance* – including components related to area's community activity and involvement, partnerships and local authority services.

The *ideal* list of sustainable communities illustrated in *Table 3.7* above has been explained to and discussed with 25 'public experts' or senior level regeneration officials, involved in the policy-making, research and delivery of sustainable communities projects in HMR areas. A full list and description of these individuals is given in *Appendix 7*. Moreover, in order to invite further scrutiny, the *ideal* list was presented at three academic conferences in 2007: the 2007 Housing Studies Association Conference in York, the 2007 European Network Housing Research Conference in Rotterdam, and the 2007 European Urban Research Association Conference in Glasgow.

Consultation with 'public experts' was conducted via in-depth interviews which started with a detailed explanation of what the *ideal* list was made of and a full

description of its development process. Almost all of the interviewees questioned the absence of a 'school aspect' on the *ideal* list of sustainable communities:

for communities to be successful and sustainable they should have good shops and schools' (PE17);

where are the schools? ... they are very important and they should be on the list ... for example, in Hulme the school performance ten years ago was very poor ... now, schools down there have performance above average and the community is thriving (PE13);

the performance of local schools is important so they should be on the list, they anchor people in one place and make them more sociable ... do you know what I mean, some people get to know other people only at the local school and supermarket (PE12, PE11).

Durable and efficient local *partnerships* between different agencies which help to 'maintain' and 'look after' communities, and the importance of *housing affordability* have also been mentioned as of paramount importance by many 'public experts'.

partnerships are important ...they pool together resources and knowledge in the area ... and also working together makes things easier and you get more things through and get the assurance that things keep running and do not stop once regeneration ends (PE19)

housing affordability is important for keeping the community together (PE01)

all this regeneration has priced out some people ... local housing is not affordable anymore for local residents ...some of them have been living there for all their lives ... and this is not right for them and for the community they live in (PE03)

I think that affordability is an issue and should be looked at somehow ... people talk about raising house prices [in HMR] ... I would be less keen to lean on house prices ... we've had a major house price increase and it may appear quite obvious that an area is not low demand anymore and therefore sustainable ... it is not really the case for a series of reasons (PE14)

Moreover, feedback from the academic conferences suggested that the list should include some health and education aspects. Though there was sympathy and understanding toward the reasons for their initial exclusion, several suggestions have been made to include them at least in the form of 'access to' school and health services.

The result of this process was a few new components of sustainable communities (*partnership arrangements, housing affordability, access to school and access to health services*) that together with the previous 20 components (on the *ideal* list) formed the *pragmatic* list of sustainable communities (*Table 3.8 in Appendix 6*). The *pragmatic* list was then re-grouped and re-named, process described by *Table 3.9 in (Appendix 6)*, to result in the following 6 domains and 26 components of sustainable community also listed by *Table 3.10*:

1. The *Economy and Jobs* domain including:
 - *jobs available locally and access to (farther afield) jobs*;
 - *business activity* as indicated, for example, by the presence of local shops;
 - *training and skills* courses available in order to improve local employability;
 - *house prices and housing affordability*, indicating local housing market performance.
2. The *Community* domain consisting of.
 - *moving patterns* indicating community demographics as seen ethnic mix and patterns of moving in and out of an area;
 - *sense of community* describing levels of community cohesion;
 - levels of *crime and community safety*;
 - *community mix* including mix of *tenure, income and ethnic groups*;
3. The *Use of Resources* made of:
 - *energy efficiency and water saving* measures in homes;
 - *waste recycling* practice in homes and community.
4. The *Housing and Built Environment* domain comprising:
 - overall *housing and area conditions*;
 - people's *satisfaction with their homes*;
 - properties' *state of repair*, and
 - both the *quality of and access to green open space*.
5. The *Services and Facilities* domain containing:
 - *access to primary school and health services*;
 - general quality of local *facilities and services*;
 - *public transport* provision.
6. The *Governance* domain including:

- the shape and role of local *partnerships*;
- levels of *community involvement* in local affairs and decision-making processes; and
- people’s *satisfaction with services provided by the local authority*.

Table 3.10 – A pragmatic list of 6 core domains and 26 components of sustainable communities

Core domains of sustainable communities	Components of sustainable communities
<i>Economy and Jobs</i> (previously <i>Economy</i>)	1. Local jobs
	2. Access to jobs
	3. Business activity
	4. Training /Skills
	5. House prices
	6. Housing affordability
<i>Community</i> (previously <i>Society</i>)	7. Moving patterns
	8. Sense of community
	9. Crime and safety
	10. Tenure mix
	11. Income mix
	12. Ethnic mix
<i>Use of Resources</i> (previously <i>Natural Environment</i>)	13. Energy use (energy efficiency)
	14. Water use (water saving)
	15. Waste recycling
<i>Housing and Built Environment</i> (previously <i>Built Environment</i>)	16. Housing and area conditions
	17. Housing state of repair
	18. Satisfaction with own home
	19. Green open space (incl. access and quality)
<i>Services and Facilities</i> (previously <i>Public Infrastructure and Education and Health</i>)	20. Services and facilities in general
	21. Access to school
	22. Access to GP/ health services
	23. Public transport
<i>Governance</i> (previously <i>Governance</i>)	24. Community involvement
	25. LA services
	26. Partnerships

It is important to note here that these domains do not represent ‘absolute’ or ‘final’ domains of sustainable communities. They were the result of a value based judgement and represented a convention which suited the scope of the research. Some of their components also overlapped to a certain degree: for instance, components of *Governance* such as *community involvement*, for example, could well be discussed from a *Community* perspective and vice versa. Moreover, the urban green infrastructure such as urban parks and urban green space was deliberately placed under *Housing and Built Environment* rather than *Natural Environment*, lately called *Use of Resources*. We considered that urban green infrastructure is usually

created as part of the built environment, either purposely in the shape of parks and landscaped green realm or in an unplanned way through processes of demolition in the built environment, for example, which could result in vacant or ‘grassed-over’ land. Indeed, our later discussions with residents confirmed that they perceived local parks and green open space as part or closely related to the housing environment and area conditions, which were closely identifiable with the Built Environment, rather than the Natural Environment domain.

More importantly, however, we did not include the wider aspect of *recycling homes and infrastructure*, which is actually undertaken by any ‘refurbishment’ initiative, under *Use of Resources* for the following reason. Regeneration plans in most of the HMR areas undergoing housing refurbishment-led regeneration, and in particular in our three case study areas, were the result of long disputes between local communities, which wanted to preserve their homes and communities, and the government trying to demolish these areas. In most cases, however, local communities were successful and thus their areas, previously earmarked for demolition, stayed and were subject to a range of ‘refurbishment’ works, which we discuss in more detail later in Chapter Five, including among others housing refurbishment-led regeneration. Thus, we considered the importance of recycling existing buildings and infrastructure as an intrinsic feature of housing refurbishment-led regeneration in these areas, something which local residents knew and agreed was important for the sustainability of their community

3.2 *Evaluating sustainable communities*

Once we had a list of components of sustainable communities, we then addressed the matter of their evaluation. It may be useful at this stage to distinguish between *measurement* and *assessment* or *evaluation* of sustainability or sustainable development. Brandon and Lombardi (2005) note an important distinction between these terms. In this context, *measurement* involves identification of sustainability-related variables and the utilisation of technically appropriate data collection and data analysis methods, while *assessment* or *evaluation* involves performance evaluation against a set of criteria which are defined through a value-based judgement and are rarely empirically verifiable. This research seeks to *assess* the impact of housing

refurbishment-led regeneration on community sustainability and employs the later approach. Moreover, publicly meaningful assessments of interventions within the built environment can only be achieved if the criteria against which performance is assessed are shared both by experts and the public.

Chapter Two discussed the merits and pitfalls of sustainability indicators and indexes. While we argue here for the use of a set (or list) of indicators of sustainable communities, as a tool for both defining and operationalising sustainable communities, we see sustainability indexes as over-simplifying and losing the meaning of individual indicators through amalgamating multiple kinds of information into one abstract number. We think that it is important that any assessment of sustainable communities reflects the complexity and multi-dimensionality of all the specific aspects involved in it.. This would not be possible if we were to aggregate them into one index. Assigning relative weights to the various components of sustainable communities would involve a great deal of subjectivity and the difficulties associated with justifying this. For example, can one precisely weight a ‘sustainable’ level of ‘fear of crime’ or ‘sense of community’?

More innovative approaches have lately proposed to assess the direction, trend or gradient of sustainability. As a result, we decided to assess the sustainability of a community by assigning a *direction* or *trend* to each domain and component of sustainable communities over a five-year period of time, identified by a start point, T1, and an end point, T2. For data availability reasons, T1 was identified as 2001/2002 when the Census of Population was carried out and the HMR programme launched and thus a pool of baseline data was available; while T2 was identified as 2007, the year we conducted the fieldwork for the research. For instance, raising levels of satisfaction with local areas, increased levels of local business activity and house prices, improvements to the housing stock, parks and streets would all be considered as registering positive change and therefore moving *towards* sustainability. Conversely, declining population and local employment, rising levels of fear of crime, weak and dysfunctional partnerships, and increasing environmental degradation would all be considered as having a negative impact on the community’s sustainability and moving *away* from sustainability. *Table 3.11* provides an illustration of this for one of the case study areas.

Table 3.11 – Analysing sustainability trends in Langworthy North (sample)

Component of sustainable communities	T1 (baseline information in 2001/2002)	T2 (information in 2007 – corroborated from recent data and fieldwork)	Direction/Trend (T2 compared to T1) ↑ - moving towards ≈ - no or little change ↓ - moving away
e.g. House prices	£17,063	£56,840 (230% increase since 2002, compared to 75% in Salford and 52% in North West)	↑
e.g. Affordability (ratio of dwelling price to income)	1:3	1:5	↓
e.g. Community involvement	3 residents groups in 1999	23 residents groups in 2007	↑
e.g. Water saving	no water saving measures	a small number of water butts introduced	≈
e.g. Green open space	existing local park	refurbishment of existing park; 2 x additional communal gardens; alley-gating	↑

Source: Research fieldwork

It is important to note here that some components of sustainable communities as derived above were deemed from the start to be *stronger* or *weaker* than others and thus to move more or less towards sustainability. First, *water* is a weak component. As Chapter Two has shown, there are limited though growing government initiatives that promote greater water efficiency within the built environment in the UK and, as a result, it is unlikely we would find much evidence of delivering such initiatives. Moreover, the general public know little about the consumption of water in their homes and thus are unlikely to give an informed answer on the topic. However, we chose this component because saving water in homes is important and so it should be flagged up; around 30% of the UK average household energy bill is spent on heating water which is around £200 a year (EST, 2008). All households can save money on their energy bills by wasting less hot water, which means that alongside energy efficiency, water saving could contribute to further reductions in housing costs. This is especially important for low income households found in areas of HMR regeneration.

Access to primary school is the second weak component. All three HMR areas were urban and thus benefited from a number of nearby primary schools. In addition, these areas were characterized by population loss, which meant that local schools were unlikely to be oversubscribed. As a result, local residents had a good choice of local primary schools and therefore were more likely to think that *access to school* was not so important for the sustainability of their community, despite the fact that access to good primary schools is of paramount importance for urban communities as a number of studies have shown in the past.

As a result, some domains were more likely to ‘perform’ well or less well in terms of sustainability than others: domains made of many components had more ‘chances’ to have a better or worse overall performance than those that had few components. For example, *Use of Resources* was deemed to perform less well as it was made of few and weak components, *water saving* being one of them. In contrast, *Housing and Built Environment* was expected to perform well as all its components were related to an area’s physical regeneration, where most investment went and which was highly valued by residents.

3.3 A definition of sustainable communities

At the end of Chapter Two, we introduced two guiding principles for the definition of sustainable communities that this research sought to endorse. They were reflected by an *anthropo-centric* or *people-centred* interpretation of sustainability and a *place-* or *locality-* connotation of community. These two principles followed throughout this chapter and guided the development of a list of *central* and *valuable* domains and components of sustainable communities which ‘fleshes-out’ what sustainable communities in a HMR regeneration context are made of.

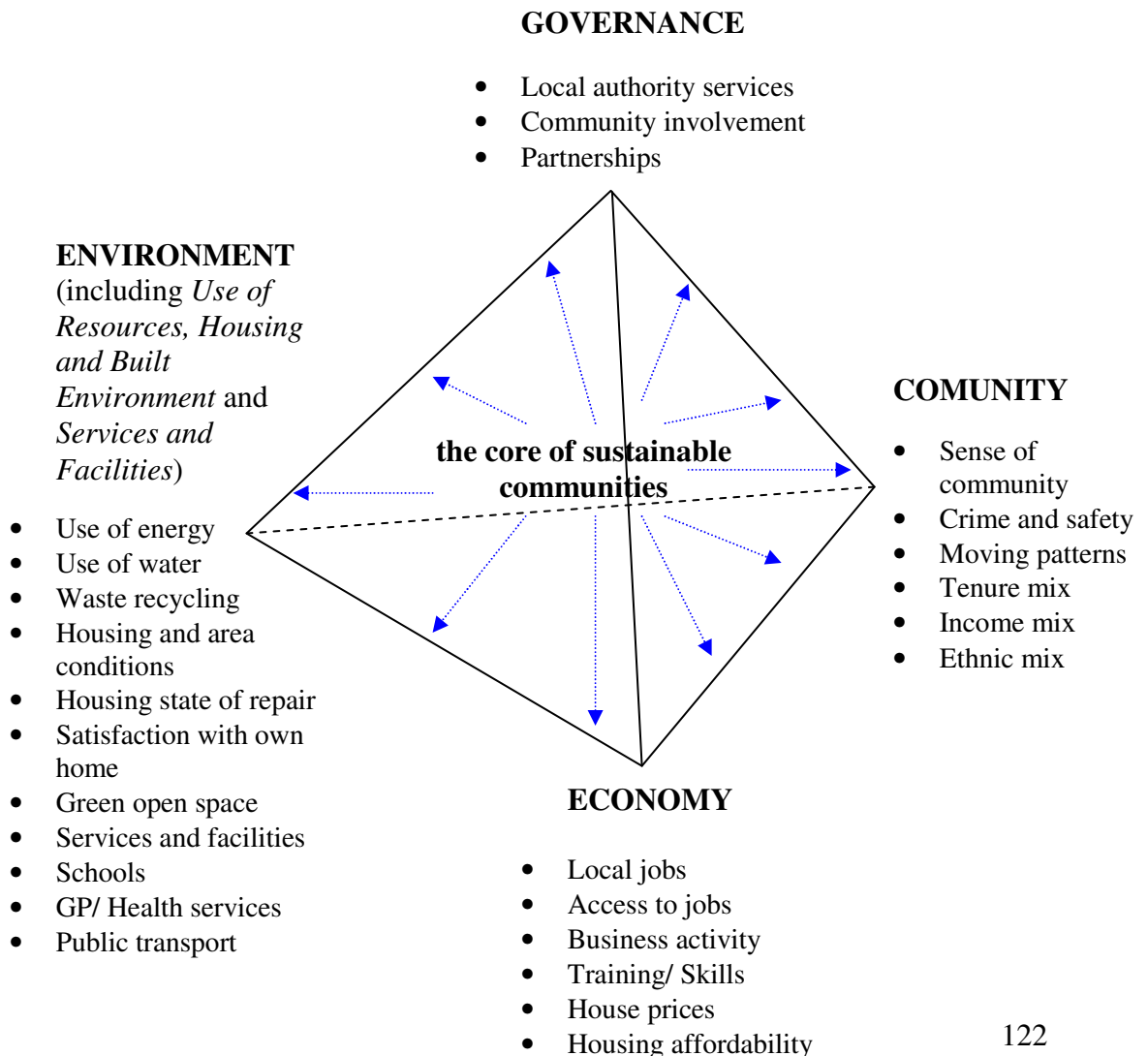
Thus, a sustainable community is related to a defined geographical area, locality or place. It puts people first, but also seeks to preserve and replace the natural resources it lives on, for the benefit of future generations – and in order to do so a number of particulars need to be in place. We called these particulars, *components of sustainable communities* in the definition provided below and they are depicted by the *prism* of sustainable communities in *Figure 3.2*.

A sustainable community is a group of people who share:

- *common experiences and ties derived from living in the same place; and*
- *a number of particulars or components derived from actively seeking to preserve and replace the natural capital it uses for the benefit of future generations.*

It is important to note that while the above definition of sustainable communities as well as its ‘prism’ interpretation could be applied elsewhere, the *particulars* or *components* of sustainable communities have been designed to complement the focus of this research which is the sustainability of urban communities under housing refurbishment-led regeneration in HMR areas. Hence, despite the fact that future ‘lists’ of components or indicators of sustainable communities can generally follow the steps taken here, they only should be the result of a highly contextualized selection process.

Figure 3.2 – A prism of particulars or components of sustainable communities in areas of HMR housing refurbishment-led regeneration



3.4 Discussion

This chapter proposed a new framework of sustainable communities suited to the context of housing refurbishment-led regeneration in HMR areas. It proposed a list of central components (or indicators), an evaluation approach and a definition of sustainable communities. This establishes a solid basis from which to investigate the sustainability of communities in these areas. What follows in this thesis evolves from and is based on this framework. Nevertheless, the framework should not be seen as a comprehensive method, let alone as a ‘recipe’ for what sustainable communities may be and how they could be evaluated. The framework proposed here may give the impression it aims to answer every question. This is not the case. It should be seen as an open framework, a toolbox, which does not claim to be exhaustive. One may be critical about the choice of domains and components and the way they are categorised. The framework is primarily about the *process* of choosing and assessing aspects of sustainable communities and it is built to be sensitive towards local contexts. This also comes with the risk of having to deal with too much information and therefore, intentionally, omit some aspects in order to tailor to the scope of the research and manageable list of components of sustainable communities.

The last development of this framework is to find out whether people living in HMR areas undergoing housing-refurbishment led regeneration think that the *components* (or indicators) of sustainable communities developed here are those representing their communities. We do so by exploring the views of 134 residents living in three such areas. The results of this final ‘consultation’ stage are discussed in detail by Nine and summarised in Chapter Ten, which also puts forward a revised definition of sustainable communities that can be pursued by future research. The next chapter, Chapter Four, describes the methodological steps taken to test the *list* of sustainable communities and examine people’s views on the sustainability of their communities, following urban regeneration.

Chapter Four

Testing and Applying the Framework

3.1 The scoping survey

3.2 The case study approach

Documentation and site observation

Interviews with key actors

The survey of residents

Analysis of data

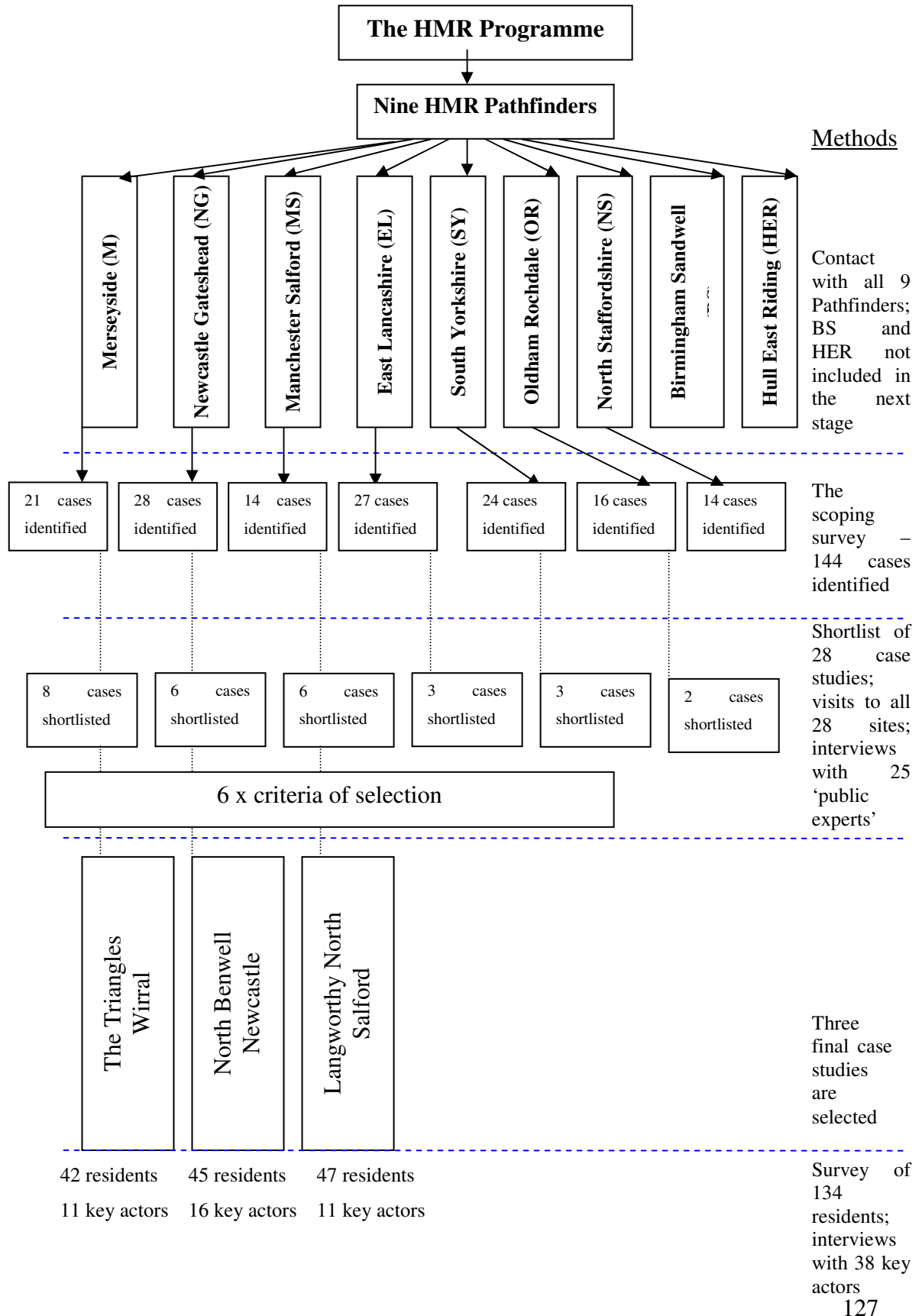
Following the development of a list of sustainable communities indicators by the previous chapter, we now seek to find out whether this *list* is grounded in people's values and understanding of sustainable communities. This is important because the union between 'expert' and 'lay' views of sustainable communities could facilitate a greater understanding and involvement from *all* those taking part in 'creating sustainable communities' and lessen some of the tensions between top-down and bottom-up models of sustainable communities. We also seek to examine whether area intervention and more specifically housing refurbishment-led regeneration has created more sustainable urban communities in HMR areas. This is important because unless one knows how and whether area regeneration contributes to the sustainability of a community it is difficult to say whether progress towards sustainable communities is being made. To do so, a number of HMR areas had to be selected.

The HMR Programme was briefly introduced in Chapter One and it is discussed in detail in Chapter Five. However, it is important to reiterate here its conspicuousness in terms of size, government intervention and goals. It aimed to cover approximately 900,000 homes, about one in twenty in England, under nine HMR Pathfinders in parts of the North and the Midlands (NAO, 2007). Demand for housing was relatively weak in these areas, mainly as a result of post-industrial restructuring, significant decline in population, dereliction, poor services and poor social conditions. The HMR Programme differed from most other mainstream regeneration initiatives in its wide-ranging aspirations for change and 15-year timescale. In addition, it aimed not only to tackle physical decline but also attract population back into these areas, help economic and social recovery, and integrate problematic areas with neighbouring stable housing markets.

The design of the research is similar to *Estates on the Edge*, in which Power (1997) investigated Europe's phenomenon of house massing which resulted in extreme examples and government intervention in all countries. She surveyed 20 housing estates from five countries, compared the twenty estates and drew close-up studies of one estate from each country. This study surveyed first a large number of intervention areas across seven HMR Pathfinders and then delved deeper into three

case studies from three HMR Pathfinders. This is schematically represented by Figure 4.1 and described in detail in the following sections.

Figure 4.1 – Selecting HMR case studies in order to test and apply the list of sustainable communities



4.1 The scoping survey

The first stage of fieldwork started with a desk-based review of potential case study areas in seven out of the nine Pathfinders: East Lancashire, Merseyside, Newcastle Gateshead, Manchester Salford, South Yorkshire, Oldham Rochdale and North Staffordshire. Two Pathfinders, Hull East Riding and Birmingham Sandwell were excluded from this review. Hull East Riding was awarded its first funding allocation in April 2005, which meant that the Pathfinder was not delivering many projects on the ground up to the time we carried out the first stage of the fieldwork, in 2006. At the same time, Birmingham Sandwell was in discussions with the government over its second funding allocation and rumours circulated at the time that the Pathfinder may be temporarily suspended – in fact, only six months interim funding settlement was announced in June 2006 (DCLG website). As a result, we concluded that collecting information and carrying out fieldwork in these two Pathfinders could be challenging and decided to exclude them from the scoping survey.

The desk-based review of the seven HMR Pathfinders uncovered 144 intervention areas, listed in Appendix 1. We reviewed academic research, trade magazines and newspapers, community newsletters, governmental and quasi-governmental publications, HMR Pathfinder prospectus, scheme updates and annual reports, local planning documents and materials from house builders and major local housing associations. To verify and detail information we corresponded with staff from the Pathfinders, local authority planners, developers, housing associations and local academics. This search was complemented by research we had conducted for CABE (Llewelyn Davies Yeang, 2005) and numerous discussions with colleagues at the Centre for Analysis of Social Exclusion, working on the Areas Study of 12 low-income areas and Weak Market Cities Programme, which covered Pathfinder areas.

This extensive search and information provided first-hand and baseline information about the scale of intervention in HMR Pathfinders, and a springboard for carrying out the next phase of fieldwork. We were now familiar with each HMR Pathfinder's context and therefore could ask more detailed questions about specific projects, sustainability in general and sustainable communities in particular.

We embarked then on the next stage of fieldwork, including visits to the seven Pathfinders and interviews with 28 senior-level HMR staff, which had the following four objectives:

- To identify new case studies, to collect and gain access to additional information, which was not in the public domain, in order to fill in missing information and select case studies to be further researched;
- To further understand the scale and pattern of HMR interventions in the field;
- To understand the Pathfinders' interpretation of 'sustainability' in general and 'sustainable communities' in particular; and
- To introduce the framework for assessing sustainable communities to HMR officials and thus, invite their scrutiny.

4.2 The case study approach

Our choice of a case study strategy for this research was influenced by reflection on the writings about the cities that we found most compelling. These were often stories about real places and real people, evoked with richness and depth. One city's story is unlike another. As Sandercock (2003, p.12) notes:

Stories can often provide a far richer understanding of the human condition, and thus of the urban condition, than traditional social science, and for that reason alone, deserve more attention.

Research projects employ a case study approach in four situations: when asking exploratory and explanatory questions of 'how', 'why' and 'what'; when undertaking studies of complex contemporary social phenomena; when willing to make comparisons; and when testing theory and hypothesis (Yin, 2003). This research satisfies all these four conditions: it asks 'how' sustainable communities are defined and perceived at local level and 'how' urban regeneration impacts on community sustainability; it studies the complex nature of sustainable communities; and in doing so, seeks to test assumptions underpinning the theory of sustainable communities and Housing Market Renewal in the UK.

Moreover, the case study approach has been employed as a main research method by a considerable number of studies carrying out research on sustainable communities

or Housing Market renewal. These studies focused on characteristics of communities and neighbourhoods that ‘work’ (Green et al., 2005; Groves et al., 2003); good practice and the impact of demolition (Kettle et al., 2004a; Kettle et al., 2004b; RTPi, 2001); design options and housing typology (CABE, 2003; CABE, 2005a; CABE, 2005b; EDAW, 2003; Llewelyn Davies Yeang, 2005); as well as the impact of the HMR intervention on social landlords (Cole et al., 1999) or on communities (LSE Housing, 2005; Wilkinson, 2006a; Mumford and Power, 2002).

One common format for case study research is the *single case study approach* which paints a vivid and detailed picture of a single place. The single-case study is a window into an unknown world, evoking wider and collective insights into a specific society at a specific point in time, as exemplified in powerful works by Gans (1967, 1982), Whyte (1955) and Young and Wilmott (1959). Other notable single-case studies examine complex policies and processes, as Cuomo’s (1983) rich description of the battle to construct low-income housing within a well-off New York suburb, or Kotlowitz’s (1992) and Hanley’s (2007) moving portraits of growing up in public housing. Yet, while the single-case study approach could provide this research with the advantage of a ‘thick description’ (Geertz, 1971), it runs the risk of discussing the unique, rather than uncovering common patterns. Sustainable communities take many forms, and restricting the research to one case study would have reduced the chance of learning transferable policy lessons.

Another method of case study research that allows greater breadth is to combine quick pen portraits of many smaller case studies, jumping from insightful vignettes to larger themes, in order to illustrate common patterns, as in Hall’s (1988) influential history of urban planning or Towers’ (2000) work on the history of multi-storey housing. However, these studies rely heavily on authors’ prior base of knowledge and their ability to interpret partial information in a wider context. We found that our initial impressions and understanding of areas, gathered during the documentation stage and then during the first visits, discussions and interviews, changed significantly as we examined each area more deeply. We therefore decided not to rely on our ability to accurately interpret findings from areas that we had researched less than thoroughly.

Consequently, the approach that seemed most appropriate for our research topic, resources and experience was to carry out a small number of case studies, allowing for a high degree of accuracy and depth, but also permitting for comparisons among the cases. Good examples of this approach include Neuwirth's (2005) research on squatter settlements in four countries, Garreau's (1991) work on 'edge cities' and Rusk's (1999) study of de-concentrating urban poverty.

Case studies of this kind and from a comparative perspective are classified as 'micro-policy analysis' within the field of social policy, encompassing historical developments to investigate policy changes and institutions (Clasen, 1999). This approach also helps to understand complex social phenomena and improves theory building (Yin, 2003; Bryman, 2004), and the evidence is generally considered relatively more compelling and the whole research regarded as more robust than a single-case study (Herriott and Firestone, 1983). The comparative case study approach at its best employs the analysis of each area to inform the understanding of the others and results in a greater combined analysis than the sum of individual cases. Although case studies cannot prove or disprove theory, they can be used to reveal patterns, generate hypotheses and suggests questions for further research.

Comparative research in the area of sustainable communities and HMR intervention was to a certain extent limited at the time this research started. The most notable examples were: Cole et al's (1999) work on social landlords' response to demolition and Kettle et al's (2004) study of selective demolition in HMR areas.

More recently, however, a number of studies have emerged looking at HMR intervention and the sustainable communities programme from a comparative perspective, such as the Audit Commission's evaluations (Audit Commission, 2009c; Audit Commission, 2009a), the HMR interim national evaluation (ECOTEC, 2007a; Leather et al., 2007) or recent studies sparked by the economic downturn (Parkinson et al., 2009; Cole, 2008). These studies, however, put forward generalised views and cover large swathes of HMR areas, without allowing for much local variation or insights. While studying our three areas we found that although these fitted into general patterns and trends described by these studies, local diversity and circumstances made their outcomes and fortunes very different.

The main limitation of comparative case studies is in the small number of cases, requiring the researcher to be cautious when generalisations are made. Case studies also provide only a snapshot of the phenomenon rather than a view of developments over time and information obtained is limited by access to people and documents. Moreover, they can mainly focus on the description of what works and does not, while lacking explanations for why it works or does not, especially when explanations lay beyond the scale of the case study area (Clasen, 1999). These limitations can partially be offset by comparisons with national or regional level data, and with evidence from local area surveys and research performed by other researchers. This study employs both these methods.

Thus the comparative case study approach involved three HMR areas: Langworthy North in Salford, North Benwell in Newcastle and the Triangles in Wirral. Their conduct involved four strands of work, which are detailed by the following sections.

1. **Documentation and site observations** – between ten and fifteen full days were spent at each site;
2. **Key actors interviews** were carried out with 38 key actors working or living in the three case study areas during the regeneration process;
3. **Survey of residents** consisted of a structured face-to-face survey of approximately 50 local residents at each site.
4. **Analysis of data** involved both qualitative and quantitative work.

Documentation and site observation

The research on the three HMR case study areas started by gathering background information. We spent time walking about the area, taking photographs and notes, making sketches and getting to know local facilities and services, transport links and access routes from these areas to city centres or other significant neighbouring areas. The purpose of site observation was to become familiar with the local setting and gain a clear picture of the physical and social conditions of each case study area through personal investigation. This also helped us to gain ‘local knowledge’ and later successfully interview local residents and key actors.

We learned about local history, identified local organisations and community groups, and observed patterns in the use of public spaces, local shops and services. All three areas were visited at different times of the day and night, weekdays and weekends, and we stayed in each area for short periods of time, usually 3-4 days, in order to better understand how local residents live in and use the areas, and meet or interview residents; a detailed breakdown of the time we spent at each site is given in *Table 4.1*. Immediately after each visit, impressions, encounters and any extraordinary events were recorded, the visit's main outcomes were summarised and next steps were planned.

Table 4.1 – Time spent in each case study area

<i>Case study area</i>	<i>Time spent (full days)</i>	<i>Number of visits</i>	<i>Length of stay</i>
<i>Langworthy North, Salford</i>	<i>12 days</i>	<i>5 visits</i>	<i>visit 1 – 1 day visit 2 – 1 day visit 3 – 5 days visit 4 – 2 days visit 5 – 2 days</i>
<i>North Benwell, Newcastle</i>	<i>11 days</i>	<i>6 visits</i>	<i>visit 1 – 1 day visit 2 – 1 day visit 3 – 3 days visit 4 – 1 day visit 5 – 3 days visit 6 – 2 days</i>
<i>The Triangles, Wirral</i>	<i>10 days</i>	<i>6 visits</i>	<i>visit 1 – 1 day visit 2 – 1 day visit 3 – 1 day visit 4 – 2 days visit 5 – 3 days visit 6 – 2 days</i>

Source: Research fieldwork

We also met many local people through informal conversations at the local shops, bus stops, parks or schools. Local people started to know us well by the end of the fieldwork. We took part in local community events, such as the BenFestival and Week of Action in North Benwell and the InBloom preparation in Langworthy North, we visited local exhibits and, where possible, observed the on-site offices working with residents.

For each area we collected a wide range of documents, many of which were not available in the public domain, including background reports and baseline studies; marketing materials and development briefs; information on house prices and sales

from developers, estate agent and price comparator websites; housing associations' tenure maps, tenancy records and contacts; masterplan documents, design statements, planning records and artists' impressions of future developments; administrative statistics and evaluations from local authorities, police and schools; in-house research and published studies; community newsletters and handouts; national and local newspaper coverage of the area; minutes from area partnership meetings and flyers for community activities; web postings and blogs; and aerial photographs and maps.

Researchers have commented on the difficulties of gathering information at area level (Cole and Shayer, 1998). We found indeed a lot of variation in both the quality and quantity of information available and collected across the three sites. In terms of quantity, we found it easier to obtain background documents and information about more recent projects, where regeneration work was still under way or just completed, for example as at the Triangles and North Benwell, than where the project was long completed, as at Langworthy North. Moreover, both Langworthy North and North Benwell received more media or academic attention and coverage than the Triangles, and benefited from thorough national evaluations. In terms of quality, some documents revealed information that did not match or contradicted facts from other sources, was misleading or partial. For instance, information on each area's HMR investment, outcomes and outputs fell into this category, as well as information on each area's tenure mix, housing typology or numbers. When we had to draw on contradictory pieces of information from another source, we either triangulated the information with a third source or clarified it further with relevant bodies in the area.

Interviews with key actors

Thirty eight key actors were interviewed across the three areas between March and September 2007 (*Table 4.2*). Interviews were semi-structured and based on a questionnaire which is shown in *Appendix 2*. This format allowed for comparisons to be made between key actors' opinions within and across the three areas, as well as comparisons with local residents' views. The interviews typically lasted from thirty minutes to an hour and a half, though many lasted up to three hours. They were carried out mainly in the HMR offices or on-site community offices. All interviews have been fully recorded and transcribed.

Table 4.2 – The number of key actors interviewed in each case study area

<i>Langworthy North, Salford</i>	<i>11</i>
<i>North Benwell, Newcastle</i>	<i>16</i>
<i>The Triangles, Wirral</i>	<i>11</i>
<i>Total</i>	<i>38</i>

Source: Research fieldwork

Key actors represented a wide range of people across the three areas including HMR officials, front line staff such as housing officers, street wardens and community police officers; developers and contractors, site and project managers; architects and planners; regeneration and community development officers; housing association and local authority staff involved in the area’s regeneration; youth and social workers; head teachers; shop assistants and shop or business owners; local councillors, chairs and members of local organisations; and local estate agents. A break down of the type and number of key actors interviewed by area is given in *Table 4.4*.

Table 4.3 - The type and number of key actors interviewed by case study area

Type of key actor	Langworthy North, Salford	North Benwell, Newcastle	The Triangles, Wirral	Total by type
HMR official	2	4	2	10
Regeneration / project officer	1	-	2	3
Housing officer	1	3	1	5
Community group / project representative	3	5	-	10
Developer / contractor	-	-	1	1
Architect / Consultant	1	-	1	2
Warden / Community patrols	1	3	-	5
Shop assistant	2	-	2	2
Head teacher	-	1	1	2
Local councillor	-	-	1	1
Total by area	11	16	11	38

Source: Research fieldwork

Contact was made at first via each area’s HMR headquarters, with the on-site community offices at both Langworthy North and North Benwell and the Wirral Improvements Team at the Triangles. During this first period of contact, we usually corresponded with a senior member of staff, describing the research and attaching a copy of the questionnaire and short description of the project. All three organisations proved to be extremely reliable and of great support, helping us to identify further useful contacts, promoting our research to local residents and offering their offices to

carry out interviews. In exchange, we offered a pen portrait of each area based on the findings from this research and on the corresponding area chapter; these portraits will be available shortly after the submission of this thesis.

One quandary in using interviews is the extent to which the identity of key actors should be revealed. Some of the key actors had a significant role within the implementation and delivery of regeneration and sustainable communities initiatives, through their vision, professional conduct and innovation, political will, or creativity, or indeed lack thereof. However, interviews were carried out on the promise of professional confidentiality and therefore names have not been used in the text. A list of interviewed key actors in each area is presented in Appendix 3.

Finally, for reasons of accuracy, facts drawn from the interviews, especially those including statistical or technical information, have been confirmed with at least two other sources and area draft chapters were reviewed by two key actors in each area.

The survey of residents

In addition to the interviews with key actors, we surveyed almost fifty residents in each area (Table 4.4). The aim of this survey was two-fold. First, we sought to uncover if aspects of sustainable communities on the *pragmatic* list of features of sustainable communities were indeed perceived by local residents as important for the sustainability of their community. Second, we sought to understand how the local community and area were perceived by a broad sample of residents in order to compose a portrait of community sustainability in each area and to observe whether communities in those areas were seen as making progress towards sustainability.

Table 4.4 – The number of residents interviewed in each case study area

<i>Langworthy North, Salford</i>	<i>42</i>
<i>North Benwell, Newcastle</i>	<i>45</i>
<i>The Triangles, Birkenhead</i>	<i>47</i>
<i>Total</i>	<i>134</i>

Source: Research fieldwork

At the time of the fieldwork all three areas had undergone regeneration for at least five years and their regeneration was completed or near completion. They were all

considered by the government and regeneration officials as good practice and *places that aimed to create sustainable communities*. Moreover, all three areas were small in scale, comprising between 350 and 700 properties in a predominantly tightly built terraced format. The three areas underwent housing refurbishment-led regeneration and received HMR funding.

The survey of residents was based on a face-to-face questionnaire and lasted on average thirty to forty-five minutes, with the longest taking two hours. Where permission was granted, interviews were recorded and, as a result, over ninety hours were recorded at the three sites. We also completed the questionnaire and took notes where revealing comments were made; in the aftermath of the interview those notes were transcribed and used in the analysis. The survey was carried out exclusively by us. We designed the questionnaire and piloted it, first with colleagues in the Centre for Analysis of Social Exclusion at the LSE and then with a handful of local residents at the first case-study area in Langworthy North. We then revised the questionnaire in the light of their comments and suggestions. We also designed, managed and analysed the database in SPSS which gathered together the information from these questionnaires. The following sections describe and reflect on the resident sample; setting out the questions asked and methods for analysis of the information collected.

The survey sample

Each of the three areas was surveyed by the means of a quota sample. The proposed sample size was fifty residents per area based on the resources available for the research. We decided against a purely random selection, since we sought to reflect the profile, in terms of quotas, of local resident populations as closely as possible – and with only fifty respondents per area, we recognised that a random sample may not achieve this.

We used a snowballing method for contacting respondents in order to create a sample of residents that reflected local population characteristics. Some respondents were recruited via local contact groups and advice organisations, others through direct personal contact at local access points such as schools, cafés and shops, doctor's surgeries, community centres and Post Offices. When our sample contained enough

respondents with certain characteristics, we recruited to match other characteristics. We recruited a broad cross-section of residents from these three areas.

One potential drawback of this method is that the sample may be self-selecting and only respondents taking an active part in their community are included while ‘difficult to reach’ or passive respondents are excluded. In practice and as *Table 4.5* shows, we found that a significant proportion of the interviewed respondents were not involved at all in their communities and knew little about the regeneration of their area. Another drawback of the quotas sample is that, although the population profile is mirrored by the sample, few generalizations can be made. As a consequence, we are cautious when making generalisations and findings are discussed in the light of these limitations.

Table 4.5 – Levels of community involvement by case study area

Area	Residents involved in at least ONE community group/ project	Residents not involved in ANY community group/ project	Total number of residents
Langworthy North, Salford	23 (55%)	19 (45%)	42 (100%)
North Benwell, Newcastle	18 (39%)	27 (61%)	45 (100%)
The Triangles, Wirral (check)	12 (25%)	35 (75%)	47 (100%)

Source: Research fieldwork

The sample quotas were based on resident profiles for each area and drew on the following six characteristics:

1. *housing tenure* – including home ownership, social and private renting;
2. *economic activity* – including economically active and inactive residents. Economically active residents were considered to be those who were employees, self-employed or unemployed but actively looking for work. Economically inactive residents were considered those who were retired, in full-time education (students), looking after home/family, or had a long term sickness or disability;
3. *ethnic affiliation* – including white and ethnic minority respondents;
4. *household composition* – looking at both households with and without children;

5. *gender* – seeking to interview an equal number of male and female respondents;
6. *age* – looking at getting the opinions of a wide range of age groups structured under four age bands: 16-24, 25-49, 50-64 and over 65.

The first four characteristics were chosen because they were considered to be important predictors of ‘low demand’ and ‘unsustainable’ housing areas. They have all been related in studies to housing ‘popularity’, ‘neighbourhood sustainability’ and perceived attractiveness of an area. Low demand and ‘unsustainable’ housing were also associated with the predominance of social and/or private renting, high levels of economic inactivity, high proportions of ethnic minority residents and high concentrations of children (Nevin et al., 2001; Cameron and Field, 2000a; Lee and Murie, 1997).

It is important to note here how we defined who was, and was not, a member of an ethnic minority group. A straightforward solution would have been to use the 2001 Census definition and include either all of those who do not identify as white, or all those who do not identify as white British. However, an analysis of people from white minority ethnicities interviewed as part of the 1999 Health Survey for England indicated that their economic and health profile were similar to those of white British people and that around half of the first and second generation Irish people living in England labelled themselves as white British, suggesting that white minority groups should not be a focus of the study as they tend to integrate with the white majority (Nazroo, 2005). As a result, we considered that a respondent was from an ethnic minority background when he/she did not identify himself/herself as white (including white British, white Irish and other white backgrounds).

The last two characteristics, gender and age, were chosen in order to offer a balanced view and include both gender and age perspectives of regeneration and sustainability. There is an increasing body of academic literature reflecting on the different ways in which women and men experience regeneration (Gosling, 2008; Brownill, 2000; May, 1997; Warr, 2005; Brownill and Drake, 1998). Research on deprived neighbourhoods also shows that different age groups experience regeneration differently. For example, research shows that marginal age groups like children and

the elderly are often excluded or ignored altogether from regeneration processes, as current practice mainly focuses on the needs and preferences of adults (Speak, 2000; Frank, 2006; Spencer et al., 2000; Silverman et al., 2006; Matthews, 2003). Besides exclusionary regeneration practice, some studies report the negative effect of urban regeneration on elderly people due to displacing established social networks (Phillipson et al., 1999) and increasing likelihood of depression in comparison with other age groups (Whitley and Prince, 2005; Curtis et al., 2002). This research did not seek to focus on children's and older people's experiences of urban regeneration and perceptions of sustainable communities, but notes any related findings recorded along the way. *Table 4.6* shows a breakdown by area of the six sample characteristics.

Table 4.6 - The distribution of sample quotas by case study area (number of residents)

Sample characteristics		Langworthy North, Salford	North Benwell, Newcastle	The Triangles, Wirral	Total by characteristic
Housing tenure	Home owners	22	15	23	60
	Social tenants	9	14	6	29
	Private tenants	11	16	18	45
Economic activity	Active	18	23	27	68
	Inactive	24	22	20	66
Ethnicity	White	39	23	44	106
	Ethnic minority	3	22	3	28
Children in the household	Yes	19	24	24	67
	No	23	21	23	67
Age	16-24	7	5	6	18
	25-49	15	27	18	60
	50-64	8	8	15	31
	Over 65	12	5	8	25
Gender	Male	19	24	21	64
	female	23	21	26	70
Total by area		42	45	47	

Source: Research fieldwork

Baseline statistics

Population profiles were mainly taken from recent statistical sources, made available by local authorities or regeneration agencies in each area. However, there was no recent information on the area's household composition in any of the three areas and

the area's economic activity in two areas. As a consequence, we relied on 2001 Census data at either Super Output Area (SOA) or ward level. *Table 4.7* shows a breakdown of these sources by sample characteristics.

Table 4.7 – Baseline sources in each case study area

	<i>Housing tenure</i>	<i>Economic activity</i>	<i>Ethnic affiliation</i>	<i>Household composition</i>	<i>Age</i>
<i>Langworthy North</i>	<i>SRB Survey (2005)</i>	<i>SRB Survey (2005)</i>	<i>SRB Survey (2005)</i>	<i>2001 Census</i>	<i>SRB Survey (2005)</i>
<i>North Benwell</i>	<i>NNIS North Benwell Survey (2005-2007)</i>	<i>2001 Census</i>	<i>NNIS North Benwell Survey (2005-2007)</i>	<i>2001 Census</i>	<i>NNIS North Benwell Survey (2005-2007)</i>
<i>The Triangles</i>	<i>Door-to-Door Survey (2006)</i>	<i>2001 Census</i>	<i>Door-to-Door Survey (2006)</i>	<i>2001 Census</i>	<i>Door-to-Door Survey (2006)</i>

Source: Research fieldwork

Baseline statistics for Langworthy North in Salford drew on a SRB Household Survey carried out in 2005 by Quaternion Research on behalf of Salford Council. The survey used a statistical representative sample of 400 households across the Seedley and Langworthy SRB area, which was split into four areas, one of which almost overlapped with our case study area. Quaternion Research provided us with the primary SPSS database which was not in the public domain at the time of fieldwork and which we analysed ourselves. They also kindly clarified our queries and helped with some further data processing.

The majority of the information for North Benwell in Newcastle was deducted from a Household Survey which has been carried out on a yearly basis since 2005 by the Newcastle Neighbourhood Information System (NNIS). Again, this information was not in the public domain and made available through the North Benwell Neighbourhood Management Initiative. Our personal contact at the NNIS also helped with further clarifications of various variables.

The Triangles' Door-to-Door Survey was carried out in 2006 by the council's Home Improvements Team and included all 413 properties in the case study area. The survey has, however, been carried out in two steps and as a result some information was collected for all 413 properties, such as information on housing tenure and age,

while other, such as information on ethnic affiliation, was gathered for some properties only.

The 2001 Census of Population was used for information on economic activity and household composition. However, the 2001 Census data is becoming increasingly outdated as time progresses. The best example of this is that it does not include the rise in the number of asylum seekers, refugees or Eastern European population in the UK, which has been kick-started by events such as international conflicts and the EU enlargement since the turn of the Millennium. Moreover, it does not reflect the effects of low demand housing on housing tenure. It provides, however, a comprehensive and indicative statistics on a range of topics and has been the most reliable and accessible source of information at the time of this research. It is also important to note here that UK ward boundaries changed in 2004 and thus Census information at ward level was based on pre-2004 ward boundaries. In order to overcome this inadequacy we carefully compared current ward boundaries with previous ones and drew on census data at Super Output Area (SOA).

We also extracted information from a series of other statistical sources. Information on areas' house prices was based on Land Registry data which provided information on house price changes in the area using a four digit postcode, although this covered areas slightly bigger than our three areas. Crime statistics were supplied by local authorities or community and neighbourhood management organisations on behalf of metropolitan or city police and information on local school performance was compiled using DFES performance tables and OFSTED reports.

The questionnaire

We designed the residents' questionnaire, which is shown in Appendix 4, by using a combination of national survey questions and questions from previous area surveys. Only a few questions were devised specifically for this research. This has facilitated comparisons between our results, national figures and findings uncovered by previous research in the area. However, in practice, comparison was limited because of our small sample of residents, particularly when disaggregated by sample characteristics.

The questionnaire was designed to follow the *list* of domains and components of sustainable communities, developed by the research framework for assessing sustainable communities. It was structured in two main parts and discussed during a face-to-face interview. Respondents' personal views were asked throughout the questionnaire and when they were asked to rate things in terms of their importance, they were asked to do so in terms of *importance to them*. The first part asked detailed questions about each domain and component of sustainable communities. Along with ticking boxes, respondents were encouraged to express their views after each question, by asking a follow-up question. As a result, their views were illustrated by rich descriptions.

The second part of the questionnaire asked respondents to rate each domain and component of sustainable communities as *very important*, *important* or *not important*. By the time respondents answered questions from the second part of the questionnaire they were well familiarised with the topics due to detailed discussions during the first part of the questionnaire and thus more likely to make an 'informed' choice. Respondents were also encouraged to suggest new components of sustainable communities or to say if they felt anything was missing from the list of sustainable communities.

The questionnaire's topics included:

General information about the area:

- Overall regeneration outcomes and satisfaction with the area as a place to live;
- Most and least aspects of living in the area;
- Likelihood of moving away from the area and reasons to do so;

Part 1 – Residents' detailed views on components of sustainable communities:

- Area's local employment and business; and access to new training and skills;
- Feelings of belonging to a community; ratings of area's perceptions of crime and safety; and perceptions of area's social mix;
- Views on energy efficiency, water saving and waste recycling;
- Perceptions of area's housing conditions, public realm and green open space;

- Overall views on local facilities and services, local schools and health services; and provision of public transport
- Perceptions of area's governance arrangements such as local partnerships; council services and community involvement in decision making;

Part 2 – Resident's views on the importance of various components of sustainable communities

- Residents' ratings of the importance (to them) of sustainable communities components

Background information:

- Information on current housing, including tenure, time in the area, location and size of home;
- Household composition including age, gender, ethnicity and number of children under 16.

We designed most questions to incorporate a time perspective and therefore reflect change by asking respondents to compare the present situation with 2-5 years ago. This was necessary in order to include the time component of sustainability and assess if regeneration has impacted negatively or positively on various aspects of the area. For ease of coding and analysis, the questions were closed questions and offered a restricted number of answers. Yet the majority of questions were followed by follow-up questions which aimed to 'flesh-out' and enliven respondents' closed answers. Moreover, following the questionnaire's piloting we decided not to include the 'don't know' answer, since we noted that some respondents were tempted to choose that as a convenient option. However, we made a note where respondents did not know how to answer a question and included this in our SPSS database.

Looking back, the questionnaire elicited sufficient information about areas, various components of sustainable communities and correspondent residents' views, but less about the people taking part in the survey. A fuller understanding of the local residents could have been gained by adding questions about residents' educational background, occupation, income, and perhaps voting behaviour and newspaper choices. However, the questionnaire was already of considerable length and we considered its brevity important for administration purposes.

Conducting the survey

Residents were first contacted through area-based community organisations or via the local authority. These organisations hand-delivered letters to residents' homes notifying them in advance that researchers would be carrying out interviews in their area. A copy of this letter is shown in *Appendix 5*. They also provided us, where available, with lists of residents who took part in previous area surveys. These lists were topped up with other contacts supplied by some of the housing associations in each area. Residents were then contacted via telephone when we identified ourselves and cited the letter, enquired about their willingness to take part in the survey and highlighted that their views would remain anonymous. Many residents agreed to meet and answer the survey questions. In addition to this, residents were contacted on streets: in front of local shops, by the school gate or bus stop, in doctors' surgeries or other local community meeting places such as local parks and public amenities. Others were recommended by residents whom we previously interviewed.

In order to cover the full range of residents, interviews were carried out at all times and during weekdays as well as weekends. They took place at the on-site community offices, residents' homes and on streets. A small number of interviews were also conducted with people who lived outside our study area especially at Langworthy North. These interviews were not tabulated in the SPSS analysis, but were used to inform the discussion and especially reflect on issues such as regeneration boundaries for example.

The resource constraint of the research did not allow us to recruit additional interviewers. At one point we considered asking residents to fill in the questionnaire. However, we decided not to do so, as we found during the piloting that some respondents found it difficult to understand some questions and they needed further clarifications. Hence we carried out the interviews and by doing so we were able to ask follow-up questions, clarify responses, and gain a deeper insight into the areas before carrying out the actual analysis, which greatly strengthened the final findings.

The survey was conducted on a sample of population rather than households. Therefore, multiple views could have been drawn from members of the same household, especially in the case of multiple-occupancy households where a number

of un-related sharers lived in the same privately-rented accommodation or extended households, where more than one generation lived under the same roof. It meant that some households might have been surveyed more than once. This did not pose a problem for our analysis as we mainly sought individual and not household views and thus, we decided not to remove duplicate residences from the SPSS database.

In retrospect, we realised that few questions looked for household information and therefore duplicates should have been removed from the database for an accurate analysis. Examples included questions related to housing tenure, household type and composition, energy-efficiency in homes and housing state of repair. Reviewing the survey data from the three areas we found only a few duplicates in one area, North Benwell. As a result, some of the analysis related to the 'household' questions above for this area could be slightly inaccurate.

Analysis of data

The questionnaire results were coded into an SPSS database. This database greatly facilitated quantitative analysis within and across the three areas and allowed us to differentiate findings by sample characteristics. It enabled us to show through tables and charts what 134 residents said about area regeneration and a range of aspects of sustainable communities, and compare findings across the three areas, and between areas, their regions and the UK. Figures from these tables were used to support what residents said. However, the analysis had its limitations due to the small size of the sample. In order to address this limitation the analysis has been supplemented by a significant amount of qualitative analysis embodied by residents' rich descriptions and views. This was our first extended experience of using SPSS. In retrospect, we would have worded some of the questions differently to facilitate quoting and analysis, or to exactly match questions from other surveys for ease of comparison.

The residents' perceptions and views of an area were analysed by taking a *majority* view, by which a specific area aspect was evaluated on the basis of what the majority of residents in that area, that is to say *at least 50%*, thought about it. In other words, residents were generally asked to answer whether an aspect 'got better', 'stayed the same' or 'got worse' following area regeneration, and the aspect was evaluated as

‘getting better’, ‘staying the same’ or ‘getting worse’ only when at least 50% of the residents answered so. This might have been unfair towards the evaluation of some aspects, as only one snapshot in time was considered. For example, some aspects might have been considered as ‘getting better’ on one occasion but ‘getting worse’ on another. Such a comparison was not available at the time of conducting this research and highlights one possible area of future research to which we return later, in Chapter Ten.

We use one composite measure to analyse residents’ views on *housing’s state of repair*, that of average scores. The score shows the average view of the condition of specific house parts. For example, in *Table 4.8*, the condition of the *front of the home* shows an overall mean of 1.66, which means that overall people felt that the front of the home in Langworthy North was between *excellent* and *good condition*.

Table 4.8 – Average scores for individual house parts (sample)

	Excellent (1)	Good (2)	OK (3)	Poor (4)	Awful (5)	Does not apply	Sample size *	Average scores
Front of house	14	18	3	1	0	0	36	1.7
Windows/ Doors	22	8	3	3	0	0	36	1.6
Roof	19	8	6	2	1	0	36	1.8
Kitchen	9	13	10	3	1	0	36	2.3
Bathroom	11	13	9	2	1	0	36	2.1
Chimney stack	17	10	9	0	0	0	36	1.7
Back yard walls	7	14	11	2	0	2	34	2.2
Back yard	5	14	11	4	0	2	34	2.4
Garden	3	1	3	0	0	29	7	2.1
Front garden	3	2	1	0	0	30	6	1.7

* *Sample size excludes those respondents for whom the house part does not apply*

Source: Langworthy North’s fieldwork survey

These figures were calculated by allocating scores to the five responses as follows:

Excellent condition	1
Good condition	2
OK condition	3
Poor condition	4
Awful condition	5

The score in the table is the average score across all who responded for each specific house part. The result of this is that a score of 3 means the condition is *OK*, anything less than 3 indicates *good condition* and anything more than 3, *poor condition*.

It was difficult to use SPSS to analyse the qualitative responses. Yet this problem was overcome by using SPSS to provide individual residents' profiles for each area, including all the verbatim responses to open-ended and follow-up questions, which we then analysed individually. With open-ended questions such as '*What are the three things that you like least about your area?*', we analysed responses on the basis of recurring themes that residents themselves identified, for example crime and antisocial behaviour, loitering and local facilities. We then grouped residents' responses under these broad themes and identified patterns of dominant concern across a relatively wide range of residents in relation to a particular issue.

In retrospect, we collected a large amount of primary information, including quantitative and qualitative data which we could not fully use within the limits and boundaries of this thesis. Disappointingly we had to discount many residents' rich descriptions and keep only those that best served the scope of this research. Moreover, the SPSS database contained detailed information on 115 different variables for 134 residents and was limited to create reports, descriptive statistics and tables for various variables. We feel that this database still contains important information on aspects such as employment, housing state of repair, energy efficiency and household composition, only to mention a few topics, which could be explored in future research.

Our analysis was based on the available evidence. However, we also allowed our subjective reading of the areas and the interviewees to influence our interpretations. In doing so, we acknowledge the appeal of Gans' (1982, p.414) approach to case-study fieldwork:

Fieldwork has always been a fairly personal method, highly dependent for its findings on the intellectual curiosity, social sensitivity and data gathering skills of the researcher. In that sense, it is an art as well as a science, and much of the idealised scientific method is simply irrelevant to it.

Part Two – The EVIDENCE

Chapter Five

Urban regeneration in Housing Market Renewal areas

5.1 Nine HMR Pathfinders

The HMR Pathfinders in 2007

Future challenges

5.2 The scale and extent of HMR intervention

Types of interventions

Selecting case study areas

5.3 Introduction to the case study areas

The previous four chapters discussed the conceptual framework of this research. They examined some of the most relevant theoretical and policy discourses of sustainability in general and sustainable communities in particular, from the built environment perspective. A number of interpretations, definitions and approaches to evaluation were examined and the impact of area regeneration on various urban aspects discussed. The challenges associated with translating into practice and assessing a multi-dimensional concept such as sustainable communities was highlighted and dealt with by proposing a new approach to framing sustainable communities in the context of housing refurbishment-led regeneration in HMR areas.

We move now to examine the evidence gathered for the research. This chapter starts by undertaking an overview of the HMR Programme and Pathfinders, their progress and challenges to date. The chapter then turns to the research fieldwork and looks at patterns of intervention across HMR areas in order to examine a research question raised in Chapter One: *What is the extent and scale of intervention in HMR areas?* Finally, the chapter presents an introduction to the case study areas which form the bulk of the next three chapters.

5.1 Nine HMR Pathfinders

Chapter One briefly introduced the HMR Programme and its policy context. We now examine closely the nine HMR Pathfinders set up in 2002 which were established as sub-regional partnerships in targeted areas of low demand housing. Figure 5.1 shows their geographical location as follows:

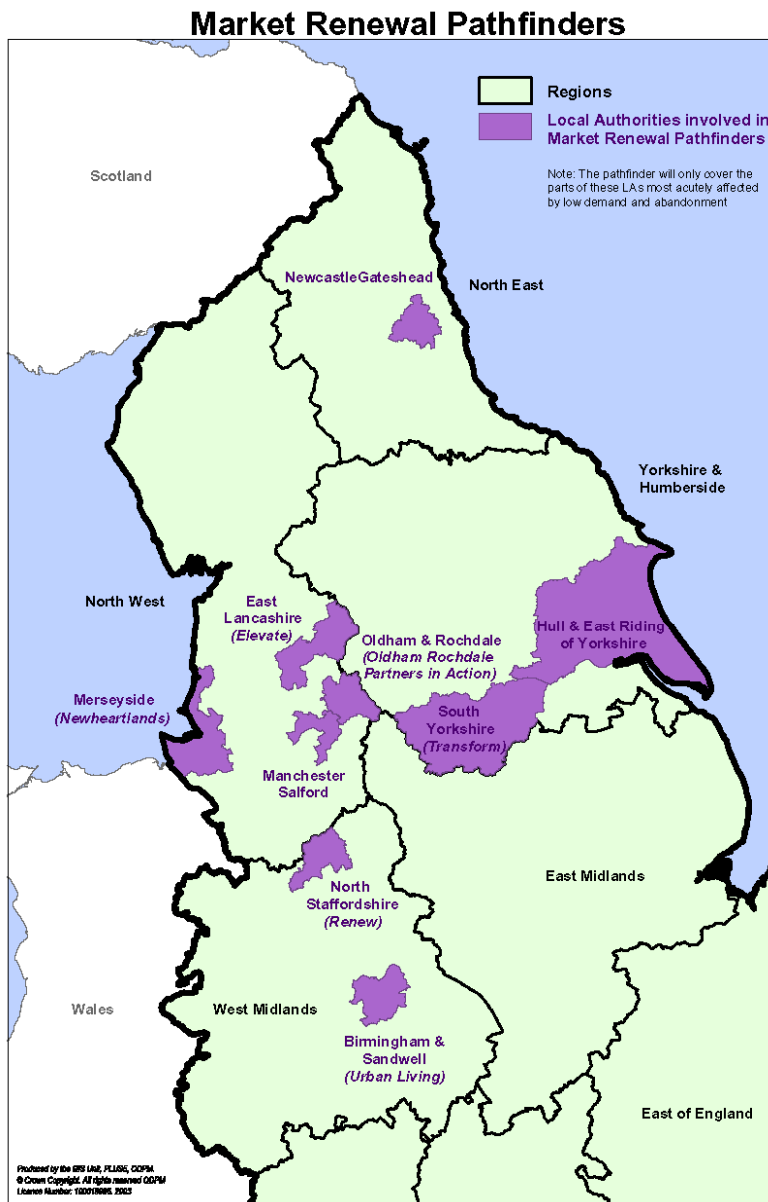
- Four HMR Pathfinders were in the North West region: Manchester-Salford, Oldham-Rochdale, East Lancashire and Merseyside;
- The Newcastle-Gateshead HMR Pathfinder was in the North East region;
- Two HMR Pathfinders were in the West Midlands region: Birmingham-Sandwell and North Staffordshire; and
- Two HMR Pathfinders were in the Yorkshire and Humberside region: South Yorkshire and Hull-East Riding.

In 2005, three new Pathfinder areas were added: West Yorkshire (Yorkshire and Humberside region), West Cumbria/Furness (North West region) and Tees Valley

(North East region). This study, however, focuses on the first nine HMR Pathfinders as listed above.

The HMR Pathfinders aimed to provide over a 15-year period (2004-2019) long-lasting and radical solutions for communities blighted by low demand housing in post-industrial cities and towns of the North and Midlands. This was to be achieved through a mix of housing refurbishment, clearance and new build, and was estimated to cost the government approximately £6 billion and catalyse a further £11 billion private investment over its lifetime (Audit Commission, 2005a).

Figure 5.1 - The location of the nine HMR Pathfinders (Source: DCLG website)



At the outset, the HMR Pathfinders were characterised by a number of conditions (see Box 5.1 for more detail):

- a lack of housing choice, determined mainly by a surplus of older Victorian properties and a perception that the existing housing stock did not meet the needs and aspirations of current and future residents;
- a high proportion of either private or social renting, or both;
- poor housing and area conditions;
- a significant outward migration of resident populations;
- high levels of crime, stigma and poor image; and
- a concentration of low income households and/or ethnic minority groups.

Bramley and Pawson (2002) argued that the causes of low demand housing in these areas were complex and often interlinked but could be attributed to three broad factors: economic restructuring leading to depopulation; changes in housing preferences; and changes in behaviour resulting in a surplus of housing and area 'stigmatisation'.

The HMR Pathfinders had four main initial objectives which were set out in the government's *Sustainable communities: Homes for All (2005)* strategy:

- to eradicate the problems caused by low demand housing by 2020;
- to reduce by a third the difference in levels of vacancies and house prices between HMR Pathfinders and their regions; and
- to reconnect HMR areas to local housing markets in neighbouring areas.

Their scope has subsequently been broadened to address a number of other aspects such as good quality and sustainable housing design, anti-social behaviour, unemployment, community cohesion and economic investment (Cole, 2008).

The size of HMR Pathfinders was significant, ranging from 60,000 properties in Birmingham-Sandwell to 140,000 properties in South Yorkshire. They included some 900,000 homes, more than half of all 1.5 million properties estimated to be at risk of low demand in 2002, and about one in twenty homes in England (NAO, 2007; RICS, 2004). Their overall aim was to improve the quality of neighbourhoods and housing markets while integrating interventions within a sub-regional framework that linked housing, planning and economic development. Such strategy and policy

integration at sub-regional level had rarely been tried before and required a high level of co-ordination between local authorities and other partners.

Box 5.1: HMR Pathfinders' main characteristics in 2002

Scale	The HMR Pathfinders varied by size, population, number of local authority partners, and the types of settlements covered. The Birmingham-Sandwell Pathfinder was the smallest Pathfinder (ca.60,000 properties) and South Yorkshire Pathfinder the largest (ca. 140,000 properties). They were mainly partnerships between 2 or 3 local authorities, with East Lancashire and South Yorkshire being partnerships between 5 and respectively 4 local authorities.
Population loss	The population in Pathfinders areas fell by an average of 6% between 1991 and 2001; the decline was greatest in Merseyside and Newcastle Gateshead (9%), followed by Manchester Salford (8%).
Age	The population of Pathfinders was distinctly younger than the national profile. Pathfinder areas also had a slightly younger age profile than comparable large urban areas throughout England. However, unlike comparable urban areas, they tended <i>not</i> to have a significantly larger elderly population.
Ethnicity	Pathfinder areas tended to have above average BME populations.
Terraced housing	Terraced houses were the dominant property type, constituting 47% of the properties compared to 26% for England.
Lower SEGs	Pathfinders had a particular over-representation of working age people in lower occupations, especially Standard Occupational Categories 6 to 9.
Housing tenure	In the Pathfinders collectively, the proportion of owner occupiers was much lower than for England (40% compared to 70%), with the proportion of local authority tenants over twice the national average. Levels of renting from housing associations and private landlords were also higher.
Economic activity	The overall level of economic activity in the Pathfinder was significantly lower (53%) than that for England and Wales as a whole (64%) and unemployment was almost twice the national level at 6%
Deprivation	Measured by Index of Multiple Deprivation (IMD) 2000, those wards falling wholly or mainly within Pathfinder areas were almost exclusively within the most deprived fifth of wards in England

Source: Compiled by the author from various sources

The HMR Pathfinders in 2007

Assessing the HMR Pathfinders' progress has been seen as challenging. They took a long-term approach, unlike previous regeneration initiatives, so their success or lack thereof cannot be fully judged by taking a short-term perspective. However, their progress has been monitored through a series of core indicators, collected and reported on a regular basis. In addition, an interim national evaluation and a number of independent reviews of the HMR Programme were available by 2007 when the research fieldwork was carried out. Drawing on these sources, this section undertakes an overview of the HMR Programme and Pathfinders in and beyond 2007.

Trends in intervention

The HMR Pathfinders' plans for demolition have been subject to much discussion and speculation and sparked considerable criticism and public concern. They have been regarded as a blunt policy tool to deal with dysfunctional local housing markets mainly through *large-scale demolition*. In 2001, the Centre for Urban and Regional Studies warned that as many as 250,000 properties might need demolishing over the next decade or so, while in 2003 the government announced that 170,000 homes were to be demolished (ODPM, 2003). One year later, the Northern Way Steering Committee suggested that demolition plans were not big enough, recommending that up to 400,000 should be knocked down (Northern Way Steering Group, 2004).

Originally the HMR Pathfinders planned to demolish some 90,000 properties in the period from 2003 to 2018. Following increasing public discontent which fuelled negative media publicity, demolition proposals were reduced by over a third to some 50,000 properties over the same period, and these figures continue to be reviewed regularly (NAO, 2007). This has led campaigner groups to argue that a far greater number of houses were affected by demolition, between 100,000 and 400,000, and that the full cost of demolition did not take into account the loss of existing communities and social capital built up over many years (Wilkinson, 2006b).

To equate the HMR Programme with demolition can be misleading. As Table 5.1 shows between 2002 and 2007 some 40,000 homes were refurbished, compared to 10,000 that were demolished and 1,000 new built (DCLG, 2009a). In addition, direct

private sector investment stimulated by the HMR activity increased by over 40% between 2006 and 2007 and amounted to £410 million by 2007 (Cole, 2008). More recently, following the recent housing market downturn, evidence suggests that in areas with weak markets, investment in upgrading existing stock and quality of place may take precedence over demolition and re-development, which means that in later years we could see less clearance and house building and more quality refurbishment and place-making initiatives in HMR areas (CABE, 2008; Glossop, 2008).

Table 5.1 – The HMR Programme: achieved and proposed outputs

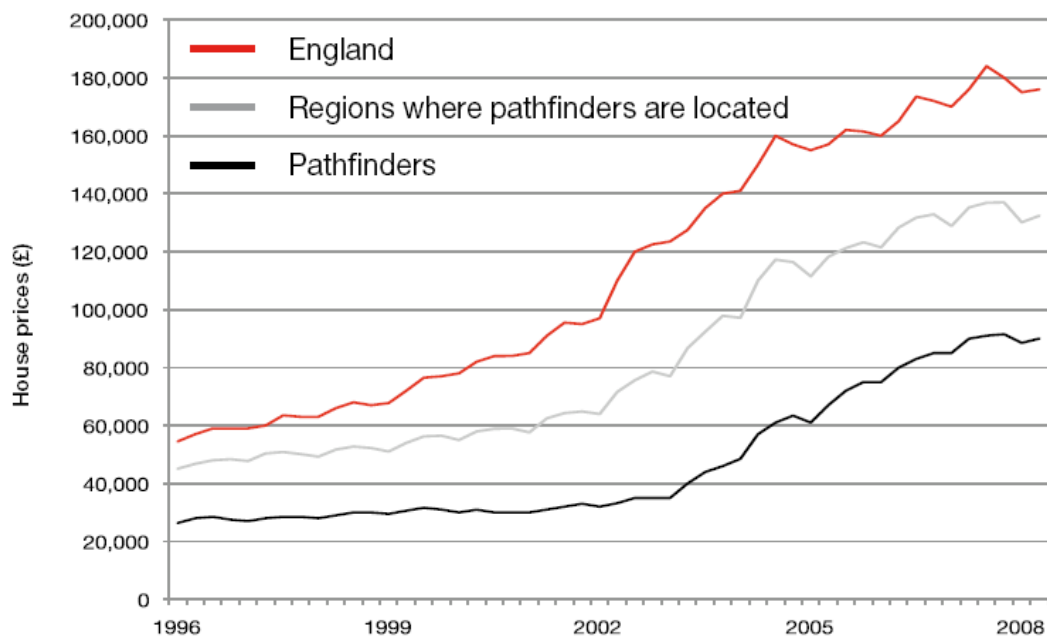
<i>Activity (HMR funded)</i>	<i>Dwellings affected 2003/4 - 5/6</i>	<i>Dwellings affected 2006/7</i>	<i>Total 2003/4 – 2006/7</i>	<i>Proposed 2007-2010</i>	<i>Proposed 2010-2018</i>
<i>Demolition</i>	8,053	2,080	10,133	12,355	34,459
<i>New built</i>	159	210	369	7,572	9,782
<i>New built on land made available</i>	300	535	835	12,023	35,729
<i>Refurbishment (Decent Homes standard)</i>	7,630	762	8,392	2,647	10,039
<i>Refurbishment (not to Decent Homes standard)</i>	23,014	6,165	29,179	19,958	28,053

Source: From DCLG (2009, p.9)

Housing markets

The most significant change across all the HMR Pathfinders has occurred in house prices (*Figure 5.2*). However, this is not surprising, as Chapter Two noted that house prices and land values typically increased in areas of urban regeneration intervention. Indeed, prior to the HMR Programme, house prices in these areas had performed consistently poorly in comparison to regional averages, while since 2002 they have risen steadily and the gap between them and their regions has not widen (Leather et al., 2007). Increases in Pathfinders' house prices have clearly been a reflection of broader national trends, but also the result of *public intervention, speculative buying* and the growth in local *buy-to-let* markets, as noted in Chapter Two.

Figure 5.2– Median house prices based on Land Registry data from 1996 (quarterly)



Source: From Shelter (2009, p.3)

These general trends have, however, concealed significant variations between HMR Pathfinders and thus some areas have witnessed price increases which have exceeded national increases, while others have struggled to redress the local housing market. Nevin and Leather (2007) found a strong negative correlation between house prices at neighbourhood level in 2002 and rising prices since then – the lower the price in 2002, the greater the subsequent increase. Following recession, areas with the most significant increases have also experienced the most dramatic falls, as prices in these areas proved to be more susceptible to market instability than in other areas (Glossop, 2008).

Rising house prices, however, have had two negative effects. First, they increased the costs of intervention, as larger compensation packages had to be paid to existing owners and speculative purchasers affected by demolition (Cole and Flint, 2006). For example, some Pathfinders reported that “*property inflation above the estimated rate meant that fewer units than forecast were acquired*” (NewHeartlands HMR Pathfinder, 2005). Second, housing has become less affordable as increases in the income of potential buyers have not kept pace with price inflation. Speculative purchasing has also had an impact, yet press estimates have been exaggerated. Nevin

and Leather (2007) estimated the cost of speculative buying at £50 million from the total for the Programme of £1.2 billion.

These observations show that house prices are not a strong indicator of market stability in the HMR Pathfinders and other indicators such as housing affordability and vacancy levels could provide a better understanding of the underlying health of these housing markets. As previously noted in Chapter Two, between 2003 and 2007 most HMR Pathfinders experienced a decline in affordability levels and the gap between them and their regions increased steadily over the last decade with the loss of low-income households and first-time buyers (Leather et al., 2007). *Table 5.2* shows how the ratio of house price to income has increased for first-time buyers making housing less affordable. Average incomes increased by about 25% over this period, but average house prices more or less doubled (Nevin and Leather, 2007)

Table 5.2 – Affordability levels (price to income ratio) in HMR Pathfinders for first time buyers

	<i>price to income ratio</i>					<i>% change 2002-06</i>
	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	
<i>Newcastle Gateshead</i>	3.5	4.9	5.9	6.2	5.6	61
<i>East Lancashire</i>	1.8	2.2	2.7	3.3	3.1	73
<i>Hull East Riding</i>	2.7	3.2	3.6	4.2	3.9	46
<i>Manchester Salford</i>	3.6	4.0	4.8	5.5	5.3	48
<i>Merseyside</i>	3.3	3.8	4.7	5.0	4.5	37
<i>Oldham Rochdale</i>	2.7	2.8	3.6	4.3	4.2	56
<i>North Staffordshire</i>	2.5	3.0	3.9	4.4	4.0	60
<i>South Yorkshire</i>	2.8	3.3	4.3	4.8	4.5	60
<i>Birmingham Sandwell</i>	4.5	5.5	6.3	6.2	5.8	28
<i>All pathfinders</i>	3.0	3.5	4.3	4.7	4.4	49

Source: Adapted from Nevin and Leather (2007, p.9)

Vacancy levels are another issue of concern for the HMR Pathfinders. *Sustainable Communities: Homes for All* (2005) set out that the gap in vacancy rates between

Pathfinders and their regions was to be cut by a third by 2010 (ODPM, 2005a). The Pathfinders were broadly on course to deliver their target in 2007, although more recent figures have suggested that the gap might again be increasing (Leather et al., 2007). However, *Table 5.3* shows that there were little improvements in long term vacancies between 2001 and 2007, with only two Pathfinders, North Staffordshire and South Yorkshire, witnessing slight falls in long-term vacancy levels.

Table 5.3 – Vacancy levels in HMR pathfinder areas

		<i>Birmingham Sandwell</i>	<i>North Staffordshire</i>	<i>Merseyside</i>	<i>Manchester Salford</i>	<i>Oldham Rochdale</i>	<i>East Lancashire</i>	<i>South Yorkshire</i>	<i>Hull East Riding</i>	<i>Newcastle Gateshead</i>
<i>All vacancies (%)</i>	<i>2001</i>	5.5	-	10.8	10.2	-	7.0	4.5	7.2	9.7
	<i>2005</i>	-	6.2	10.1	8.7	7.0	6.2	-	6.2	7.7
	<i>2006</i>	-	6.5	10.4	8.3	6.6	-	4.0	5.8	7.2
	<i>2007</i>	-	6.1	9.5	7.7	5.9	7.1	3.8	5.8	7.1
<i>Long-term vacancies (%)</i>	<i>2001</i>	4.8	-	-	-	-	2.4	-	2.4	-
	<i>2005</i>	-	4.1	6.3	-	4.7	3.2	2.1	3.5	4.5
	<i>2006</i>	4.5	4.3	6.3	-	4.2	3.1	2.5	3.2	4.5
	<i>2007</i>	5.3	3.6	6.4	2.8	3.8	5.5	1.2	3.1	4.3

Source: Adapted from Nevin and Leather (2007, p.12)

Housing tenure

Chapter Two highlighted the government’s commitment to the mixed communities agenda. Since their establishment, the HMR Pathfinders have shared this aspiration as a means to achieve long-term sustainability for their housing markets and so have identified the growth of homeownership as a strategic objective for achieving ‘balanced’ or ‘mixed’ communities. In addition to the overall goals of ‘mixed communities’, achieving a balanced housing tenure in these areas had to take on two challenges. First, increases in owner occupation levels could lead to a reduction in the supply of affordable housing for those who were unable to afford homeownership (Shelter, 2009; Audit Commission, 2006a). Second, the ‘mixing’ agenda required the initiatives to balance the needs and aspirations of existing residents with those of new residents and some surveys already have shown existing residents’ concerns about being priced out of an area following area regeneration (Audit Commission, 2006a).

Average owner-occupation rates in HMR Pathfinders were 40% in 2003, considerably lower than the national average of 70% (Holmans, 2005). The overall figure masks substantial variation between individual areas, from 36% in some areas of Manchester and Salford to 65% in areas of East Lancashire. We could not find enough evidence whether by 2007 the HMR Pathfinders were on track to deliver more home ownership in their areas. In addition, in the aftermath of recession increases in unemployment rates and the number of repossessions, coupled with reduced lending could push up demand for social and private rented accommodation.

At national level, the number of UK households renting privately has grown substantially over the past two decades to reach almost three million in 2006, with the number of tenancies expanding by nearly 40% since the early 1990s. Moreover, the private rented sector has been important in city centre regeneration areas and to a variable extent in other regeneration areas as well (Parkinson et al., 2009). In their original proposals, all the nine Pathfinders identified the growth of the private renting sector as a negative driver of housing markets. Sprigings (2007) found that the Pathfinders did not monitor the private rented sector and buy-to-let activity much, despite its consistent identification with low demand housing neighbourhoods and also found that the Pathfinders' common reference to a growing private renting sector was based on the views of regeneration staff and practitioners, rather than on systematic evidence.

Nevertheless, levels of private renting were high in many HMR Pathfinders. In some, more than 30% of all homes were privately rented, compared to 12.9% in England as a whole (Audit Commission, 2009a). In addition many private tenants were from lower income groups. For example, a study in Merseyside found that 52% of private renters were in receipt of income support, incapacity benefit or job seeker's allowance (NewHeartlands HMR Pathfinder, 2007), while a survey of private landlords in Newcastle-Gateshead found that 44% of tenants were in receipt of housing benefit, compared to 19% nationally (Green et al., 2007). Various measures have been tried to regulate the private renting sector such as *regulatory* measures including licensing, provision for Compulsory Purchase Orders for long-term voids and expansion of anti-social behaviour orders and *support or incentive* measures,

including accreditation schemes for private landlords, support and advice for private tenants (Sprigings, 2007).

Migration patterns

The Pathfinders have nurtured the expectation that they would maintain or even increase their current populations by reversing the unpopularity and abandonment of their areas, as well as counter-urbanisation, the well-established pattern throughout the nation whereby more people move out of towns and cities to the surrounding areas than move into urban areas (Audit Commission, 2005a). At first, the HMR Pathfinders' outward migration patterns were associated with a 'north-south' drift, but lately, it has been suggested that the process of counter-urbanisation is a better explanation. Evidence suggests that in 2007 population growth was more widespread across the HMR Pathfinders than previously and many areas were also affected by immigration from abroad. However, a number of commentators felt it was too early to be confident about sustained growth, except in a few cities such as Manchester. In contrast, the Merseyside Pathfinder appeared to be still losing population despite international immigration (Nevin and Leather, 2007; Leather et al., 2007).

Most HMR areas seemed to gain population in the 15-29 age group, while still experiencing net losses among children and those aged over 30, losses which were greater than those experienced by the local authorities within which these HMR areas were located. In other words, outward movement by couples, families with children and middle-aged people has continued in some HMR areas, with more affluent people undoubtedly overrepresented in this outward movement (Nevin and Leather, 2007). Reducing or reversing this flow is central not only to HMR Programme objectives, but also to the government's wider aims of securing genuine, sustainable communities where urban areas are populated by stable, mixed communities and by those with choice as well as those who cannot afford to leave.

Crime

Tackling crime and anti-social behaviour has been seen as crucial for achieving successful urban regeneration. All the HMR Pathfinders have experienced some of the highest crime and anti-social behaviour levels in the country: eight Pathfinder local authorities are in the worst 10% for burglaries and seven in the worst 10% for

vehicle crime (Audit Commission, 2007). However, crime and anti-social behaviour have been tackled by introducing more street policing and establishing or enhancing neighbourhood management measures. As a result, many HMR areas achieved significant reductions in levels of crime and anti-social behaviour.

In 2006, the government launched the *Respect Agenda* which aimed to tackle a number of factors associated with anti-social behavior, including poor parenting, school truancy and exclusion, as well as other area and individual factors. Thirteen of the Pathfinder constituent local authorities were named in 2007 as part of the first wave of 40 Respect Areas on the basis of their strong track record in tackling anti-social behaviour (Audit Commission, 2008b). This showed that the HMR Pathfinders have made significant progress in reducing crime and anti-social behaviour in their areas.

Future challenges

The previous section mainly examined the HMR Programme and Pathfinders' outlook in 2007. Many things have been achieved, yet more still have to be achieved. What are the challenges that lay ahead for the HMR Pathfinders?

Recent appraisals of HMR Pathfinders' progress have been increasingly positive (Cole, 2008; Shelter, 2009; CABE, 2008). The Audit Commission has praised the HMR Pathfinders as a source of good practice and as an example of a "*balanced approach to demolition and redevelopment as an option for neighbourhood renewal*" (Audit Commission, 2009a). They have also been put forward as a "*paradigm for 'intelligent' investment, with tailored programmes attuned to shifting market circumstances*" (Cole, 2008). They have proved to be successful in securing long-term partnership arrangements with the private sector which has helped to deliver their targets, 'fine tuned' spending strategies, and been flexible and evidence-based in their approaches. Despite the limited guarantee for future government commitment, the HMR Pathfinders have generally achieved their targets, maintained their planned levels of activity and built up the trust and confidence of local communities.

The HMR Pathfinders still have much to do to deliver against the long-term aim of creating sustainable communities. Their task is even more difficult in the current economic situation and there is a real concern for their long term development. A recent study shows that of the ten UK cities ranked as most exposed to recession, seven are in HMR areas, with Hull and Liverpool in particular faring worst on most indicators (Centre for Cities, 2009). Moreover, since the onset of recession, house prices have been falling faster in HMR areas than in other areas; the number of empty properties also started to rise steadily again; private developers have been withdrawing from many developments as they opted for “*less risky and higher quality projects*” and regeneration agencies have had to deal with shrinking teams and resources (Parkinson et al., 2009).

Against this general background, we think that the HMR Pathfinders will have to deal with the following challenges in the future:

- securing public investment;
- shifting focus of action and geographical boundaries;
- continuing to involve local communities;
- stabilising migration; and
- tackling housing affordability.

The way the HMR Pathfinders will respond to and address these challenges is of paramount importance in securing long-term regeneration benefits and ultimately sustainable communities.

Securing funding

The HMR Pathfinders’ funding has only been secured until 2011. Evidence from earlier urban regeneration programmes shows that securing major change in deprived areas could take between 10 and 20 years (DCLG, 2002a; DCLG, 2002b; NRU, 2006). It is a serious concern to the HMR Pathfinders that there is little clarity about government’s future financial commitment to what is clearly a long-term programme (HMR Chairs Committee, 2005; HMR Chairs Committee, 2006), and this despite a number of reports which called for continued financial support (Shelter, 2009; Leather, 2006; Cole, 2008). How do financial and investment constraints manifest in each HMR Pathfinder? What is the impact on individual projects and communities?

Shifting focus

The HMR Pathfinders have been designed as long-term regeneration agencies based on local partnership arrangements. This makes them vulnerable to changes in local circumstances as well as changes over their lifespan. Their boundaries, originally based on composite statistical pictures of social and housing needs and vacancy levels, may also need to be remodelled in the light of emerging evidence about sub-markets, trends in household formation and the impact of in- and out-migration (Cole, 2008). Moreover, new partnership arrangements such as the Multi Area Agreements discussed in Chapter One have already started to challenge the way the HMR Pathfinders allocate resources and draw boundaries. In the aftermath of the economic recession, the Pathfinders need to re-think their focus by giving more substance to other activities such as for example place-making and asset building (CABE, 2008). How has the HMR Pathfinders' focus been changing? What is the 'boundary impact' on local projects and communities?

Involving local communities

Because of the speed at which the HMR Programme was implemented, a number of schemes started before community engagement strategies had been properly in place (NAO, 2007). The relation between the HMR Pathfinders and local communities has been difficult in many occasions. In some areas residents have set up groups to campaign against the Pathfinders' plans, particularly in relation to the demolition of homes and destruction of local heritage (English Heritage, 2008). Sometimes local community groups were replaced by groups chaired by the HMR Pathfinders, resident representatives were hand-picked and community protest dismissed (Allen, 2008b). Nevertheless, most HMR Pathfinders have made considerable efforts to engage local communities and set up local governance mechanisms and in many areas overwhelming community support for local plans has been achieved (HMR Chairs Committee, 2006). Yet the challenge of building upon past achievements, improve the quality of community involvement and set aside previous negative publicity still remains. How are residents involved in the governance of their areas? Do residents feel involved in the making of their areas?

Outward migration

We showed previously that evidence on HMR Pathfinders' outflow of population is not conclusive. Evidence suggests that an outward migration trend continues, especially of younger families with children and more affluent households. However, this is outweighed by longer distance immigration of younger people, often associated with higher and further education, and people from abroad (HMR Chairs Committee, 2006). This is a challenge to the creation of 'mixed' and 'balanced' communities, one of the HMR Pathfinders' goals in achieving sustainable communities. Who is leaving the HMR areas? Who is moving into these areas?

Affordability for some

Despite house prices moving in line with national trends, reaching the peak at the onset of the credit crunch and falling since then, evidence suggests that all HMR Pathfinders have become less affordable, especially for first time buyers and low-income households. In addition, surveys found that some locals felt priced out of their areas as a result of regeneration activity (Audit Commission, 2006a). Allen (2008) has argued that the HMR Programme, with the help of academics, has imposed their 'middle-class values' on the poor. He used a detailed case study in a HMR area to show how current residents were effectively priced out from the *brave new world* planned to replace their neighborhood (Allen, 2008a; Allen, 2008b). Are HMR areas affordable to local people? Do residents feel pushed out of these areas?

Table 5.4 summarises the five challenges which we discussed above together with the questions raised by them which are relevant to our area of research. To answer all these questions is beyond the scope of this research. However, the questions highlighted in the table are examined later in Chapter Nine and Chapter Ten.

Table 5.4 - Challenges and questions for the HMR Pathfinders

<i>Challenges</i>	<i>Questions</i>
<i>Securing funding</i>	<i>How do financial and investment constraints manifest in each HMR Pathfinder?</i>
	<i>What is the impact on individual projects and communities?</i>
<i>Shifting focus</i>	<i>How has the HMR Pathfinders' focus been changing?</i>
	<i>What is the boundaries impact on local projects and communities?</i>
<i>Involving local communities</i>	<i>How are residents involved in the governance of their areas?</i>
	<i>Do residents feel involved in the making of their areas?</i>
<i>Outward migration</i>	<i>Who is leaving the HMR areas?</i>
	<i>Who is moving into the HMR areas?</i>
<i>Affordable for some</i>	<i>Are HMR areas affordable to local people?</i>
	<i>Do residents feel pushed out of HMR areas?</i>

5.2 The scale and extent of HMR intervention

In 2005, when this research began, we planned to look at the impact of area regeneration on community sustainability by comparing two different types of interventions: demolition and redevelopment of housing, and refurbishment of housing. As this section develops, we shall show how the focus of the research has changed, as a result of findings uncovered during the first stage of fieldwork.

We were interested in these two types of interventions and their impact on community sustainability for two reasons. First, when this research started, a lot of negative publicity and public animosity was sparked by government's intentions to pursue 'large-scale demolition' through its HMR Programme. Campaigning community groups, such as 'Save', 'Fight for Your Homes' and 'Homes Under Threat', and local communities attacked the government's plans on grounds of lack of consultation, destruction of local heritage and dispersal of established communities through displacement (Wilkinson, 2006b; Wilkinson, 2006a; The Guardian, 2007). At the same time, the government claimed that the demolition of obsolete housing stock would 'put things right' and open the way for more 'mixing', better local environments, services and facilities, all beneficial for the well being of local communities. Second, a growing body of literature highlighted the advantages of housing refurbishment-led regeneration over demolition and re-development

(Power, 2010; LSE Housing, 2005). The refurbishment of the existing housing stock has also been advocated by English Heritage on grounds of local heritage protection and documented by other agencies, such as the Sustainable Development Commission and British Research Establishment (Yeats, 2006; SDC, 2006).

Is refurbishment of existing housing indeed a more sustainable solution for local communities than demolition and redevelopment? More specifically, can housing refurbishment-led-regeneration halt the spiral of decline in areas of blight by transforming them in areas of choice? Which was the best way forward in HMR areas: refurbishment or demolition? Which type of intervention created more sustainable communities?:

- demolition and redevelopment of housing, which potentially could ‘erase’ stigma by replacing obsolete Victorian stock with new housing and new services and facilities that could meet the expectations of higher income groups, although at the expense of existing communities that could be faced with relocation?; OR
- refurbishment and conversion of the old housing stock which did not offer much scope for ‘mixing’ or new facilities and services, but relied on preserving and building upon the strengths of existing local communities?

We therefore set out to compare these two types of interventions in HMR areas in order to find out which one resulted in more sustainable communities.

The HMR Programme offered the ideal test-bed to answer these questions. Briefly, three reasons made the Programme suitable for our questions. First, demolition versus refurbishment of housing had featured high on the HMR agenda since its inception in 2003. Second, the HMR Programme was the first regeneration programme that pursued a holistic regeneration approach by dealing with the very roots of low demand housing in order to create sustainable communities. Third, the communities living in these areas were defined at national level as ‘unsustainable’ and thus the ideal ‘guinea pig’ to examine whether the new regeneration initiatives have had a positive impact on their sustainability. We embarked then on the first stage of fieldwork, an extended scoping survey of interventions in HMR pathfinder areas and its findings are discussed in detail in the next section.

Types of interventions

In 2006 we undertook a large survey on HMR intervention areas: 144 different intervention sites were initially identified in seven HMR Pathfinders and then 38 visited in six HMR Pathfinders. The 144 projects represented various types of interventions (Appendix 1). They also illustrated a wide range of housing types and tenures, locations and scales which have been grouped under four main categories: *minor*, *moderate*, *major* and *mixed* regeneration projects.

Minor interventions were projects which displayed a range of ‘light touch’ interventions, broadly described as either environmental works, improvements to the quality of local environments and public realm, neighbourhood management measures or a combination of those. Most of these interventions were exclusively funded through regeneration budgets or other public funding. More specifically, these projects included:

- Light external improvements to housing and immediate surroundings such as ‘face-lift’ or ‘cosmetic’ works to the external fabric of properties including brick cleaning, repairs and re-pointing; boundary treatments including new railings, gates, fences and walls at the front and/or the back of properties; alley-gating including closure and management and/or embellishment of alleys at the back of properties;
- Improvements to the general streetscape and area’s gateways including improvements to important buildings within an area; upgrading of the public realm including improvements to local squares, green areas and communal gardens; tree planting; home-zone treatment and traffic calming zones;
- Upgrading of existing local parks and large areas of green open space including provision of new seating areas and play areas; and/or refurbishment of park facilities such as football pitches or tennis courts; and
- Neighbourhood management measures, mainly addressing community crime and safety and maintenance issues such as street wardens, community police officers, estate caretakers and park rangers.

Moderate interventions were illustrated by schemes which took a more rounded approach to housing refurbishment such as Group Repairs and Block Improvement

schemes, including works to the exterior of properties and sometimes to their interior; major refurbishment works such as housing conversion; and sometimes, selective demolition and housing infill. These types of interventions can be described in more detail as follows:

- The Group Repair schemes aimed to increase confidence in an area by combining improvements to the general area's visual appearance with financial assistance to participant households. These usually consisted of extensive external works and improvements to the housing envelope including re-roofing, re-pointing, new double-glazed windows and doors; locks and alarm systems; gutters; fences and back walls; and in some cases new porches. They also targeted a relatively large area and aimed to have a full coverage, although households' participation in the scheme was not compulsory. Participant households were assisted by either interest-free loans and grants, or direct subsidies.
- Block Improvement schemes were similar to Group Repair schemes and carried out selective improvements or refurbishment to housing in order to support the housing market within an area, including also a similar range of refurbishment works. The main difference was that once the Block Improvement area was defined, the full cost of refurbishment was covered by regeneration funding.
- Decent Homes Standard works included improvements to the social renting stock. More specifically, alongside external improvements, these included internal house upgrading and modernization such as central heating, loft and water tank insulation, and sometimes replacement of bathrooms and kitchens.
- Housing conversion consisted of major internal refurbishment including full or partial demolition of internal partition walls and a reconfiguration of the internal layout in order to respond to modern living standards, or combining smaller properties into larger ones.
- Selective demolition was carried out on a small select number of properties, usually to make space for additional green space such as communal gardens and play areas, or to provide opportunities for private development infill in order to cross-subsidise other interventions, and diversify housing tenure and typology within an area.

Major interventions corresponded to a significant step change in the approach to housing regeneration and included relatively extensive demolition, followed in many cases by redevelopment of homes or mixed-use residential areas. These types of interventions:

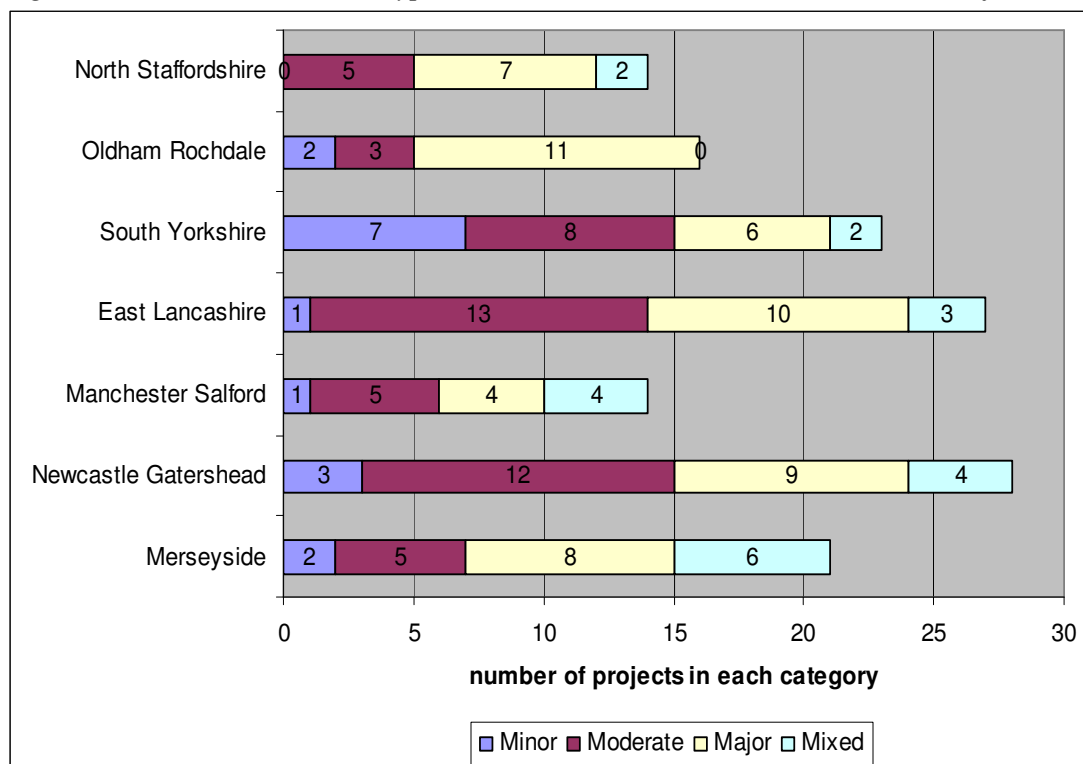
- were in many cases the result of complex and lengthy compulsory purchase orders and master-planning processes and envisaged the creation of ‘sustainable communities’ through providing new services and facilities such as ‘community hubs’ and new housing usually in a ‘mix-use’ format.
- involved displacement and/or relocation of existing households and financial support packages for assistance for displaced/relocated households.
- were drawing on public and private funding whereby demolition was paid for by regeneration funding, while redevelopment was mainly funded by private investors and to a lesser extent by social landlords.

Mixed interventions were those that could not be included in any of the above categories. They could involve all previous intervention types or any combination of them. They:

- were usually large-scale projects of at least 500 homes.
- usually had a long tradition of public investment and intervention.
- were on the drawing board or in their early stages of implementation at the time of fieldwork.
- involved complex planning, financing and delivery plans.

Figure 5.3 shows how the 144 intervention areas were distributed across the seven HMR Pathfinders investigated according to the type of intervention described above. It is clear that the most common types of intervention were either *moderate* or *major*. However, there were slightly more *major* intervention projects including significant housing clearance which could lend an explanation to their public ‘visibility’ and thus public perceptions of ‘large scale’ demolition pursued by the HMR Pathfinders. Even more notably, in three HMR Pathfinders, Merseyside, North Staffordshire and Oldham Rochdale, the majority of projects identified were under this category.

Figure 5.3 – Distribution and types on interventions across seven HMR Pathfinders



Source: Research fieldwork

The HMR Pathfinders aimed to clear or at least partially empty many areas during their first phase of intervention (2003-2006), as a drive for making ‘early progress’ and thus, secure subsequent funding. They only switched from demolition, land acquisition and refurbishment to the delivery of new housing during their second phase, between 2006 and 2008 (Audit Commission, 2006a; CAG Consultants, 2006; Flint, 2006; Leather, 2006; NAO, 2009).

Table 5.5 shows that when achievements over the 2003/04-2006/07 period are compared to long-term plans, much of the HMR Pathfinders’ efforts were put both into housing refurbishment and demolition, while only a few new homes were delivered. However, overall more houses were refurbished than were demolished (24% compared to 15%), while only 1% were constructed. The table also shows the mismatch between the number of properties demolished and that of new build units.

Table 5.5 – Actual achieved (2003/04–2006/07) and long-term plans (2003/04–2018) for individual HMR Pathfinder

Pathfinder	Refurbishment* (No. of units)		Demolition (No. of units)		New homes** (No. of units)	
	Actual achieved (2003/4- 2006/7)	Long-term plans (2003/4- 2018)	Actual achieved (2003/4- 2006/7)	Long-term plans (2003/4- 2018)	Actual achieved (2003/4- 2006/7)	Long-term plans (2003/4- 2018)
Merseyside (NewHeartlands HMR Pathfinder, 2005)	8,758	42,821	758	11,210	338	16,378
Newcastle Gateshead (Newcastle Gateshead HMR Pathfinder, 2005)	2,567	10,000	1,560	ca. 5,000	101	12,000
Manchester Salford (Manchester Salford HMR Pathfinder, 2005)	10,127	13,769	1,968	7,500	138	30,102
East Lancashire (East Lancashire HMR Pathfinder, 2005)	1,840	6,723	1,178	6,679	16	7618
South Yorkshire (Transform South Yorkshire HMR Pathfinder, 2005)	3,788	11,860	2,705	6,692	178	12,978
Oldham Rochdale (Oldham Rochdale HMR Pathfinder, 2005)	2,248	10,853	501	8,600	106	12,300
North Staffordshire (North Staffordshire HMR Pathfinder, 2005)	2,633	35,467	615	14,501	2	12,528
Totals	31,961	131,493	9,285	60,182	879	103,904
Actual number achieved as % of long-term plans	24%		15%		1%	

Source: Compiled by the author as follows: data for 'actual achieved' from (DCLG, 2009a) and data for 'long-term plans' from Pathfinders' Scheme Update (2005/06)

*Refurbishment includes both repairs to Decent Homes and other repairs.

** New homes also refer to conversions for the first time and include all new homes kick-started by HMR funding, not only new homes funded by HMR.

Despite 'over-supply' of housing, all the HMR Pathfinders but two aimed to build more than demolish over their long-term plans: Manchester-Salford planned to build

some 20,000 more new units, while Merseyside, Newcastle-Gateshead, South Yorkshire and Oldham-Rochdale planned to deliver some extra 5,000 new units each. Only North Staffordshire planned to build less than it planned to demolish, while East Lancashire aimed to replace roughly the housing demolished. It is not clear whether that can be achieved in the market, nor is it clear that there is sufficient demand for these properties.

Finding a significant number of *moderate* intervention projects, however, across the Pathfinders was surprising and disproved the public perception of HMR areas as involving 'mainly demolition', fuelled by negative press coverage of a handful of proposals, including the famous Edge Lane in Merseyside and Whitefield and St Mary's Conservation area of Nelson in East Lancashire. Moreover, only a few *major* intervention projects were complete in 2007. In contrast, many *moderate* intervention areas were completed at the time of fieldwork. HMR officials, developers and planners explained that as demolition was carried out first, redevelopment was still on the drawing board, in negotiation with potential developers or in the pipeline.

During the scoping survey and site visits, we came across a range of definitions for 'housing refurbishment'. Some Pathfinders defined 'refurbishment' as either minimal cosmetic work carried out to the external envelope of houses or environmental works performed to the public realm, while others referred to 'refurbishment' as a relatively major intervention including extensive external works, sometimes accompanied by internal upgrading or conversion and selective small-scale demolition. In order to avoid any future confusion, we decided to endorse the latter interpretation of 'housing refurbishment', referred to as 'housing refurbishment-led regeneration' throughout this thesis and including the range of interventions previously listed under the *moderate* interventions category.

The scoping survey also revealed that many projects had a long tradition of public investment, with the HMR Programme continuing, overlapping with or attracting other funding streams from previous or parallel regeneration programmes such as the New Deal for Communities, Single Regeneration Budget, Neighbourhood Renewal Fund and European Structural Funds. In a few places the HMR Programme was the first and sole regeneration investor. Moreover, many projects did not have a clear cut

distinction between *moderate* and *major* types of intervention. Most presented a combination of both, with one of them being predominant. For example, we found schemes where demolition was prevalent but some refurbishment and environmental works were also delivered and areas where refurbishment was the main intervention but accompanied by selective demolition. As a result, two of our three case study areas incorporated some elements of demolition, usually less than 20%.

Selecting case study areas

Between January and March 2007 we visited six HMR Pathfinders: East Lancashire, Merseyside, Newcastle Gateshead, Manchester Salford, South Yorkshire and Oldham Rochdale. Although we undertook baseline research in North Staffordshire as well, we decided to exclude it from the second round of fieldwork as it proved to be difficult to contact and slow in response. For instance, having concluded the first round of interviews and site visits in all the other Pathfinders, we still did not have a reliable contact in North Staffordshire.

In-depth interviews were carried out with 25 senior-level HMR staff, who are listed in Appendix 7. We also visited 28 areas in six HMR Pathfinders and collected further documentation. These visits often revealed mismatches between written information in the public realm and reality on the ground, particularly in regard to the amount of housing and stage of completion. The presence of local residents ‘on-site’ could also be checked during these site visits.

Criteria for the selection of case studies

Six criteria were developed for case study selection, drawing both from the scoping survey and the information uncovered. First, the research would focus on *moderate* or *housing refurbishment-led regeneration*, rather than both *moderate* and *major* interventions, as proposed initially. The scoping survey revealed that not many *major* interventions were complete, had residents living on site or were of a significant scale; most of these projects had completed demolition by 2006/2007 and had redevelopment proposals on the drawing board or were under negotiations with planning departments and developers at the time of fieldwork for this research.

Second, the areas had to be in receipt of some form of HMR funding. We explained earlier that the HMR Programme was launched not as another ‘housing programme’ but as a holistic regeneration programme which aimed to create sustainable communities by dealing with a range of aspects contributing to low demand housing. Therefore, it was important that the areas we looked at endorsed this principle. In other words, it made sense to test the impact of these interventions on a community’s sustainability, in areas which aimed to create sustainable communities.

Third, the selected areas had to be considered good practice. This would facilitate the work and collaboration with the HMR Pathfinders as we were more likely to gain access to information and support when the regeneration staff felt confident about the success of regeneration in a specific area. Moreover, some studies cast doubts about the successful creation of sustainable communities in these areas (CAG Consultants, 2006; SDC, 2007) and thus we aimed to examine regeneration at its best.

Fourth, the areas had to have between a minimum of 250 and a maximum of 1000 homes. Areas as bases for place-communities, as defined in Chapter Two, are concerned with size and boundaries. In the literature, the clearest examples of defined spatial scale for a community are those based on human habitation such as ‘settlement’, ‘village’ or ‘neighbourhood’. Some research looks at strategic and large administrative units such as ‘wards’ or ‘boroughs’ (Khadduri, 2001; Tunstall, 2003a) while others focus on the ‘human-scale’ levels that are easily perceived by people such as streets, blocks or entire housing estates (Brophy and Smith, 1997; Page and Boughton, 1997). This research aims to investigate community sustainability and residents’ perception of an area, indicating the smaller scale approach. The research aims in particular to understand how people perceive local job opportunities, accessibility and connectivity, amenities within walking distance, such as schools, parks, and other community services, and the importance of these features in creating sustainable communities in an area. Areas with 250 to 1000 homes were considered small enough to walk across, but large enough to generate through regeneration new demand for community and social services (Urban Initiatives, 2002).

Fifth, areas needed to be populated for at least five years at the time of case study selection in 2006. This was necessary in order to learn about residents’ perceptions

and experiences of the regeneration process, and go beyond design plans and vision statements to understand lessons for sustainable communities. We also argued earlier the importance of the time perspective in understanding and evaluating sustainable communities. A five-year perspective, equating to the first phase of the HMR Programme, would incorporate such a time consideration and would reveal whether these ‘regeneration communities’ moved closer to or farther from sustainability following area regeneration.

Finally, the regeneration of the areas had to be complete or close to completion at the time of case study selection. Complete projects offered more stability and little scope for major change. At the same time, both regeneration staff and local residents could have a rounded understanding of the regeneration process, its immediate outcomes and impacts on various issues, as well as how well their expectations were met.

Table 5.6 below shows how each of the 28 areas we visited matched these six selection criteria. As expected, many sites were close to meeting all the case study criteria. However, only five areas, highlighted in the table, met all the criteria: Langworthy North and Seedley West, both in Salford; Bank Top in Blackburn; North Benwell Terraces in Newcastle and The Triangles in Wirral.

Table 5.6 - Potential HMR case study areas and criteria of selection

Area	Criteria					
	housing-led regeneration?	HMR funding?	Good practice?	250/300 to 1000 homes?	residents on site?	complete?
Baytree, Manchester	✓	x	✓	x	✓	✓
Bute, Manchester	x	✓	x	✓	✓some	x
Beswick, Manchester	x	x	✓	x	✓	x
Urban Splash Chimney Pot Park, Salford	✓	✓some	✓	✓	✓some	x
Langworthy North, Salford	✓	✓some	✓	✓ca. 400	✓	✓
Seedley West, Salford	✓	✓some	✓	✓ca.600	✓	✓
Project Phoenix, Accrington	x	✓	x	✓	x	x
Bank Top Area, Blackburn	✓	✓some	✓	✓ca. 1000	✓	✓
Infirmary Area, Pendle	x	✓	✓	✓	x	x
Norfolk Park, Sheffield	x	x	✓	x	✓	x
Arbournhorn, Sheffield	✓	x	x	x	✓	✓
Park Hill, Sheffield	✓	✓	✓	x	✓some	✓
Granville Mill, Derker	x	✓	x	x	✓	✓
Central Werneth Area, Rochdale	✓	✓some	x	x	✓	x
The Cambrian, Newcastle	x	✓	✓	x	✓some	x
Pendoer Estate, Newcastle	✓	✓	x	✓	✓	x
North Benwell Terraces, Newcastle	✓	✓some	✓	✓ca. 700	✓	✓
High Cross, Newcastle	✓	✓	x	✓	✓	x
Lower Delaval Estate, Newcastle	✓	✓	x	✓	✓	x
Scotswood Village, Newcastle	x	✓	✓	x	✓	x
Rock Ferry/ Fiveways, Wirral	x	✓	x	x	x	x
Queens Road, Wirral	x	✓	✓	x	✓	✓
The Triangles, Wirral	✓	✓	✓	✓ ca.400	✓	✓
River Streets, Wirral	x	✓some	x	x	x	x
Stanley Park, Liverpool	x	✓	✓	✓	✓	x
Camelot/ Streets, Liverpool	✓	✓	✓	x	✓	x
Welsh Streets, Liverpool	x	✓	✓	✓	✓	x
Dobson Robson Street, Sefton	x	✓	✓	x	✓	✓

Source: Research fieldwork

The five shortlisted case studies shared some basic characteristics. Four, except the Triangles, had a long tradition of public intervention and regeneration investment; received national and regional prizes or were considered ‘best practice’ at HMR Pathfinder level. They all displayed a range of two-down-two-up Victorian terraces which received major external works, upgrading of streetscape and sometimes of adjacent parks, and were subject to intensive neighbourhood management arrangements. They all included some selective demolition in order to make room for additional green and community space. The population of the Triangles and Salford sites was predominantly white, while at Bank Top and North Benwell we found a significantly above-average proportion of ethnic minority residents.

The Bank Top area in Blackburn was considerably larger than the other three areas. The area was also difficult to access via public transport, with only four trains per day running between Preston and Blackburn due to works being carried out to the East Lancashire Rapid Transit System (Manchester City Council, 2005). As regarding the two areas in Salford, my discussions with regeneration staff revealed that the West Seedley was less ‘settled’, because of plans to re-develop the adjacent area of South Seedley, and ‘received less attention’ than Langworthy North, which sat just next to a widely publicised private development. We therefore decided to research further the following three areas: Langworthy North in Salford, North Benwell in Newcastle and the Triangles in Wirral, which are introduced by the last section of this chapter.

5.3 Introduction to the case study areas

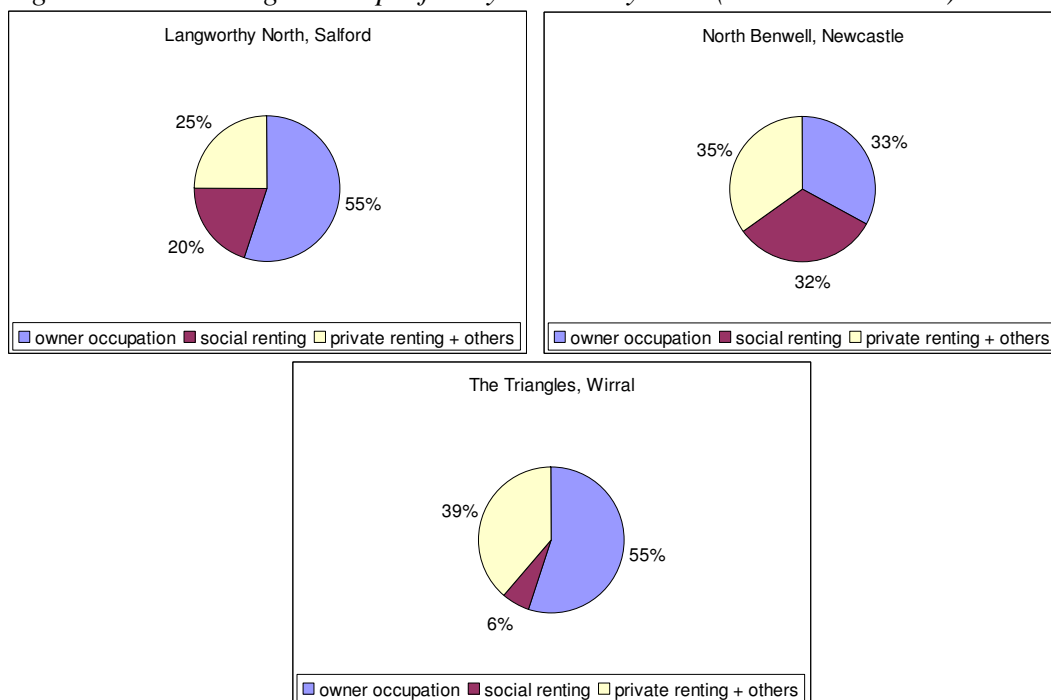
This chapter has focused on a detailed overview of the Pathfinders and examined their performance and challenges to date. The chapter also described the first two stages of our fieldwork, the HMR desktop review and case-study scoping survey, which we have undertaken in order to document the scale and range of interventions in Pathfinder areas. Following findings uncovered during this process, the focus of the research changed and the rationale behind the case study selection process was reshaped: three areas were proposed for further investigations, all undergoing a process of housing refurbishment-led regeneration.

The three case study areas were similar in that they all met the criteria described in the previous section. They all contained more than 250 and less than 1000 properties/houses, with North Benwell terraces being the largest with approximately 700 homes, while Langworthy North and the Triangles were of similar size with about 400 dwellings each. All were inhabited by local residents for at least five years at the time of fieldwork, with many local residents going through the whole regeneration process and experiencing the area both at its lowest and following regeneration. Finally, each area was regarded as good practice at HMR Pathfinder and sometimes national level and won a number of prizes, particularly Langworthy North and North Benwell. In fact, the regeneration staff talked with pride about these three areas, they made the headlines of local newspapers and were prized in HMR Pathfinders' and Audit Commission's progress reports.

The case study areas were similar in some other ways as well. They were all located within easy access and walking distance to city centres, via the Metrolink light rail in Wirral and Salford, and direct bus service in Newcastle, and took an active part in their growing regional city centres: Manchester, Newcastle and Liverpool. As noted above, they consisted of two-up-two-down Victorian terraces which underwent major external refurbishment works, plus some internal works and improvements to the public realm and local parks. In addition, in both Langworthy North and North Benwell some small-scale selective demolition was carried out, which opened up the areas for new green spaces and community areas. All three areas received some sort of HMR funding from 2003 onwards, while the regeneration of the Triangles was entirely financed by HMR; in both Langworthy North and North Benwell, HMR funding overlapped with previous SRB investment.

There were both similarities and differences in their population profile which are covered in detail below. The main housing tenure was owner occupation at both Langworthy North and Triangles; yet if the rest of the housing stock was almost equally split between social and private renting at Langworthy North, at Triangles it was predominantly private renting. In contrast, the housing stock was almost equally split among the three types of tenure at North Benwell (Figure 5.4). They all had lower levels of home ownership and notably higher levels of private renting than national averages.

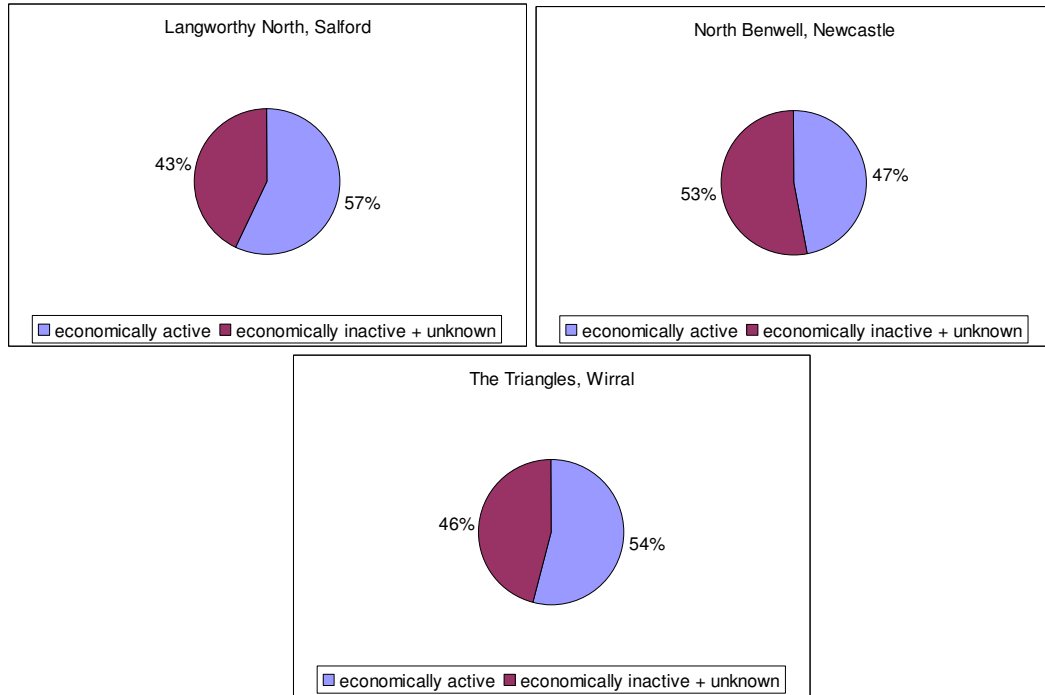
Figure 5.4 – Housing tenure profile by case study area (2005/06 estimate)



Source: Langworthy North - 2005 SRB Survey; North Benwell – 2005/06 NNIS Survey; The Triangles – 2006 Door-to-Door Survey (see Chapter Three)

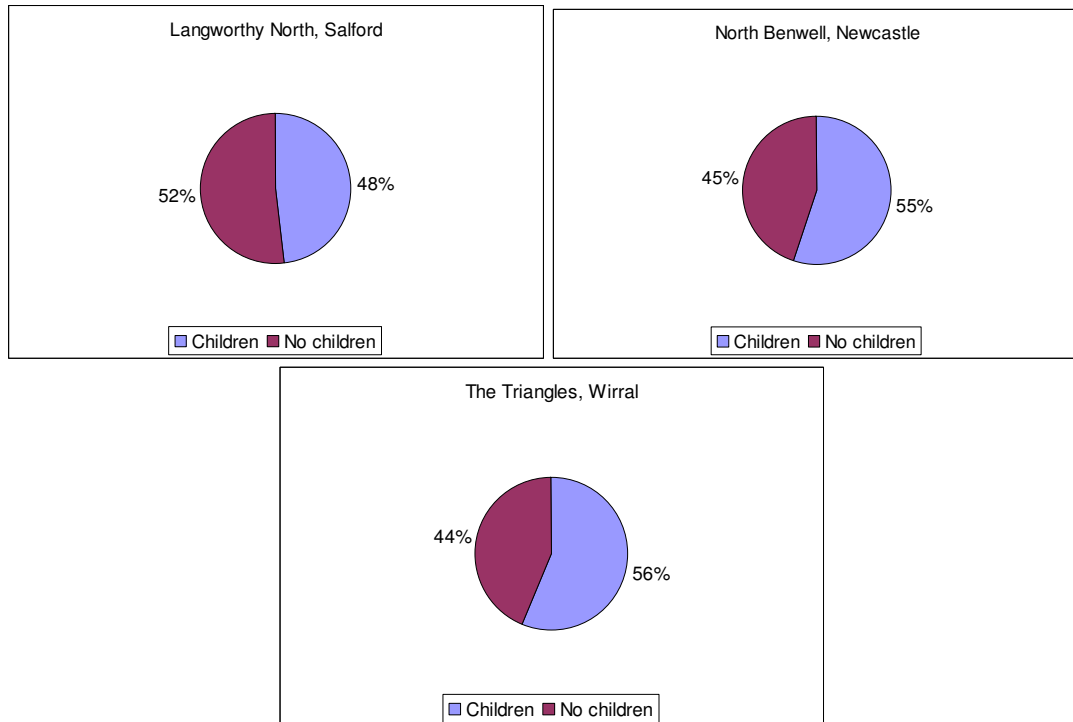
Economic activity and household composition profiles followed similar patterns in all three areas with an almost equal split between economically active and inactive, and households with and without children respectively (Figure 5.5 and 5.6). Yet there were fewer economically active people at North Benwell and fewer households with dependent children at Langworthy North compared with the other two areas. In all three areas, we interviewed fewer households with dependent children than planned. These households were less available for interviews because of their childcare or daily arrangements. We included children when they were present at the interviews with their parents, but did not seek to interview children separately, as we sought to capture adults’ opinions and reasons for living in the area. However, in all three areas levels of households with dependent children were considerably higher than nationally.

Figure 5.5 – Economic activity profile by case study area (2005/06 and 2001 estimates)



Source: Langworthy North - 2005 SRB Survey; North Benwell – 2001 Census; The Triangles – 2001 Census (see Chapter Three)

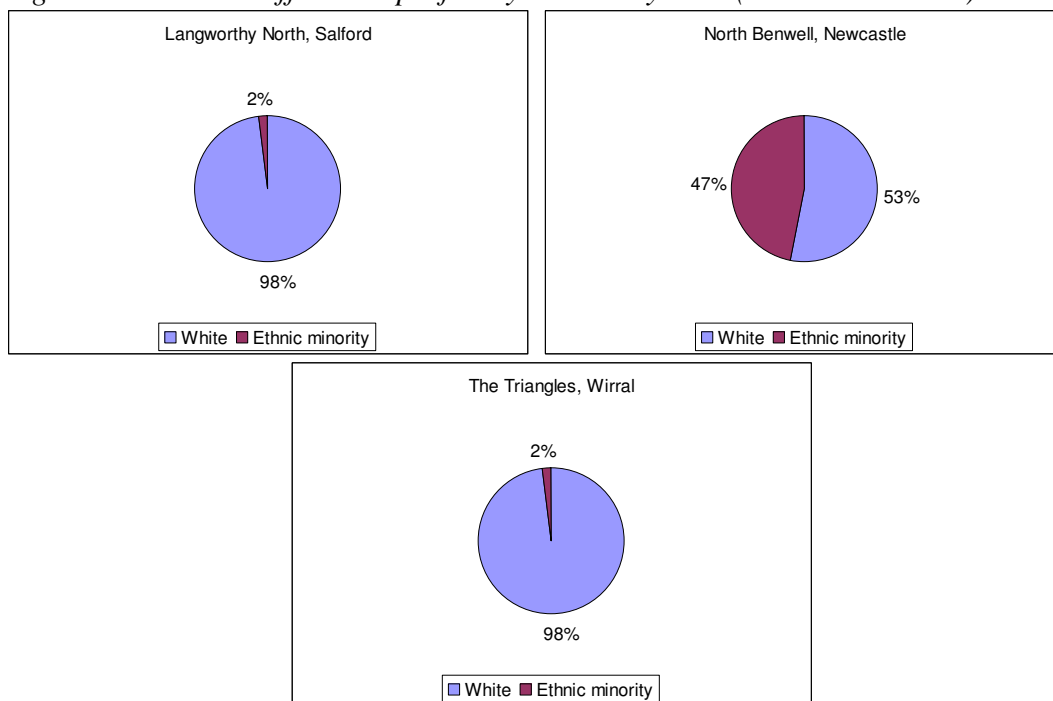
Figure 5.6 – Household composition (children) profile by case study area (2001 estimate)



Source: All three areas based on 2001 Census data (see Chapter Three)

The population of both Langworthy North and Triangles was predominantly white, while at North Benwell half of the local residents were from an ethnic minority background and strikingly different from the national picture (Figure 5.7).

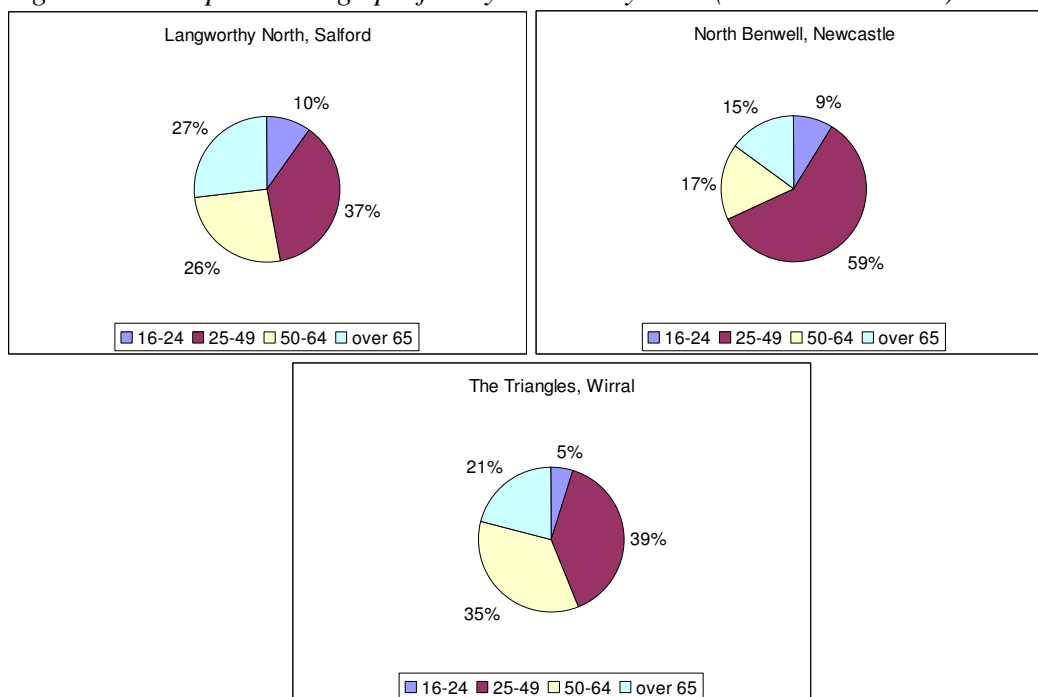
Figure 5.7 – Ethnic affiliation profile by case study area (2005/06 estimate)



Source: Langworthy North - 2005 SRB Survey; North Benwell – 2005/06 NNIS Survey; The Triangles – 2006 Door-to-Door Survey (see Chapter Three)

Figure 5.8 shows that the population age profile, distributed over four age bands, had a comparable configuration at both Langworthy North and Triangles, in contrast to North Benwell, which had the youngest population (25-49). This is explained by large numbers of ethnic minority groups living in the area, and high population turnover. Langworthy North had the largest older population group (over 65) and the Triangles the smallest young population group (16-24). When compared nationally, North Benwell was the closest to the national age profile, while both Langworthy North and the Triangles had an older resident population.

Figure 5.8 – Population age profile by case study area (2005/06 estimate)



Source: Langworthy North – 2005 SRB Survey; North Benwell – 2005/06 NNIS Survey; The Triangles – 2006 Door-to-Door Survey (see Chapter Three)

The samples also aimed for a 50:50 gender split which was overall achieved in all three areas (Table 3.7). However, female respondents were more available for interviews than their male counterparts with the exception of North Benwell. Women were more easily located as many were out with their children during the day, and at home in the early evenings. They were also frequently more discursive in their responses than men. However, the situation was somewhat different in North Benwell. The ethnic minority population of North Benwell was mainly composed of Pakistani and Bangladeshi groups. Many women approached for interviews did not speak fluent English and found it difficult to answer questions or needed their husbands' approval for taking part in the interview.

The case study areas were different in a number of ways, as Table 5.7 below shows. The regeneration of Langworthy North had been completed for two years at the time of our first visit. The area was well established and 'functioning' with extensive support from the Seedley and Langworthy Trust (SALT), despite regeneration plans in adjacent areas which worried local residents. Regeneration at North Benwell Terraces was just completed when we visited the area and a neighbourhood office was still located in the area, the Neighborhood Management Initiative (NMI).

However, rumours were circulating that the office was about to move to an adjacent and newly declared renewal area, which unsettled local residents and concerned front-line staff. In contrast, the regeneration of Triangles was almost complete with two thirds ready and the last phase still on-site. The three areas also had different organisational structures and despite the HMR Programme that sought to integrate housing and regeneration agendas, they still had different local priorities and took different regeneration approaches influenced by their local circumstances, governance arrangements and ultimately their past history and legacy.

The next three chapters of this thesis investigate closely the impact of housing refurbishment-led regeneration on the sustainability of three communities living at: Langworthy North in Salford, North Benwell in Newcastle and the Triangles in Birkenhead. The case study chapters unfold the stories of these very different places and communities, and their success, or lack thereof, in moving toward more 'sustainable communities'.

Table 5.7 - Introducing the case study areas: similarities and differences

	<i>Langworthy North</i>	<i>North Benwell Terraces</i>	<i>The Triangles</i>
<i>Location</i>	<i>Salford central; 20 min on Metrolink from Manchester city centre</i>	<i>West Newcastle; 15 min by bus and 30 min by foot from Newcastle Central Station</i>	<i>Birkenhead, Wirral; 15 min by Metrolink from Liverpool city centre</i>
<i>Type of area</i>	<i>Back off pavement Victorian terraces built for mining industries</i>	<i>Victorian Tyneside flats in Victorian terraces look-like format for mining and manufacturing industries</i>	<i>Larger Victorian terraces built for shipping industries</i>
<i>No of properties</i>	<i>368</i>	<i>703</i>	<i>413</i>
<i>Type of intervention</i>	<i>Block Improvement Scheme including selective demolition; alley gating, two communal gardens and works to the public realm</i>	<i>Renewal Area (major refurbishment) including selective demolition; communal areas and improvements to the public realm</i>	<i>Group Repairs Scheme including major refurbishment</i>
<i>Stage of works</i>	<i>Complete 2004/2005</i>	<i>Complete 2006</i>	<i>Complete 2/3 at the time of field work; due to complete in 2009</i>
<i>Funding</i>	<i>Mainly SRB5 until 2006, but also ESF, HNF and HMR since 2006</i>	<i>Mainly SRB6 until 2006, HMR since</i>	<i>HMR since 2005</i>
<i>Housing tenure</i>	<i>Mainly home owners (55.2%); 19.7% social tenants and 14.5% private tenants</i>	<i>Mainly renting from social (32%) or private (33%) landlord; 33% home owners</i>	<i>Mainly home owners (55%) but a significant share of private renting (39%); 6% social renting</i>
<i>Population profile (compared to their boroughs)</i>	<i>Predominantly white (98.2%), older, less economically active and with more children</i>	<i>Half white (53%) and half ethnic minority (47%); younger; less economically active and with more children</i>	<i>Predominantly white (98.3%), older, less economically active and with more children</i>
<i>Interviews/survey</i>	<i>9 key actors 42 residents</i>	<i>15 key actors 45 residents</i>	<i>11 key actors 49 residents</i>

Chapter Six

Langworthy North, Salford

6.1 Background

A large 1000-mill town

Recent developments

The site in 2007

6.2 Residents at Langworthy North

Socio-economic profile

Attitudes towards living in the area

6.3 Housing refurbishment-led regeneration at Langworthy North

Langworthy North's economy and jobs

Langworthy North's community

Langworthy North's use of resources

Langworthy North's housing and built environment

Langworthy North's services and facilities

Langworthy North's governance

6.4 Discussion

The opening section of this chapter presents the history of the area and the regeneration background of Langworthy North, in Salford, the first of the three field work case studies. The second section portrays the residents at Langworthy North, and discusses their attitudes towards living in the area. The main body of the chapter looks at the impact of housing refurbishment-led regeneration on the six domains of sustainable communities and their components as perceived by local residents and key actors in the area, as well as drawing from evidence from other research, surveys and reports. The final section discusses whether the community at Langworthy North has moved towards sustainability following area regeneration.

6.1 Background

Langworthy North is located in the Langworthy ward of Salford. As part of the Greater Manchester conurbation, Salford has long established links to Manchester City. Fawcett found that the Manchester conurbation consists of two main parts (Barlow 1995): the Inner City, mainly consisting of Manchester and Salford, and the Ring, consisting of several towns in a horseshoe around the Inner City. Today's region is centred on the city of Manchester, dominated by Manchester's metropolitan growth. At the centre, however, there is a history of two cities having '*an industrial and commercial history of more than local significance*' (Freeman, 1962, p.47).

Manchester and Salford were established on opposite sides of the River Irwell, were both granted market charters in the 13th century, and by the end of the 19th century had both achieved county borough status, the highest form of urban self-government. Either might have emerged as the centre of today's metropolitan area, and it was only in the 18th century that Manchester's greater size and growth ensured its dominance. The current pattern of government is relatively new, with two major reorganizations in the past thirty years: in 1974 a two-tier structure of government was established and many local authorities disappeared through amalgamation; and in 1986 the upper tier of government was eliminated (Barlow, 1995). Salford's current boundaries were set in 1974 when it became one of Greater Manchester's ten local authority districts. As a result, Salford and Manchester councils share many local arrangements under Greater Manchester such as a police force, public transport and public services.

Salford has, for decades, evoked stark, relentless industry. It inspired L.S. Lowry's paintings of smoke-filled streets, looming mills and match-stick men, the original opening credits of 'Coronation Street' and BBC's 'A Life of Grime'³. According to the Index of Multiple Deprivation (IMD 2004) Salford was the 12th most deprived district nationally and the 4th in the North West region. Langworthy is Salford's most deprived ward, within the 5% most deprived wards nationally (Quaternion, 2007).

The case study area, Langworthy North, is on the east side of Langworthy Road and is bordered by Seedley Road to the North, Highfield Road to the West, and Urban Splash's 'upside-down houses' and Chimney Pot Park to the South (Figures 6.1 and 6.2). The area consists of 368 Victorian terraces and received Single Regeneration Budget (SRB5) funding between 1999 and 2006, and HMR funding since 2003. Regeneration works in the area included extensive external refurbishment and selective demolition, on the background of previous clearance intervention.

³ 'A Life of Grime' TV series recounts a six month period in 2001 when a BBC camera crew shadowed Salford's Environment Services team in pursuit of residents hoarding rubbish or keeping huge numbers of animals in their homes. The first broadcast of the series on BBC1 achieved an average of six million viewers per episode and is regularly repeated on channels such as UK Horizons as well as BBC1.

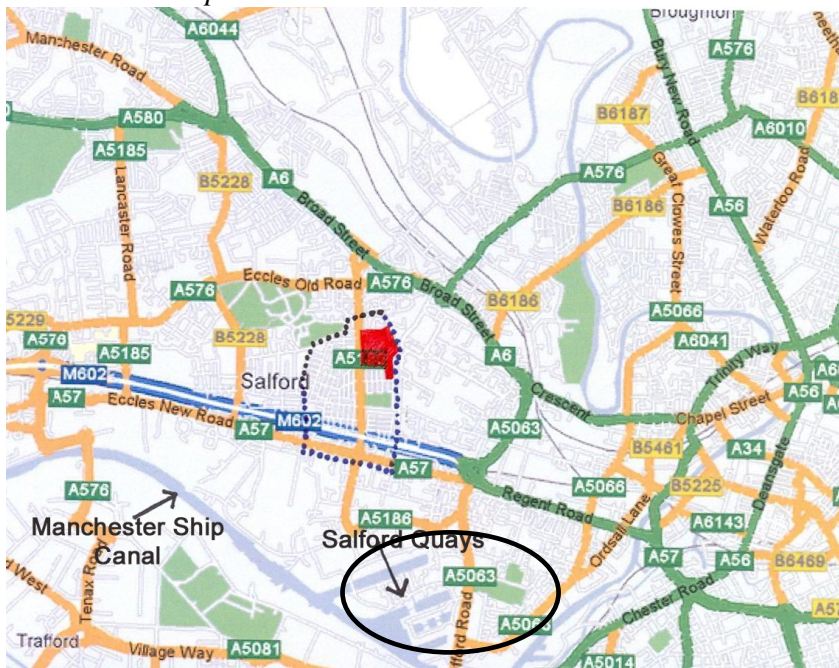
Figure 6.1 - Langworthy North in the context of the SRB5 area



Source: Compiled by the author

- Key:
- Seedley and Langworthy SRB5 Area;
 - Langworthy Area as delimited by the Quaternion Report;
 - Langworthy North Area;
 - Langworthy South Area (including the Urban Splash development and Chimney Pot Park)

Figure 6.2 – Langworthy North in the broader context of Salford Quays and Manchester Ship Canal



Source: Compiled by the author

- Key:
- Seedley and Langworthy SRB5 Area;
 - Langworthy North Area

A large 1000-mill town

The City of Salford is frequently depicted in literature and arts as experiencing the worst excesses of the Industrial Revolution and as one of the world's first industrial cities. Originally a village on the banks of the Irwell River, Salford grew through industrialization. Cloth and silk were made there, as well as dyed and bleached. Coal and bulk goods were fast and cheaply shipped to various markets around Salford and Manchester via an innovative and extended system of canals.

For all its burgeoning factories and industries, Salford in many ways remained an overgrown county town with a collection of satellite villages, well into Victorian times. In 1806 coal gas was used for street lighting, the first in the world according to local historians. It eventually grew to be one of the greatest cotton towns and the opening of the Manchester Ship Canal in 1894 and the construction of Salford Docks brought employment for almost a century (Malet, 1980).

The Second World War put Salford at the centre of bombing due to its docks and vital factories and mills. At the end of the war, Salford was faced with some of the worst problems in the country, a city still noted for 1,000 factories and mills within three miles of its borders. By 1970s, changing shipping technology and trade patterns saw levels of activity falling even further, and its population significantly declined as the cotton industry was dying out (McWilliam, 1962).

Langworthy was typical of many older inner urban areas of industrialised cities in the north of England, with tightly-packed terraces, originally built to house workers in the manufacturing industry. The eventual closure of Salford docks in 1982 saw the surrounding areas of Ordsall, Langworthy and Seedley – areas that had supplied many of dock workers – sinking into deprivation, high levels of unemployment and neglected housing conditions. Regeneration investment started in the early 1980s, as Table 6.1 shows, with the Urban Programme and to later include programmes from European Structural Funds, the Single Regeneration Budget and more recently the Neighbourhood Renewal Fund and Housing Market Renewal (Quaternion, 2007).

Table 6.1 – Salford’s main regeneration programmes in chronological order

<i>Regeneration programme/ funding</i>	<i>Life span</i>	<i>Description</i>
<i>Urban Programme</i>	<i>1982/83 – 1995</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - tackled poor image and economic and social problems - initiated the development of Salford Quays - light environmental improvements in Seedley and Langworthy
<i>Central Manchester Urban Development Corporation</i>	<i>1988 – 1996</i>	- small area (187 ha); had the broad remit of securing the regeneration of areas close to the commercial centre of Manchester, including the beginning of Chapel Street
<i>European Structural Funds</i>	<i>2000 – 2006</i>	<i>Objective 3 ESF</i>
<i>Single Regeneration Budget</i>	<i>1995 – 2006</i>	<i>SRB Round 1, 2, 3, 5</i>
<i>Neighbourhood Renewal Fund</i>	<i>on going since 2001</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - received as one of the 88 most deprived English local authorities; awarded to local authorities with the furthest distance to travel on floor targets - targets: children and young people, crime and community safety, education and health, some local priorities
<i>Housing Market Renewal</i>	<i>on going since 2003</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - received as part of Manchester Salford Pathfinder (one of nine national pathfinders) - target: low demand housing markets - investment in physical regeneration, neighbourhood management and proactive enforcement

Source: Compiled by the author

The government’s urban policy in Salford focused on the development of Salford Quays, a new Enterprise Zone, launched by the Conservatives in 1981, which aimed to help the recovery of the area by creating a new vision of the place: the docks were separated from the Manchester Ship Canal, aerated and stocked with fish, and a number of major office complexes were being built. Gradually, the employment position of Salford improved, Salford Quays helped to create 10,000 permanent jobs and attracted £300m investment to the area (Audit Commission, 2003a). Moreover, MetroLink, a fast light rail system was extended into the area, linking Salford with Salford Quays and Manchester City Centre.

However, by the late 1990s unemployment rates were higher in Langworthy than in Salford and the rest of the country, with particularly high rates of youth and long term unemployment (Quaternion, 2007). In Langworthy, youth unemployment was twice higher than the Salford average (16.1% compared to 8.2%), while the male unemployment was 9.1% compared to Salford and UK averages of 6.5% and 6.7%

respectively (Salford City Council, 1999). In addition, the age, condition and lack of demand for Langworthy's terraced houses led to the decline and progressive housing abandonment in many areas. This caused property prices to slump and many people to be in negative equity. The area was well known for high crime rates, with burglary and juvenile nuisance identified as specific problems. As a result, properties were changing hands for as little as £5,000 (McBride, 2005).

After much pressure from the local community supported by Hazel Blears, its local MP, the then Home Secretary Jack Straw visited the area in 1998 and requested an action plan for the regeneration of the area to be developed. The plan was prepared and submitted to the government. The area received regeneration funding from the fifth round of the Single Regeneration Budget programme (SRB5) in 1999.

SRB5 continued to invest in the area, building upon the legacy of earlier regeneration programmes and the proximity to Salford Quays. Over seven years (1999-2006) SRB5 invested £25 million in Salford and planned to attract another £55 million from public and private sources. The programme acted via three complementary programmes which were linked closely with the North West Regional Regeneration Strategy: the first programme specifically targeted Seedley and Langworthy's regeneration, the second aimed to tackle economic development across Salford and the last sought to address social inclusion across Salford's highly deprived areas. Salford's SRB5 was considered a success in terms of the main achievements and impacts in comparison with what was proposed in the original bid:

- It reduced unemployment, increased business growth and improved educational attainment;
- There was a reduction of poverty across Salford and positive impacts on communities experiencing exclusion;
- The programme achieved the start of sustainable regeneration in Seedley and Langworthy, introduced new methods of managing the housing stock and innovative approaches to improving the environment;
- It assisted the stabilisation of housing market in Seedley and Langworthy, helped local business to grow and invest and increased the confidence to report crime and reduced both crime and fear of crime.

Recent developments

The Manchester Salford HMR Pathfinder

The Manchester Salford HMR Pathfinder (MSP), a partnership created in 2003 between Manchester and Salford Council, was one of the nine national HMR Pathfinders established to tackle low demand and housing abandonment in parts of Manchester and Salford (*Figure 6.2*). It was also the first Pathfinder in the country to secure £125million government funding in 2003.

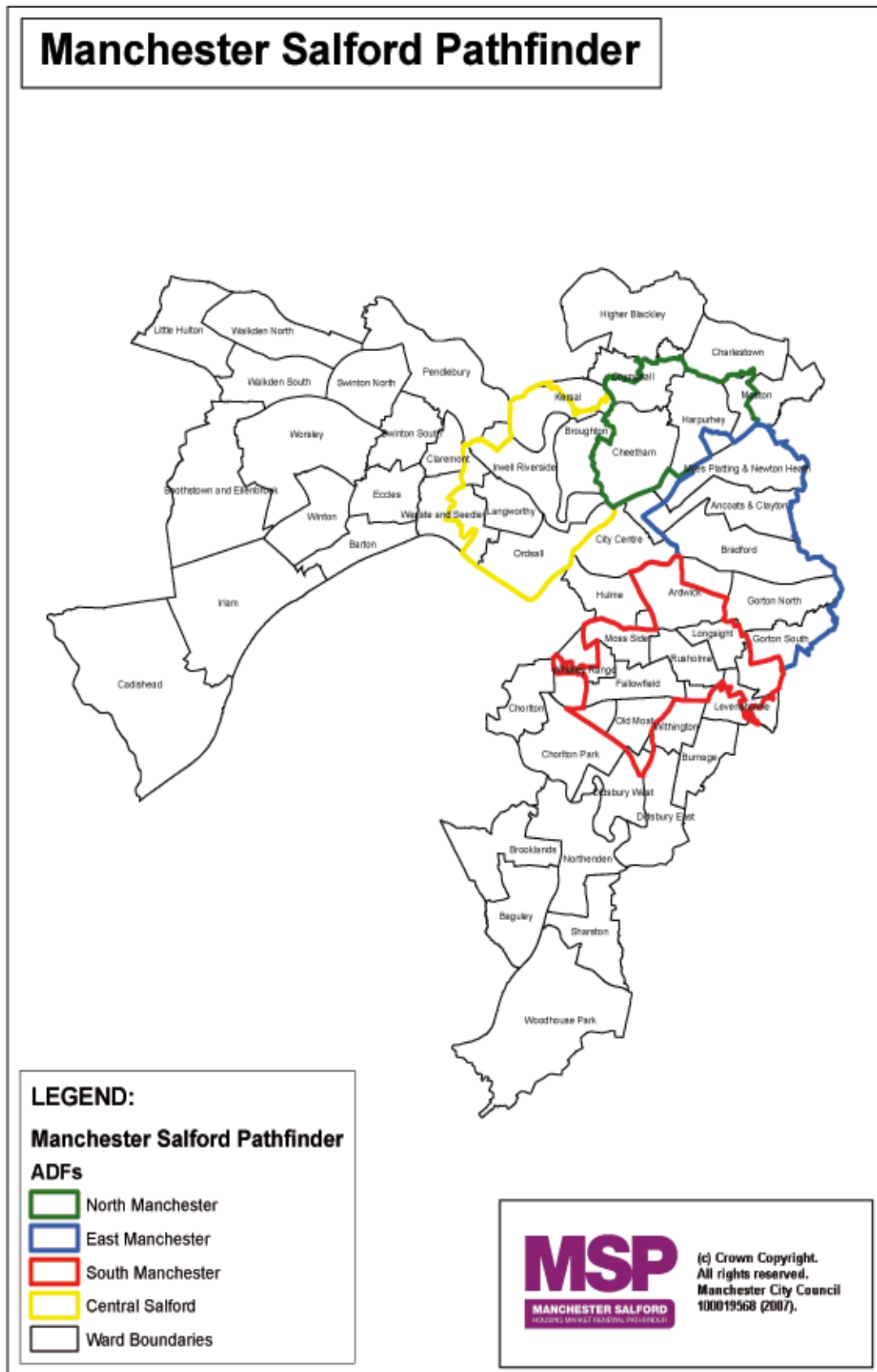
In 2003, the Pathfinder was characterised by high levels of multiple deprivation, with 23 of its 27 wards in the worst 10% in the country, of which eight were in the worst 1% in the country. It had also experienced a significant loss in population since the 1970s, principally due to the out-migration of economically active households (Audit Commission, 2003b). Moreover, it was characterised by an oversupply of older and smaller terraced housing, with the largest rise in vacancy levels between 1991 and 2001, compared to the other nine Pathfinders (ECOTEC, 2005b).

Despite these challenging conditions, the Pathfinder took a long term vision to create *sustainable communities as communities of choice* which offered

a greater range of housing options for existing residents and were attractive to new and former residents...were characterized by increased levels of home ownership and higher property values; benefited from quality public services, including schools, nurseries, health centers and transport, attractive and sustainable environments, good neighbourhood management with low crime and antisocial behaviour, and a choice of cultural and leisure opportunities (Manchester Salford HMR website).

The Pathfinder linked in strongly with Salford's Neighbourhood Renewal Strategy to ensure that programmes in education, health and community safety worked together to narrow the gap between neighbourhoods in inner Salford and the national average.

Figure 6.3 – The Manchester Salford HMR Pathfinder



Source: The Manchester Salford HMR Pathfinder website, accessed June 2009

Seedley and Langworthy was a key target area and part of Central Salford Area Development Framework (ADF), one of four ADFs established by the Pathfinder, alongside East Manchester, North Manchester and South Manchester ADF. Central Salford ADF benefited from £83million HMR funding between 2003 and 2008 (Quaternion, 2007). The Pathfinder continued investing in the regeneration of Seedley and Langworthy, which had previously received SRB, through a series of projects including:

- neighbourhood management such as neighbourhood wardens, alleygating and Homeswap which are discussed later in this chapter;
- new development such as the Urban Splash scheme in Langworthy, the sheltered housing of Alpha Street and a new primary school ; and
- housing refurbishment including the Langwothy North and Seedley West developments.

Urban Splash and BBC Salford

Two proposed developments, once completed, will greatly influence Langworthy North's fortunes. First, the Urban Splash development by a developer known for the revitalization of former industrial buildings, was located between the case study area and Chimney Pot Park (Figure 6.7). The development area was previously vacant and up for demolition. Urban Splash envisaged transforming the 385 existing terraced houses into 349 new homes (Figure 6.4 and 6.5). Most properties were two bedroom and were designed "*mainly to attract young professionals and higher socio-economic groups working in Salford Quays and Manchester*" (PE05, Appendix 7), in order to improve area's income and tenure mix. Local residents and locals who had moved out were given priority to purchase at a pre launch sale in March 2006.

The cost of the scheme, which received considerable public and media attention, was estimated to be £40million including £10.8million of public sector investment (Ward, 2006; Wilkinson, 2006a; Dodd, 2005; Ashworth and Heywood, 2008; BBC, 2006). This meant that the cost of regeneration works was around £115,000 per house, of which £30,000 was public subsidy. By 2008, 227 houses were ready and sold on the open market for £99-145,000.

Figure 6.4 – An artist impression of the Urban Splash's development



Source: From BBC (2006)

Figure 6.5 – The Urban Splash development in 2007



Source: Pictures taken by the author in March 2007

Figure 6.5 (cont.) – The Urban Splash development in 2007



Source: Pictures taken by the author in March 2007

Second, the announcement in 2006 of a new BBC Headquarters development in Salford Quays (Figure 6.2) together with a new stadium and sports facilities, promised to create 15,500 new jobs by 2010, 1,150 creative business opportunities and an improved and extended Metrolink system (Skyscraper News, 2006; Millard, 2006). The development was estimated to bring £1 billion to the regional economy in its first five years, increase demand in the local housing market and become a hub of new employment opportunities for locals.

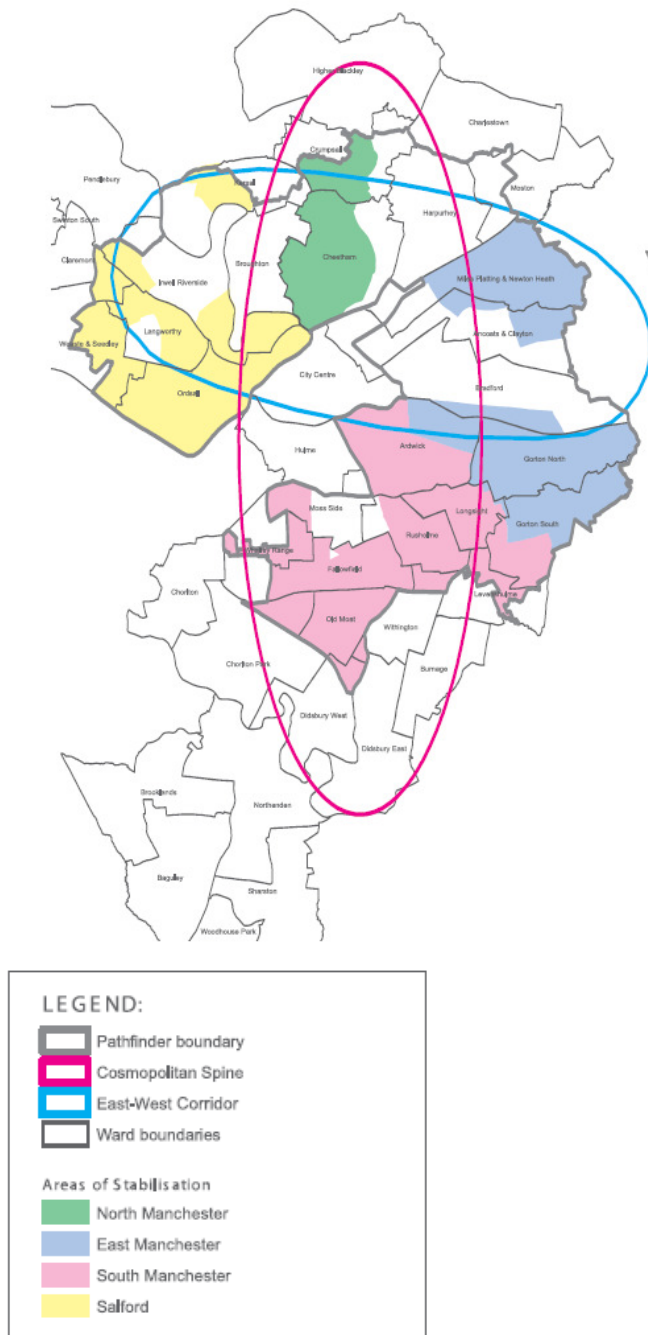
The Tracking Neighbourhood Change model

The Tracking Neighbourhood Change (TNC) assessment system was developed in 2006 by the Pathfinder in order to monitor changing local housing market conditions, help to understand the impact of regeneration programmes and inform future investment decisions. The TNC is a Geographical Information System (GIS) based system using ten indicators, split into four domains: housing, crime, education and unemployment. It operates at various geographic levels including postcode and super output areas and displays maps of various pathfinder interventions; which can be overlaid on top of selected indicators (Audit Commission, 2009b). The analysis of

indicators' change over time allows the Pathfinder to adapt the scale and types of interventions accordingly. For example, where house prices are rising, the extent of work and investment required within neighbourhoods is reviewed. Where neighbourhoods are demonstrably becoming sustainable, the level of public intervention is scaled down over time or stopped if no longer required (Manchester Salford HMR Pathfinder, 2006). The system also incorporates the Salford Early Warning System (EWS) which tracks the same indicators over time and warns if an indicator has particularly low levels, or experiences a number of successive declines (IN Salford, 2005).

A TNC analysis in 2006 of these indicators showed Langworthy as not being an *area of stabilisation* and thus in need of further regeneration investment (Figure 6.6). Moreover, the area was identified as an *area of social exclusion* (ECOTEC, 2005b) and at risk of decline, predominantly triggered by crime and vacancy levels (IN Salford, 2005).

Figure 6.6 – Salford’s Tracking Neighbourhood Change System: Areas of Stabilisation

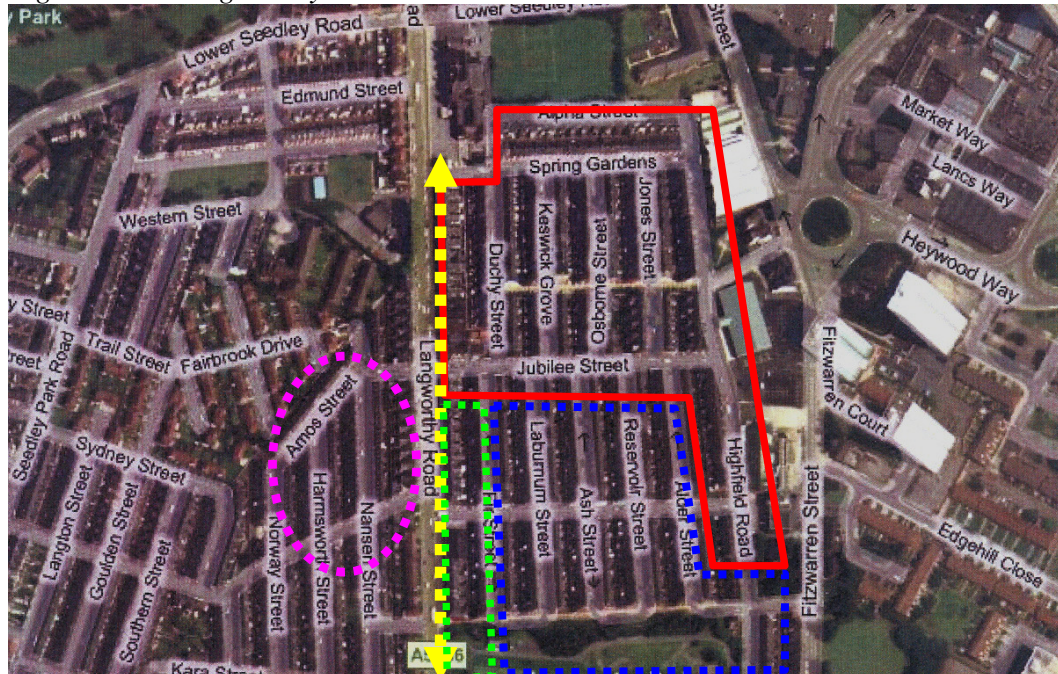


Source: From Manchester Salford HMR Pathfinder (2006)

The site in 2007

The regeneration of Langworthy North included works to over 600 properties, including improvement and extensive refurbishment of approximately 359 properties, selective demolition and housing re-development. It also aimed to create a new ‘village hub’ along Langworthy Road with renovated shops and improved public realm (Quaternion, 2007). A total of £10.4 million, approximately £17000 per house, had been invested in the refurbishment of properties via enveloping, block improvement and environmental schemes (McBride, 2005). Figure 6.7 below shows some of the local land marks as well as on-going and proposed developments

Figure 6.7 - Langworthy North in context



Source: Compiled by the author

Key:

- Langworthy North;
- Urban Splash;
- > Langworthy Road (High Street);
- Proposed site of new school;
- Proposed site of mix-use development (including Church)

The 368 houses refurbished at Langworthy North were tightly-packed Victorian terraces with a ‘two-up two-down’, back of pavement layout, with small back yards and a rear alley, for the purpose of secondary access and waste collection (Figure 6.8). The space standards inside were minimal and offered little scope for extensions, these terraces being the smallest when compared to the other two case study areas.

Figure 6.8 - The terraced houses of Langworthy North in 2007

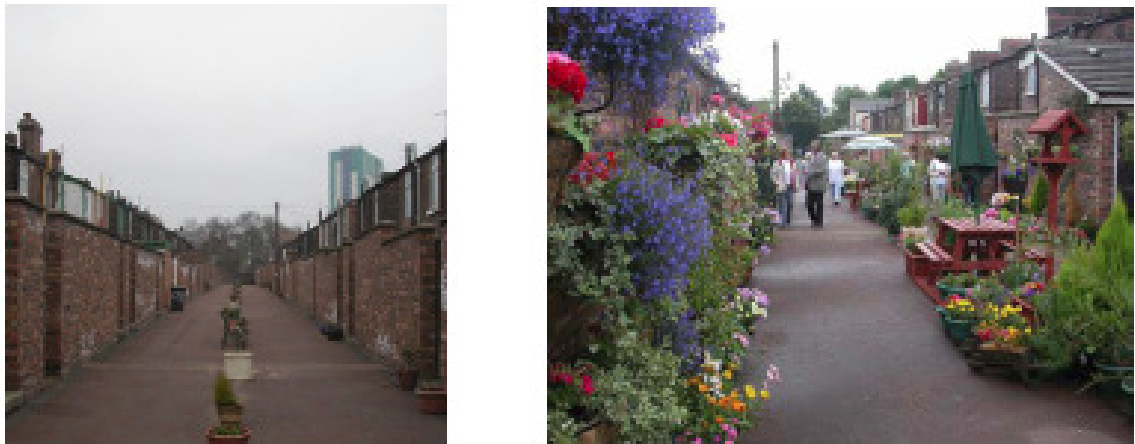


Source: Pictures taken by the author in March 2007

Langworthy North was refurbished via a Block Improvement scheme between 2004 and 2006. Works were restricted to the exterior of properties and included renovation of roofs and chimneys, new double glazed doors and windows, renewal of rainwater goods and fascias, brick cleaning and pointing, and repair and redecoration of steps, sills and stonework. In addition, two small community gardens were created on sites of previously demolished houses and seven alley gating schemes were implemented.

The alley gating schemes envisaged to restrict access to the back of the houses by fencing both ends of a back alley, in order to enhance local security and provide residents with safer and greener communal and playing areas (Figure 6.9). The area was home to the national InBloom initiative which aimed to ‘green up’ an area with hanging baskets and planters. Its success at Langworthy North has repeatedly been commended at both regional and national level.

Figure 6.9 – Alley gating in Langworthy North: ‘before’ and ‘after’ gating



Source: Pictures taken by and reproduced with the permission of Terry McBride

The area has also been home to the Homeswap scheme, through which the Council acquired vacant properties in the area, upgraded them in order to relocate home owners affected by demolition in the surrounding areas.

The Homeswap scheme proved extremely successful in the area with 49 previously vacant properties used to relocate owner occupiers from neighbouring clearance areas. Not only has this assisted in resolving the void and condition issues that were prevalent but it has also enabled a shift in tenure, with the area now being predominantly owner occupied (KAS01)

The Langworthy Road, the area’s main shopping street, had a range of local shops, a post office, florist, fish and chips, pizza place, bookies, convenience store, newsagent, hairdresser, sandwich bar and a video store. The street was also home to two community offices (SALT and Salford First), the Cornerstone, a new community centre, two doctor’s surgeries and a local pharmacy. The nearest shopping centre was Salford Shopping Centre, locally known as ‘the Precinct’, less than a mile away. Most of the local buses stopped at the Precinct, which acted as a local town centre for many of the surrounding areas. The closest primary school was Langworthy Road

Primary School, rated as 'satisfactory' by OFSTED in 2007. Langworthy North was only a ten minute walk from Salford Quays and twenty minute by Metrolink from Manchester City Centre.

In the past, Langworthy North had been riddled with crime and anti-social behaviour, unemployment rates had been high and the condition of many properties poor due high vacancy rates, arson attacks and a larger than average privately rented stock

Initially when we began work in Seedley and Langworthy, this area [Langworthy North] was seen to be the priority for early investment to stem the spiral of decline. It bordered two proposed clearance areas (Jubilee Street and what is now the Urban Splash development) and it was thought that without early investment this area would deteriorate to the extent that clearance would need to be a consideration. At the time void levels were high, values were low ... properties were changing hands for as low as £5000... and the community perception of the area was poor with concerns regarding the level of private rented homes and high levels of anti-social behaviour. Following consultation and resident surveys it was acknowledged that the community did not have the confidence to invest further in these properties and therefore the Partnership Board and the City Council resolved to undertake a programme of enveloping works to the 368 properties at nil cost to the owners. (KAS01)

The physical regeneration of Langworthy North was mainly funded through SRB with gap funding from the Salford Council, North West Development Agency, European Regional Development Fund, the Pathfinder, Neighbourhood Renewal Fund and Lottery's 'Fair Share' Fund (Quaternion, 2007). However since SRB5 ceased in 2006, the Pathfinder and Salford Council have continued to provide the main financial regeneration support to the area including community support officers, street wardens and neighbourhood management.

The overall regeneration was delivered via three key partnerships, all under the umbrella of Partners IN, Salford's Local Strategic Partnership: the Seedley and Langworthy Partnership Board, the Economic Development Forum and the Social Inclusion Executive. The Seedley and Langworthy Partnership Board, a wide ranging partnership, specifically oversaw the physical regeneration of Langworthy North until 2006, when gradually merged with the Ordsall and Langworthy Community Committee, a wider area partnership.

Community involvement was one of the main elements of the SRB5 regeneration strategy and was seen as a key factor in ensuring the long term sustainability of the community in the area. As a consequence, Langworthy North's residents were involved from the beginning in the regeneration process through a Planning for Real exercise. In addition, residents' knowledge of regeneration activities in the area was high as a result of the SRB process and they generally admitted that these activities improved their community.

An important role in the involvement of local community in the regeneration of the area had been played by the Seedley and Langworthy Trust (SALT), a community alliance set up in 1997 and extensively funded by SRB5 and ERDF until 2006. SALT has been acting as a community advocate and sat on various local partnerships, ensuring that the community was represented at strategic level. Its mission was:

to support and represent local people in the long term regeneration of the Seedley and Langworthy area and to develop community enterprise in partnership with key agencies to meet local needs and create a sustainable organisation. (SALT, 2009)

SALT employed a few staff, including a neighbourhood manager, research manager, regeneration officer, administrative support officer and a community involvement officer who was a local resident, well-known for her long-standing campaign in the regeneration of the area. SALT was well connected to all initiatives and partnerships in the area and had good working relations with the Council and other regeneration agencies. SALT also helped to organise and manage the majority of activities developed in the area from InBloom and Skip Days to conducting surveys and focus groups with residents for the evaluation of the SRB5 Programme. They were the 'face of regeneration' as one of the residents interviewed put it and an important point of reference for those who lived or had an interest in the area.

At the time of the fieldwork the area's main source of funding was coming to an end and SALT was in search of alternative financial support as well as ways to become a self-sustaining organisation. It set up a 'research consultancy' service, led by its research manager, which '*sold local knowledge and expertise*' to those carrying out research in the area and looked into acquiring the Langworthy Hotel, a disused Victorian building just across the road, under the government's Community Assets

programme. Their strenuous efforts to keep SALT afloat were rewarded in 2008, £390,000 by the Big Lottery's Reaching Communities Programme. This not only allowed them to expand their team and 'keep the shop open', as one member of staff put it, but also to further empower local residents to tackle a wide range of issues including local environmental concerns, financial exclusion and debt, welfare rights, housing and homelessness, and access to employment and training opportunities. Through its entrepreneurial, open-minded and well-connected approach, SALT was a real asset for the area, a commended regeneration legacy and a key actor in maintaining and contributing to the sustainability of the community in the area.

6.2 Residents at Langworthy North

This section examines the socio-economic profile of residents in Langworthy North and their perceptions of living in the area. Residents' socio-economic profile is based on the residents survey carried out for the SRB5 evaluation by an independent consultancy in 2006 and Census data. The SRB5 survey was based on a face-to-face questionnaire of a statistically representative sample of 400 households across the SRB5 area. Local people were recruited and trained to work as interviewers for the survey (Quaternion, 2007). Data was collected for four individual areas, one of which overlapped with our case study area. Our presentation of residents' attitudes towards living in Langworthy North draw mainly on our field survey and discussions with 42 residents, and in-depth interviews with 11 key actors living and/or working in the area. These are compared with evidence available from other local reports and studies.

Socio-economic profile

Housing tenure

Langworthy North residents were mainly home owners (55%) and home ownership levels were similar to those of Salford and lower than national levels (Table 6.2). The remaining housing stock was made of social housing (20%), much less than Salford's level of 31%, and privately rented accommodation (15%), almost twice the Salford average of 8%. A notable proportion of the population (11%) was classified as *other*, including lodgers and young adults or couples still living with their families.

Table 6.2- Housing tenure in Langworthy North, SRB5 area and Salford compared to England (2005/06 and 2007 estimates)

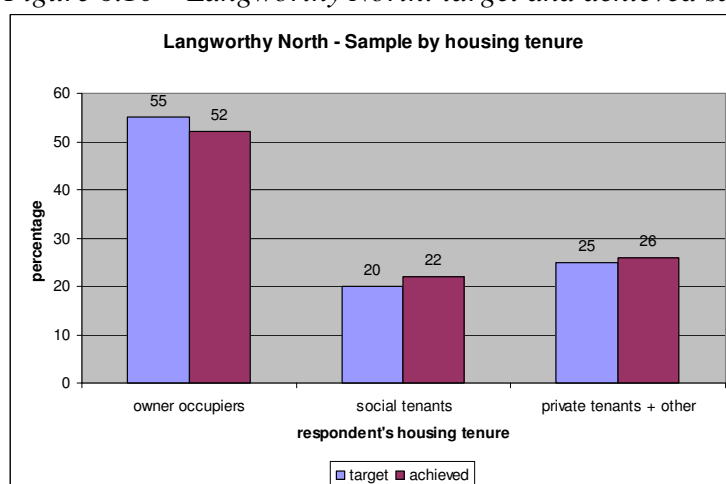
Housing tenure	Salford	SRB5 area	Langworthy North	England
Home ownership	56%	65%	55%	69%
Social renting	31%	20%	20%	19%
Private renting	13%	15%	25%	12%

Source : Data for Langworthy North and Seedley and Langworthy SRB5 from (Quaternion, 2007); Data for Salford from 2001 Census; Data for England (CLG, 2007) Live Table 102

Note: All percentages were rounded to one decimal place

Figure 6.10 shows that the sample of residents we interviewed at Langworthy North matched closely the housing tenure profile described above.

Figure 6.10 – Langworthy North: target and achieved sample by housing tenure



Source: Research fieldwork

Ethnicity

The 2006 SRB survey found that Langworthy North's population was predominantly white (98%). Moreover, the ethnic minority population was notably smaller than that of Salford, the SRB5 area and England (2% compared to 4%, 3% and 8% respectively) (Table 6.3).

Table 6.3 – Ethnicity in Langworthy North, SRB5 area and Salford compared to England (2005/06 and 2001)

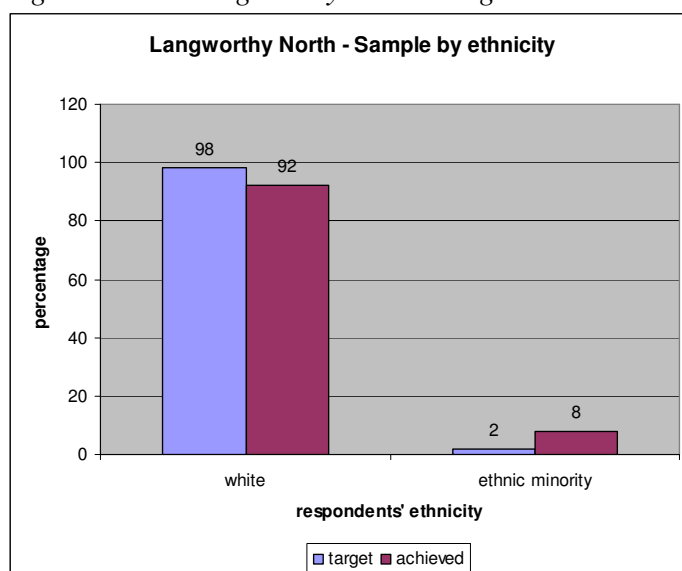
Ethnicity	Salford	SRB5 area	Langworthy North	England
White	96%	97%	98%	92%
Ethnic Minority	4%	3%	2%	8%

Source : Data for Langworthy North and Seedley and Langworthy SRB5 from (Quaternion, 2007); Data for Salford and England from 2001 Census

Note: All percentages were rounded to one decimal place

The sample of residents interviewed during our fieldwork from an ethnic minority background was four times larger than the target or proposed sample, 8% compared with 2% (Figure 6.11).

Figure 6.11 – Langworthy North: target and achieved sample by ethnicity



Source: Research fieldwork

Age

The main differences between the residents' age profiles at Langworthy North and Salford were found in the 25-49 and over 65 age groups (Table 6.4). In addition Langworthy North's population was generally older than that of Salford and England at large, with notable levels of people over 50.

Table 6.4 – Age in Langworthy North, SRB5 area and Salford compared to England (2001 Census estimates)

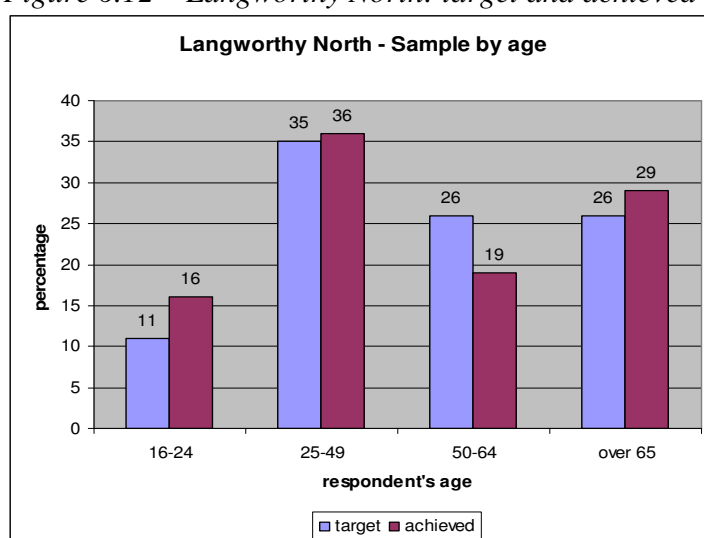
Age groups	Salford	SRB5 area	Langworthy North	England
16-24	12%	12%	11%	12%
25-49	49%	42%	37%	53%
50-64	22%	22%	26%	17%
Over 65	16%	24%	26%	18%

Source: All estimates based on 2001 Census data

Note: All percentages were rounded to one decimal place

The sample achieved during our fieldwork matched closely the proposed sample (Figure 6.12).

Figure 6.12 – Langworthy North: target and achieved sample by age



Source: Research fieldwork

Economic activity

The SRB survey did not collect detailed information on the area's economic activity. We therefore relied on data for the SRB5 area as the best proxy for our case study area. Table 6.5 shows that Langworthy North's residents were less economically active than those living in Salford and England (62% compared to 57% and 54%)

Table 6.5 – Economic activity in Langworthy North and SRB5 area compared to England (2005/06 and 2001 estimates)

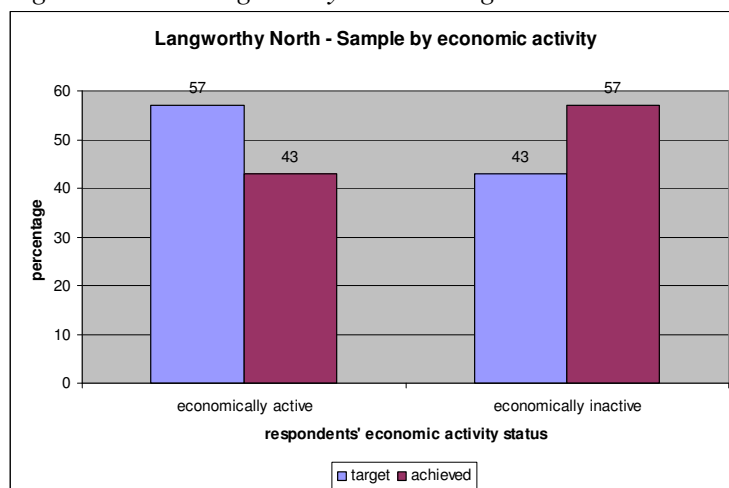
Economic activity	Salford	SRB5 area (proxy for Langworthy North)	England
Economically active	62%	57%	54%
Economically inactive	38%	43%	46%

Source : SRB5 (Quaternion, 2007); Salford and England from 2001 Census

Note: All percentages were rounded to one decimal place

The fieldwork sample did not match closely this profile as Figure 6.13 shows: fewer economically active residents were interviewed than intended. Three in four (74%) economically active residents were employees; 16% were self employed and 10% unemployed but actively looking for employment. There was an almost equal split between those working in Seedley and Langworthy and the immediate Salford area and those working further afield in places such as Eccles, Bolton, Bury and Manchester (47% and 53%). The economically inactive residents were mainly retired (59%); the rest were equally split between students, people with long-term illness or disability and those looking after home or family (12%, 12% and 17% respectively).

Figure 6.13 – Langworthy North: target and achieved sample by economic activity



Source: Research fieldwork

Children

No data on Langworthy North's household composition was collected during the SRB5 survey and so we drew on 2001 Census data for the Langworthy ward (Table 6.6). There were more households with dependent children in the Langworthy ward than in Salford (48% compared to 44%), twice the England average (25%).

Table 6.6 – Household composition in the Langworthy ward and Salford compared to England (2001 estimates)

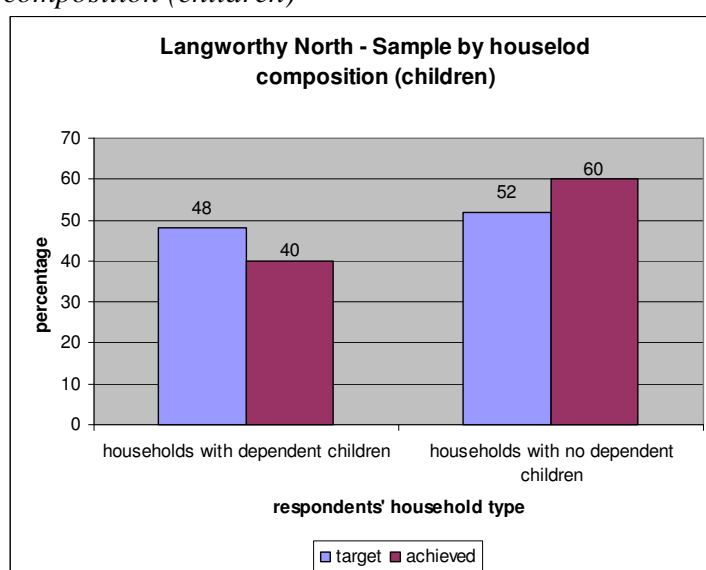
Household composition	Salford	Langworthy Ward (proxy for Langworthy North)	England
Dependent children	44%	48%	25%
No dependent children	56%	52%	75%

Source: All estimates based on 2001 Census data

Note: All percentages were rounded to one decimal place

It was somewhat more difficult to identify and interview households with dependent children as households with children were less available for interviews due to family commitments (Figure 6.14). As a consequence we interviewed fewer households with dependent children than planned, 40% compared to 48%. More than half (56%) of our families with children rented their accommodation socially or privately, one in three (33%) was a lone parent household and half (50%) were economically inactive.

Figure 6.14 – Langworthy North: target and achieved sample for household composition (children)



Source: Research fieldwork

Attitudes towards living in the area

This section discusses residents' perceptions of living in Langworthy North. This analysis is based on interviews with 42 local residents and 11 key actors. A list of those interviewed is given in Appendix 9 and Appendix 3. We also draw on relevant

local surveys and other studies conducted in the area. The vast majority (95%) of the residents we interviewed had lived in the area for at least two years and six in 10 residents (64%) for more than 10 years.

Satisfaction with Langworthy North

Six in 10 residents (66%) were more satisfied with Langworthy North as an area following regeneration. This compares well with Salford, where 60% of residents said they were satisfied with their local area, but it is lower than levels of satisfaction in the Pathfinder where 74% were satisfied (ECOTEC, 2005c). Another survey found that residents generally felt positive about Langworthy, with three in four (76%) feeling that the area significantly improved following regeneration (Quaternion, 2007). Lower levels of satisfaction among residents at Langworthy North might be explained by the fact that the fieldwork for this research was carried out at the end of SRB5 funding, when both residents and key actors were concerned about future public investment, cuts in regeneration spending and shrinking of local services.

Residents were more satisfied with Langworthy North because of improvements to the area's housing environment which showed to the local community a commitment to deal with absent and neglectful landlords. They also commented that the image of the area generally improved, property prices significantly increased and more money were coming back into the area.

regeneration has totally turned the area around: it is a much safer place to live, people are talking to each other now; in the past you couldn't trust anybody ... also house prices have gone up and it holds a better community to live in ... and people seem to be happier at last (S16)

The image of the area has been improved and people started taking more responsibility for their houses, the environment ... the place was a tip before, with gangs hanging around in the streets. With regeneration new houses have been built and the alley gating scheme increased the security of the houses and brought the community together (S10)

Key actors also told us about the area's new and improved image and reputation.

the image of the area is more positive than it was; it used to have a bad reputation and people used to say 'oh my goodness' when they heard where I worked...I don't hear it anymore now and what I hear now is about Langworthy that has got the Urban Splash there (KAS05)

A survey of the Pathfinder area found a correlation between the length of time in a property and satisfaction levels: the longer respondents stayed in their home the more dissatisfied they were with the area (ECOTEC, 2005c). Indeed, we found that all unsatisfied residents had been living in the area for over 10 years. We also found that unsatisfied residents were mainly home owners and had dependent children. They commented on the arbitrariness of regeneration boundaries and the length of the regeneration process, insufficient dissemination of information and practical issues such as lack of street parking which encouraged car theft.

I am disappointed with the slowness of the regeneration initiatives and schemes. It is all about meetings, proposals and presentations and not enough real work really...it has taken 10 years to demolish all the relevant houses...however most of the funding went somewhere else, the other parts of the area...the balance of funding and grants distributed in an area is not there: one street gets everything the other one does not get any, causing friction and frustration amongst residents ... also the investment attracted to the area was not relevant to local people ... it was for the reason of bringing new people into the area ... there are a lot of plans and proposals but not enough action to reinvigorate the area (S11)

I have been vandalised eight times including my house and my car ... you see I cannot park my car in front of my house ... It wouldn't be a bad idea to have garages in streets for cars, as car crime is really high in the area ... also, some of the houses on Langworthy Road did not need any work doing while the houses in my area needed the work most ... the balance was not there (S12)

Perceptions of Langworthy North's assets and problems

The three things most residents liked about Langworthy North were:

- the local community;
- its location; and
- local facilities and services

The local community was mentioned by a significant number of residents as the main asset of Langworthy North. Residents talked about a close-knit community of family and friends, caring neighbours and a hard-core Salfordian community standing the test of time. There were other things mentioned such as good transport links, improved green space, the alley gating and InBloom projects. In comparison, the SRB survey found that the most important improvements in Seedley and Langworthy was the general regeneration of the area (which was seen as important by 25% of residents), followed by alley gating (20%), InBloom (15%) and cleaner streets (8%) (Quaternion, 2007).

The aspects that residents liked least about Langworthy North were:

- safety and crime related issues
- loitering; and
- its shopping facilities.

The most common problem of living at Langworthy North was related to crime levels and area safety, including anti-social behaviour such as gangs, drugs, vandalism and under age drinking. Key actors linked the high incidence of anti-social behaviour in the area to the lack of local and affordable facilities for children and young people.

we do have a problem with nuisance behaviour linked to under age drinking ... also there is a lot of children hanging around who have absolutely nothing to do and they've got anywhere to go ... they're bored ... and I think they need more activities in the area (KAS07)

These findings confirmed those from another study which found that problems with teenagers hanging around, litter and rubbish in the streets were issues of most concern among residents living in the Pathfinder area (ECOTEC, 2005c).

The future of Langworthy North

Three in four respondents (74%) felt optimistic about the future of their area. Their reasons were on-going local investment and rising house prices.

*it has the potential for more shops, better employment and training opportunities for local people. Things are getting much better for us (S14)
house prices are going up and it means it is going to attract better quality of people to the area (S20)*

Key actors reiterated residents' optimistic perceptions despite some feelings of anxiety regarding the uncertainty of future funding to sustain community involvement and local services such as community wardens.

I feel optimistic but nervous as well ... it's been a lot of funding in the area and things going on in the area but I don't want things to stop and move on just because the project has been finished ... I want to continue the consistency of community involvement with as much support and funding possible ... for example I've got wardens here and it's all about funding if funding stops they are first going to miss out ... I do care about the area and I think that you have to help things to thrive and you have to do it for the sake of community and not for national TV and media (KAS08)

Nine in ten residents were optimistic about the future of North Langworthy. However, one tenth of our residents (11%) were pessimistic. They were concerned about possible future demolition and local affordability.

the problem is that local area is highly deprived...average household incomes are low, which means many cannot afford to buy locally due to the recent rise in house prices (S27)

Moving from Langworthy North

Key actors told us that the area had a healthy population turnover and more young and working-age people seemed to be moving in the area. Moreover 86% of the residents interviewed did not consider moving house in the next two years. A study at Pathfinder level found that the majority (72%) of people did not want to move house. However, of those who did, most expected to move in the next two years and almost one third intending to do so within the next six months. The same research found that overall kinship ties such as family, friends and ethnic background were the main reason for residents to live in the area (ECOTEC, 2005c). This was also confirmed by our discussions with residents living at Langworthy North.

Nevertheless, 14% of our sample considered moving house in the next two years. The majority were students living in private rented accommodation who considered further education elsewhere; few, however, wanted to change their lifestyle or move away from bad neighbours.

I've been thinking about it ... you know I had the neighbours from hell and if I'll have bad neighbours again I'll definitely move from this area ... I am fed up putting up with bad people (S6)

At Pathfinder level, the main reason for people wanting to move was related to property factors such as wanting to have a smaller or larger property. However, area related issues had a significant role to play, as a quarter of residents felt that the area in which a property was located was the single most important factor when moving, and a significant proportion of residents felt that property and area related reasons were equally important when moving house (ECOTEC, 2005c).

6.3 Housing refurbishment-led regeneration at Langworthy North

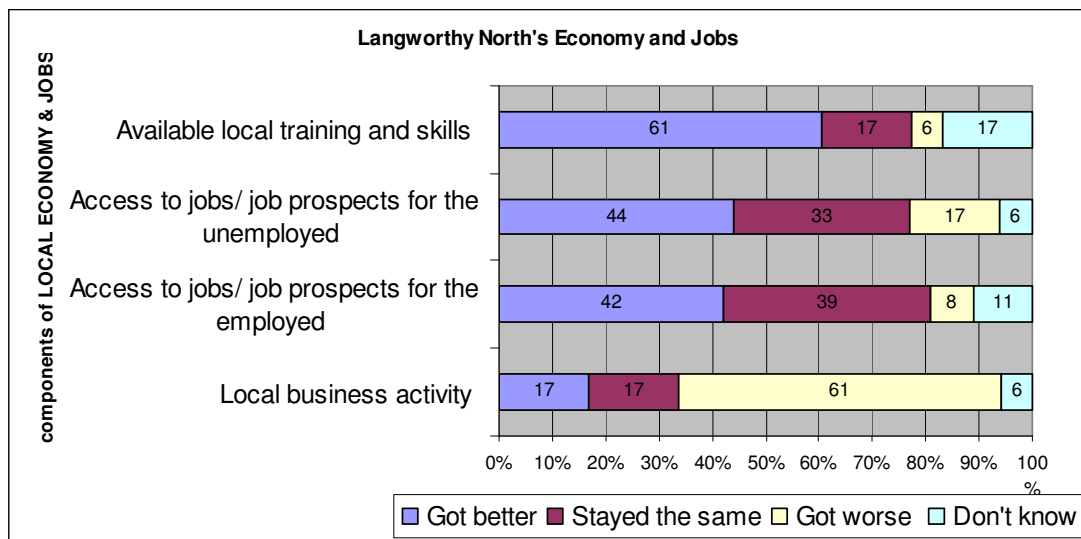
This section examines the impact that area regeneration had had on the domains and components of sustainable communities proposed by the framework for evaluating sustainable communities in Chapter Four. We mainly draw on our discussions with residents and key actors, living and working in Langworthy North, and other surveys or studies. The analysis is based on the six core domains of sustainable communities:

- economy and jobs;
- community;
- use of resources;
- housing and built environment;
- services and facilities; and
- governance

Langworthy North’s economy and jobs

Training and skills was the only component of Langworthy North’s economy and jobs perceived by a majority of residents (61%) as having improved following the regeneration of the area. By contrast, *local business activity* was perceived as the worst performing with six in ten (61%) residents feeling that it actually got worse during area regeneration. *Figure 6.15* also shows that more than four in ten (44% and 42%) residents on average thought that access to and jobs prospects recovered.

Figure 6.15 – Components of Langworthy North’s Economy and Jobs



Source: Fieldwork survey

Jobs

From the early 1990s, Salford's employment rates increased steadily despite persistent loss of population (Oxford Economic Forecasting, 2005). Moreover, between 1999 and 2004, SRB5 contributed to reduce unemployment rates in the Seedley and Langworthy area as a result of its overall strategy of linking this area into wider employment initiatives across Greater Manchester. This had an impact on residents' perceptions who felt that access to employment was much better than five years earlier. Despite this, in 2006, overall unemployment, male and youth unemployment were still twice as high in Seedley and Langworthy as in Salford (Quaternion, 2007).

On average, four in ten residents thought that access to jobs and jobs prospects for both the employed and unemployed was better than two to five years ago (42% and 44% respectively); this compares to 34% and 46% for the SRB5 area (Quaternion, 2007). However, residents thought that the provision of jobs for the unemployed was slightly better than for those already in paid work.

I think it's got better but I can't say for sure ... when an area is regenerated more employers are moving into the area creating more opportunities for local people such as for example the BBC moving down to the Quays (S19)

my wife has just got a better job. Things are getting better for local people in this area (S13)

In contrast, most key actors that we interviewed felt that creating local jobs was not successfully linked into the regeneration of the area as not enough opportunities were created throughout the regeneration process. Nevertheless, some acknowledged that the regeneration of the area acted as an employment springboard for some local residents who started by taking up voluntary regeneration work and then moved into paid work.

I am not sure that creating local jobs has been done so successfully and linked into regeneration ... I think it should be a priority but I don't think it's been done...and I think sometimes that it's because they [the council] may get quite anxious to get partners ... however, I know a lot of people who've got employed through regeneration ... they've started with voluntary work in regeneration and then got other jobs ... and I think in a way and somehow indirectly some jobs have been created because of regeneration (KAS06)

Business activity

Salford's number of registered businesses increased steadily between 2001 and 2004 (Audit Commission, Area Profiles). The SRB programme also invested in local businesses via its *Programme 2: Integrating and Sustaining Communities through Economic Development Opportunities*. A significant number of businesses were provided with advice across Salford and 888 new local businesses created. The survival rates of start-ups businesses, however, were not anywhere near the target for business survival, with fewer than one in four (24%) surviving a year compared to a target survival rate of 95% (Quaternion, 2007).

More than half of our residents (61%) felt that there was less business activity in Langworthy North following the regeneration of the area. They usually took a longer term and nostalgic view and compared what was in the area at the time of the fieldwork with what the area had used to be. They felt that area's traditional shops and small businesses disappeared in favour of bigger shopping outlets and supermarkets. This was the result of area's on-going demolition which led to population loss and private investors' lack of confidence in the area. They also thought that area regeneration focused primarily on residential development and turned a blind eye to struggling local businesses.

there are not enough people in the area to keep the business going because of so many years of blight and demolition. And also people don't have the confidence to start up new businesses. Because we are in a regeneration area, people do not know what is happening in the area, they do not feel safe investing in the area (S14)

In contrast, key actors had a shorter term perspective, having as reference the area's previous state of abandonment, and told us about more local business activity as a result of on-going construction works.

it is more at least at the moment ... all these shops here are quite busy because you've got people putting bathrooms, you've got builders, you've got plumbers so these shops are being used by the people that are working on site and when they go hopefully we'll be still here (KAS10)

Training and skills

Access to training and skills courses was seen positively by local residents, with six in ten respondents (61%) feeling that area regeneration improved provision and

facilitated access through the Cornerstone Community Centre and SALT office which offered a range of courses.

I have undertaken some new training with a regeneration grant and as a result I have got a new role in a different sector now ... also I know numerous friends who have recently been funded on vocational training (S25)

These general views were supported by the SRB5 survey which found that eight in ten residents (81%) felt that the local provision of education and training for residents was better than it had been five years ago (Quaternion, 2007). Moreover, our fieldwork found that four in ten residents (42%) benefited from new training during the regeneration process or knew somebody who did so.

I know three local people but I don't recall their names ... they were on an apprenticeship programme with the construction company that did the face lift to the front elevation of properties in my street (S17)

my neighbour's son got some IT training ... regeneration created new training and skills opportunities especially for young people such as IT, media, art classes (S11)

Discussions with key actors also confirmed that the availability and quality of training courses increased during the regeneration; this was greatly supported by SALT which helped to channel opportunities to the local community and identified local needs.

there's a lot of training ... SALT's got IT training, photography training, art classes ... we are identifying training needs for local people and report these back to the Council ...and we try also to match funding to deliver it ...we advertise training to local residents through local residents associations' chairs ...or people come to us and say that they're looking for such and such thing and we sort it out for them (KAS06)

However, few residents voiced their concerns regarding the mismatch between the training on offer and available employment opportunities.

there is lots of training available ... still I think it needs to be more employment focused (S22)

House prices and housing affordability

At the time of our interviews in 2007, a terrace house cost around £90,000. This indicated the extent to which house prices recovered in the area, despite research that indicated they still lagged behind the regional average. Throughout the regeneration, house prices rose significantly with an 18-fold increase on a base value of £5000, the

average price of properties sold in the area in the late 1990s, and 500% return on a £17000 initial regeneration investment. Prices began to recover significantly after 2003, coinciding with the start of public intervention through the Pathfinder, Urban Splash involvement and the announcement of Chimney Pot Park's extensive refurbishment.

Both residents and key actors told us about significant increases in house prices in Langworthy North. The area was considered up-and-coming because of significant regeneration investment and the Urban Splash development which sparked media attention and contributed to pushing up area's prices.

oh they [house prices] increased significantly ... I'll just give you an example: my daughter bought four years ago a house on my street for £7,000 and it could go for £90,000 now...we've bought it when she was 21 and we bought it with cash and she's got a lot of investment there now (KAS06)

Since 2002, rapidly rising prices have brought issues of affordability to the fore across the whole North West region. Between 2002 and 2005 the average price of a house in Seedley and Langworthy increased from £17,063 to £56,840, an increase of more than 230% which compares with an increase in Salford of 75% and a North West regional increase of 52% (Quaternion, 2007). However, average household incomes have risen, but at a rate far short of that achieved by house prices. This has made it increasingly difficult for first time buyers and those on low incomes to get a foot on the housing ladder. Even in the lower price range, the ratio of dwelling price to income has increased from 3:1 in 2002 to 6:1 in 2006 (NWRA, 2007).

Our discussions with residents confirmed these regional trends as they expressed concerns regarding local affordability. Residents felt that Langworthy North was less affordable for local people who felt pushed out of the area by 'outsiders', like the Urban Splash's *young professionals* and those *who wore smart suits and worked in offices in Salford Quays or Manchester (S19)*.

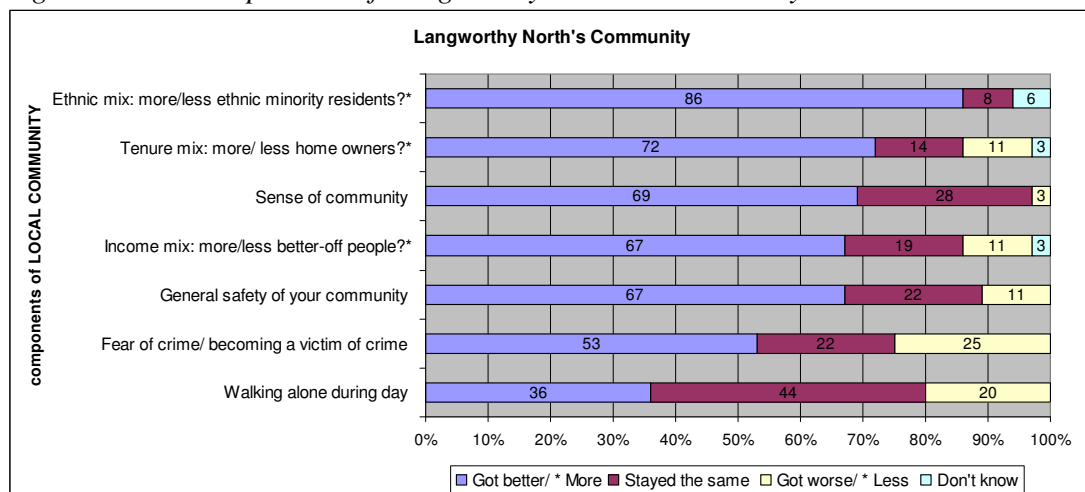
I think that it's becoming more expensive, lots of people cannot afford to buy here ... I think that it's become less affordable for local people and more affordable for people coming from outside...from Manchester from example ... there were houses offered to the local people in the new development [Urban Splash] but they couldn't take mortgages...there's still a lot of negative equity so it's not easy for them (KAS10)

from my point of view I think even 90k is a lot of money if you are only a young person so I don't think it's particularly cheap ... we talk about national averages but I don't know anybody that's got 30k coming in realistically to get a mortgage for 3 times your income ... it is affordable if you look at wider area but it's not affordable locally ... and this is for one person ... even for two persons 90k it's a lot of money ... it's maybe me but for a lot of people that I know 90k is a lot of money (KAS06)

Langworthy North's community

Most aspects of Langworthy North's community were perceived by a majority of local residents as improving (Figure 6.16). They felt that the area had more sense of community, was generally safer and its general make-up has significantly changed during the regeneration process. However, *walking alone in the area* was still perceived as problematic and little improved by area regeneration.

Figure 6.16 – Components of Langworthy North's Community



Source: Fieldwork survey

Sense of community

Langworthy North's residents felt very positive about the sense of community in their area. They mentioned on-going community activity and involvement, regeneration initiatives that brought people together such as alley gating, the new communal gardens and InBloom project, as well as a close-knit community strengthened by a long standing group of residents who have been living in the area for a long time. A similar finding was found by the SRB5 evaluation. Residents spoke of an overwhelming sense of community and commented that the community had turned around in the last seven years (Quaternion, 2007).

the regeneration programmes have brought people together; there is more community spirit now than it used to be in the past, especially I am thinking of InBloom (S17)

we are always looking out for each other. We have got keys for each other's houses. It is a real sense of community (S13)

Safety and crime

Residents' perceptions of crime can be a useful indicator of current concerns in the area. In general, residents living in the Pathfinder area were most concerned about anti-social behaviour and having their home broken into. On the other hand, residents were least concerned about vandalism and being physically assaulted. When asked how safe they felt walking alone at night, similar percentages (49% and 51%) said they felt safe and unsafe (ECOTEC, 2005c).

Levels of crime decreased significantly over the five years in the Seedley and Langworthy SRB area and there had also been a decline in anti-social behaviour although there were still problems with young people and alcohol. The SRB5 evaluation report found that more than half of Seedley and Langworthy's residents felt the area had improved in relation to crime over the five years and 68% residents thought their community felt safer than five years earlier (Quaternion, 2007).

During our discussions with residents we found that, following regeneration, more than half thought that their community was safer and were less concerned about becoming a victim of crime (67% and 53% respectively). Many were, however, still concerned about walking alone around the area: 36% said they would do so during the day and only 19% during the night. Residents felt that the safety of their community improved and mentioned better policing of the area, fewer empty properties, alley gating which improved safety at the back of properties and improved home security measures, including new, more secure doors and windows.

since regeneration it has felt a lot better, the police people are very good, also back entries have gates now and it feels a lot safer...also we have street wardens too (S23)

People felt much more confident to report crime and a number of ways to do so were available in the area including the SALT office, Community Safety Officers and Neighbourhood Wardens.

they pulled down the houses and the bad kids went with them ... also we have the wardens and the SALT people who are quite good in dealing with crime ... it is easier now ... we know where to go and whom to talk to (S1)

However, residents still mentioned problems of anti-social behaviour, especially related to children and young people.

I am less concerned about crime in general...however there are still problems related to youth, off road bikes ... that does not threaten me it is just nuisance (S10)

These concerns were endorsed by key actors who told us that despite a significant fall in area's crime levels, anti-social behaviour was still a problem.

we still have an issue with anti social behavior around there especially with one particular household ... but at the same time more people are working together now and the residents know it ... also we have more powers to remove bad tenants and get more training to know how to deal with such behaviour ... but again I don't think it is anything to do with regeneration ... overall I think people must feel safer because we have the wardens now and they definitely made a difference (KAS08)

Social and tenure mix

Three quarters of our residents (74%) felt that the make-up of their community changed during the regeneration of the area: there were more people moving into the area and from an ethnic minority background; they were also younger and better-off.

it has changed a lot ... some of the ethnic minority groups are feeling more comfortable about moving into the area; some naughty kids moved away making the area more attractive (S20)

better off people want to move into this area ... I know because we've tried to sell this house and seen the people coming around (S2)

In addition, a majority of residents (72%) thought there were more home owners in the area than in the past. They explained that Langworthy North became more *desirable* and an *affordable* alternative to Manchester city living. Some residents also expressed concerns about speculative investment in the area and the buy-to-let housing market.

Manchester is so dear to live so people choose Salford to live in as it is very close to Manchester (S13)

people can afford to buy them now ... it was very difficult to buy a house in my time as wages were quite low at the time ... I think today's generation can access better mortgage opportunities... (S10)

The private rented sector in the North West has grown substantially in recent years with many local housing markets in the region dominated by buy-to-let properties. This has long been the case for the city centre of Manchester but has recently started to spread to the lower value areas of Salford and many new build schemes across the region (NWRA, 2007). We did not have any hard evidence to document this in Langworthy North but residents commented about 'outsiders' who bought properties in the area and then let them out.

a lot of owner occupiers moved out of the area because of demolition, high levels of crime and outsiders are buying these houses now for investing and letting them out (S19)

Moreover, a comparison between 2001 Census data and SRB5 data (see Table 9.3 in Chapter Nine) showed a decrease in both home ownership and private rented sectors in favour of other types of tenure. Our close discussions with residents confirmed that lately more people were living with family and relatives or sub-letting. This may be an indication of an increasing lack of affordability and a potentially hidden speculative private renting market.

there's more owners but I am not sure whether they are buying to live in or to rent it out; the area is very attractive at present in terms of investment ... also, I know there are many people who rent to illegal immigrants but they don't declare it because it is illegal ... I know it for sure because the lady behind me does it (S17)

Nine in ten respondents (86%) felt that the number of people from an ethnic minority background living in the area had increased compared to before and a few mentioned their lack of integration with the indigenous population.

there has been an influx of people from the Eastern European countries, as well as the rest of the world ... also more refugees and asylum seekers came to the area lately (S11)

Eastern Europeans, refugees and asylum seekers moved into the area. Many residents and key actors did not feel that had happened as a consequence of regeneration but as a result of the recent European enlargement, UK and European migration policy, as Salford was one of the UK regional centres for refugees and asylum seekers.

it is predominantly white ... we have a mix but it is a hidden mix because what you will find is that they don't engage very well and lately there is a lot of Polish people coming to live in the area, they are not young they are not elderly ... I've got Michael, a Russian living on my street and he goes to University and he's lived there about three years now ... but culturally it's just not a mix which is fine

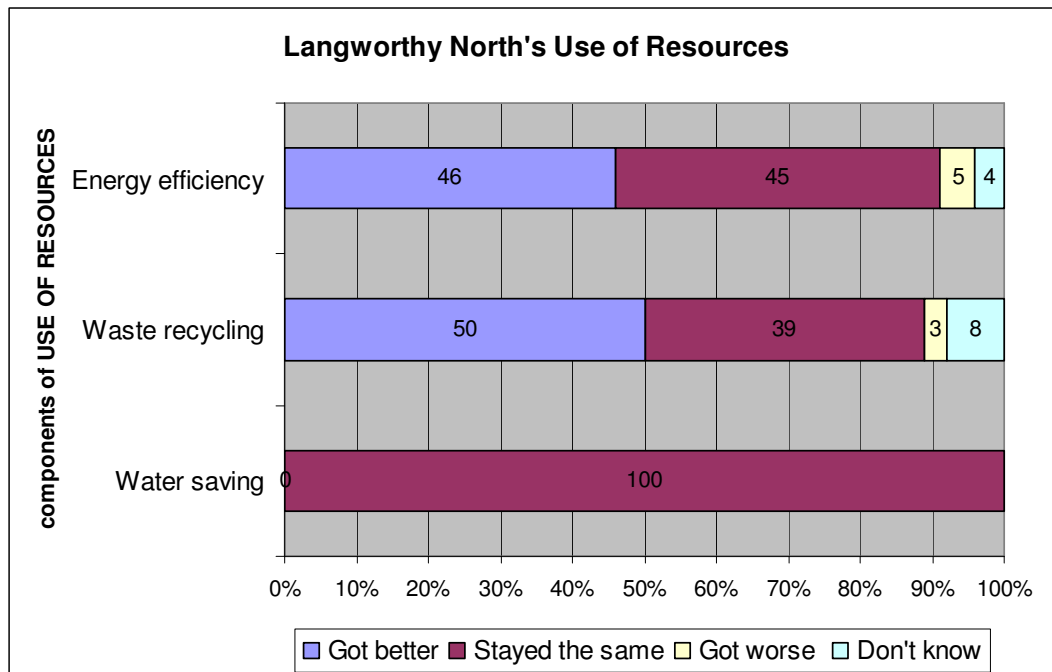
but really a shame that isn't more interaction ... we've got people from Ghana behind me as well ... also we've got few properties which are NAAS properties, the National Association of Asylum Seekers ... the problem with those is the people put in there don't get enough support ... they cannot interact with other people because of the language barrier, they are from Afghanistan ... certain mix is good some not ... people mix for certain things and don't for others (KAS06)

Langworthy North's use of resources

There was no clear *environmental agenda* involved in the regeneration of the area and key actors felt that “*they've missed the boat*” and the area's environmental sustainability was a missed opportunity.

the only thing it was just lately they started to support recycling but that's a current initiative ... only on Homeswap houses they've done some stuff like new boilers but not much on owner occupiers only double glazing, new doors and burglar alarms ... but that is not really energy efficiency ... then there is the Warm Start initiative which is a government programme for people lagging behind in this kind of issues [energy efficiency] ... and even the roofs didn't get any insulation it was more a condition if you get a new roof you have to add in insulation (KAS06)

Figure 6.17 – Components of Langworthy North's Use of Resources



Source: Fieldwork survey

Energy efficiency

Works at Langworthy North involved installing new double glazed doors and windows to all properties where these were not already in place. A few other

measures targeting energy efficiency in homes were also put in, including loft insulation, central heating and energy saving bulbs. Almost half of the residents interviewed (46%) thought that their properties were more energy efficient following area regeneration (Figure 6.17). They mentioned warmer homes and lower energy bills.

of course it's got better ... and I would say much better ... my house is much warmer since they've put in new doors and windows ... I used to sit in my sitting room and watch TV and could feel the draught between the door and windows ... in winter I had to wrap myself in jumpers and blankets ... now it is so much better ... and the draught is gone (S20)

I just noticed recently that I pay less on my electricity bill ... you know they do now all these comparisons to what you used to spent ... and I pay less than say at the same time last year ... yes, it's getting better (S16)

As Table 6.7 shows, residents reported that a number of energy saving measures were installed in their homes during the regeneration process. The most frequently mentioned were *double glazing* and *loft insulation*, which were fitted in a number of properties (57% and 54%), followed by *central heating* and *energy saving bulbs* (35% and 30%). In addition, 32% of residents said that no energy-efficiency measures were installed in their homes because they either had them already installed or 'the offer was there but they did not want to take it'.

Table 6.7 – During regeneration works did you get any help with any of the following? (Langworthy North)

Energy-efficiency measure	% of residents saying YES
1. Double glazing (windows/ doors)	57%
2. Loft insulation	54%
3. Draft proofing	27%
4. New boiler	27%
5. Central heating	35%
6. Room thermostat	19%
7. Water tank insulation	8%
8. Energy saving home appliances	-
9. Energy saving bulbs	30%
10. Training on energy-efficiency	-
11. Other	-

Source: Research fieldwork

We found that social tenants were more likely to have a range of energy efficiency measures in their properties, while tenants in private renting properties were more likely to lack these altogether. In addition, private tenants were less likely to know whether their properties had in place measures such as loft or water tank insulation,

or any energy-efficiency measures at all. Homeowners had a better understanding and knowledge of these measures and a few mentioned that they have already had double glazing at the time regeneration started.

Waste recycling

Langworthy North had a standard three-bin waste and recycling scheme which had run for one year at the time of fieldwork, supplemented by a monthly Skip Day for bulky waste, managed by SALT. Key actors felt that “*recycling had still a long way to go in Salford and the Council had still plenty of work to do to catch up*” (KAS09).

waste recycling is a disappointment to me ... as far as recycling was in the original regeneration project we still have a skip day when the Council places skips in the area so bulky items could be removed ... but not a massive initiative on recycling paper, glass or plastic ... that's still laying with the Council ... they are picking up now that by 2010 we have to reduce quite a lot waste ... but I do believe that these issues should be incorporated in any new built we did or regeneration project ... we've got recycling, we've got the green bins picked up every Wednesday morning but I think that we need clothes recycling ... we commissioned Mr Cohen who gets profit on it and in a way it's a shame (KAS06)

Half of the residents (50%) thought that they recycled more waste than in the past as a result of the area's recycling scheme and raising public awareness (Figure 6.17).

I recycle more nowadays ... it is advertised and promoted more in the area (S20)

it just started one year ago but yes I recycle more and there are more bins around (S2)

Water saving

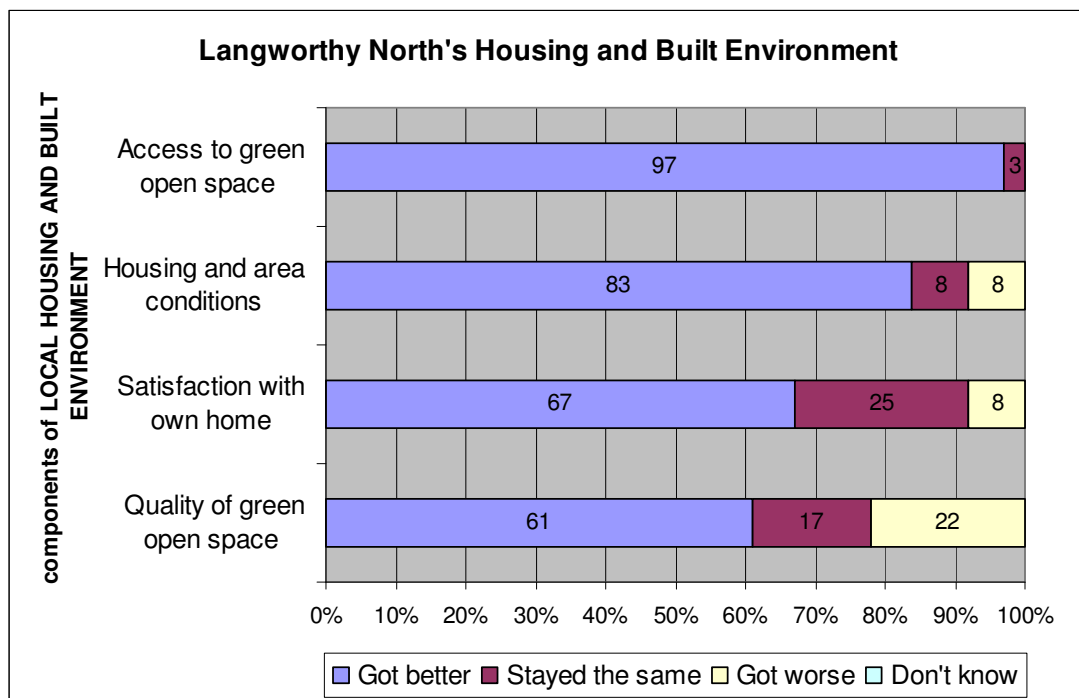
Langworthy North's residents did not perceive any change in local water efficiency following regeneration. Yet according to key actors' accounts a small number of water butts were installed in the area's few gardens and a programme aimed at raising water awareness among children of school age was run in the area.

they've put in water butts and people are using them ... it also raised awareness like for example the fire hydrants where the children are setting them up and they did a film about that about the dangers of wasting water ... so it raised awareness about wasting water in the area (KAS05)

Langworthy North's housing and built environment

A majority of residents felt that area regeneration had a positive impact on all aspects of Langworthy North's housing and built environment. *Figure 6.18* shows that most residents felt that the general housing and area appearance and access to green open space were significantly improved; more than half were more satisfied with their homes and thought that the quality of green open space was better than before refurbishment works.

Figure 6.18 – Components of Langworthy North's Housing and Built Environment



Source: Fieldwork survey

Satisfaction with own home

Seven in ten respondents (67%) were more satisfied with their own home following regeneration. Respondents felt safer due to security measures such as new front doors and locks, changes at the back of properties and thought their houses were warmer.

my house received a lot of improvements under the block improvement scheme ... the house is more comfortable now and the street is nicer (S19)

we feel more secure with various things that have been done ... doors more secure and windows more secure ... also the house is much warmer than it used to be (S18)

Improvements were also an incentive for future maintenance and made residents proud of their area.

I feel it is more worth now investing in up keeping and maintenance (S25)

because of regeneration it looks much better and it is upcoming ... you feel proud now living in the area (S2)

Housing and area conditions

Eight in ten (83%) residents felt that the regeneration of the area improved greatly the general housing and area conditions. This was confirmed by discussions with key actors and compares well with findings from the SRB5 survey which found that 87% of residents in Langworthy thought that the general condition of housing in the area was better than 5 years ago (Quaternion, 2007).

the streets and the houses look much tidier and very attractive ... the area is very attractive with flowers and hanging baskets so again they all are working together (KAS07)

the shops are looking much better ... you see more people walking on the road in the morning going to work and we are going to have a new school and park (KAS10)

Housing state of repair

Residents rated various aspects of their home on a gradient from *excellent* to *awful* and average scores were calculated for each of these aspects. We explained how these scores were calculated in Chapter Three. Table 6.8 shows that all aspects achieved scores below 3, which means that all house parts were at least in OK condition. The condition of the front of the house, windows and doors, roofs and chimney stacks were rated by respondents as either *excellent* or *good*, while the condition of kitchen, bathroom, back yard and back yard walls and garden were rated as being in *good* or *OK* condition. Generally, the front of the house was considered as being in the best condition, while the back yard in the worst.

Table 6.8 – Langworthy North: house state of repair and average scores for individual house parts

	<i>Excellent (1)</i>	<i>Good (2)</i>	<i>OK (3)</i>	<i>Poor (4)</i>	<i>Awful (5)</i>	<i>Does not apply</i>	<i>Sample size</i>	<i>Average scores</i>
<i>Front of house</i>	14	18	3	1	0	0	36	1.7
<i>Windows/ Doors</i>	22	8	3	3	0	0	36	1.6
<i>Roof</i>	19	8	6	2	1	0	36	1.8
<i>Kitchen</i>	9	13	10	3	1	0	36	2.3
<i>Bathroom</i>	11	13	9	2	1	0	36	2.1
<i>Chimney stack</i>	17	10	9	0	0	0	36	1.7
<i>Back yard walls</i>	7	14	11	2	0	2	34	2.2
<i>Back yard</i>	5	14	11	4	0	2	34	2.4
<i>Garden</i>	3	1	3	0	0	29	7	2.1
<i>Front garden</i>	3	2	1	0	0	30	6	1.6

Source: Fieldwork survey

Green open space

Six in ten respondents (62%) thought that the overall quality of green open space was much better following regeneration. Moreover, almost all residents (97%) felt that access to green open space improved because of the area's two communal gardens and alley gating which provided additional and valuable green open space for the community. These were enhanced by the extensive refurbishment of Chimney Pot Park and several other 'grassed over' areas on the place of previously demolished housing.

parks are much cleaner and more green spaces were made available in the area due to demolition (S13)

we've only got the park which has got Lottery money ... they've been couple of communal gardens that have been funded by regeneration and the alley gating which got £500 each to try to invest in greening up the area and some chose to buy benches and some others flowers ... but in general we don't have much open space...its quality is definitely improving but I would like to see more (KAS02)

Some residents and key actors, however, told us about the lack of proper play and seating areas, and were not happy with maintenance arrangements. They were also

concerned that many of these new green spaces will disappear in the future as a result of development pressures.

it is a lot of dog fouling around because of lack of park keepers (S22)

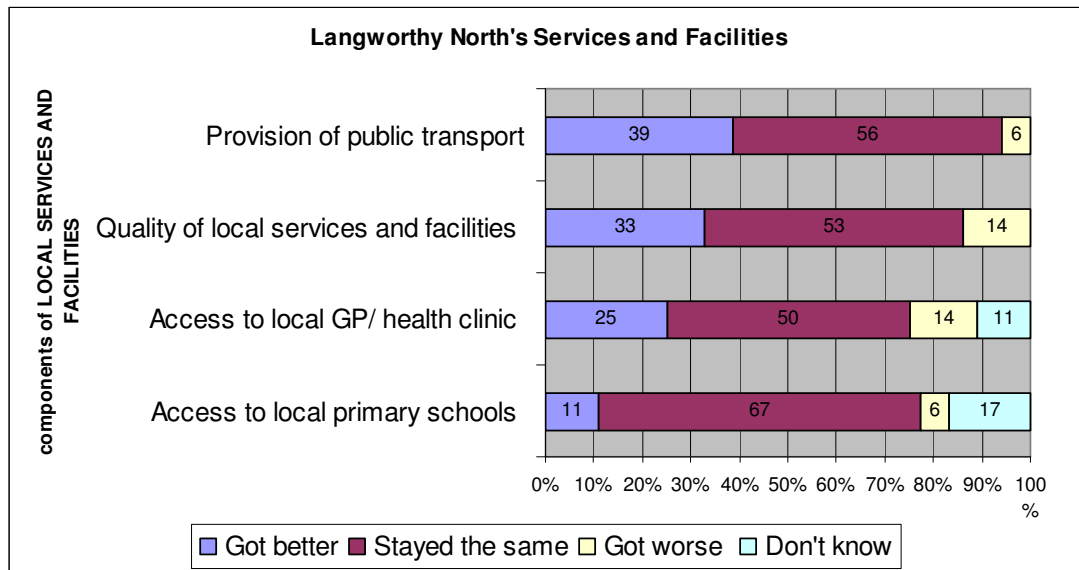
it is a bit better and they try to do things to look better ... however I've asked this question recently: we have all these 'grassing over' areas, why don't we equip them as play areas? .(KAS08)

Langworthy North's services and facilities

Figure 6.19 shows that the majority of residents thought that Langworthy North's facilities and services did not change substantially through area regeneration. Only a third (33.3%) thought that they had improved, mainly because of a new community centre, the Cornerstone and shops being modernised along Langworthy Road.

the post office has got a ramp for disabled people ... we have got now the Cornerstone Community Centre which offers a lot of services to people (S16)

Figure 6.19 –Components of Langworthy North's Services and Facilities



Source: Fieldwork survey

Yet many residents were unhappy about the range and poor quality of many local shops.

I think that the shops have suffered as a consequence and I don't think it was regeneration I think that it happened before that ... also there is a lot of competition from Tesco which is only five minutes away ... I think it's worse overall ... we've got nothing on the road left ... the best things are the SALT shop and we've got the Cornerstone which is great the only problem is that we

are trying to get the license now to open it on a Saturday and Sunday to make it more accessible (KAS06)

The school

Langworthy Road Primary School was the closest school to the case study area and scored well below Salford and England averages for educational outcomes. It was also rated by OFSTED as satisfactory in 2007. A high proportion of pupils were eligible for free school meals (51%) compared to the national average (16%) and pupil attainment was well below national average. The school also struggled with long-term staff absences, staff changes and a planned closure (OFSTED, 2007). Yet, in 2002, the school had been rated good and commended for its *very good teaching in the early years and infants*, despite a *declining locality* which led to a drop in the number of pupils attending the school (OFSTED, 2002).

The school struggled throughout the regeneration and demolition work carried out in the area further diminished its pupil intake. Moreover, the school was not involved in the regeneration process and, at the time of fieldwork, the council planned to demolish and merge it with two other local schools into a brand new school.

[the local school is] not doing very well ... it has more places than children because so many people have moved out and I think that this is a problem for the school because the intake they take has an impact on the amount of money they receive ... I think they do the very best they can with what they've got, they try their best, are very enthusiastic ... I would like to see more after school activities though ... it will keep children busy and off streets (KAS06)

Some residents commented that the school performed poorly and they took their children to a nearby other school. They also thought that regeneration works could have increased children's safety and improved the provision of car parking.

access to the primary school could be improved to increase safety of children as they are on main roads (S10)

there is a problem with the car parking around drop off and pick up times ... it is not enough and people park everywhere: on the grass areas, in the middle of the street and even on grass areas (S1)

Health services

Despite two new doctors' surgeries and one dentist available in the immediate area, only a quarter (25%) of residents thought that access to health services was improved

by regeneration. People complained about local practices closing down and difficult access due to demolition and on-going construction works.

a couple of GP places have closed down and it is very difficult to get appointments at present (S20)

the doctors on Seedley Road are very hard to get to ... we have to walk round onto Langworthy Road and walk up the hill or go via Fitzwarren along Low Seedley Road ... and this is due to closure of Duchy Street and Highfield Road to build the new development and against our protests (S24)

Public transport

Langworthy North was served by regular bus lines along Seedley and Langworthy Roads and the nearby Metrolink which offered fast access into Eccles, Salford Quays and Manchester City Centre. The nearest train station was a 30-minute walk away serving the Salford University Campus. Only one third (39%) of our residents felt that the public transport improved during the regeneration of the area because of Metrolink in itself, and more reliable and faster buss lines.

buses are more regular and you can go to more places than before ... you see it is because the image of the area has changed ... bus drivers are not reluctant to go through the area anymore because of Urban Splash and all these houses are looking so much nicer (S6)

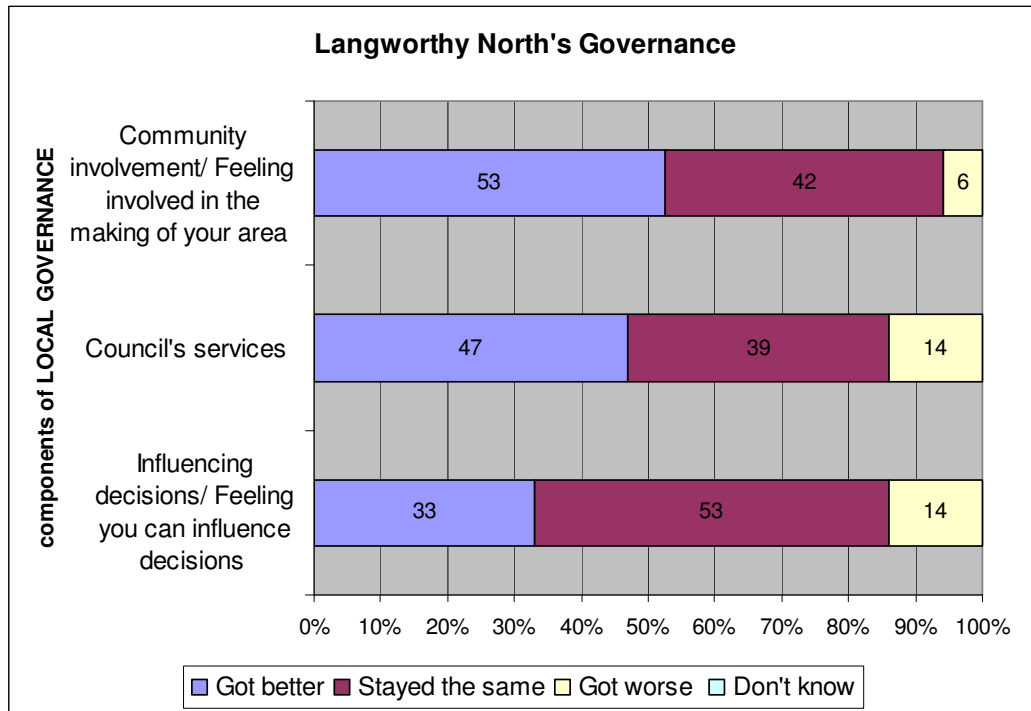
Some residents and key actors commented about the difficult access for children and older residents: the Metrolink was a good 10/15-minute walk while good transport was provided into Manchester but not into other areas.

I think that public transport it's an issue across the city ... it is quite good generally but it really depends on if you are mobile or not ... it's bad if you are old and disabled or if you've got small children ... it's a lot of public transport once you get into the Salford Precinct but public transport I wouldn't say it is very good around here ... it is quite bad actually to get to other areas ... we've got only the tram but that's a good walk away (KAS06)

Langworthy North's governance

Figure 6.20 shows that one half of the residents interviewed felt more involved in the making of their community and were satisfied with the overall services provided by the local authority (53% and 47% respectively).

Figure 6.20 – Components of Langworthy North’s Governance



Source: Fieldwork survey

The number of residents associations increased from three in 1999 to 23 in 2007 in the SRB5 area and one in five residents was a member of a community group (Quaternion, 2007). Housing improvements had also prompted local people to either join or become more involved in residents associations and voluntary groups, which had led to more social events and encouraged greater inter-generational understanding, which local residents felt it was a particularly important development.

More than half of our residents (55%) were members of a community group or initiative. Despite high membership numbers, only one third of our residents (33%) felt that they were actually able to influence decisions regarding their area, finding consistent with the SRB5 evaluation (Quaternion, 2007).

I have a real experience of this [influencing decision-making] lorries used to use Fitzwarren Street to deliver goods to Lidl which caused a lot of problems to people who live in the road. Because people complained about the vibration, traffic and noise, now the route of the lorries has been changed and speed bumps are put on the road to calm down traffic (S16)

At the time of the fieldwork, the Seedley and Langworthy Board Partnership (SLBP), the main partnership delivering regeneration at Langworthy North, was coming to an end and some of its functions were merged with the Ordsall and Langworthy

Community Committee, a wider local partnership covering also the neighbouring ward of Ordsall. SLPB was seen by everyone as instrumental in the success of regeneration at Langworthy North by way of bringing together the community, local and regional government and other partner agencies such as the Police, health authorities, local schools and housing associations.

I have people who go on a regular basis to these meetings to voice their concerns and so the members are aware of any issues down here and money may be allocated to sort them out ... for example we have now on their list traffic calming measures for one of the streets in the area (KAS06)

Moreover, both local residents and key actors acknowledged the important role played by SALT in helping to deliver regeneration and build social capital in the area.

there is the SALT shop here where people can just walk in ... you can walk in there if you've got a problem and they do the best to help you out...and they work closely together with the Council ... the SALT shop is the 'middle man' between people and the Council ... and people see it as a reference and contact point (KAS10)

6.4 Discussion

So, is Langworthy North's community moving towards sustainability following area regeneration?

Langworthy North's *economy and jobs* looked to be improving at the time of our fieldwork. Job prospects were good and although few jobs were available locally, good transport links into Manchester city centre and proximity to Salford Quays enhanced residents' chances and employment opportunities. People also benefited from and took on new training courses and house prices were on the rise, pushed up by the well-publicised Urban Splash development. The wider outlook was also favourable as the 2009 Budget, despite deep economic recession, announced Greater Manchester as one of its city-region arrangements; this recognised the vital role that Greater Manchester played in contributing to the national and regional economy and a joint approach was sought in order to agree key economic and policy priorities crucial in delivering future growth in Greater Manchester (HM Treasury, 2009).

There were two drawbacks to Langworthy North's state of economy and job markets. First, there was a perceived decline in local business, which was explained by extensive demolition carried out in the past. Yet plans existed to revamp the local shopping street, Langworthy Road, and provide more mix-use in the area, which was hoped to increase private investors' confidence in the area. Second, a few residents complained about feeling pushed out of the area because of increasing cost of living fuelled by rising house prices and lack of housing affordability for local people.

The regeneration of the area had a significant and positive impact on most components of Langworthy North's *community*. As a consequence, the local community in Langworthy North seemed to be moving towards sustainability. Sense of community was strong in the area and the community was actively involved in most activities related to their area. These were very much the result of extensive community capacity building programmes during the regeneration process. Despite a few local concerns related to area's crime and safety, safety in general and fear of crime were perceived as improving following regeneration and as a result of dedicated street wardens, neighbourhood management and more civil control. There was a perceived change in the mix of community with more home owners and higher socio-economic groups coming into the area, encouraged by private development which generated confidence in wider area. There were also residents' accounts of more renting and buy-to-let in the area, but there was little available other evidence that could offer a clear image of that at the time of fieldwork.

Langworthy North's *use of resources* offered an unclear picture. Despite the fact that some work had been done, more work had to be done. The regeneration initiative did not commit to an up-front environmental agenda but some energy and water efficiency measures had been sparingly applied throughout the scheme, homes were more energy efficient due to measures installed and felt warmer, the importance of saving water was slowly introduced in the area and local residents appeared to recycle more household waste. However, waste recycling was still in its early days and both local residents and key actors were aware that the area lagged behind general practice.

Langworthy North's *housing and built environment* were definitely moving towards sustainability. All components significantly improved following regeneration. People were happier with their own homes, with the housing environment in general and area conditions. Moreover the quality and access to green open space improved significantly on account of new green open spaces and communal gardens, enclosed and landscaped gated back alleys and a state-of-the-art restored Chimney Pot Park which complemented the private development next door.

Services and facilities at Langworthy North were in a transitional situation at the time of fieldwork and thus, it was unclear whether moved away from or towards sustainability. On one hand, they were much disrupted by on-going demolition: local shops were struggling and of a poor choice, and the local school planned to close gates. On the other hand, a new community centre, the Cornerstone, was built in the area providing vital services for the local community, two new doctors and one dentist opened in the area, and the municipality planned to restore the main shopping street, Langworthy North, and build a new school. Public transport was good and offered rapid links to main employment, cultural and leisure locations. Thus, it seems likely that Langworthy North's services and facilities will move towards sustainability if these regeneration plans materialise; it is also likely that once the Urban Splash development is complete, its residents of higher socio-economic status will lobby for better local services and facilities.

The regeneration process laid good foundations for future sustainable *local governance* at Langworthy North. Local residents were actively involved in the making of their area and many were members of community organisations; in fact the number of community organisations in the area grew significantly between 1999 and 2007. Although dissolved by 2007, the regeneration partnership transferred some of its functions to a wider strategic partnership which continued to 'overview' the area's performance. The regeneration partnership left another, even more valuable legacy in the area, SALT, a neighbourhood organisation which was self-funding by 2008 and acted as a reference point for the local community.

Table 6.9 – Direction of sustainability: Langworthy North’s domains and components of sustainable communities

Domains of sustainable communities	Components of sustainable communities	T1 (baseline information in 2001/02)	T2 (information in 2007 – from recent data and fieldwork)	Direction / Trend of sustainability (by component)	Direction of sustainability (by domain)
Langworthy North’s Economy and Jobs	Local jobs and access	Poor local jobs base (post-industrial legacy)	Few jobs created; good access to alternative job markets: Salford Quays and Manchester City	↑	↑
	Business activity	Declining due to abandonment, crime and planned demolition	Shops/ business still closing down; transition period; plans for more mix-use and new uses	≈	
	Training and skills	n/a	A wide range of courses; good local take up	↑	
	House prices	£17,063 (2002)	£56,840 (2005) (230% increase since 2002, compared to 75% in Salford and 53% in the North West)	↑	
	Housing affordability	3:1	6:1 (lack of housing affordability increasing in relation to 2001 levels)	↓	
Langworthy North’s Community	Sense of community	Community blighted by crime and demolition	Strong sense of community (catalysed by SALT); close-knit community	↑	↑
	General safety	High levels of crime and arsons; police abandonment	street wardens scheme in place, police patrols, more civic control	↑	
	Fear of crime	High levels of crime and arsons; police abandonment	Overall 68% of residents felt in 2007 safer than in 2002	↑	
	Walking alone during day	High levels of crime and arsons; police abandonment	Overall 68% of residents felt in 2007 safer than in 2002	↑	
	Walking alone after dark	High levels of crime and arsons; police abandonment	Overall 68% of residents felt in 2007 safer than in 2002	↑	
Langworthy North’s Use of Resources	Energy efficiency	N/A	Double glazing and loft insulation installed in many properties + other measures in place	↑	≈
	Water saving	No water saving measures/ campaign	Small number of water butts installed; water saving campaign for school children	≈	
	Waste recycling	No recycling scheme in place	3 bin recycling scheme in place + 50% recycled more	≈	
Langworthy North’s Housing and Built	Satisfaction with own home	High levels of abandonment; residents living the area	67% of interviewed residents more satisfied; improvements otherwise not affordable	↑	↑
	Housing and Area conditions	High levels of abandoned and boarded up homes, poor area conditions	Overall 85% of residents thought that it was better than in 2002	↑	

Domains of sustainable communities	Components of sustainable communities	T1 (baseline information in 2001/02)	T2 (information in 2007 – from recent data and fieldwork)	Direction / Trend of sustainability (by component)	Direction of sustainability (by domain)
<i>Environment</i>	Housing state of repair	Poor area conditions	Front of house in better condition than the back	≈	↑
	Quality of green open space	Poor area conditions; disused Chimney Pot Park	Major investment in Chimney Pot Park, additional communal gardens and alley gating	↑	
	Access to green open space	Poor due to closure of local park	Better due to additional and better green space	↑	
Langworthy North's Services and Facilities	Services and facilities in general	In decline, to be demolished	Some still closing down but some new and some planned	≈	≈
	Primary school	Good OFSTED rating (2002)	Satisfactory OFSTED rating (2007); awaiting closure and demolition	↓	
	Health services	n/a	Residents unsatisfied by difficult access and local GPs closing down; 2 new doctors + one dentist	≈	
	Public transport	Good transport links + Metrolink	Good transport links + Metrolink	≈	
Langworthy North's Governance	Community involvement	3 residents groups in 1997	23 residents groups in 2007 (as a result of SALT established in 1997)	↑	↑
	Influencing decisions	n/a	Only 33% of surveyed residents felt they had a say in the making of their area	≈	
	Satisfaction with LA services	Poor levels of service; rumours that the Council intentionally 'abandoned' the area to anticipate demolition	similar to national levels	↑	
	Partnerships	No local partnerships	The Seedley and Langworthy Board Partnership legacy (links to wider partnerships) + SALT (community umbrella organisation)	↑	
OVERALL IMPACT				Components: 16 x ↑ 8 x ≈ 2 x ↓	Domains: 4 x ↑ 2 x ≈

Key: ↑ - moving towards sustainability
↓ - moving away from sustainability
≈ - no or little change compared to T1 (2001/2002) situation

At the start of this chapter we showed that the wider Langworthy area was found by the Tracking Neighbourhood Change system to be an *area of stabilisation* in need of further investment and at risk of decline triggered by high crime and vacancy levels (ECOTEC, 2005b; IN Salford, 2005). Yet, at the time of the fieldwork, it seemed that the regeneration had had an overall positive and significant impact on the sustainability of community at Langworthy North. We found that, overall, very few aspects got worse.

Table 6.9 shows a summary of sustainability directions or trends for each domain and component of sustainable communities, as defined by the framework for evaluating sustainable communities in Chapter Four. They were established by comparing their positions in 2007 to those in 2001/02, a process explained in Chapter Three. We found that the majority (16 out of 26) of components had made good progress between 2001/02 and 2007 and therefore moved Langworthy North's resident community closer to sustainability. Eight components were stagnant, while the 2007 position of two components was worse compared to their 2001/02 baseline: lack of affordability was a local concern and the local primary school was on the brink of closure and demolition.

The positive impact of housing refurbishment-led regeneration on the sustainability of Langworthy North's community was facilitated by the following factors:

- continuous public investment and regeneration efforts that developed over more than twenty years, despite their later reduced breadth and increased reliance on private involvement and investment;
- extensive community building programmes which helped local residents to find a voice and catalysed action, initiative and community leadership; SALT had a pivotal role in 'humanising' the 'face' of regeneration and played a pivotal role between the local community and regeneration officials;
- political will and a strategic multi-agency regeneration partnering which put local concerns and interests within a larger perspective, attracting more attention and wider opportunities;

- proximity to Manchester which offered good performing job markets, which provided better job opportunities for local residents and thus 'alleviated' some of the blight induced by economic restructuring.

Chapter Seven

North Benwell, Newcastle

7.1 Background

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7.4 Discussion

This chapter describes the second of the three case studies, North Benwell in the West End of Newcastle upon Tyne. North Benwell, like Langworthy North, benefitted from long-term area investment. However, unlike Langworthy North and in contrast with most of the city of Newcastle, the area had a high concentration of ethnic minority residents.

This chapter parallels the previous chapter and has four main sections. The opening section presents the history of the area, as well as more recent developments and area's situation in 2007 when we first visited it. This is followed by a profile of area's residents and their attitudes towards living in North Benwell. The third section examines the impact of housing refurbishment-led regeneration on the sustainability of North Benwell's community. The final section discusses whether the community has become more sustainable following area intervention.

7.1 Background

North Benwell is located in the Elswick ward in the West End of Newcastle. According to the 2007 Index of Multiple Deprivation, Elswick was the third most deprived ward in Newcastle in overall terms, and the most deprived ward in the city in terms of housing. Unemployment rates were also high. At 14%, it was almost three times Newcastle's average of 5% and almost five times the national average of 3% (Newcastle City Council, 2006).

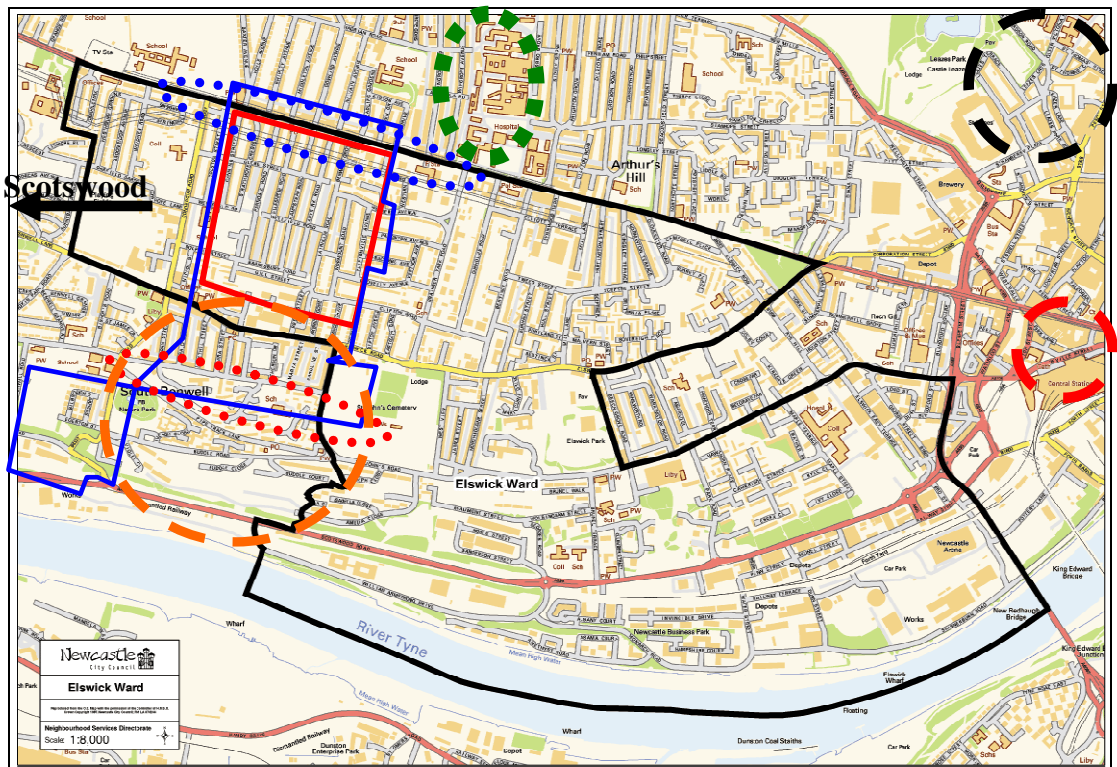
North Benwell was made of just over seven hundred Victorian terraced houses, a mix of family homes and Tyneside flats⁴ (Newcastle City Council, 2006). The area stretched from the West Road in the North and Barnsbury Road in the South, to Fairholm Road in the East and Condercum Road in the West (Figure 7.1). It had a cosmopolitan composition of asylum seekers, foreign students, and a significant and

⁴ Tyneside Flats were built around 1850s. They resembled conventional single fronted terraced houses, but in fact consisted of two or three independent dwellings, one above the other, with separate front and back doors and no internal communication between them. They were built as low cost housing for the growing industrial workforce during the Industrial Revolution.

well established Bangladeshi community. One third of its housing stock was privately rented.

Figure 7.1 – North Benwell in wider context

Key: — Elswick ward; — North Benwell Terraces;
 — North Benwell SRB area (including North and South Benwell)
 — Newcastle Central Station; — City centre; — Newcastle General Hospital; ●●● West Road; ●●● Adelaide Terrace; — High Cross Renewal Area



Source: Compiled by the author

Romans, coal and riots

Benwell stretches far back into the history books thanks to the strategic importance it held during Roman times, when a Roman fort was built here, along the line of Hadrian's Wall. Later, Benwell developed as a small village in the Tyne and Wear region and, by the early 1600s, was bought by merchant families interested in exploiting the coal reserves on the banks of the Tyne River. Benwell's initial industrial development comprised coal mining and small scale industry such as brick making and engineering. This encouraged the development and growth of pit villages and other occupational communities, with North Benwell being one of them. Tightly packed terraced houses were built here to accommodate the workforce.

Coal mining continued to grow in the whole area throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. This brought about a tremendous increase in the population of the North East, as many previously rural villages grew into small colliery towns almost overnight (Golloway, 2008). However, after the First World War, the demand for coal fell rapidly as new fuels, gas and oil, were increasingly exploited. There were three coal pits in Benwell, the Delaval, the West Pit and the Charlotte Pit. Of these, the Charlotte Pit lasted the longest, finally closing in 1936.

In the 1950s, Benwell had a considerable amount of slum housing, with insanitary conditions and overcrowding, much of it owned by private landlords and by 1970s, the remaining small-scale manufacturing and engineering industries, run by Benwell's long-established families, were also taken over. As a consequence, about 90% of all manufacturing jobs in West Newcastle were controlled by multinationals, as local capital and old families were absorbed into wider financial arrangements and industrial capital (Benwell CDP, 1976). A great deal of the old terraced housing was cleared and replaced with low rise new council housing. This was followed by a shift in favor of refurbishing of the remaining Victorian terraces, aided by grant schemes and supported by environmental improvements, which has been in part continued under later programs.

The cumulative effect of no jobs and a low skills base throughout the 1980s led to high unemployment rates, rising levels of crime, declining housing conditions and, finally, partial abandonment. This culminated with public 'riots' and 'disturbances' of September 1991, when the local and national media depicted Benwell as the very model of the boarded-up and crime-ridden urban locale. The riots were perceived by many as demonstrating the severity of Benwell's problems, its detachment and exclusion. By mid 1990s there were large numbers of empty properties.

Since the late 1960s, various urban policy initiatives have been tried in the West End of Newcastle in general and North Benwell in particular (Table 7.1). The West End alone benefited from six different SRB programmes totalling some £35million of public investment. They have involved not only investment in housing but also in economic development, social facilities and community capacity building. Almost all of the area-based regeneration programmes introduced by successive governments

have been implemented here and all failed to halt the area's decline, as an Audit Commission report recognised at the outset of the HMR Programme (Audit Commission, 2004)

Table 7.1 – Regeneration initiatives in the West End of Newcastle

<i>Regeneration programme</i>	<i>Life span</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>Focus on North Benwell?</i>
<i>Urban Aid</i>	<i>Late 1960s – late 1970s</i>	<i>Grants introduced by Home Office to support social and environmental projects in the West End.</i>	-
<i>Community Development Project</i>	<i>Early 1970s – 1978</i>	<i>Grants introduced by Home Office to undertake ‘action research’ and challenge the ‘culture of poverty’</i>	<i>Benwell selected one of 12 areas.</i>
<i>Urban Programme</i>	<i>Late 1970s – 1990s</i>	<i>Grants introduced by DoE that supported economic, social, environmental and health projects. Newcastle & Gateshead Inner City Partnership created.</i>	-
<i>Enterprise Zones</i>	<i>1981 – 1991</i>	<i>The Tyneside Enterprise Zone provided fiscal incentive for developers and businesses in riverside areas.</i>	-
<i>Urban Development Corporations</i>	<i>1987 – late 1990s</i>	<i>The Tyne & Wear Development Corporation promoted the development of riverside sites.</i>	-
<i>City Challenge</i>	<i>1991 – late 1990s</i>	<i>Local partnerships (including local residents for the first time) aimed to take an ‘holistic’ approach to the problems of disadvantaged communities.</i>	-
<i>SRB (Round 1-6)</i>	<i>1995 – 2006</i>	<i>Grants administrated by RDAs, secured through a bidding process and delivered by local partnerships; a range of small-scale localised initiatives to programmes across whole areas</i>	<i>Round 1 and 2 (1995 – 2001) Round 5 and 6 (1999 – 2006)</i>
<i>NDC</i>	<i>1997 – 2010</i>	<i>Targeting socially excluded and disadvantaged neighbourhoods</i>	-
<i>HMR</i>	<i>2003 – 2017?</i>	<i>Aimed to restructure housing markets and create sustainable communities; coordinated with other government’s strategies such as the Sustainability Strategy and regional Strategies (The Northern Way here)</i>	<i>Neighbourhood management; Neighbourhood wardens service</i>
<i>Other Initiatives</i>	<i>Since early 2000</i>	<i>- Neighbourhood Renewal Fund - Community Empowerment Fund - Sure Start - Health Action Zones</i>	-

Source: Compiled by the author

North Benwell was declared a Renewal Area in 1997. Large amounts of SRB Round 1 and 2 (1995-2001) funding were invested in the area, mainly in physical upgrading, in order to tackle housing and social problems. However, this investment did not stop

the spiral of decline and, by 2001, an estimated 230 properties were vacant (Social Regeneration Consultants, 2005).

Since the late 1990s, local policy initiatives in Newcastle have been adding to the complexity of national urban policy. *Going for Growth*, formulated in 1999 as the Council's key corporate strategy, aimed to develop a twenty year strategy for the whole city involving considerable housing demolition and redevelopment. At its core was the view that previous attempts to regenerate the poorest areas of Newcastle had failed and it was time to take a bold approach in order to reverse decades of population decline. Major redevelopments were proposed in Benwell and it was aimed to replace Scotswood with an 'urban village' of up to 3,000 new houses.

The strategy received a great deal of criticism and generated public anger which undermined much of its credibility. Some argued that *Going for Growth* included

a strong element of deliberate, socially engineered gentrification not found in past large-scale housing renewal programmes, at least not since the 19th century. (Cameron, 2003)

Moreover, the proposals for large-scale demolition upset many local residents and thus, the strategy had to be revised. Demolition proposals for North Benwell were withdrawn and the extent of clearance cut back.

In 2000, the Council took a bold decision and sold off some of the worst properties in North Benwell for just 50p each. Buyers received grants of £26,000 and were asked to invest £12,000 in turn, in order to convert these properties into family homes. In addition, further SRB Round 5 and 6 funding was invested into supporting residents back into work, training, education, and in intensive neighborhood management, including neighborhood wardens, community police officers and the establishment of the Neighborhood Management Initiative (NMI), an area based office. All these proved to be a success and by 2007 some of North Benwell's properties were valued at £145,000, reflecting the area's miraculous recovery (McDonald, 2007).

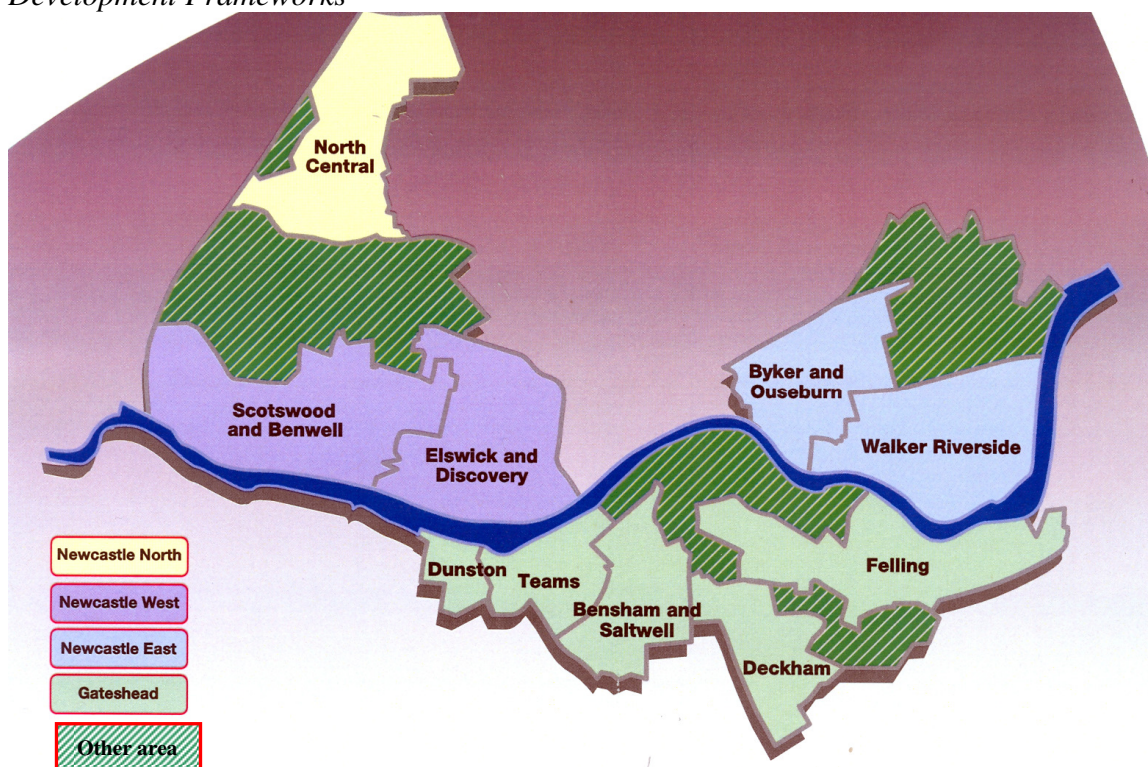
Recent developments

The Newcastle Gateshead HMR Pathfinder

The Newcastle Gateshead HMR Pathfinder, a partnership between the Newcastle and Gateshead councils, was created in 2004 as the second national Pathfinder. The Pathfinder was located at the heart of Newcastle-Gateshead Conurbation (*Figure 7.2*) which was the regional centre for North East, and managed to secure £225million public investment between 2004 and 2011.

In 2004, the Pathfinder had high levels of deprivation, with 19 of its 24 wards within the 10% most deprived wards in the country. In addition, overall vacancy levels were higher at 7% than the national average of 5%. The North East region as a whole, also, lagged behind other English regions in terms of its economic performance. The population of the two cities, Newcastle and Gateshead, declined significantly between 1971 and 2001, a negative percentage change of 16.7%, in comparison to 6.1% for the North East region (Audit Commission, 2004; Audit Commission, 2005b).

Figure 7.2 – The Newcastle Gateshead HMR Pathfinder and its four Area Development Frameworks



Source: Newcastle Gateshead HMR Pathfinder website accessed July 2009

Nevertheless, the Pathfinder aimed high and planned to achieve over the following 10 to 15 years the re-population of the inner core of the conurbation; up to 10,000 additional homes; a shift in the tenure balance, to bring levels of owner occupation closer to the regional balance of 65%, from a baseline of 40% (Audit Commission, 2004). The Pathfinder has also been proactive in responding to and trying to influence regional strategies: the Northern Way (2005), Regional Economic Strategy (2006), Regional Spatial Strategy (2007) and Regional Housing Strategy (2005). These strategies clearly set out the benefit to the North East of supporting regeneration of the urban core and gave the Pathfinder a key role in driving the economic development of the region.

The Pathfinder area was divided into four Area Development Frameworks (ADF): Gateshead, Newcastle Outer East, Newcastle North Central and Newcastle Inner West, where the case study area of North Benwell is located (Figure 7.2). The Pathfinder's plans for the Newcastle Inner West ADF focused on a new mixed-use development in Scotswood; housing improvements and neighbourhood management in North Benwell (Newcastle Gateshead HMR Pathfinder website, accessed June 2008).

Scotswood Housing Expo and High Cross

Two proposed developments were the subject of much discussion and speculation at North Benwell, at the time of fieldwork in 2007. One was the Scotswood Housing Expo, planned to be built one mile away in the neighbouring area of Scotswood, and the other one was the new Renewal Area of High Cross, just adjacent to our case study area.

First, the Scotswood Housing Expo involved the delivery of a £450million new development, over 60ha on the banks of Tyne, including some 1,800 new homes, 2,300 sq m of retail space, 3,000 sq m of commercial space, 900 sq m of community space and, potentially, a new primary school (English Partnerships website, accessed 14.06.08). The scheme was planned to open in 2010 with the Scotswood Housing Expo showcasing 450 housing types intended to be built over the life of the project (Dosanjh, 2007). As one of our interviewees told us, this major housing should have a major impact on Newcastle's overall housing market, including the refurbished

terraces of North Benwell. On the one hand, more facilities and better services were planned for the area. On the other hand, the modern houses could well overshadow the Victorian terraced homes by deeming them old-fashioned and dated. Yet, at the time of writing this thesis, the future of this ambitious project was still unclear. As the economic downturn took its toll on the regeneration industry, the Council struggled to find a private sector development partner.

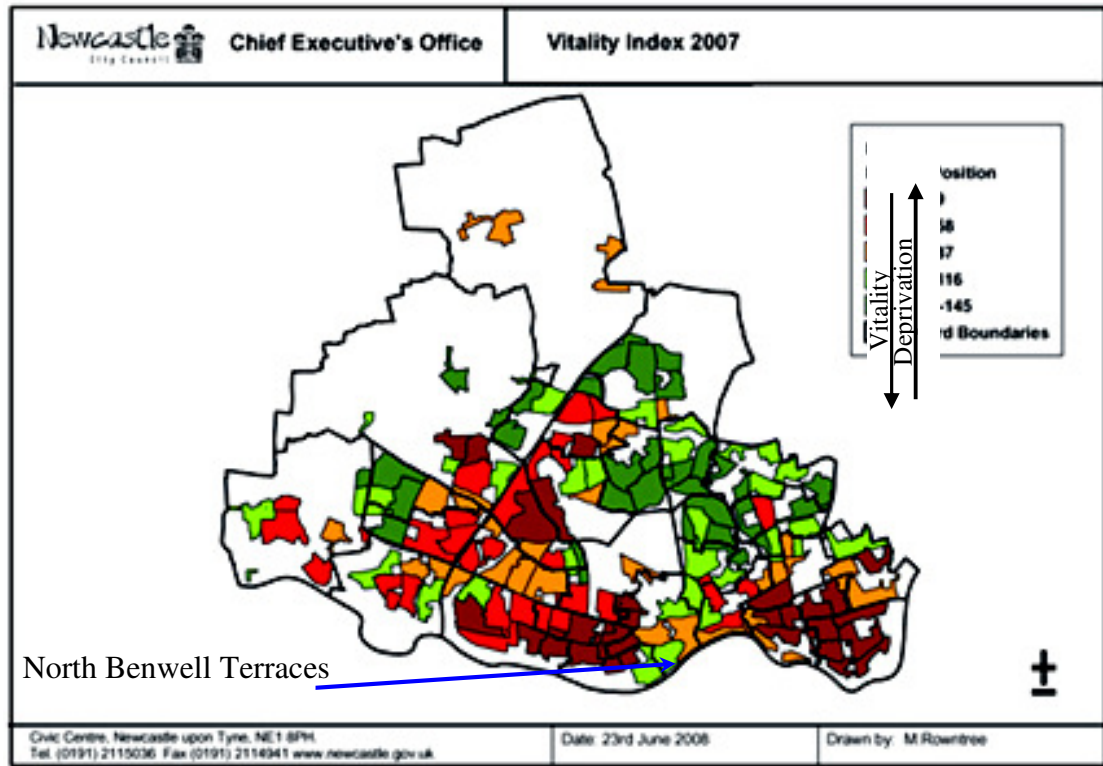
Second, the small and tightly-packed mix of Victorian properties and 1970s council housing of High Cross, just to the South of the case study area (Figure 7.1), aimed to be a replica of North Benwell's regeneration. It planned extensive housing improvements to some 600 units and the implementation of neighbourhood management (Bridging Newcastle Gateshead HMR Pathfinder, 2007). This created concern among North Benwell's residents regarding the level and quality of service and attention they would receive once the regeneration and investment focus moved to a neighbouring area.

The Vitality Index

The Vitality Index was developed by Newcastle Council in 2001, and adopted by Gateshead Council in 2003. The index was an annual snapshot and provided an overall picture of relative levels of neighbourhood vitality and deprivation across the city. It was mainly used to inform and focus regeneration investment. The index was created by using a similar methodology to that of the national Index of Multiple Deprivation (IMD) and included a range of key indicators that measured socio-economic and quality of life issues in 145 'pre-defined' neighbourhoods. Collected at neighbourhood level, the indicators were grouped into six key domains including crime, education, health, housing, income and unemployment (NNIS, 2002).

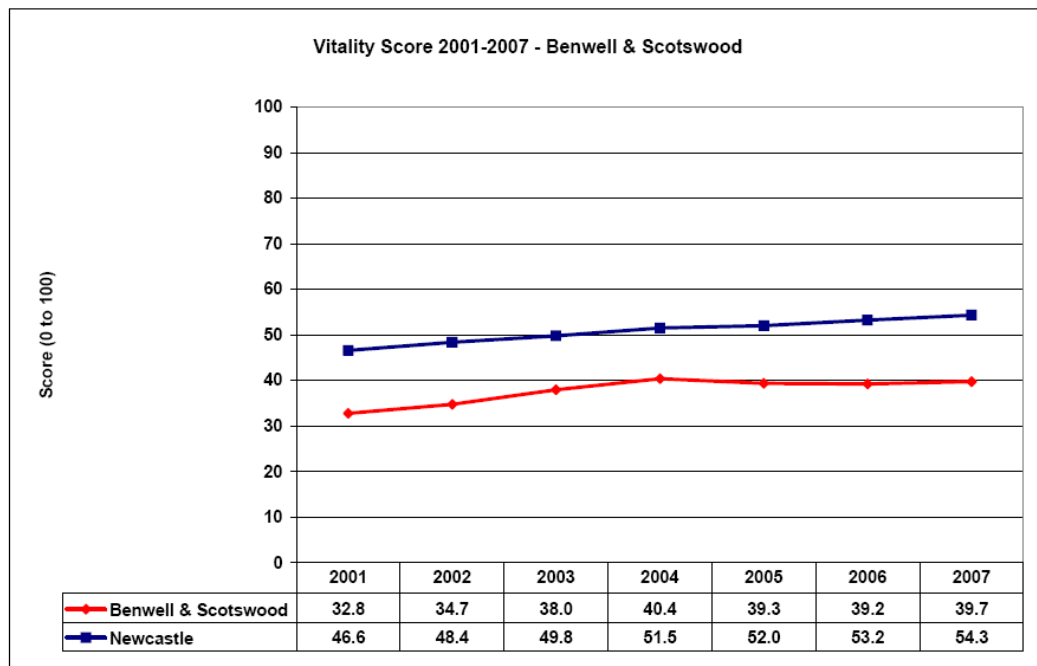
In 2007, the Vitality Index found that the Benwell and Scotswood neighbourhood was among the most deprived neighbourhoods in the City. *Figure 7.3* shows the key ranked positions for all 145 neighbourhoods across Newcastle; the higher the rank position and greener the neighbourhood, the better. At the same time and as *Figure 7.4* shows, despite a steady improvement of its vitality score, the gap between Benwell and Scotswood's and Newcastle's overall vitality score increased between 2004 and 2007 (NNIS, 2007a).

Figure 7.3 – The Vitality Index of 145 neighbourhoods across Newcastle in 2007 (NNIS, 2007a)



Source: From NNIS (2007)

Figure 7.4 – 2001-2007 Vitality scores for Newcastle and the Benwell and Scotswood area (NNIS, 2007a)



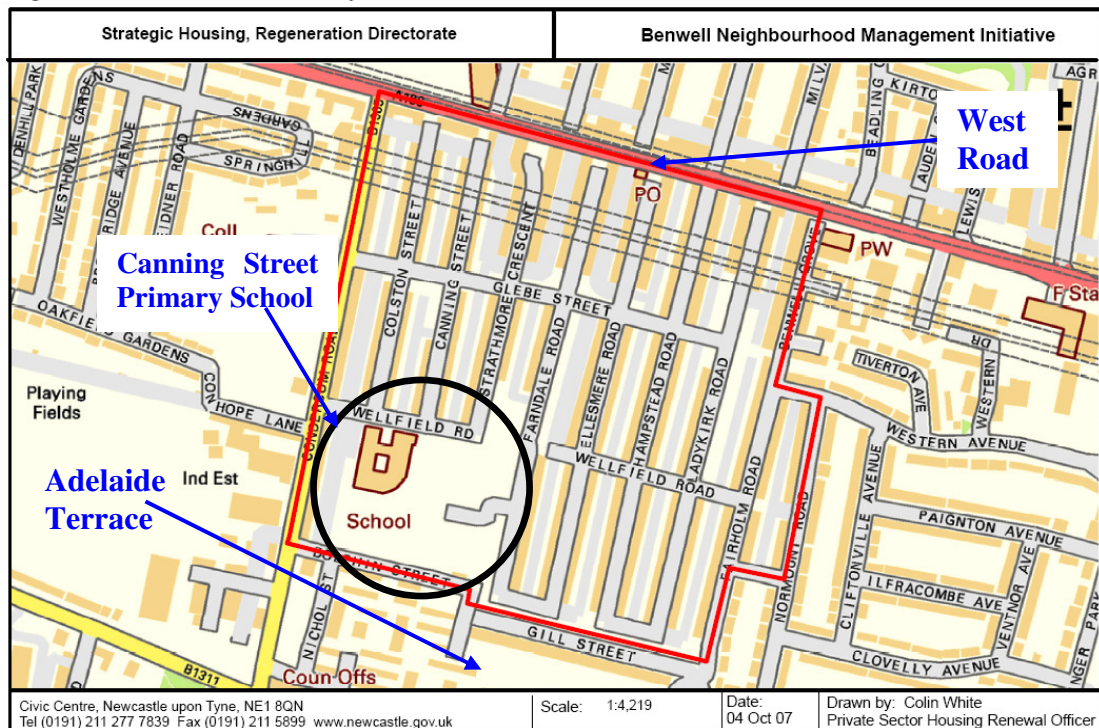
Source: From NNIS (2007)

In terms of measuring the ‘vitality’ of an area, the index had three main limitations. First, data was collected at neighbourhood level, in 145 pre-defined neighbourhoods which meant that detailed analysis was only available for defined neighbourhoods and not for smaller or postcode areas such as North Benwell for example. Second, the index blended together 15 different indicators, losing the complexity of individual indicators. Finally, the index focused on ‘hard’ indicators and left out ‘soft’ indicators such as levels of community involvement or community spirit.

The site in 2007

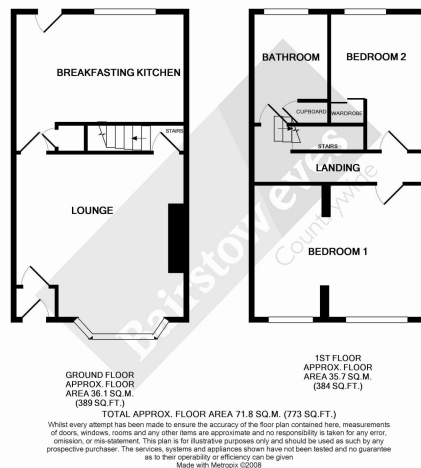
North Benwell was made of a coherent and largely intact grid of Victorian terraced streets. They were laid out North–South on the Benwell slopes, overlooking the river Tyne, around Adelaide Terrace district centre and the traditional ‘high street’ of West Road (Figure 7.5 and 7.1). The terraces were slightly more spacious than those of Langworthy North, with bay windows and a small curtilage at the front (Figure 7.6 and 7.7). They also had narrow yards and alleys at the back.

Figure 7.5 – The terraces of North Benwell and the immediate context



Source: Compiled by the author

Figure 7.6 - Typical two bedroom house in North Benwell



Source: *Bairstow Eves estate agent (2007)*

The physical regeneration of North Benwell lasted from 1997 to 2006 and included:

- external facelift carried out to the majority of properties, including works to boundary walls at the front and back of properties, new fences, railings and gates to the front of majority of properties;
- selective demolition of some 80 properties to create new green open space and play areas along Farndale and Ladykick Road;
- conversion of Tyneside flats into family homes carried out by either homeowners, as a condition of their grant, or housing associations; and
- internal works under the Decent Homes Standard to socially rented properties.

In addition to physical improvements and drawing on the HMR funding, the Council established in 2003 a neighbourhood office, the Neighbourhood Management Initiative (NMI) which employed a neighborhood manager, a community development officer and two administrative staff. The NMI was a partnership between the Pathfinder, Newcastle Council, Home Group Housing Association and Northumbria Police. Its focus was on joining up local services and building relationships with different local organisations and institutions. Moreover, it encouraged and enabled agencies to develop a coordinated approach so that their activities complemented each other and worked closely with local residents to identify issues and solutions. The NMI also managed three neighborhood wardens and two community police officers. However, it was perceived by locals as a council

subsidiary and experienced high staff turnover. Since our first visit in 2007, the NMI has known three neighborhood managers and four community development officers, with only one holding the post for more than one year.

Figure 7.7 – The terraces of North Benwell in 2007



Source: Pictures taken by the author in August 2007

Energy efficiency improvements were also carried out to some houses, supported by grants from the government's Home Energy Efficiency Scheme (HEES), which served as a model for the major changes introduced to the New Home Energy Efficiency Scheme in April 2000 (Unan, 2001). They were tailored to individual

needs and ranged from simple loft insulation to installing more efficient boilers and new gas central heating.

Sixteen community groups and projects were active in the area at the time of fieldwork and many of them were involved to a certain degree in the regeneration process (Appendix 9). During the regeneration of the area, community consultation and involvement were conducted in a rather patchy manner and mainly through 'hand-picked' group leaders and representatives. Our discussions with local residents and key actors in the area revealed that many local residents were difficult to reach due to language barriers and severe deprivation. However, the NMI was well aware of this and continuously tried to bring the community together through local community events and projects such as the annual BenFestival and Week of Action.

North Benwell still had a few boarded-up and run down properties at the time of our first visit. They were mainly private rented accommodation or vacant properties whose owners could not be identified by the Council. The regeneration partnership tackled this in two ways. First, under the 'Home First' scheme, local housing associations acquired run-down properties in the area which they then modernised and put back onto the housing market. Second, two schemes targeting the private renting sector were run in the area: the Newcastle Private Rented Service offered free advice and support to tenants and landlords, and the Newcastle Accreditation Scheme sought to 'guarantee' a number of management and property standards for registered private rented accommodation.

In terms of local facilities, North Benwell had the Milin Community Centre nearby, a few GP practices pepper-potted around the area and the Newcastle General Hospital one bus stop away; good bus lines run regularly into Newcastle city centre, which was within half hour walking distance. The closest school to the case study area, Canning Street Primary School was rated by OFSTED as outstanding at all levels in 2007. Benwell was one of the most ethnically-diverse parts of Tyneside, and indeed the terraced area of North Benwell was one of the most important points of entry for new migrants (Bridging Newcastle Gateshead HMR Pathfinder, 2007).

7.2 Residents at North Benwell

This section presents a socio-demographic profile of the residents living at North Benwell and their perceptions towards living in the area. The residents' profile was based on data from the Newcastle Neighbourhood Information System (NNIS), a resident survey carried out on a yearly basis and on a statistically significant sample of 200 residents living in North Benwell (Total Research, 2007). This was supplemented by data from the 2001 Census when information was not available. Residents' attitudes to living in North Benwell were based on discussions with 45 local residents (Appendix 10) and 16 key actors (Appendix 3) undertaken during our six visits.

Socio-economic profile

In comparison to Newcastle, levels of homeownership were significantly lower at North Benwell, while the number of people from an ethnic minority background was notably higher. North Benwell' typical resident was also younger, less economically active and with more dependent children than the Newcastle resident.

Housing tenure

North Benwell had a much lower percentage of home ownership in comparison to Newcastle and England at large (33% compared to 53% and 69%) and the typical resident was likely to be a tenant, renting their property from either a social or a private landlord (32% and 33% respectively) (*Table 7.2*). There were four housing associations in the area: Your Homes Newcastle, the largest housing association with some 150 properties, Home Group with 50 properties and two smaller housing associations, Riverside and Two Castles, with only few properties each.

Table 7.2 – Housing tenure in North Benwell and Newcastle compared to England (2005/06 and 2007 estimates)

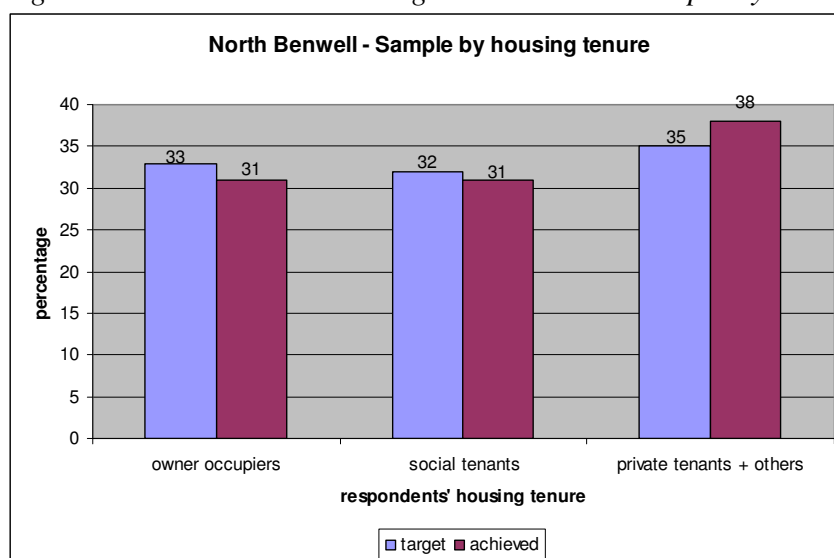
<i>Housing tenure</i>	<i>North Benwell</i>	<i>Newcastle</i>	<i>England</i>
<i>Home ownership</i>	<i>33%</i>	<i>53%</i>	<i>69%</i>
<i>Social renting</i>	<i>32%</i>	<i>34%</i>	<i>19%</i>
<i>Private renting</i>	<i>35%</i>	<i>13%</i>	<i>12%</i>

Source : Data for North Benwell from (Total Research, 2007); Data for Newcastle from 2001 Census; Data for England (CLG, 2007)Live Table 102

Note: All percentages were rounded to one decimal place

The sample of residents interviewed during the fieldwork matched closely our target sample (*Figure 7.8*). However, slightly fewer home owners and social tenants and more private tenants were interviewed than targeted. Identifying and sourcing social tenants was a challenge during the fieldwork as Your Homes Newcastle, the largest housing association in the area, could not provide any help with tenants' contacts and information. Social tenants were identified with the help of Home Group and by word of mouth.

Figure 7.8 – North Benwell: target and achieved sample by housing tenure



Source: Research fieldwork

Ethnicity

The proportion of ethnic minority residents in North Benwell has been steadily growing since 2004: in 2004 minority ethnic residents accounted for less than a quarter (22%) of the local population, by 2007 this increased to more than one third (38%) (Total Research, 2007). The area was popular with foreign students, asylum seekers, Eastern Europeans and Bangladeshi people. Almost half (47%) of North Benwell's residents were from an ethnic minority background, seven times the Newcastle average of 7% (*Table 7.3*).

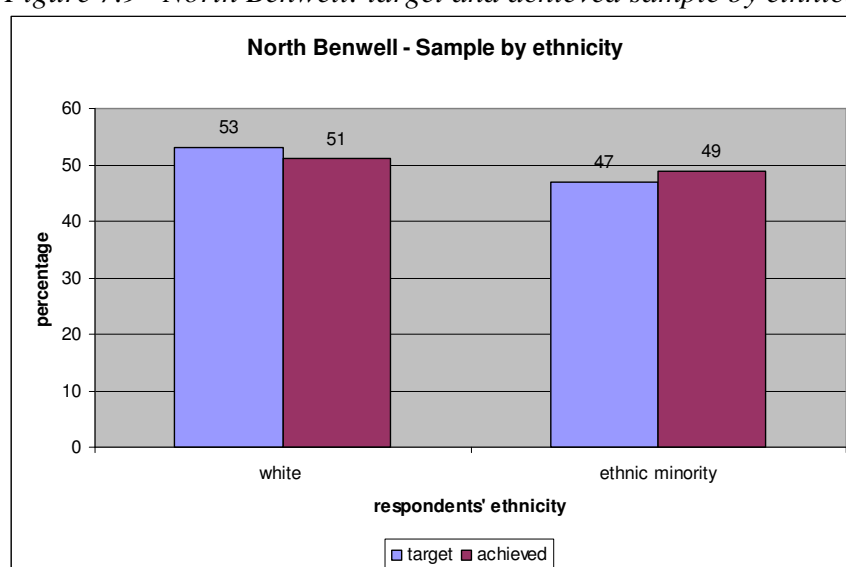
Table 7.3 – Ethnicity in North Benwell, SRB area and Newcastle compared to England (2005/06 and 2007 estimates)

Ethnicity	North Benwell	North Benwell SRB	Newcastle	England
White	53%	62%	93%	92%
Ethnic minority	47%	38%	7%	8%

Source : Data for North Benwell and North Benwell SRB area from (Total Research, 2007); Data for Newcastle from 2001 Census; Data for England (CLG, 2007)Live Table 102
 Note: All percentages were rounded to one decimal place

The relationship between the target and the actual sample we interviewed is reported in Figure 7.9. The ethnic minority residents were mainly economically active, in owner occupation or private renting and between the age of 24 and 49. However, during the interviewing process we were confronted with a language barrier, as many local residents did not speak any English or spoke poor English. In many situations, people kindly agreed to be interviewed, but we soon realised that communication was actually a problem. In these cases we tried to shorten the interview and did not count those residents in our final sample. Moreover, many ethnic minority women did not want to speak to us without their husband’s permission. When a husband’s permission was obtained, we had to carry out the interview in his presence or in the presence of another family member.

Figure 7.9 –North Benwell: target and achieved sample by ethnicity



Source: Research fieldwork

Age

The North Benwell's residents were most likely to be between the age of 25 and 49; this made for 59% of the total number of residents, the larger age group by far. All the other age groups were significantly smaller than the Newcastle averages: for example, the 16-24 age group was half as big as the city level, but quite close to national averages (*Table 7.4*).

Table 7.4 – Age in North Benwell and Newcastle compared to England (2001 Census estimates)

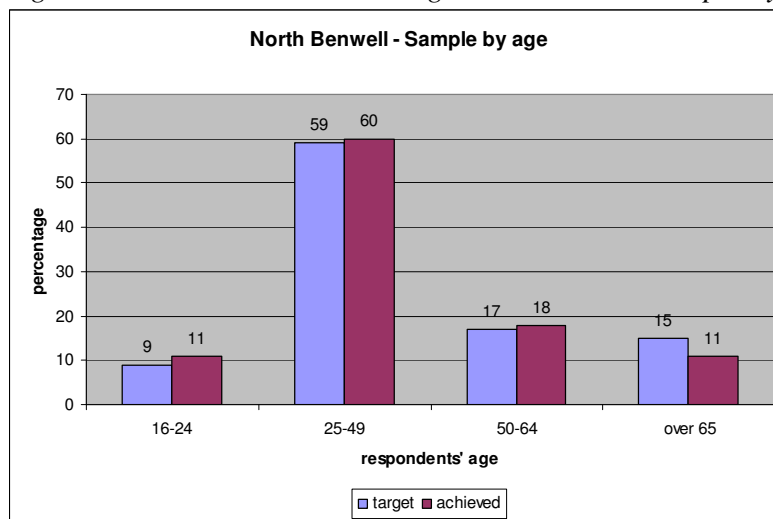
<i>Age groups</i>	<i>North Benwell</i>	<i>Newcastle</i>	<i>England</i>
<i>16-24</i>	<i>9%</i>	<i>19%</i>	<i>12%</i>
<i>25-49</i>	<i>59%</i>	<i>35%</i>	<i>53%</i>
<i>50-64</i>	<i>17%</i>	<i>26%</i>	<i>17%</i>
<i>Over 65</i>	<i>15%</i>	<i>20%</i>	<i>18%</i>

Source : All estimates based on 2001 Census data

Note: All percentages were rounded to one decimal place

Figure 7.10 shows that the sample we interviewed during the fieldwork matched closely the profile of the target sample. Residents in the 25-49 predominant age group were equally spread across the three tenures; mainly white British, Asian and Asian British and economically active; they also had more than one dependent child.

Figure 7.10 – North Benwell: target and achieved sample by age



Source: Research fieldwork

Economic activity

Table 7.5 shows that North Benwell’s residents were generally less economically active than those of Newcastle and England at large (47% compared to 67%), a result of lack of job opportunities, poor image and private investors’ lack of confidence in the area (Total Research, 2007). However, unemployment rate fell by 25% in the SRB area between 2001 and 2005, although it was still the highest in the city. Moreover, household income was low and the lack of affordable child care was a potential barrier to employment for single parents (Benwell Team 1, 2006).

Table 7.5 – Economic activity in North Benwell and Newcastle compared to England (2005/06 and 2001 estimates)

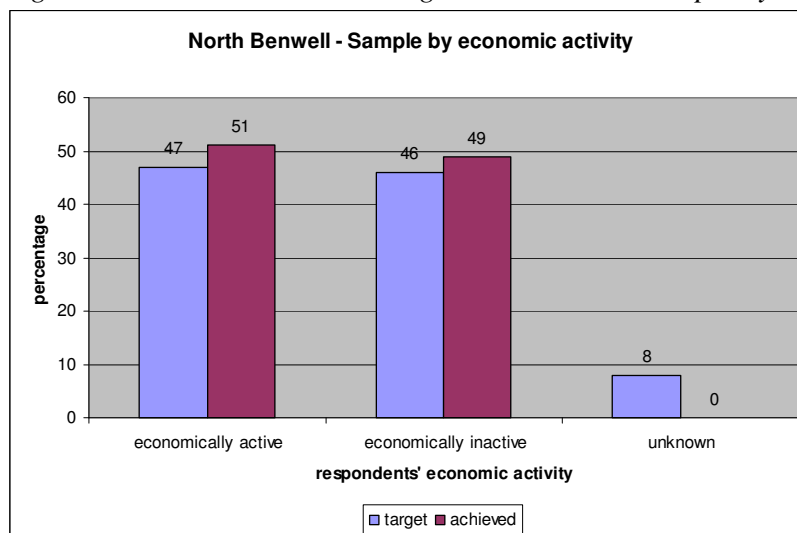
<i>Economic activity</i>	<i>North Benwell SRB (proxy for North Benwell)</i>	<i>Newcastle</i>	<i>England</i>
<i>Economically active</i>	47%	67%	54%
<i>Economically inactive</i>	46%	33%	46%
<i>Unknown</i>	7%	-	-

Source : Data North Benwell SRB area from (Total Research, 2007); Data for Newcastle and England from 2001 Census

Note: All percentages were rounded to one decimal place

Our interviewed sample met closely the target sample (Figure 7.11).

Figure 7.11 –North Benwell: target and achieved sample by economic activity



Source: Research fieldwork

Children

No recent data was available on local household composition. Therefore, we relied on 2001 Census data for the Elswick ward as the best proxy for our case study area. As can be observed in *Table 7.6*, the Elswick ward had a higher percentage of children under 16 than Newcastle and England (55% compared to 45% and 25%). Local evidence found that North Benwell had an even higher number of households with dependent children than the ward at large (Newcastle City Council, 2006).

Table 7.6 – Household composition in Elswick ward and Newcastle compared to England (2001 estimate)

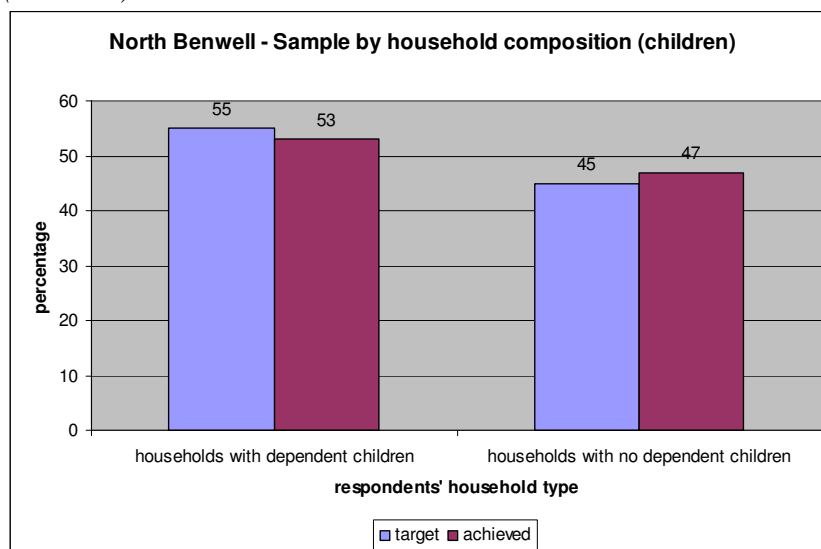
<i>Household composition</i>	<i>Elswick ward (proxy for North Benwell)</i>	<i>Newcastle</i>	<i>England</i>
<i>Dependent children</i>	55%	45%	25%
<i>No dependent children</i>	45%	55%	75%

Source: All estimates based on 2001 Census data

Note: All percentages were rounded to one decimal place

Slightly fewer households with children were interviewed during our fieldwork (*Figure 7.12*). The vast majority of households with children were in the 25-44 age group; they mainly owned their accommodation, were economically active and from an ethnic minority background.

Figure 7.12 – North Benwell: target and achieved sample by household composition (children)



Source: Research fieldwork

Attitudes towards living in the area

This section looks at how the area was perceived by local residents. It is based on interviews with 45 residents and 16 key actors, carried out during six visits in the case study area, between July and September 2007. Other evidence, from local surveys and reports, was used to corroborate the findings of the survey. The majority of the residents we interviewed lived in the area for more than two years and almost half (44%) for over 10 years.

Satisfaction with North Benwell

The majority of residents (62%) were *more satisfied* with the area following regeneration; in the SRB area as a whole, 65% of residents felt so (Total Research, 2007). Residents were satisfied because of physical improvements and area's new visual appearance; they also felt safer because of fewer empty properties in the area and lower levels of crime; and some felt more integrated and accepted.

it looks better ... you couldn't bring a dog to live here before ... they made the place to look nicer but didn't do much about litter, drugs, bad people ... the environment has been improved but not the people (N2)

I am happier going in and out from home to work, I feel safer ... at first it was absolutely appalling: the people, the conditions, the landlords ... houses many years ago were very sought after then they went down and now they seem to pick up again ... however I love Benwell and I wouldn't let anybody to say bad things about Benwell (N8)

Key actors also told us about fewer empty properties, increasing demand for housing and better community spirit in the area.

I think it's probably been very successful ... compared to the baseline to where is now it's been a significant improvement ... there is less vacant properties, more community space, some of the areas have been cleared and have got some green spaces which are used ... and the general community spirit is there now while it wasn't before and we are using it [the area] as an example of best practice with other areas (KAN06)

Residents not satisfied with North Benwell complained about the way regeneration money were spent, high regeneration staff turnover and racism. They were likely to live in privately rented accommodation and be between the age of 25 and 44.

the staff keeps changing all the time: they don't have a stake in the area and don't know our problems ... and there is still the stigma and difficult to get rid of it: for example there were riots in Elswick in the past and Benwell got the blame (N11)

Some key actors were concerned about the inconsistency of regeneration funding and thought that it was still early days to judge whether the regeneration of the area was successful.

I think we still have a very long way to go ... it's been going on for so many years now...this regeneration has been an on-off situation over ten or twelve years now and it just picks up every now and then when a new initiative appears on the horizon and they get more rounds of consultation (KAN11)

Perceptions of North Benwell's assets and problems

Local residents thought that the three best things about the North Benwell were:

- local shopping facilities;

it is handy for the shops, you can walk to them ... and it's plenty of them so you can shop for bargains ... the other day I bought some fabric for a pound ... it was £1.50 in a shop, I went next door and bought it for £1 (N32)

- location and transport;

it's close to the town centre; it's got great community hubs onto the top road, on West Road; great transport links either into the city or out into the country (N4)

- local community (-ies).

I like here because here it is my community (N26)

Shops and shopping facilities were mentioned as some of the most positive aspects of North Benwell. Residents commented about the convenient location and diversity of local shops along both West Road Adelaide Terrace. Other positive aspects of living in the area included good community facilities, schools, family kin and friends, green space and the cheap cost of renting.

The aspects that residents liked least about living at North Benwell Terraces were:

- Anti-social behaviour and crime;

I think it's got a problem with antisocial behaviour ... it's mostly youth hanging around in the park, drinking, drugs (N25)

- Loitering;

It is a lot of fly-tipping especially in the back lanes: you find sofas just dumped into the back lane which makes the area look bad (N7)

- Image of the area/ stigma

it is considered a cluster of poverty and 'the poor end of the city', perceived as high crime area and lack of anything happening in the area ... if you just say West End people would not be so interested (N37)

The least liked aspects of North Benwell were anti-social behaviour and local crime. Residents talked about “*ethnic gangs*” and “*gangs of Czechs and Polish people*” who were hanging around together, were “*drinking in the park at the bottom of the terraces*” and “*played loud music in their cars*”. They found this behaviour intimidating and stopping them from letting their children to play outside. They also talked about burglaries, drug abuse and people being killed in the nearby streets. In addition to these three negative aspects, people mentioned other things that concerned them, including the lack of communication between different communities, high population turnover and ‘bad’ private landlords. A 2007 survey found that 67% of respondents felt that anti-social behaviour particularly from young people was still an issue to be addressed in the SRB area, while 15% were concerned about cleaning and 13% about safety and security in the area (Total Research, 2007).

The future of North Benwell

Eight in ten residents (80%) were optimistic about the future of their community. Reasons for their optimism were increasing house prices, area improvements and better local services and facilities.

I am optimistic because it's come so far in the last ten years ... the house prices are rising faster than other areas in the city for the first time in years ... also a lot of stuff has been set up and as long as we are able to sustain this we should see more and more improvements (N4)

Nobody felt pessimistic about the future of North Benwell. However, one fifth of residents was undecided, *neither optimistic nor pessimistic*, for reasons which were reiterated by some key actors: there was uncertainty regarding area's future up keeping and funding, some people were little tolerant towards other cultures and the area was still very transient.

I am more optimistic now than I was ... but the main problem is still to sort out a sustainable system to maintain the improvements which you can't do relying on short tem grants (N12)

the area is still very transient ... it has a lot of people from different cultures and backgrounds that wouldn't understand about rubbish collection and may add to the problem and may be here for six months and then move on and then you've got somebody else to start to educate ... also, lately it's been little commitment to regeneration and maintenance and we've got recently long standing residents who moved out of the area because they felt the area is

going downhill although they stayed in the area when probably it was at its worst (KAN06)

Moving from North Benwell

72% of residents did not consider *moving from North Benwell in the next two years*. This was also found by an official survey which showed that 79% of the SRB area 's residents said so (Newcastle City Council, 2006). However, 28% admitted that they planned to move house in the next two years. Reasons included the size and design of houses, location of employment, area safety and image. Residents who planned to leave the area were mainly younger, under 44, renting, white, had dependent children and lived in the area for less than 5 years.

it is not safe and I don't like who lives here, there is a lot of rubbish on the streets also ... it is not a healthy environment to grow up children ... there is a lot of dog fouling and muck ... also, I would like a bigger house (N1)

I want to be closer to work, it is not safe this area and my house is in poor state of repair (N18)

Key actors commented about area's high turnover: people were moving both in and out of the area, especially in the private rented sector; more recently, some long standing residents moved out of the area.

some long standing residents moved out recently because they felt that the spirit of community has been lost in the area because of the amount of people moving in and moving out ... they did not feel at home anymore (KAN06)

People moving to the area were mainly from an ethnic minority background, many were Eastern Europeans, younger and usually "*keen to get on the property ladder*". People moving out of the area were sizing down or up, including single or elderly people, families with children and *settled* Eastern Europeans making "*the next step up*".

we get a lot of Indians, Asians ... it seems to be like a community for them ... then younger generations who are desperate to get something ... to get on the ladder ... but then they move out because maybe the flat is not large enough and they want to move to a bigger place with a garden...and you do get a certain amount of people like travellers ... which means that wherever they go they would not stay in one place and keep moving and it may be just across the road (KAN07)

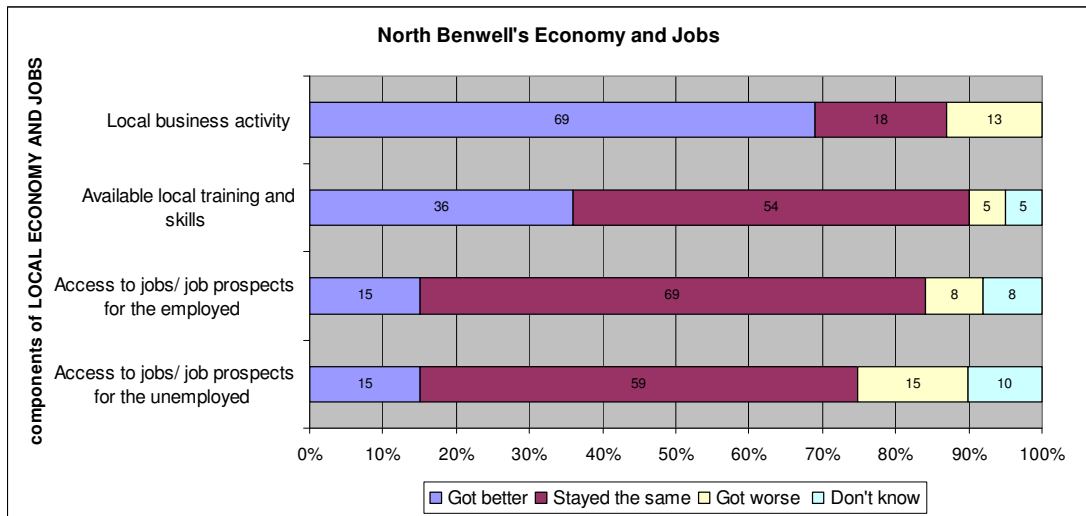
7.3 Housing refurbishment-led regeneration at North Benwell

This section reports the impact that housing refurbishment-led regeneration had had on the sustainability of community at North Benwell by looking at the domains and components of sustainable communities presented in Chapter Four. The analysis is based on the views of 45 residents and 16 key actors from North Benwell and other area studies and surveys. Following a detailed analysis, we also relate some of the findings to residents' housing tenure, age, ethnicity, household composition, employment status and length of residence in the area.

North Benwell's economy and jobs

The *local business activity* was one important component of North Benwell's *economy and jobs* that was perceived by the majority of respondents (69%) as improving following area regeneration; the other components were perceived to be improving to a significantly lesser degree (Figure 7.13).

Figure 7.13 – Components of North Benwell's Economy and Jobs



Source: Fieldwork survey

Jobs

Unemployment rates in the Benwell and Scotswood area increased by 18% between 2001 and 2004 (from 55% to 73%) and went down by 11% between 2004 and 2007 (from 73% to 62%), a net increase of 7% between 2001 and 2007 (NNIS, 2007a). Yet the majority of residents did not feel that area regeneration improved much *local jobs* or *access to jobs*; only 15% of residents thought that employment prospects

improved, for both the employed and unemployed. This was the result of area perceptions and stigma, and the lack of local and wider employment opportunities which led to high levels of unemployment and benefits.

because of the stigma thing... they still are seen as coming from Benwell ... my daughter got a hairdresser job couple of months ago and she found it embarrassing to give out her address (N9)

90% of the jobs in Newcastle are in the City Centre or call centres outside Newcastle city limits. So, most people especially the young travel quite a distance daily for jobs. There are no quality jobs in the West End (N34)

job opportunities are less and less and employers in the area prefer to employ people from their own ethnic community (N25)

Key actors thought that only a limited number of local jobs were created throughout the regeneration process, mainly as a result of more business activity along West Road and neighbourhood management initiatives such as street wardens.

not much now they may well be when all this regeneration will take place because it's still going to be 5-6 years away and will be then when some of the jobs will be created ... whether there'll be jobs suitable for the people living on the Terraces I am not sure (KAN11)

Business activity

Most residents (69%) thought that *local business activity* in the area immediately adjacent to the case study area increased following the regeneration of the area. They talked about a wide range of shops along the West Road and Adelaide Terrace that provided for their needs; new small businesses; and small-scale property development.

the area has become a centre point for multiculturalism and that encourages business to move to the area (N13)

there is an upward trend in people re-investing in the area especially housing and property development and small businesses too (N24)

Their perceptions were confirmed by key actors who noted that more business seemed to have come to North Benwell. Yet, they were concerned about the impact that wider regeneration plans such as those of Scotswood Housing Expo will have on local business activity.

it's probably been more because on Adelaide Terrace there's been new developments, there's a new shopping but there is concerns about the future of Adelaide Terrace within the whole regeneration of the area ... there is a

new supermarket that potentially will come into the area and with the new Expo site the shops in the area will probably lose out ... but at the moment local business is thriving (KAN05)

Training and skills

More than one third (36%) of residents felt that the regeneration of the area improved the local provision of and access to new training and skills courses; yet the vast majority did not perceive any change.

people can apply for training schemes for free because we are within a regeneration area (N4)

we've got the Millin Centre and Newcastle College...they have IT and English courses and there is a homework club for kids too (N15)

Out of the 45 residents interviewed, almost half (46%) benefitted of new training paid for by the regeneration funding (10%) or knew somebody else who did so (36%).

my daughter has got an administration skills course through the NMI office (N3)

Key actors also mentioned a range of programs and initiatives that supported people's access to better training and skills.

access to jobs I would say was facilitated...because of training courses – the use of computers and IT equipment in these centres is great because people here don't have them in their homes and they've missed out in this field and the gap has widened...also the Adelaide Centre and Condercum Scheme did some literacy course for parents and the children at the same time so again that decreased the skills gap and they start to getting into and accessing the jobs (KAN05)

House prices and housing affordability

House prices in the SRB area increased in line with regional and national trends between 2001 and 2007. In 2001, the average price of a Tyneside flat was £13,175, while in 2007 the price increased to £55,488, a four fold increase. The price of a terraced house also increased fourfold from £18,908 in 2001 to £80,105 in 2007 (Social Regeneration Consultants, 2005).

These trends were confirmed by the residents we interviewed and all key actors.

house prices have significantly increased ...we've converted two flats into larger houses for larger families and sold them onto the open market and the

latest one went for an excess of hundred thousand pounds and that just on Friday (KAN04)

flats did sell for 50p about 10 years ago and one pound for two flats and therefore a house ...but people didn't realise because they had to gather together £12,000 mortgage for works so they actually didn't get them for a pound...because they had to take a mortgage of £12k as a condition...and at the time and for these people it was a lot of money ...and I know a family now who is selling their property for £130k so they made £120k profit over a ten-year period (KAN07)

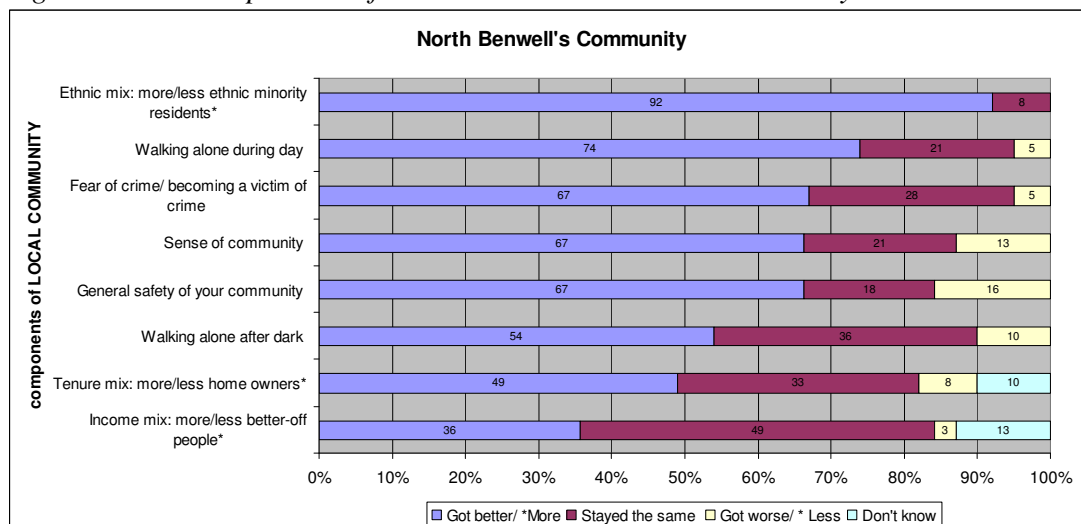
Research in the Pathfinder area estimated that housing affordability in the area was set to improve by 2016, despite falls in house prices caused by the economic recession (Bramley and Watkins, 2008). Our discussions with key actors revealed that they perceived the area relatively affordable to other areas with similar stock in the city and mainly attracting first time buyers. In fact, some of our interviewees confirmed this: they were students or young couples who bought a run-down property in the area, which they then improved and shared with other people in order to meet mortgage costs.

in terms of our stock tenants still could claim Housing Benefit to meet the full weekly rent and if it wasn't in full, the Housing Benefit would meet most of the cost ... as regarding owner occupation you can get a 3-4 bedroom house for approximately £100 – 150,000 and that's still affordable in comparison to other parts in the city ... and I think that because we kept it affordable we can do that tenure mix (KAN04)

North Benwell's community

The majority of respondents (67%) thought that area regeneration had improved the local *sense of community* as well as all aspects related to area's *crime* and *safety*. Moreover, many residents felt that the area's *tenure mix* changed for the better, in favour of more home owners. All these changes took place on the background of a perceived change in the area's ethnic composition (*Figure 7.14*).

Figure 7.14 – Components of North Benwell Terraces' community



Source: Fieldwork survey

Sense of community

Previous research in the SRB area on the level of local community spirit found that residents' views were mixed. Thus, whereas 42% of all residents considered community spirit to be good, 30% viewed it in more negative terms. The study also found that residents living at North Benwell were generally more positive than the rest of the SRB area, with approximately 60% feeling that the area had a *good spirit of community* (Total Research, 2007).

Two thirds of our residents (67%) agreed that *sense of community* in North Benwell got better. Residents commented that local people were friendlier and spent more time in the streets chatting with their neighbours.

the estate is fairly rough in a way but because of this the community pulls together and looks after each other ... and to a certain extent I think that that's a consequence of the regeneration process: a community has always existed here but the regeneration consolidated that (N4)

Nevertheless, a minority of residents (13%) told us about ethnic isolation and segregation, and lack of communication between the different communities resident in the area.

there is such a diversity of people and they tend to have an individual sense of community and not necessarily communicate together ... however there are very strong communities in within (KAN08)

Safety and crime

Levels of crime in North Benwell have been falling year-on-year since 2003, from 946 reported crimes in 2003 to 532 in 2007 (NNIS, 2007b). As regarding perceptions of crime and safety, 67% of residents in the SRB area felt safe living in the area; perceptions of feeling safe increased again year-on-year between 2004 and 2007 and residents living in North Benwell were more likely to feel safe than the rest of the SRB area; in fact, approximately 80% did so (Total Research, 2007).

Two thirds (67%) of the interviewed residents thought that the general safety of their community improved following area regeneration and were less concerned about becoming a victim of crime than in the past. This was the result of better policing of the area including street wardens, police patrols and CCTV cameras. Moreover, more than half of residents felt confident about walking alone around the area during the day (74%) and after dark (54%).

there is better policing, and wardens and more clubs for young kids to keep them off the streets (N3)

it is much improved ...we have CCTVs now, crime levels are down and police and street wardens are patrolling the streets till late in the evening (N4)

Key actors talked about various measures to improve local safety and thought that local residents should feel safer as a result of these.

yes I am sure they do feel safer ... it's been a lot of things done like some street lighting, the back lanes have been improved ... also visually the places look a lot better and I think these help perceptions of feeling safer ... and the street wardens walking around as well (KAN05)

we [street wardens] work until 11.00pm and I have to say I've seen a fairly large number of people walking outside from different backgrounds and nationalities ... and you would be surprised how many people walk their dogs later in the evening (KAN09)

However, 15% of residents felt that local safety was deteriorating. This could be explained by a series of burglaries and crimes which took place in the immediate area at the time of the fieldwork, which received extensive coverage in the local press (Doughthy, 2006; Wainwright, 2007; Hickman and Walker, 2007; Carol, 2007).

there've been murders in these last months ... also a lot a drug users commit crime to get the money...you've got to be careful ... my daughter is always asking me to wait for her at the bus stop and walk down home together (N1)

although the police is reporting that crime is going down which is reported crime, there is a lot of real crime for example only last year we had 4 people stabbed in a house, a kid stabbed, a lady stabbed and a lad bitten to death ... in general I feel safe enough but you don't know who you are dealing with ... also so many druggies in the area (N2)

Social and tenure mix

An overwhelming majority of residents (90%) felt that the 'make-up' of local community changed following regeneration. Almost all residents (92%) thought that this was the result of changes in area's ethnic composition, while almost half (49%) felt that it was a consequence of shifting housing tenure in favour of more home ownership.

Residents in the SRB area were more likely to be renting their property, either from a social or a private landlord (35% each) in 2006; while North Benwell's residents were mainly either home owners or private tenants (Total Research, 2007). A comparison between the 2001 Census data and more recent data (Table 9.4) shows that North Benwell's home ownership levels fell and private renting levels increased between 2001 and 2003. However, at the outset of the HMR Programme in 2003, the trend was reversed and levels of private renting in the area fell back to 2001 levels.

Residents' perceptions about the area's housing tenure varied: on the one hand, they thought the area had more home owners and on the other hand, they felt that many properties bought in the area were put onto the buy-to-let market.

maybe yes...slightly more better off people because it is more owner occupiers around...the area has become attractive to the owner occupiers because of the regeneration and because prices are lower than in other areas (N4)

Our discussions with key actors confirmed these changes in tenure. Small and incremental changes were reported in owner occupation, as local housing associations acquired private properties, refurbished them and sold them back on the open market for home-ownership. They also commented that the buy-to-let local

market and cheap rents were incentivised by the existence of an oversized private rented sector and high turnover.

it's changed probably only slightly but there is a slight increase towards owner occupation, as we've been able to converting two properties into one and then selling them for owner-occupation ... the Council had properties that we've bought and we want to put them back into owner-occupation ... there's been a gradual change but I wouldn't say it's been significant ... the social stock is more or less the same because housing associations are looking more into new built rather than buying existing properties so there isn't an opportunity for them to expand in the area (KAN05)

Perceptions were mixed about area's income mix. Many residents did not see any improvements in people's socio economic status; many seemed to be still “on the dole” and their “daily lives did not change much”.

to me, regeneration is OK and successful but I don't see many people in my neighbourhood thinking the same because it had very little or no tangible impact on people's social and economic well being (N32)

Yet key actors told us that many people in North Benwell were in full-time employment and aspired to own a property.

I know a lot of people we were selling our properties to, who need to be able to afford the mortgage so they were working and that has changed in the area ... but even in terms of social housing some of the tenants that we are renting properties to are working either part time or full time ... and we didn't see anybody in the past who applied for housing in North Benwell who was working even part-time (KAN04)

North Benwell was home to a number of ethnic minority groups, including a large Bangladeshi population, Pakistani, Black and Chinese populations. The local share of ethnic minority population increased significantly between 2004 and 2007, from 22% to 38%. Moreover, almost half (47%) of residents were of an ethnic minority origin in 2007 (Total Research, 2007). Both residents and key actors perceived a significant change in the area's ethnic composition. They witnessed an influx of Eastern Europeans, Roma groups and asylum seekers, as opposed to a previously migrant Asian population, which consisted of mainly Bangladeshi and Pakistani populations.

there are much more migrants and ethnic minorities than before...I was told that about 40 languages are spoken at the primary school other than English (N24)

today there is twice more people from Eastern Europe moving in compared to people from South Asia five years ago...it is also difficult to spot them

because they're white...all the Asian people I know are employed...the Eastern Europeans I don't know what they do (N2)

Many interviewees also told us about tensions between the different ethnic minority groups and were concerned about the extent to which local ethnic diversity impacted on community cohesion.

I am very concerned about the ethnic mix...because it is very difficult to build a strong community around that...and I think there is a bias towards ethnic minorities in the area and I think that's not good for the indigenous population... they find it more difficult to get things funded and done than the ethnic minority groups do...and I think that the large influx of ethnic minority in the area sucked up a lot of funding in the area and I believe it is to the detriment of the long term local people...it is a problem, it doesn't help the community to gel (KAN11)

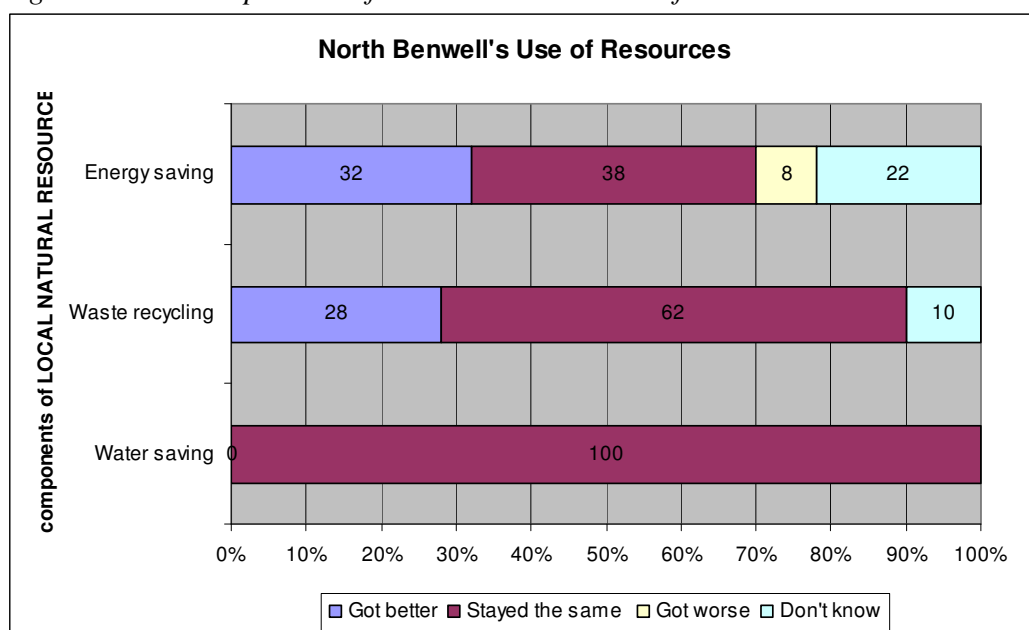
North Benwell's use of resources

The housing refurbishment-led regeneration of North Benwell did not commit to an up-front environmental agenda. As one of our interviewees put it:

If your main concerns are vandalism, break-ins and finding a job, then housing and energy efficiency come further down on your list of priorities (KAN01)

Figure 7.15 shows that the majority of residents thought that the regeneration process did not change much local patterns of resource consumption.

Figure 7.15 – Components of North Benwell's Use of Resources



Source: Fieldwork survey

Energy efficiency

North Benwell benefited from a sparingly applied and limited range of programmes and initiatives targeting energy efficiency in homes such as the government's Home Energy Efficiency Scheme Fund, in the early 2000s, and the Warm Zone Programme since 2005. These programmes were mainly targeted to home owners who were subsidised to improve energy performance of their homes. For example, wall and cavity insulation were delivered for around £100 to homeowners and for free to those on benefits, compared to an actual cost of £600 per property (SDC, 2006). However, these initiatives failed to reach the private rented sector, a significant share of North Benwell's housing stock. In addition, the properties refurbished by social landlords benefitted from Decent Homes upgrading and additional energy efficiency improvements, including double glazing, draught proofing and new central heating, under the Modern House Standard, an 'in-house' environmental standard.

we've [social landlord] just completed the Modern House Standard which looks at extensive improvements like double glazing, new front doors, roofing, draught proofing and internally new boilers, new kitchens and bathrooms, but also there is an initiative, Warm Zones which looks at loft and cavity wall insulation very cheaply offered to people and which has been very well publicised ... it is an on-going process, a service offered to people ... for example if you work you pay £99 for cavity wall insulation and if you are on benefits it's done for free (KAN06)

Three in ten residents (32%) thought that they saved more energy in their homes as a result of measures implemented through regeneration works. In addition, 47% of residents reported that they did not get any help during the regeneration of the area to improve the energy efficiency of their homes: some residents did not know whether they were entitled to receive subsidies, while others did not know whether their landlords had installed any measures previously to their time at the property.

I never had any assistance for any of the above ... I don't know that these services may be available to me (N18)

I know that our landlord had some help with home improvements...but I have no idea if I am consuming less ... I use a card and is difficult to know...I have no idea...my landlord may have had them but not quite sure about this (N23)

Table 7.7 shows that the most commonly energy efficiency measures met in North Benwell were *double glazing* and *energy saving bulbs*, with 37% of residents saying in each case that they were installed in their homes during regeneration works,

followed by *loft insulation* (32%), *new boilers* and *central heating* (24% and 21% respectively).

Table 7.7 - During regeneration works did you get any help with any of the following? (North Benwell)

Energy-efficiency measure	% of residents saying YES
12. Double glazing (windows/ doors)	37%
13. Loft insulation	32%
14. Draft proofing	5%
15. Cavity wall insulation	18%
16. New boiler	24%
17. Central heating	21%
18. Room thermostat	11%
19. Water tank insulation	5%
20. Energy saving home appliances	-
21. Energy saving bulbs	37%
22. Training on energy-efficiency	-
23. Other	-

Source: Fieldwork survey

Waste recycling

28% of residents considered that they recycled more waste following area's regeneration (Figure 7.15). North Benwell had a standard recycling scheme, including one kerb box for plastic, paper and bottles and two food boxes. The scheme had run for nine months at the time of the fieldwork. People complained about lack of coordination in waste collection, lack of storage space at the front of the houses and the inconvenience of taking their bins to the communal recycling areas.

there is the collection problem because the council does not always turn up on the day and so rubbish keeps piling up...also, there is no place to put the bin at the front of the house and we have to carry our recycling lot to the recycling skips...also all the bottom of the streets doesn't have them (N9)

Key actors were aware that the local recycling practice lagged behind that of Newcastle. They blamed the area's high turnover and practical issues such as the location of recycling bins and lack of lids for recycling boxes.

there are some recycling bins in the community parks but unfortunately not very well used so they are looking into moving them because they are not really used...so what we're doing is we recycle quite a lot of things in our office and we would take them down and fill the bins so they look filled and they meet the bin use ... I don't think it is a lot of recycling in the area, a low percentage of recycling (KAN04)

there are individual green boxes for food recycling, one inside and one outside, and black kerb boxes for paper, bottles but to be honest with you the kerb boxes aren't taken very well at all ... they don't have a lid and if there is a windy day you get rubbish blown everywhere and that's why people are not using them (KAN06)

Water saving

Some water saving measures, such as water meters and low-usage showers, were considered during the regeneration of the area. However, none was implemented mainly because of cost implications.

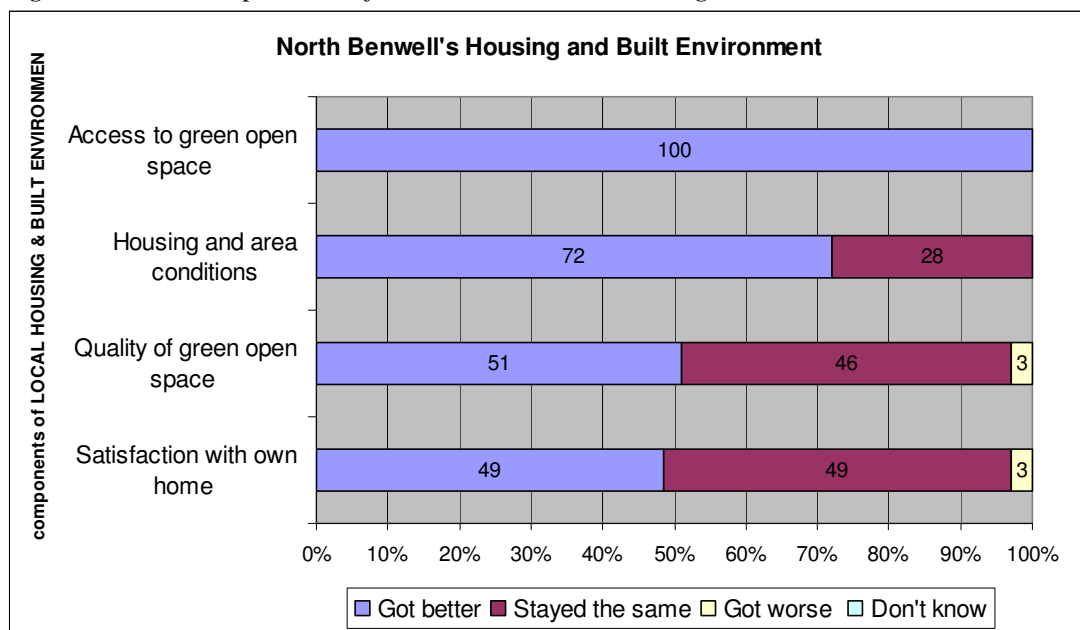
we've considered to put new showers in which were more water efficient but I think they were too expensive in the end (KAN06)

nobody told us how to save water... just the price goes up (N2)

North Benwell's housing and built environment

All components of North Benwell's *housing and built environment* were considered by the majority of residents as improving following the regeneration of the area: all residents thought that *access to green open space* improved, and almost half of residents (49%) were more satisfied with their home (*Figure 7.16*).

Figure 7.16 – Components of North Benwell's Housing and Built Environment



Source: Fieldwork survey

Satisfaction with own home

More than three quarters (79%) of the residents living in the SRB area were satisfied with their home, while 9% were dissatisfied (Total Research, 2007). In comparison, we found that almost half of the residents (49%) were satisfied with their homes and only 3% dissatisfied; satisfied residents were likely to live in the area for at least 10 years, own their accommodation, and to be from an ethnic minority background.

it is warmer because I've got double glazing and cavity wall insulation (N8)

I am much happier now because of the new improvements to the house...it's been re-wired also and I have constant hot water now (N9)

Housing and area conditions

Seven in ten residents (72%) felt that the local housing and area conditions had improved as a consequence of the regeneration process: the “*streets were clean and tidy*”, there were fewer empty properties and people took pride in the area. Our discussions with key actors confirmed resident’s views: the physical regeneration of the area had had a significant impact in how the area was perceived by the ‘outsiders’.

it's been a really good change and people are starting to look after their properties now (N3)

The Terraces have vastly improved as to what they were...we are an example now of how an area could be turned around...we get people visiting from all over the country, even ministers and the local MP is very proud of us...but probably I wouldn't live there personally and I still think there is a long way to go...and I think that's a measure of success to be actually able to say 'I could live here' (KAN06)

Housing state of repair

We asked local residents to rate the condition of various aspects of their homes on a gradient from *excellent* to *awful*. Average scores were calculated for all these aspects. *Table 7.8* shows that all aspects scored below 3, with many below 2. This means that many house parts were rated by residents as being in *excellent* and *good* condition. However, back yards and back walls were more likely to be rated in *OK* condition.

Table 7.8 – North Benwell: housing state of repair and average scores for individual house parts

	Excellent (1)	Good (2)	OK (3)	Poor (4)	Awful (5)	Does not apply	Sample size	Average scores
Front of house	14	20	5	0	0	0	39	1.8
Windows/ Doors	16	20	3	0	0	0	39	1.7
Roof	15	18	5	0	0	1	38	1.7
Kitchen	14	18	5	1	1	0	39	1.9
Bathroom	13	19	5	2	0	0	39	1.9
Chimney stack	12	15	6	3	0	3	36	2.0
Back yard walls	14	14	3	3	2	3	36	2.0
Back yard	10	13	7	2	0	7	32	2.0
Garden	6	7	1	0	0	25	14	1.6
Front garden	4	7	3	0	0	25	14	1.9

Source: Fieldwork survey

Green open space

Before area regeneration, North Benwell did not have any green space within walking distance, due to the tightly built nature of the area. A number of green spaces were created through selective demolition, including two communal gardens and a number of ‘grassed over’ areas.

it’s got better ... having these communal gardens for local residents and children is a big improvement ... we also did selective demolitions which created new open spaces and put in things like benches so people could seat...and also they’ve been looking at having a community park but I don’t know how far they’ve got with that ... they need money for the playing equipment (KAN04)

All residents agreed that the access to green open space greatly improved following area regeneration, which “opened up the area and created more green spaces”; green spaces across the area were also better maintained and looked after.

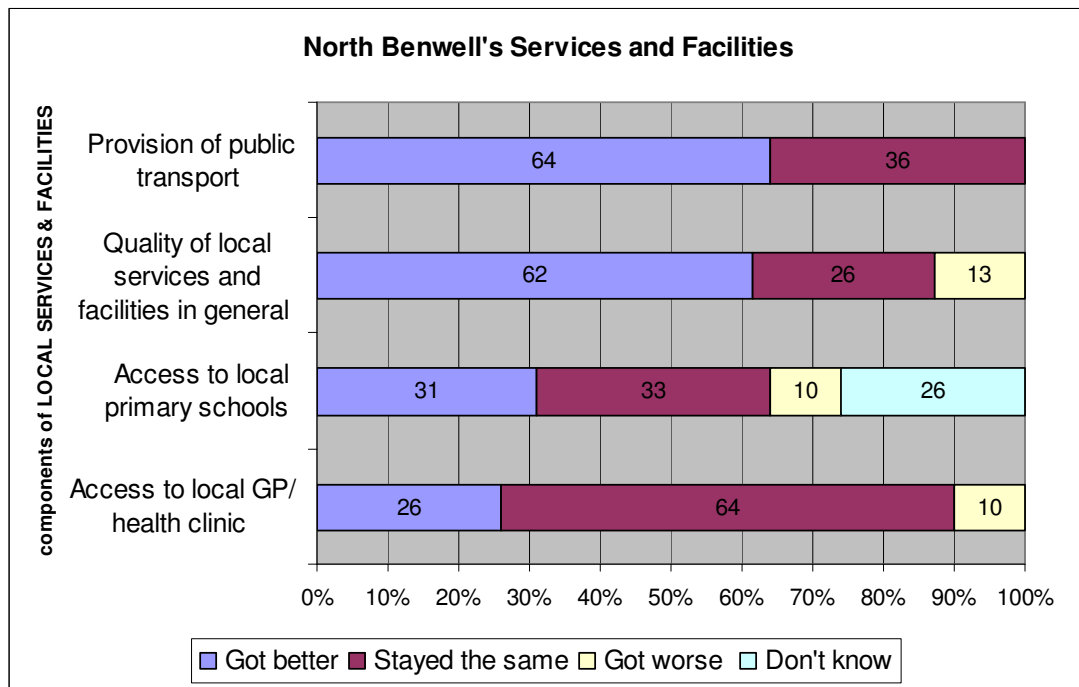
at the back on Fairholm Road they pulled down houses and put in a communal garden which is very well kept ... what were abandoned buildings is now a nicely groomed park (N2)

it is much better now...we have two communal gardens one on Ladykirk Road and the other on Fairholm Road, one basketball court for kids and various green spaces pepper potted around...we didn’t have any before (N3)

North Benwell's services and facilities

More than three fifths of residents thought that the *quality of local services and facilities* and the *provision of public transport* improved following regeneration (64% and 62% respectively). However, the *access to primary school and health services* were not perceived to be improved by a majority of respondents; one in four residents (26%) did not know much about the local primary school (Figure 7.17).

Figure 7.17 – Components of North Benwell's Services and Facilities



Source: Fieldwork survey

Six in ten residents (62%) were satisfied with the local facilities and services. Yet some residents complained about poor quality shopping, reduced public transport provision and the relocation of local health services.

they've got slightly better but the local pubs need to be restored...there is no pub within walking distance (N2)

far too many take-away shops...before we used to have groceries and decent shops...also I am not very happy about the hospital which is taken away from this area (N1)

I think that they've got better and the reason for that is because there is much more confidence in the area...the only think that got worse in my opinion is NEXUS the local transport provider which didn't extend the Metrolink up to the West Road into the West End of Newcastle as they promised – I think that it was under the Orpheus project in 2003-2004 – so transport wise the area is not so good as it should be (KAN05)

An area survey found that over one third (34%) of all respondents in the SRB area requested additional services. The most commonly suggested additional services were improved shops and local amenities (13%) and facilities for young people (5%); other additional services included more street cleaning and lighting, and housing repairs (Total Research, 2007).

The school

The area's closest primary school was Canning Street Primary School (Figure 7.5), which was rated by OFSTED as *outstanding* in 2007. The school had a high number of pupils eligible for free school meals (58% compared to 16% nationally) and experienced a high turnover. It also had an highly diverse ethnic intake, approximately 30% of all pupils in 2001 were learning English as an additional language, with most of pupils from a Bangladeshi, Pakistani and Czech background (OFSTED, 2007).

The school was awaiting major PFI investment at the time of fieldwork. Minor improvements were delivered to the school during the regeneration of the area including an equipped adjacent green space and safety railings. Parents were fulsome in their praise of all that the school achieved for their children.

I am fortunate to have my children at this school where their welfare and interest is the guiding motto (N30)

These sentiments were echoed by many parents. Key actors told us about how well the school was adapting to the continuous flow of new ethnic minority populations. The school played an active part in regeneration through widening its scope by providing literacy courses for parents and building a strong partnership with the Police through the Junior Warden scheme, which taught school children about the importance of becoming 'the eyes and ears' of their neighbourhood.

it [the primary school] is very good and they've been brought into the regeneration process very early on ...and they've broadened their scope by doing things like literacy classes for parents rather than just education for children (KAN04)

through the Junior Wardens scheme we are educating children on recycling and on what are the 'warden rules'...we work together with the School, Police and Fire Station...in this way kids take ownership of their area and learn to take care of their area (KAN12)

Health services

In 2007, when we visited the area, the local PCT planned to relocate two local surgeries and the Newcastle General Hospital, in order to make room for a big Tesco's supermarket and shopping centre. This created much discussion and discontent among local residents, despite a modern health clinic promised to be built locally. As a result, only one quarter (26%) of the residents interviewed perceived the local health services to be improved.

I think that the perception is that for a local person it may get worse because a couple of clinics along the road are closing down...there's changes going on at the moment within the PCT and there is a restructuring of GP services in the area and so it may be a merging of different GP services into one big clinic (KAN05)

the PCT is moving local services to another location ... I have no idea where ... and that's not good because we benefit of many services now which will not if they are going to be replaced ... I doubt this because this is a poor area and we always get less (N14)

Public transport

64% of residents felt that public transport provision had improved following area regeneration. There was a good East West bus link into both the city centre and countryside, running along West Road and Adelaide Terrace. Residents thought that buses were reliable and fast. However, concerns were expressed by some residents regarding the lack of a North South transport link. Key actors also thought that the provision of public transport could have been greatly enhanced, if the Metrolink had been extended into the West End of Newcastle.

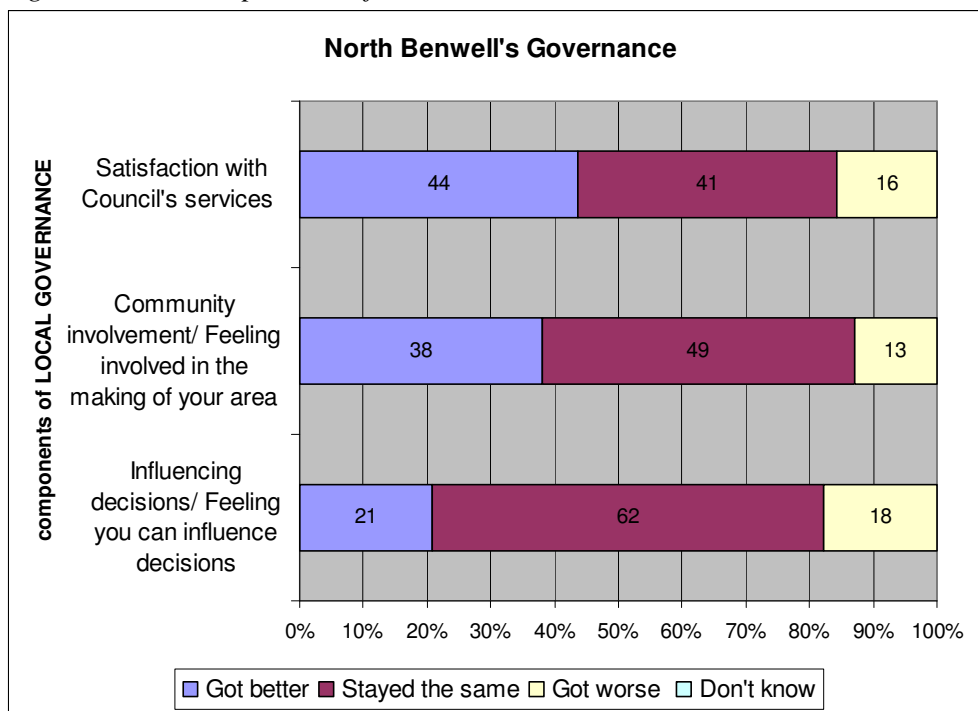
there is no South to North link...everything is going into the city W-E...for example it is difficult to walk to the bottom of the terraces where there is the buss stop, take the buss into the town and back and then walk your way back...the public transport is privately owned and didn't fit into the scheme...also there is nothing on Bank holidays just taxis (N4)

very few improvements due to regeneration because a lot of the public transport strategy is looking at much wider areas and this is quite a small area and it doesn't have a such big influence on the policy of public transport...also buses were always good around here and unfortunately project Orpheus, for extending Metrolink into this area, didn't come about (KAN05)

North Benwell's governance

The majority of the residents interviewed did not feel that the regeneration of the area had a positive impact on the components of *local governance* (Figure 7.18). Yet there were over 16 community organisations and projects in North Benwell at the time of fieldwork (Appendix 9). Most of them worked independently in the area and were financed by a third party. Research into the SRB area found that 81% of residents heard of at least one community project or organisation in the area, with the average resident having heard of three to four groups each (Total Research, 2007).

Figure 7.18 – Components of North Benwell's Governance



Source: Fieldwork survey

Over a third (39%) and one fifth (21%) of residents felt that *community involvement* and *influencing decisions* had improved following area regeneration. They also felt that NMI played an important role in fostering community involvement and decision making in the area.

we have more 'say' on what's going on and the NMI people are very inclusive and approachable ... they tell us what to do and where to go if we are unhappy with things (N4)

Yet key actors noted that levels of community involvement fell more recently as a result of long-standing community representatives leaving the area and SRB funding

coming to an end. We found that 39% of residents were members of a community group, in comparison to Langworthy North where 55% were involved in some kind of community activity.

[community involvement] it's not great at the moment...initially there was a lot of community involvement, few groups were actively involved in the community events that were hosted in the area and the meetings were very well attended...but more recently some of the key actors have actually left Benwell and moved to other parts of the city and I think now it is more about accessing other residents who haven't been involved in the past and ask questions about do we hold our meeting at the wrong time of the day, is the venue wrong (KAN04)

The main SRB regeneration partnership came to an end in 2006. Some of its responsibilities were transferred to NMI as well as the wider partnership of West End Regeneration Action. By 2008, the NMI had managed to gain further funding and extended its activity into the adjacent area of High Cross. At the time of fieldwork, however, key actors were anxious about the future of NMI and highlighted increasing tensions among the different agencies working in the area.

I think that if the partnership was disbanded it would have a detrimental effect in the area because we still work closely together to maintain the area and identify new problems and solutions (KAN06)

this area has been neglected for many years and because of that many of the agencies that work in this area have tended to have to fight their own corner with monotonous regularity and because of that they tend to be very independent, very self contained and very self funding and it is now hard for those people to draw together and try to fight a united corner...it is difficult for people who've had to fight many years to sustain a service to suddenly start co-operating with other people (KAN11)

Everybody agreed that the SRB regeneration partnership and NMI's role in the area was remarkable: resources and knowledge were pulled together and different agencies worked well together to support the local community.

it had contributed because we've got all one goal to work towards rather than our individual agendas and we have been accountable through the Neighbourhood Management Initiative...and it has been easier because of working together...and sharing our knowledge around the table and getting advice from one another about how to tackle problems (KAN04)

7.4 Discussion

So, is North Benwell's community moving towards sustainability following area regeneration?

At the time of our fieldwork, the regeneration of North Benwell did not seem to have a clear positive impact on the area's overall *economy and jobs*, however, with some notable caveats. Job prospects and opportunities were still poor; few local jobs were created throughout the regeneration process. Both residents and key actors noted that not many efforts and resources were channelled into creating new job opportunities and hoped that the whole process had still to bear fruit. There was a number of training courses available in the area, yet resident intake was lower than at Langworthy North (36% compared to 42%). However, residents reported that the local business activity was flourishing, mainly fuelled by ethnic demand, and house prices increased significantly. The area was also perceived as affordable relative to similar areas in the city and regional forecasts indicated that local housing affordability was to further improve in the following years.

North Benwell's *community* seemed to be moving towards sustainability. The majority of residents felt that regeneration fostered a local sense of community. Many residents felt safer and in more control as a result of falling levels of crime. On the background of significant local ethnic change, the area gained more home owners and properties were slowly reclaimed from the large private rented sector. Residents also noted more 'better-off' people willing to move into the area, including young working couples and first time buyers.

Benwell North's *use of resources* did not offer an equally clear positive picture and therefore did not seem to be clearly moving towards sustainability. The regeneration of the area did not commit to an up-front 'environmental agenda'. Energy efficiency measures were applied sparingly, targeting mainly homeowners and social tenants, while no water saving measures were introduced. A relatively small proportion of the residents interviewed considered that they recycled more than in the past, despite an on-going recycling scheme; there were also few issues regarding the management and design of the recycling process.

Area regeneration had a positive impact on all aspects of North Benwell's *housing and built environment* and thus, they moved towards sustainability. Residents were more satisfied with their homes and area's housing and conditions. Homes were considered to be in a better state of repair; the quality of green open space was much improved and new green open spaces, such as communal gardens and pocket parks, were created following selective demolition. Moreover, the local council had in place schemes to deal with the area's remaining run-down and empty properties.

Local *services and facilities* at North Benwell did not seem to clearly move towards sustainability at the time of fieldwork. Nevertheless, residents reported improvements to many local services and facilities. The local school was rated as outstanding by Ofsted and had an excellent relation with the local community and regeneration agencies; it was also involved throughout the regeneration of the area by providing training courses and educating 'junior wardens' in partnership with the local Police. Despite a missed opportunity to extend Newcastle's light rail into the area, the provision of public transport was good, with fast and reliable bus lines running into Newcastle city centre and neighbouring areas. Residents' dissatisfaction was fuelled by the local PCT reshuffling, which implied the relocation of the nearby Newcastle General Hospital.

Whether the area's housing refurbishment-led regeneration had a positive or negative impact on North Benwell's *governance* was unclear at the time of fieldwork. Levels of community involvement were historically high, but started to fall more recently and residents did not feel that they had a say in the making of their area. A number of community projects and groups were active in the area; however, they mainly worked independently, despite NMI's numerous efforts to bring them together. The area's SRB regeneration partnership was dismantled in 2006 and some of its responsibilities were passed onto NMI and a wider partnership. Yet, NMI's future was uncertain as a result of short-term funding and high staff turnover. Moreover, its role in the future 'maintenance' of the area was not clear as talks over its move to the neighbouring renewal area of High Cross were continuing at the time of writing this thesis.

Table 7.9 – Direction of sustainability: North Benwell’s domains and components of sustainable communities

Domains of sustainable communities	Components of sustainable communities	T1 (baseline information in 2001/02)	T2 (information in 2007 – from recent data and fieldwork)	Direction / Trend of sustainability (by component)	Direction of sustainability (by domain)
North Benwell’s Economy and Jobs	Local jobs	Poor local jobs base (post-industrial legacy); 55% overall unemployment rate in 2001	Only few jobs created through regeneration; 62% overall unemployment rate	↓	↑
	Local business activity	Declining due to abandonment, crime and planned demolition	Flourishing new local business; new enterprises ethnically driven	↑	
	Training and skills	n/a	A wide range of courses; good local take up	↑	
	House prices	£13,175 (2001)	£55,488 (2007) (fourfold increase in relation to 2001; increasing in line with regional and regional trends)	↑	
	Housing affordability	n/a	Area perceived as affordable and mainly attracting first time buyers; forecasted to improve slightly by 2016	↑	
North Benwell’s Community	Sense of community	Community blighted by crime and abandonment; ethnic isolation	More communication between ethnic groups; ‘bonding’ but not ‘bridging’ social capital	↑	↑
	General safety	Crime; street gangs and ASB; drugs	street wardens scheme in place, community police patrols, more civic control; numbers of reported crime falling	↑	
	Fear of crime	Crime; street gangs and ASB; drugs	80% of residents felt safer in 2007 than in 2004	↑	
	Walking alone during day	Crime; street gangs and ASB; drugs	80% of residents felt safer in 2007 than in 2004	↑	
	Walking alone after dark	Crime; street gangs and ASB; drugs	80% of residents felt safer in 2007 than in 2004	↑	
North Benwell’s Use of Resources	Energy efficiency	Home Energy Efficiency Scheme (2000)	Sparingly implemented	≈	≈
	Water saving	No water saving measures/ campaign	No water saving measures/ campaign	↓	
	Waste recycling	No recycling scheme in place	3 bin recycling scheme in place; low recycling rates; practical and management issues	≈ (↑)	
North Benwell’s Housing and	Satisfaction with own home	High levels of abandonment; residents living the area	79% of residents in SRB area more satisfied	↑	
	Housing and area	High levels of abandoned and	72% of resident sample thought that it was	↑	

Domains of sustainable communities	Components of sustainable communities	T1 (baseline information in 2001/02)	T2 (information in 2007 – from recent data and fieldwork)	Direction / Trend of sustainability (by component)	Direction of sustainability (by domain)
Built Environment	conditions	boarded up homes, poor area conditions	better than in 2002		↑
	Housing state of repair	Poor area conditions	Front of house in better condition than the back; private tenants less satisfied	≈	
	Quality of green open space	Poor local environments; no local parks	Additional communal gardens and pocket parks created through selective demolition	↑	
	Access to green open space	Poor local environments; no local parks	Additional communal gardens and pocket parks created through selective demolition	↑	
North Benwell's Services and Facilities	Services and facilities in general	In decline, many awaiting demolition	No major improvements or additions	≈	≈
	Primary school	Good OFSTED rating (2002)	Outstanding OFSTED rating (2007); awaiting refurbishment; playing an active part in the area	↑	
	Health services	n/a	Local PCT reshuffling; local GPs closing down	↓	
	Public transport	Good transport links (buses)	Good transport links (buses)	≈	
North Benwell's Governance	Community involvement	Campaigning against demolition plans featured by Going for Growth	16 different community projects; recent falling in community involvement	≈	≈
	Influencing decisions	n/a	Only 21% of surveyed residents felt they had a say in the making of their area	↓	
	Satisfaction with LA services	n/a	similar to national levels	↑	
	Partnerships	SRB regeneration partnership (1999-2006)	NMI partnership in place but no certain role, funding and future in the area	≈ (↑)	
OVERAL AREA IMPACT				Components: 15 x ↑ 7 x ≈ 4 x ↓	Domains: 3 x ↑ 3 x ≈

Key: ↑ - moving towards sustainability
↓ - moving away from sustainability
≈ - no or little change compared to T1 (2001/2002) situation

The wider Benwell and Scotswood area was found by the Vitality Index, in the beginning of this chapter, as one of the most deprived and critical areas of Newcastle. Nonetheless, we found that the North Benwell's housing refurbishment-led regeneration brought about some positive change, which in turn positively impacted on the sustainability of local community. Table 7.9 shows a summary of the development of various components of sustainable communities over a roughly five year period of time. Fifteen (15) aspects were found to improve through area regeneration, while seven (7) were stagnant and four (4) were worse than their 2000/2001 baseline.

The local community's progress towards sustainability was facilitated by the following factors:

- long-term, over forty years, regeneration investment in the area, which kept North Benwell in the 'spot light', sustained its slow progress and helped to tackle disadvantage through a series of successive programmes and initiatives;
- continuous efforts to 'gel together' a largely diverse ethnic minority population and focus on social capital and community building;
- the community based or 'micro-management' approach undertaken by the NMI in dealing with local concerns and issues. Despite its association with the local council, NMI was considered by the local community an important point of reference and an approachable partner;
- local school's active involvement in the regeneration of the area; the school had a flexible and 'extended' approach to its responsibilities and duties, tailored to the area's high turnover and migrant population intake.

Nevertheless, North Benwell had still to overcome two challenges. First, the area's governance mechanisms were weak at the time of fieldwork. The future of NMI in the area was unclear, area's interests were poorly represented at wider level and community involvement was in decline. If it is to succeed and North Benwell's community become a 'sustainable community', the area would have to strengthen its governance mechanisms by empowering more the local community, taking local concerns to a wider level and clarifying the role that NMI has in the future of the

area. Second, the local job market did not thrive and the lack of local and wider employment opportunities had an effect on North Benwell's overall economic outlook; the area would have to tap into alternative job markets and put more resources into improving the skill base of its residents.

Chapter Eight

The Triangles, Wirral

8.1 Background

Shipbuilding and decentralisation

Recent developments

The site in 2007

8.2 Residents at the Triangles

Socio-economic profile

Attitudes towards living in the area

8.3 Housing refurbishment-led regeneration at the Triangles

The Triangles' economy and jobs

The Triangles' community

The Triangles' use of resources

The Triangles' housing and built environment

The Triangles' services and facilities

The Triangles' governance

8.4 Discussion

This chapter describes the third and last of the three case study areas, The Triangles in the Docks of Wirral, Merseyside. The chapter opens with the history of the Triangles in the poverty stricken borough of Birkenhead, followed by a detailed description of the area and an account of the local regeneration context. The second section depicts residents' socio-economic profile and describes their attitudes towards living in the area. The third section focuses on perceptions of sustainable communities in the Triangles, as seen by both key actors and local residents and uncovered by other research, surveys and reports. The final section discusses the impact of area's housing refurbishment-led regeneration on the sustainability of Triangles' community.

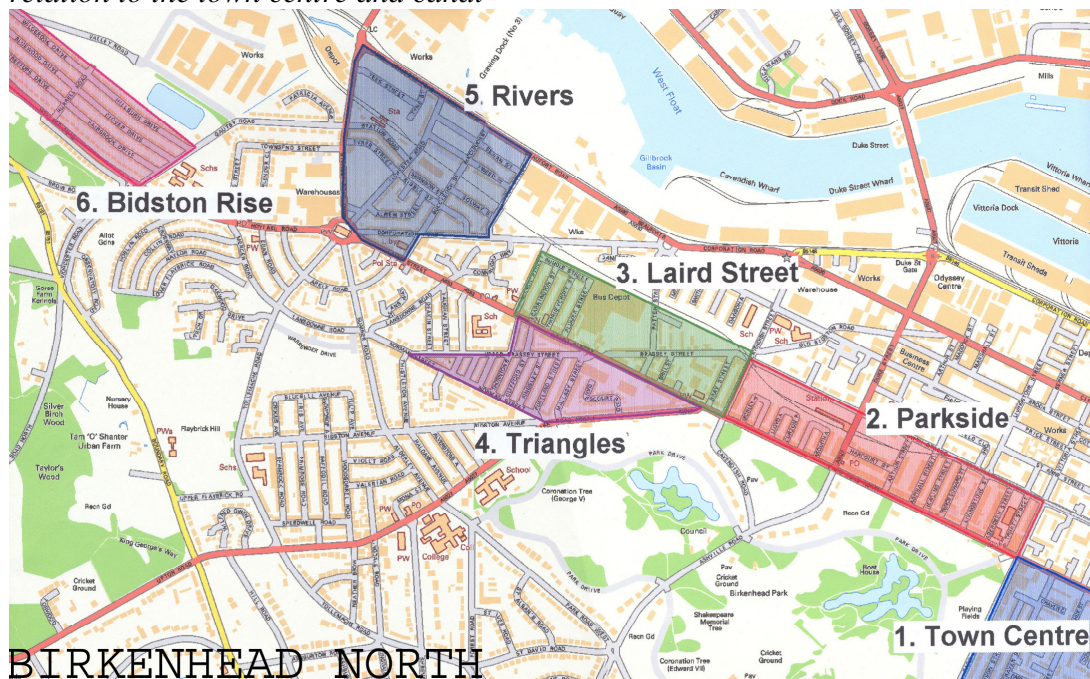
8.1 Background

The Triangles is a newly regenerated terraced housing area located in the North of Birkenhead, on the Wirral Peninsula, separated from Liverpool City mainland by the Mersey River. The Triangles is bounded by Birkenhead Park to the South, dilapidated residential streets and disused industrial sites to the North and East and large swathes of mainly semi-detached 1980s social housing of Bidston Rise to the West. It is located on a ten-minute journey by train, across the Mersey, from Liverpool's central shopping, transport and employment districts.

Shipbuilding and decentralisation

Birkenhead is today the principal retail, leisure and commercial centre of the Wirral Peninsula (*Figure 8.1*). Since the 1970s, Birkenhead and particularly North Birkenhead has witnessed a significant socio-economic decline and severe housing market failure, losing 40% of its total population (ODPM, 2006; ECOTEC, 2005d). A survey carried out in 2004 found Birkenhead as the least favoured place within the sub-region that people aspired to live in (ECOTEC, 2004), while ODPM's *State of the Cities* report showed Birkenhead as performing among the bottom ten cities in the UK (ODPM, 2006).

Figure 8.1 - Map of Birkenhead North showing the location of the Triangles, its relation to the town centre and canal



Source: Reproduced with the permission of the HMR Wirral Team

However, Birkenhead has seen better times. The first Mersey ferry began to operate from Birkenhead across the Mersey River in 1150, when Benedictine monks built a priory there. Separated from Liverpool by the River Mersey, Birkenhead retained its agricultural status until the arrival of the steam ferry service in 1820. The shipbuilding industry opened in 1829. An iron works factory was initially established by the Laird family in the 1880s which eventually became Cammell Laird, one of the most famous names in the British shipbuilding industry. The Mersey railway and road tunnels opened in 1886 and 1934, respectively providing rapid access to Liverpool city centre and opening up the Wirral Peninsula for development (Collard, 2001).

During the 19th century, North Birkenhead used to be a ‘respectable’ residential area for workers employed in the shipbuilding industry, while South Birkenhead was a leafy area inhabited by wealthy business men from the same industry (Brocklebank, 2003). Birkenhead Park was the first publicly funded park in Britain and its influence has been far reaching both in Britain and abroad, most notably on the design of Central Park in New York. Birkenhead also had the first street tramway in Europe, which opened in 1860 (McInness, 1984).

Since the 1960s, the Merseyside conurbation, centred on Liverpool but also including the Wirral Peninsula, has been subject to population out-migration. This involved the movement of population from housing clearance areas across the conurbation, and the development of urban extensions to accommodate the dispersed population, such as the newly expanded towns of Runcorn, Skelmesdale and Knowsley. In addition, economic restructuring significantly reduced the population density in the conurbation's urban core, which in turn led to a decline in the use and demand for local facilities and services. A second wave of population out-migration was facilitated by the UK's pro-development planning system in the 1980s, which encouraged the shift of new housing and employment developments towards the edge of towns. That was reinforced by an improved transport infrastructure and provision, and increasing car ownership.

The Single Regeneration Budget Programme (SRB) was the first national regeneration programme to directly invest in Birkenhead in the late 1990s. SRB focused on the regeneration of Hamilton Square, Birkenhead's historic town centre. No other major developments have taken place in Birkenhead since then and prior to the onset of the HMR Programme in 2003, private developers had low levels of confidence in the area which impacted negatively on the local housing market.

Recent developments

The NewHeartlands HMR Pathfinder

The NewHeartlands HMR Pathfinder was set up in 2004 in the Merseyside conurbation. The Pathfinder aimed to invest in Liverpool, Sefton and Wirral, its three partner local authorities, over a period of fifteen years, £800 million of public money and a further 2 billion of other funding (see *Figure 8.2*).

The Pathfinder was the second largest of the nine HMR Pathfinders, both in terms of the number of dwellings (123,000 dwellings) and population (246,000 households). It was also striking because of the severity of its socio-economic and housing problems. The 2001 Census found that the Pathfinder had:

- the lowest proportion of people working full time;
- the highest proportion of people living alone;

- the highest proportion of lone parents; and
- a rising vacancy rate despite a net reduction due to demolition of 6,000 dwellings between 1991 and 2001 (ECOTEC, 2005d).

Figure 8.2 - The NewHeartlands/ Merseyside HMR Pathfinder consists of three local authorities: Liverpool, Sefton and Wirral



Source: The NewHeartlands HMR Pathfinder website, accessed 14/07/08

Despite the challenges posed by the complex and widespread conditions of the Merseyside conurbation the Pathfinder aimed to:

deliver sustainable communities in the NewHeartlands area with a diverse range of tenures, house values and household income groups. Every household will have access to a home of a high standard in neighbourhoods with high quality, safe physical environments which are provided with access to a range of employment opportunities and good quality health, education and other services (NewHeartlands HMR Pathfinder, 2007).

The Pathfinder was strongly supported at regional level by the three key North West regional strategies: the Regional Housing Strategy (2005), the Regional Economic Strategy (2006) and the Regional Spatial Strategy (2006). It was also a key player at the city region level and used its influence to ensure that the programme was seen as a priority within the Liverpool City Region Development Plan Update (2006) and the Merseyside Action Plan Update 2008-11 (2007). The Liverpool City Region Development Programme Update (2006, p.12) stated that:

The NewHeartlands Housing Market Renewal Pathfinder is of crucial importance for improving the quality of the City Region's residential offer, and

without continued intervention, the area will continue to be unsustainable and will hinder the City Region's economic recovery.

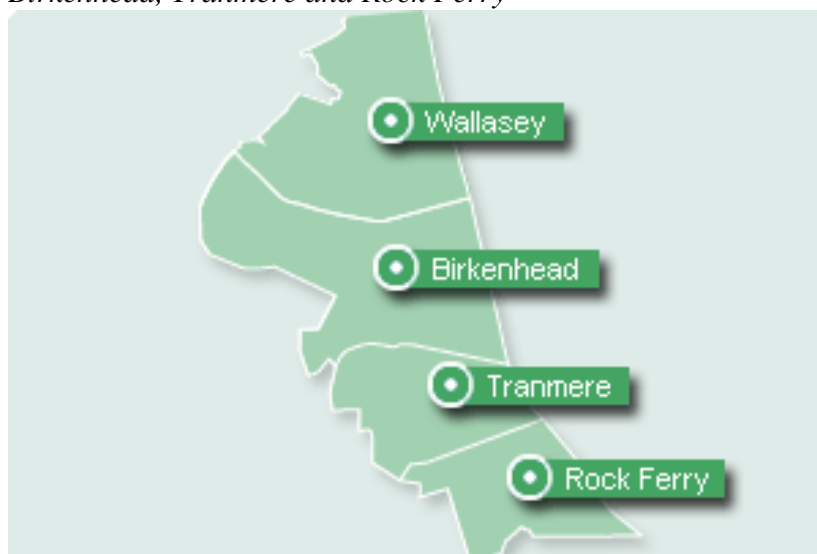
The Pathfinder was also considered at the heart of delivering a significant proportion of the additional 75,000 dwellings needed to support 38,100 new jobs forecast in the strategy and the Merseyside Action Plan Update 2008-11 (2007) recognized it as a key player within its Sustainable Communities Priority, underpinning the economic performance of the sub-region (Mersey Partnership, 2007).

Birkenhead was one of the four Pathfinder's Area Development Frameworks (ADF) , alongside with Rock Ferry, Tranmere and Wallasey (*Figure 8.3*). According to *Wirral's Housing Strategy 2005-2010* (2005), the Pathfinder's plans for Birkenhead North included the following (Wirral City Council, 2007):

- the potential demolition of 800 homes;
- a new development of 800 new homes; and
- the improvement of 1,000 homes.

By 2007, however, the Pathfinder's main intervention area in Birkenhead was the Triangles, our case study area. Future plans included the acquisition and demolition of 200 units and plans to refurbish an additional 280 homes (NewHeartlands HMR Pathfinder, 2008).

Figure 8.3 – The Wirral constituency consists of four sub-areas: Wallasey, Birkenhead, Tranmere and Rock Ferry



Source: The NewHeartlands HMR Pathfinder website, accessed 14/07/08

The Wirral Waterfront Strategic Investment Area

The Wirral Waterfront Strategic Investment Area is a proposed development, which will significantly impact on Birkenhead in general and the Triangles in particular. The development lies at the heart of employment zones stretching from New Brighton, along the Mersey Waterfront, and incorporating the docks and Birkenhead town centre, to the Wirral International Business Park. It envisages substantial investment into a new business park, designated to become one of the 11 strategic employment sites in the North West region (ECOTEC, 2005a).

The 'Wirral Waters' project was part of the Wirral Waterfront SIA and planned a 500 acre private development along the Wirral Docks. The development envisaged a £5billion investment over a 30-year period and included new residential, retail and commercial development. It also aimed to create an iconic waterfront to rival Salford Quays in Manchester and Canary Wharf in London. As one of our interviewees put it, the plans envisaged

a new and iconic skyline for Wirral similar to London's Docklands or Manchester's Salford Quays...however a future challenge for Wirral in general and Birkenhead in particular will be to align the Wirral Waters scheme with HMR and other regeneration initiatives and to ensure that they all make a sustainable and integrated contribution to Wirral (KAW02)

The Sustainability Index

In its 2006 report, the Audit Commission noted that the Pathfinder did not have a clear vision regarding its approach to sustainability:

There also needs to be a clearer picture of what the area will look like in future as well as definition of how issues such as quality and environmental sustainability will be addressed (Audit Commission, 2006b).

As a result, the Pathfinder developed in 2007 a Sustainability Index in order to assess the *popularity* of a locality relative to other localities. The index drew on seven indicators, chosen on the basis of their availability across the Pathfinder's three local authorities: long term voids rate, mean household income, median house sale prices, house sales turnover, social housing turnover, composite crime rate and rate of anti-social behaviour (LAMP, 2007). The index did not label a locality as sustainable or unsustainable, but as *more* sustainable, *intermediate* and *less* sustainable than others, depending on its position on the index. Based on this index, the Triangles was found

in 2007 to be an *intermediate sustainable area* (NewHeartlands HMR Pathfinder, 2007).

The site in 2007

The Triangles owed its name to the Bermuda Triangle⁵ and not to its triangular geographical shape.

the residents applied for different funding and never got any...they fell out with the area and used to say that this area was like the Bermuda Triangle because everybody knew about it but nobody could see it...that's why it is called the Triangles...and some of them still call it the "Bermuda Triangle" (KAW04)

Figure 8.4 - The Triangles area in wider context



Source: Compiled by the author

The Triangles consisted of just over 400 Victorian terraces which were refurbished in four phases over a four year period (2005-2009): 108 homes in 2005-2006, 61 homes in 2006-2007, 112 homes in 2007-2008 and 132 homes in 2008-2009. The

⁵ The Bermuda Triangle, also known as the Devil's Triangle has been associated in the 'paranormal' literature with mysterious disappearances and inexplicable phenomena.

refurbishment was carried out through a Group Repair scheme and focused on external works to the facades, including double glazing, roof insulation, installation for domestic hot water heating, door and window draught-proofing, railings and front gardens walls. The scheme had planned to implement alley gating; however none was in place at the time of the fieldwork. In addition to these improvements, the housing association owned properties benefited from internal works under the Decent Homes Standard program.

Figure 8.5 – The Triangles’ terraced houses in 2007



Source: Pictures taken by the author in February 2007

The Triangles' terraced houses were more generously laid out at approximately 100sq.m each than those of Langworthy North and similar to North Benwell's properties. They were mainly three bedroom family houses developed on two levels, had pitched roofs and bay windows on both levels looking into the street (*Figure 8.5*). Some had extensions at the back and became four bedroom houses (*Figure 8.6* and *Figure 8.7*). They all had small yards at the rear, of approximately 25-30sq.m., and a secondary back entrance for waste management and collection.

Figure 8.6 - Typical two bedroom house in the Triangles



Figure 8.7 - Extended four bedroom house in the Triangles



House prices in the area increased threefold between 2002 and 2007. A three bedroom property sold for approximately £25-30,000 in 2002 was sold for £70-90,000 in 2007 (www.zoopla.co.uk). In the Birkenhead pathfinder area, average house prices increased by 7% between 2007 and 2008. The average house price was £78,350 compared to the Pathfinder's average of £91,024 and Wirral's average of £163,383. This indicated an improvement in Birkenhead's housing market, despite the fact that it still lagged behind the wider area (LIVE Wirral, 2008).

The Triangles benefited from excellent transport links into Liverpool City Centre and was surrounded by community facilities such as the St James Community Centre on Laird Street. The area was located in the north-west of the Birkenhead Park, which offered great and newly refurbished outdoor space. The nearest local primary school was Portland Primary School, rated by OFSTED as *good* in 2008 (*Figure 8.4*). The Triangles area fed into few local GP practices and a new state-of-the-art medical centre was planned to be built in the nearby Laird Street. Laird Street was the local high street but at the time of the fieldwork, many of its shops and businesses were

closed and thus, people used the nearest and much bigger shopping centre of Bidston Rise, which was one bus stop away.

In contrast to the other two case study areas, where within a wider area the most deprived parts were tackled first, the decision to regenerate the Triangles was made on the basis of “*being already more sustainable than the surrounding areas, as it didn’t suffer much from abandonment, had a better image and the house prices were slightly higher*”.

we thought that because it didn’t suffer particularly from low demand, poor conditions or abandonment that other parts of Birkenhead were suffering from...as an estate has had a much better reputation, better image and if you like better perception...house prices were slightly higher than other parts of Birkenhead so it was working from a solid foundation if you like but the condition of the properties wasn’t great ...so our feeling was that to invest in those properties now to bring them up to a better standard would potentially head off any future problems that we might get of severe decline setting in ... it is a lot of demolition elsewhere and there is a lot of people on the move and moving around and older decent good quality terraced housing stock is still popular and it is affordable as well ...also this area isn’t riddled with crime and anti-social behavior as other areas which have the same type of housing stock and are up for clearance (KAW02)

Indeed, the *Strategy for Inner Wirral 2004-2014 (2002)* identified the Triangles as a *medium stress* area due to its “*low vacancy rates, being in reasonable repair levels and enjoying some increase in house prices*” and therefore worthy of investment “*to secure its long term sustainability*” (GVA Grimley, 2003).

The total cost of the regeneration scheme was estimated to be £5.23million, approximately £12,000 per home, of which the Pathfinder provided £2.53million (48.5%), £1.93million (36.90%) was sourced by the Council, from funds such as Decent Homes Standard and Housing Investment Program, and the rest of £770,000 (14.6%) was generated by private contributions from the households. These contributions were capped, with any increase above the maximum contribution covered by the Council; they were also ring-fenced by a grant which had a condition of three years future occupation in order to prevent speculative selling. The grant had to be repaid to the Council over a three year period, reducing by one third after each consecutive year (Wirral City Council, 2007).

Prior to starting work, Wirral Council carried out an extensive consultation exercise on a door-to-door basis. As a result, over 83% of the Triangles' residents opted to join the Group Repairs Scheme (Wirral City Council, 2004). Ideally, however, a Group Repair Scheme would involve all the properties in the targeted area. This was not possible for two reasons: first, some owners and landlords were absent or difficult to identify, and second some residents could not afford to pay their assessed contributions. In response, the Council developed 'Homesteading', an initiative that aimed to identify absent owners and landlords, and 'keying works', by which minimal works were carried out to front elevations of the homes of those who could not afford the full cost of refurbishment.

The works were delivered through an informal agreement or 'working team', between Wirral Methodist Housing Association (that acted as project manager), Wirral Council (that provided most of the funding from the HMR Fund and its own funding), Ainsley Gommon Architects and Felton Construction (the developer). The 'working team' did not take a long-term view and did not seek to engage the partners beyond the scope of the works. It also excluded other stakeholders such as private sector partners, schools and health agencies, the Police and community representatives. However, it appointed the same constructor for the first two phases, involved the local school in some projects and consulted the local community on a door-to-door basis.

8.2 Residents at the Triangles

This section presents a socio-economic profile of the residents living in the Triangles at the time of the fieldwork and their attitudes towards living in the area. It is important to note that the profile of residents could change in the following years as only the first two phases were complete at the time of the fieldwork. For compiling the socio-economic profile we used data from the Door-to-Door Survey carried out by Wirral Council in 2006 and the 2001 Census. Overall, Triangles' residents were slightly older, less economically active and had more children than Birkenhead and Wirral as a whole. Among those interviewed for this research, the vast majority (79%) lived in the area for at least 2 years and half (49%) for over 10 years.

Socio-economic profile

Housing tenure

There were 413 terraced homes in the Triangles, of which 227 were in owner occupation, representing 55% of the stock; 39% were privately rented, significantly higher than Birkenhead's average of 13%, and the remaining 6% were owned by housing associations, considerably lower than Birkenhead's average of 45% (Table 8.1). There were three housing associations owning properties in the Triangle: Wirral Methodist Housing Association, Riverside Housing Association and Wirral Homes Partnership.

Table 8.1- Housing tenure in the Triangles, Birkenhead and Wirral compared to England (2005/06 and 2001 estimates)

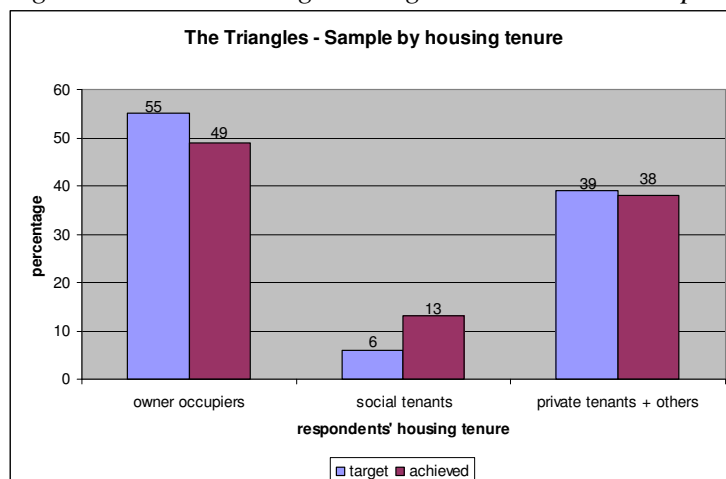
<i>Housing tenure</i>	<i>Wirral</i>	<i>Birkenhead</i>	<i>The Triangles</i>	<i>England</i>
<i>Home ownership</i>	<i>73%</i>	<i>42%</i>	<i>55%</i>	<i>69%</i>
<i>Social renting</i>	<i>16%</i>	<i>45%</i>	<i>6%</i>	<i>19%</i>
<i>Private renting</i>	<i>12%</i>	<i>13%</i>	<i>39%</i>	<i>12%</i>

Source : Data for the Triangles from 2006 Door-to-Door Survey; Data for Birkenhead from (LIVE Wirral, 2008); Data for Wirral based on 2001 Census; Data for England (CLG, 2007)Live Table 102

Note: All percentages were rounded to one decimal place

The surveyed sample closely matched the target sample; social tenants, however, were over-represented while home owners were under-represented (Figure 8.8). The Triangles' social tenants lived in the area for more than 5 years and half for over 10 years: many were retired or had dependent children. Private tenants were mostly under 25 and had lived in the area for less than 5 years, with a few living in the area for over 10 years; many had dependent children and most were economically inactive.

Figure 8.8 – The Triangles: target and achieved sample by housing tenure



Source: Research fieldwork

Ethnicity

According to the 2006 Door-to-Door Survey, 98% of the population of Triangles classed themselves as being white, the same percentage as in Wirral and similar to the 96% in Birkenhead as a whole (Table 8.2).

Table 8.2 – Ethnicity in the Triangles, Birkenhead and Wirral compared to England (2005/06 and 2007 estimates)

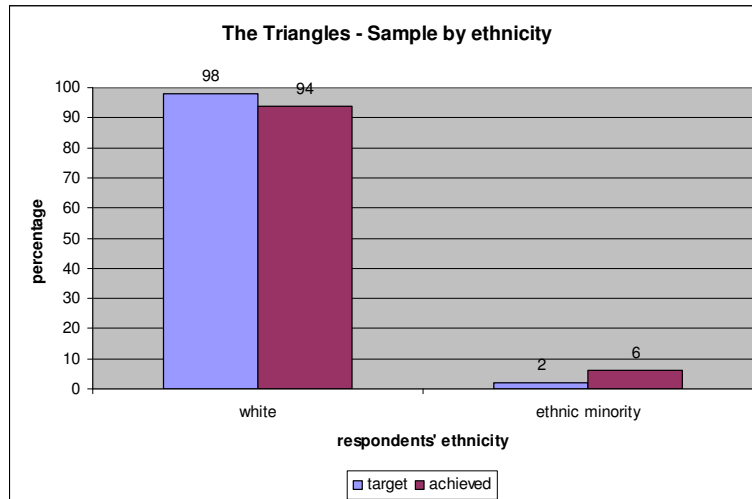
<i>Ethnicity</i>	<i>Wirral</i>	<i>Birkenhead</i>	<i>The Triangles</i>	<i>England</i>
<i>White</i>	98%	96%	98%	92%
<i>Ethnic Minority</i>	2%	4%	2%	8%

Source : Data for the Triangles from 2006 Door-to-Door Survey; Data for Birkenhead from (LIVE Wirral, 2008); Data for Wirral and England based on 2001 Census data;

Note: All percentages were rounded to one decimal place

However, the Door-to-Door Survey was carried out for 281 terraces (68% of the total stock) which may mean that it is not representative for the whole of the Triangles. The survey also may have missed out ethnic minority residents living in social and private rented accommodation as information was collected from owners and landlords only. Moreover the council “*didn’t want to ask them [the landlords] too many questions as long as they were ready to enter the agreement*” (KAW03). In fact, many of the residents interviewed reported a notable change in the area’s ethnic mix, represented by “*an increase in non-white, Irish and East-European*” residents.

Figure 8.9 – The Triangles: target and achieved sample by ethnicity



Source: Research fieldwork

Figure 8.9 shows that the achieved sample matched closely the target sample. Initial discussions about the case study area suggested that we might find difficult to identify residents from an ethnic minority background living in the Triangles. Yet by the end of the fieldwork, we had interviewed more residents of ethnic minority origins than had been expected and targeted. Our interviews also noted that more ethnic minority residents moved to the area in the aftermath of the 2006 Door-to-Door Survey.

Age

The age profile of the Triangles' residents is shown in Table 8.3. The only notable difference is that the 16-24 age group which is almost three times smaller than that of Wirral as a whole (5% compared with 12%), making the population of the Triangles older. It is also important to note here that one in five residents in the Triangles was a pensioner, compared to one in six at both regional and national level (ONS, 2001 Census).

Table 8.3 – Age in the Triangles and Wirral compared to England (2005/06 and 2001 estimates)

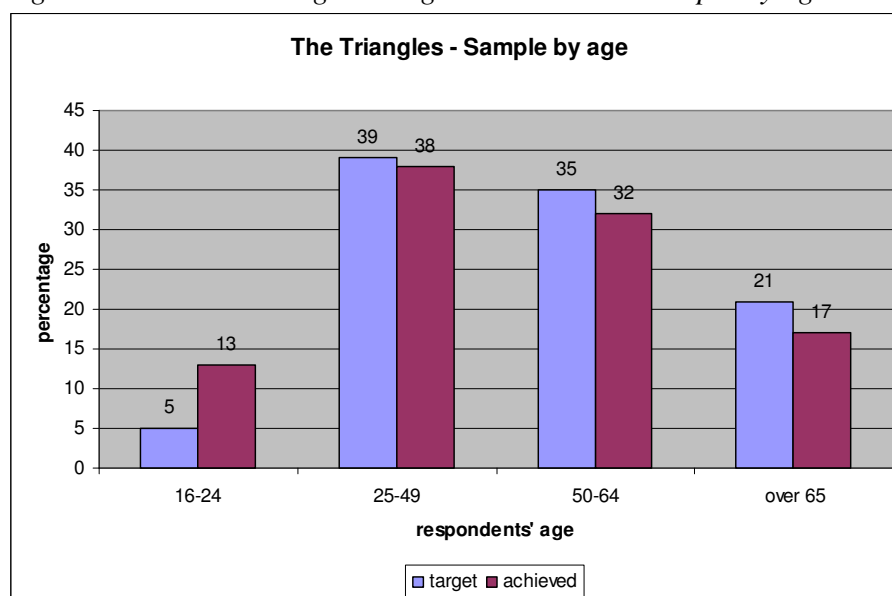
Age groups	Wirral	The Triangles	England
16-24	12%	5%	12%
25-49	33%	39%	53%
50-64	32%	35%	17%
Over 65	23%	21%	18%

Source : Data for the Triangles from 2006 Door-to-Door Survey; Data for Wirral and England based on 2001 Census data;

Note: All percentages were rounded to one decimal place

Figure 8.10 shows that the interviewed sample of residents matched closely the target sample; the only major difference was in the 16-24 age band (13% compared to 5%). These younger residents were all living in privately rented accommodation and were mainly white. Many of them were in work, had dependent children and had lived in the area for less than one year, though some had been in the area for over ten years.

Figure 8.10 – The Triangles: target and achieved sample by age



Source: Research fieldwork

Economic activity

The profile of economic activity at the Triangles was based on the 2001 Census data for the Bidston and St. James ward, the best proxy for the area. Data suggested that the population was less economically active (54% compared to 73%) and almost twice as economically inactive (46% compared to 27%) than at local authority level (Table 8.4).

Table 8.4- Economic activity in Wirral and the Bidston St James ward compared to England (2001 estimates)

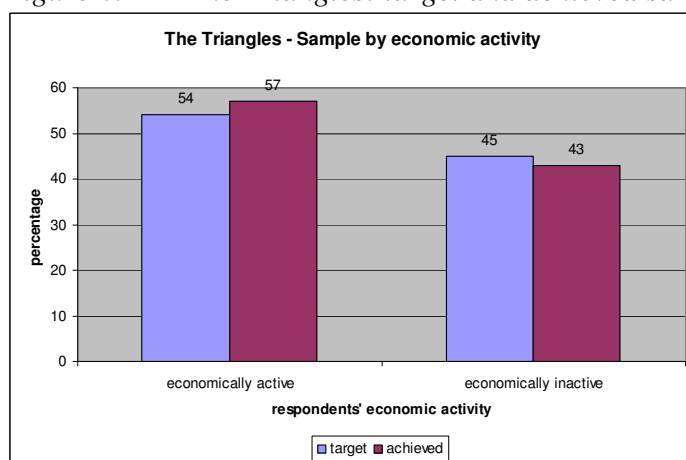
<i>Economic activity</i>	<i>Wirral</i>	<i>Bidston St. James ward (proxy for the Triangles)</i>	<i>England</i>
<i>Economically active</i>	73%	54%	54%
<i>Economically inactive</i>	27%	46%	46%

Source: All estimates based on 2001 Census data

Note: All percentages were rounded to one decimal place

The resident sample included slightly more economically active and fewer economically inactive respondents than targeted (Figure 8.11). The economically active residents were mostly working for someone else (68%), with 14% being self employed and 18% unemployed but actively looking for work at the time of fieldwork. From those who were working, 32% worked locally, in Birkenhead, while the rest worked in Wirral, Liverpool and broader Merseyside. In the economically inactive group, 53% were retired, 26% did not work because of long term sickness and disability, and 21% looked after home and family.

Figure 8.11 – The Triangles: target and achieved sample by economic activity



Source: Research fieldwork

Children

Information about household composition was based on the 2001 Census data for Bidston and St. James ward and indicated that more households with dependent children lived in the area than in the borough as a whole (Table 8.5).

Table 8.5- Household composition in Wirral and the Bidston St. James ward compared to England (2001 estimates)

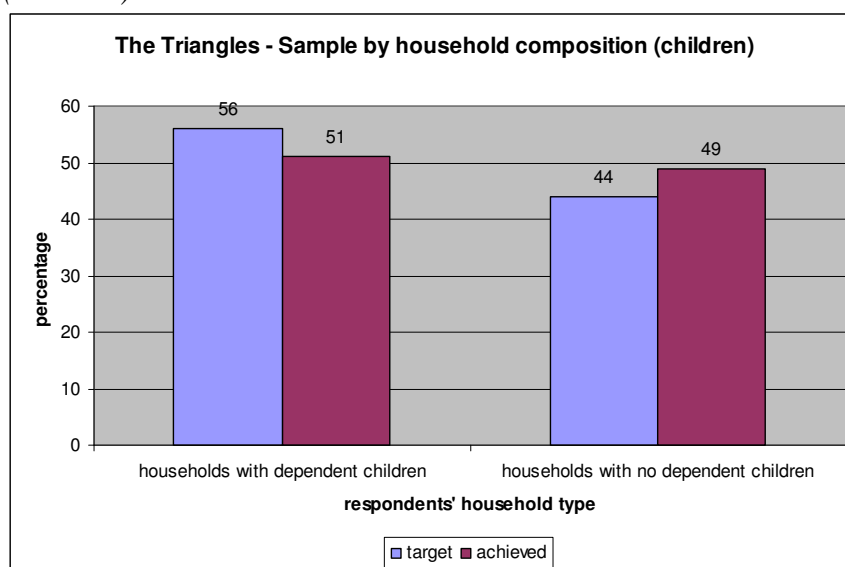
<i>Household composition</i>	<i>Wirral</i>	<i>Bidston St. James ward (proxy for the Triangles)</i>	<i>England</i>
<i>Dependent children</i>	45%	56%	25%
<i>No dependent children</i>	55%	44%	75%

Source: All estimates based on 2001 Census data

Note: All percentages were rounded to one decimal place

During the fieldwork we found it more difficult to identify and interview residents with dependent children (Figure 8.12). Households with children were mainly white and living in the area for at least two years; 38% were single parent households and more than half (58%) lived in private rented accommodation.

Figure 8.12 – The Triangles: target and achieved sample by household composition (children)



Source: Research fieldwork

Attitudes towards living in the area

Residents' perceptions towards living in the area were based on the field survey with 47 local residents. These findings were compared with information from other local surveys and contrasted with the views of 11 key actors. A detailed list of the residents and key actors interviewed in the area is given in Appendix 11 and Appendix 3 respectively. The size of the sample did not allow testing for correlations between resident perceptions and their characteristics. However, desk-based analysis of the survey showed that sometimes residents' attitudes were closely related to their tenure, age and household composition.

Satisfaction with the Triangles

85% of the residents we interviewed were more satisfied with their area in 2007 than they were before the area regeneration. This figure was considerably higher than that of 68%, at Pathfinder level (Audit Commission, 2005a). The area's much improved appearance was one of the main reasons for respondents' satisfaction. They also felt that people were proud of their houses and got to know each other better as a result of regeneration works carried out in the area.

it looks lovely and gives you hope and motivation (W7)

more people cleaning the streets and it makes everywhere look better (W11)

there's been more community spirit developed during the works (W15)

Their views were echoed by key actors who mentioned physical improvements which led to a better image, increasing house price and more confidence in the area.

now it is visually pleasing and the regeneration had had the desired effect of improving housing market values...owners' feedback has been very positive...and the finishing touches by the owners...flowers, planters show pride in the area which was not noticeable before (KAW04)

although group repair is limited to the renovation of the external fabric of the properties it is clear that residents now have a better perception of the area in which they live. The residents will agree that their properties now have a future and that the properties that blighted the area have now been dealt with by inclusion (KAW03)

A small number of residents (4%) were less satisfied with the area because of anti-social behaviour, loitering and private tenants' behaviour. They were mainly white and older, usually over 65.

the whole area looks better but actually it's got worse...children hanging around, lots of drinking and private landlords...and the rear entries are disgusting...fly tipping and dumping everywhere (W9)

it's private tenants who don't look after their properties and don't care if there is dirt on the street (W10)

Perceptions of Triangles' assets and problems

The aspects of living at Triangles that most residents liked were:

- location;
- shopping facilities; and
- the Birkenhead Park.

'Location' was by far the single factor that appealed to most residents. Interviewees used 'location' to bundle together good transport links and the proximity to the city centre, which meant work as well as cultural and shopping opportunities. Other positive factors about living in the area were also mentioned including the local community, community facilities, the area's improved visual image and close kinship.

The aspects that residents liked least about living at the Triangles were:

- lack of safety;
- loitering; and
- the surrounding areas which were earmarked for demolition.

By far the most prevalent answer was related to 'safety' issues, referring to crime and anti-social behaviour and including reported incidents of street gangs, drinking on streets, drug abuse and the fear of walking outside after dark. Residents also complained about disputes with private tenants and landlords, and poor street lighting.

The future of the Triangles

Three in four residents (74%) felt optimistic about the future of their community, whilst a quarter of respondents (26%) did not feel optimistic, with 6% feeling

pessimistic, because of the oversized private renting sector and local unemployment. These findings depicted a more positive picture than an ECOTEC survey which found that almost half of the residents living in the Pathfinder area did not expect any positive change in their neighbourhood or were unable to give an opinion (ECOTEC, 2007b)

Reasons for their optimism were: a new sense of pride in the area, which led to changes in perceptions and attitudes and more young people being willing to move to the area.

people have more sense of ownership now and the want to keep them [the houses] up (W2)

it's improving and attention is being paid to it [the area] now...still some anti-social behaviour and drunk people but much better than the past (W7)

lots of regeneration and business is going on...we are bound to benefit from it (W5)

Most key actors felt optimistic about the Triangles' future because of it being at the centre of regeneration and the future development of Wirral Waters, which was hoped to lift the whole area out of poverty and deprivation by providing new employment opportunities. Nevertheless, some felt that it was still early days to forecast the future as the area still lacked private investors' confidence.

with Wirral's attitude and initiatives for generating new business and the massive long term plans for docklands by Peel Holdings [Wirral Waters]...along with group repair scheme, confidence is boosting in East Wirral and this should reverse the long standing decline of the whole area (KAW04)

I am very optimistic because the HMR will, hopefully, be investing £50 million in the next few years and if Wirral Waters comes to life then prospects for Birkenhead are excellent (KAW02)

I think that it is in its early stages but you can see it's making lot more progress...it is still a long way to go but it's looking promising (KAW06)

Moving from the Triangles

Only 6 out of 47 residents (12%) considered moving house in the following two years. Those who wanted to move were all living in private rented accommodation and were mainly under 25. Their reasons for wanting to do so were related to either

neighbourhood factors such as safety and the cost of living, or to house characteristics including layout and size.

it is not a safe place for my baby and has a bad name (W37)

I cannot afford the rent here and, to be honest I prefer to buy a home more centrally (W18)

the main reason is that I'm finding difficult to move up and down the stairs due to illness and I am trying to move to a bungalow (W41)

A related question asked by the ECOTEC survey found that 27% of respondents in Wirral as a whole considered moving home in the next 5 years, while the 2001 English House Condition Survey showed a higher residential loyalty rate for people living in Wirral than in Merseyside and Liverpool (ECOTEC, 2007b).

Nevertheless, key actors told us that more people moved in than moved out.

there is a healthy turnover now...and since the properties were improved there have been several properties that have been on the market and sold really quickly. There is also a significant take up by first time buyers and it is encouraging to see that since the scheme began there is next to no vacant properties in the area (KAW03)

in the 18 months we have been on site a few properties have changed hands...a couple of elderly ladies were taken into care and their houses sold to pay for the care homes they went to...there had also been some landlords who have sold properties along with people selling their homes and moving to a different area (KAW05)

8.3 Housing refurbishment-led regeneration at the Triangles

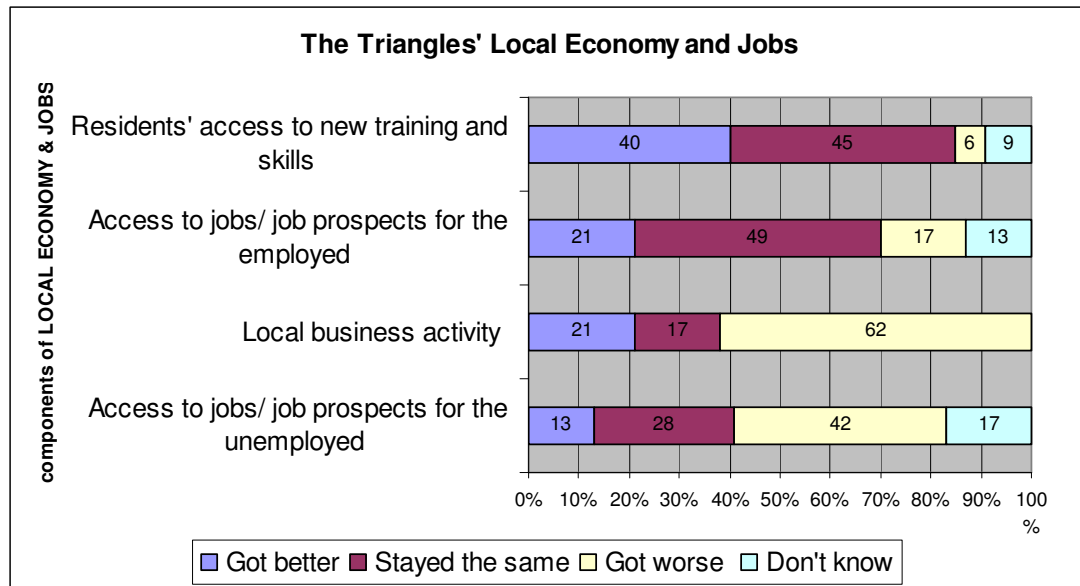
The following section focuses on how the various domains and components of sustainable communities have changed following area regeneration and draws on our detailed survey of 47 residents, discussions with 11 key actors and other evidence from surveys and research carried out in the area.

The Triangles' economy and jobs

Residents' views on the components of *local economy and jobs* varied (Figure 8.13). *Access to new training and skills* was perceived to be improving by 44%, while 62% of residents felt that the situation for local *business activity* was deteriorating. Few respondents did not have an opinion: they were mainly pensioners or residents not in

employment at the time of fieldwork. However, overall none of the components was perceived by a majority of residents to be getting better following area regeneration.

Figure 8.13 – Components of the Triangles’ Economy and Jobs



Source: Fieldwork survey

Jobs

Only a small percentage of residents thought that local job prospects, for both those already in work as well as the unemployed, got better following the regeneration of the area (21% and 13% respectively). A similar picture was uncovered by another study which found that the availability of jobs was the most negative aspect for Wirral’s residents, with 42% rating access to jobs as *poor* or *very poor*. This contributed to Wirral having the lowest rating as a place to work within the Pathfinder (ECOTEC, 2007b). Most residents were negative about the job market in general and did not think that regeneration helped to create many local jobs.

this is a very deprived area with poor salaries and so no hope for better (W20)

we’ve got nothing left...no shipbuilding, no docks...all big employers are gone...nothing has replaced them (W9)

I only got this job and it has taken a long...long time (W42)

I am seeing loads of youngsters walking around during the day...when they should be at work (W34)

However, key actors reported that a number of apprenticeships and construction schemes were available locally, as well as a range of 'workfare' initiatives operating in the wider area.

we have five sub-contractors on site who have taken on extra local labourers to carry out their works...window fitters, general construction labour, railing and gate fitters and for repairs to concrete mullions (KAW05)

we try to facilitate people's access to job market...for example the 'Reach-out' service operates in Birkenhead to help people back into work...we are also aiming to develop a construction skills employment initiative in 2008...Wirralbiz and Wirralbiz Plus also operate in the area (KAW02)

Nevertheless, they recognised that creating local jobs "was not down to the Group Repairs scheme" but to the economy at large and thus little could be done in general to revitalise the local job market.

the Triangles scheme has generated apprenticeship schemes and local contractors have also been used...however in Birkenhead as a whole jobs have been lost over the last few decades and not much has been done to replace the loss so far (KAW02)

Business activity

The Audit Commission's Area Profiles data noted a 10% annual increase in the total number of registered business in Wirral between 2001 and 2004 (Audit Commission, Area Profiles, accessed September 2009). However, the majority of residents interviewed (62%) thought that there was less local business activity in the area than in the past, which was the result of declining traditional shopping replaced by supermarkets, and demolition work carried out in the area.

today there are lots of Indian and Chinese takeaways around... I mean eating places but no real shops...before we used to have grocery, butchers...the bread people, wedding shops, electricians, home appliances and baby stuff...none of these are around nowadays (W1)

we have a big supermarket now...all local shops have closed down because of this (W11)

on Laird Street shops are boarded up...shops are empty...because of rumours of being pulled down (W23)

Training and skills

Many residents (40%) felt that there were more training and skills opportunities available in the area and that area regeneration had helped people to access these.

Moreover, a number of apprenticeship schemes generated by regeneration were available to local residents.

for example Lacy Roofing provides in house training for all new workers and Clement Glazing has provided some training too (KAW05)

there is always advertising...also more colleges and more opportunities than in the past (W3)

Yet the majority of respondents (89%) did not know anybody who had benefited from new training and only two residents reported that they gained new skills with the help of regeneration funding

I only just finished a plastering course at Green Apprentices in Birkenhead, a government scheme...they also help you to find a job (W22)

House prices and housing affordability

Overall, the Pathfinder area benefited from relatively large increases in house prices between 2003 and 2006 and substantial increases in the value of sales in the terraced housing sector (ECOTEC, 2006). Moreover, the most deprived areas of the Pathfinder registered the largest increases in price over this period. This trend was evident throughout the North and the Midlands and reflected, among other things, a growing national trend for more affluent groups to acquire property for the buy-to-let market (ECOTEC, 2007c). There was therefore a tendency for areas of regeneration to experience higher price increases than the larger areas within which they were located. This was partially related to the speculative activity referred to earlier, but also to significant refurbishment work being invested by the HMR Programme to improve the quality of the existing housing stock as well as wider local area conditions. For instance, in Wirral the average house price increased by 161% between 2000 and 2007 while within the Pathfinder area the increase was 217% (ECOTEC, 2007c). Both interviewed residents and key actors were very much aware of these significant increases.

I believe that the Triangles' house prices have risen by 10% or more following commencement works at the scheme...also houses in this area that are offered for sale don't seem to be available for long...and there is a keen interest in purchasing properties in this area now, where previously there were a number of long term vacant properties (KAW04)

Increases in house prices have had an inevitable impact upon housing affordability. At Pathfinder level, housing affordability was an emerging concern, despite its 3:1 ratio (of average income to average house price) in 2006. Whilst the three times

multiplier did not reflect a clear-cut affordability problem, many of the homes in the lower price bracket were of a poor quality or considered by residents to be unsuitable often because of structural or stock condition issues. As a result, even using the multiplier of 5 times the average income, the average buyer in the Pathfinder area could only access a mortgage of £114,000 which was well below £160,000, the average cost of larger improved family terraces and new-build properties (NewHeartlands HMR Pathfinder, 2007). As such, housing was not less affordable only for first time buyers, but also for average income buyers, usually better placed in the housing market.

Previous research found that Wirral had a greater affordability problem than Liverpool and the region as a whole (DCLG, 2005). The affordability gap grew in Wirral year on year between 1997 and 2005, as a result of levels of income not rising enough to keep pace with price rises (ECOTEC, 2007c). Official measurements of affordability, however, have to be interpreted with a degree of caution. They are based on earnings, rather than household income, with the result that they underestimate the ability to pay for housing costs. Additionally, by definition they exclude the economically inactive residents, a huge issue in the core of Merseyside, where for many residents the market housing was not a viable solution.

Nevertheless, key actors considered the Triangles to be affordable compared with other similar options within the city, and mainly appealing to first time buyers. This contrasted with resident's accounts of not being able to afford to pay the rent and feeling priced out of the area because of recent increases in costs.

the evidence is that first time buyers have moved into the area to get the first step onto the property ladder (KAW03)

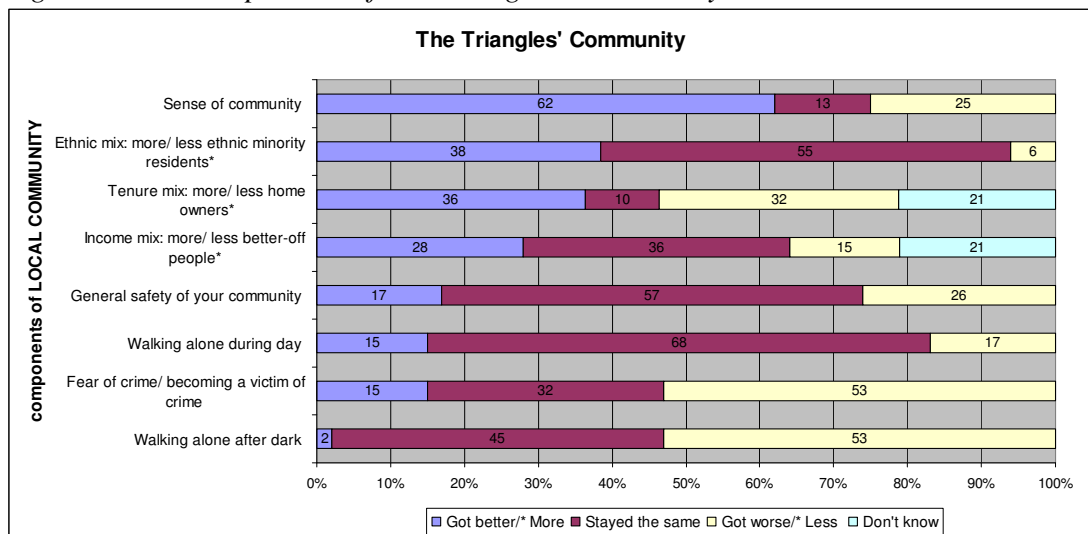
this is one of the few desirable areas where houses of this age and quality are available at around £90,000...this compares very well and equates to good value against modern town houses development...these houses are small but have adequate sized bathrooms and kitchens following building of extensions since 1990's and 60's (KAW04)

I'll probably have to move out of the area as I can't afford to pay the rent anymore...it is becoming expensive and the landlord tries to push up the rents every six months (W26)

The Triangles' community

Figure 8.14 shows that among the components of *community*, only the *sense of community* was perceived by the majority of residents as improving following area regeneration. The general safety of the community and levels of crime were seen as problematic and changes in the community's make-up were identified by a majority of residents.

Figure 8.14 – Components of the Triangle's Community



Source: Fieldwork survey

Sense of community

A considerable number of residents (62%) felt that the area gained a real sense of community following area regeneration and that more people were chatting in the streets and helping each other.

now, everybody looks after each other...everybody is friendly and helps you out (W2)

since the regeneration more people in the street have started to chat...we have come more closely together and...shared our experiences (W3)

Concerns were mainly related to the size of the private rented sector which residents felt did not help to consolidate relations between neighbours in the area.

due to older neighbours moving out and private landlords going for short term tenancies, transient relations develop no further, hence no chance of community spirit (W25)

comments made by residents, especially the older people, suggest to me there is a sense of community although it had declined slightly along with the

increase in short-term tenancies in the privately rented accommodation...the Triangles scheme has been eagerly awaited and accepted by the majority of residents and private landlords, however there is a small percentage who see their properties as a purely financial investment...no matter how hard we try to sell this scheme and its advantages they just don't want to know (KAW04)

Crime and safety

Only 17% of the interviewed residents thought that the safety of their community had improved following area regeneration, and more than half (53%) were more concerned about becoming a victim of crime than in the past. Prevailing causes were antisocial behaviour such as gangs of youngsters hanging around and drinking, drug abuse and petty crime including street muggings and burglaries.

we used to go for a walk in the park...but we don't go anymore...muggings, drunkards, and children hanging around...we don't have a police patrol service anymore (W5)

the young ones are just unruly...they steal cars...smash them up...and around the park constantly drinking down there...we should have park rangers but we don't have (W9)

with going in and out of houses in the scheme I do know of some people using drugs...as regards crime I'm not sure but our site offices were broken into and the culprits apprehended...the case is due in Court in December (KAW05)

Moreover, only a few residents felt safe walking alone in their area during the day or after dark (15% and 2% respectively). They mentioned poor street lighting; open and unsupervised back alleys, the lack of park rangers and surrounding run down areas.

the roads are badly lit at nights and gangs hang around at corners and use the back entries (W15)

I feel safe here but on the other side of Laird Street is dangerous...a lot of crimes and drugs down there and the police is there every night (W6)

These findings were closely mirrored by a recent report which found the Birkenhead pathfinder area to be the area with the highest drug offences and overall crime rates within the Merseyside conurbation (NewHeartlands HMR Pathfinder, 2008). In addition, key actors told us that crime levels were still perceived to be high by the Triangles' residents despite recent reductions and some improvements.

reported crime levels are actually reducing but perception of crime is still high. In Milner Street for example most residents, about 60-70% of them say that they have been a victim of crime...I mean not necessarily reported crime (KAW02)

residents liked the addition of front railings to their houses...they have commented that it keeps children and teenagers away from the front windows...this makes the residents feel more at ease in their homes...we have also tried to introduce alley gating but people don't want to accept them because of their downside...at the moment wheelie bins are located at the two ends of the alley and they think that gates will be a problem...first because who is going to keep the key and second the council will probably not clean the alleys if they are gated (KAW04)

Social and tenure mix

Half of residents (53%) felt that the general 'make up' of their community had changed during the regeneration process because of more professional and more younger people living in the area, people from other areas being willing to move into the area, more private tenants and more people from an ethnic minority background.

there's some diversity present now...for example professional couples, home owning next door (W22)

there are more tenants now and they have a poor level of responsibility...they always chuck rubbish in the back alleys (W34)

Half of residents (55%) thought that the area's ethnic mix did not significantly change during the regeneration of the area. Yet 38% of residents mentioned "more Black and Asian, Chinese or coloured people" and "Polish people than in the past". In addition, the area's tenure and income mix were perceived to be changing by roughly one third of residents (37% and 28% respectively) due to more houses being sold on the open market and higher socio-economic groups spending their money on expensive cars, furniture and holidays abroad.

the houses are nicer...more people would buy here...more people bought here over the last 2-3 years (W3)

more people are buying...there is also more first-time buyers... yes there is an influx of them especially at the Northern end (W5)

there are more young couples now...you have to see the cars and furniture they are buying...huge televisions...they must be expensive (W4)

they are younger and working...they go out and on holidays (W5)

However, many residents mentioned speculative housing investment, manifested in more rented properties in the area than before regeneration.

people are buying their properties up and then let them out...there are more private landlords now...only on my street [Kingley Street] there are seven of them (W9)

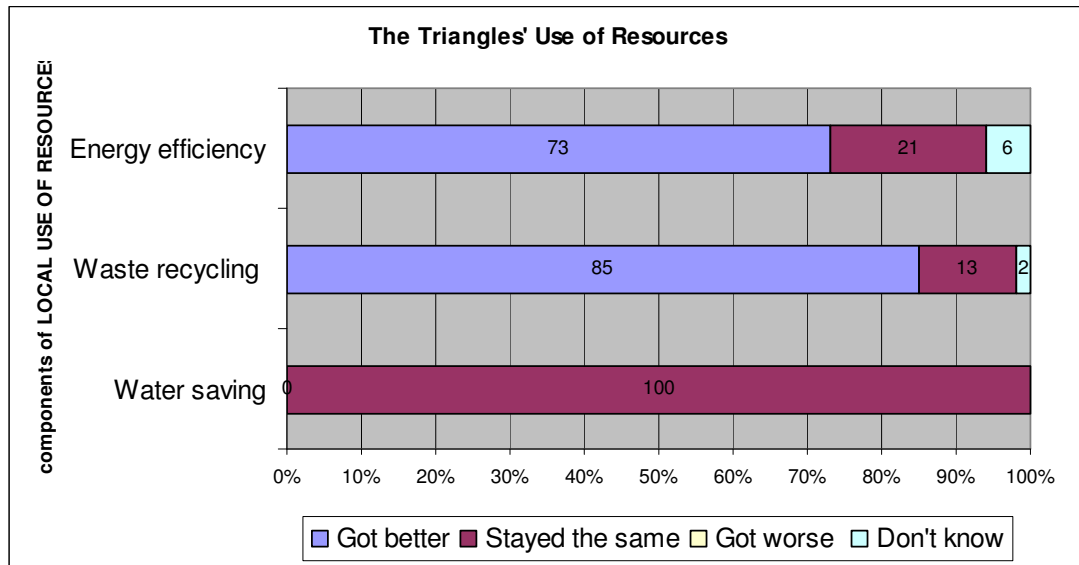
In fact, a comparison between the Triangles' 2006 Door-to-Door Survey and the 2001 Census data revealed a fall in home ownership and social renting levels in favour of private renting, which coincided with residents' perceptions of more private rented accommodation in the area (Table 9.5).

The Triangle's use of resources

A range of energy efficiency initiatives were available across Wirral, including Warm Front, HMR Energy Grant and top-up grants to improve energy saving. At its outset, the Triangles scheme stated an intention to lower its environmental impact and carbon emissions by including energy saving measures, solar panels and the use of low maintenance materials (Wirral City Council, 2004). A number of measures were implemented throughout the regeneration process. However, solar panels and water saving measures were excluded due to cost implications, resident's lack of interest and incompatibility between the traditional terraces and modern technologies.

we've put in increased loft insulation to save on heating bills and we installed modern double glazing... we did explore use of solar water heating but it didn't have the reception from the people for us to move forward on that scheme...I think that if people are not familiar with the idea they are reluctant to pay money towards something they are maybe skeptical about...the other problem we had was that you require a certain type of central heating boiler and not many people did have a central combination boiler so it wasn't suitable for that particular property (KAW06)

Figure 8.15 – Components of the Triangle’s Use of Resources



Source: Fieldwork survey

When compared to the other two case study areas, an overwhelming majority of residents at the Triangles thought that they both saved more energy and recycled more waste in their homes as a result of area regeneration: 73% of residents thought that they saved more energy compared to 46% in Langworthy North and 32% in North Benwell; and 85% of residents believed that they recycled more household waste, compared to 50% in Langworthy North and 28% in North Benwell (Figure 8.14).

Energy efficiency

Regeneration works in the Triangles included a coordinated range of measures targeting home energy performance. Most properties were subject to double glazing, roof or loft insulation, central heating, and door and window draught-proofing. However, for 27% of residents their homes already had all of the measures on offer, while 22% had some of the measures and installed the remaining ones. As Table 8.6 shows, the most popular measures were *loft insulation* and *double glazing*, with 60% and 53% of residents respectively, saying that they were installed during regeneration works, followed by *energy saving bulbs* which 27% of residents acknowledged.

Table 8.6 - During regeneration works did you get any help with any of the following?(The Triangles)

Energy-efficiency measure	% of residents saying YES
24. Double glazing (windows/ doors)	53%
25. Loft insulation	60%
26. Draught proofing	20%
27. New boiler	16%
28. Central heating	18%
29. Room thermostat	7%
30. Water tank insulation	-
31. Energy saving home appliances	-
32. Energy saving bulbs	27%
33. Training on energy-efficiency	-
34. Other	-

Source: Research fieldwork

Almost three quarters of residents (73%) felt that they saved more energy in their homes. Notably, a number of private tenants told us that their landlord introduced energy-efficiency measures in their properties. This is in contrast to North Benwell where private tenants appeared to know less about the energy performance of their accommodation.

my landlord has upgraded the property...it is much better now and I am probably paying slightly less on energy...to be honest, I thought about moving to another property but now, if he doesn't increase the rent, I am going to stay for another six months, at least (W36)

Waste recycling

The Triangles had a standard three-bin waste recycling scheme, managed by the Council. Our discussions with local residents and key actors, however, revealed that there were issues with the weekly collections and loitering was still a big problem in the area.

I would probably have recycled more if they came regularly to collect it (W19)

quite often the grey and green bins are being left for 2 weeks to build up (W20)

However, Figure 8.13 shows, that a significant number of residents (85%) reported that they recycled more waste in their homes as a consequence of area regeneration which started the “green wheelie bins” scheme, which “they didn’t have before regeneration works”.

Water saving

No water saving measures were introduced at the Triangles during the regeneration process. Key actors felt that that was something difficult to deliver via the Group Repairs scheme and was mainly the responsibility of water suppliers.

that's not something we really can control I think that United Utilities would look what water saving involves...it wouldn't necessarily reduce water usage in my opinion...we were not on any internal works in properties where about we could control low content toilets and showers...the only thing we could have provided was rain butts... they have been considered, but back yards were very small and then there was no garden to use the water for...so we didn't go down that route...overall I think that measures to reduce energy efficiency and water consumption are only possible to do when you do more a full refurbishment of the property rather than only do external works...it's difficult to achieve anything with just the external envelope works (KAW02)

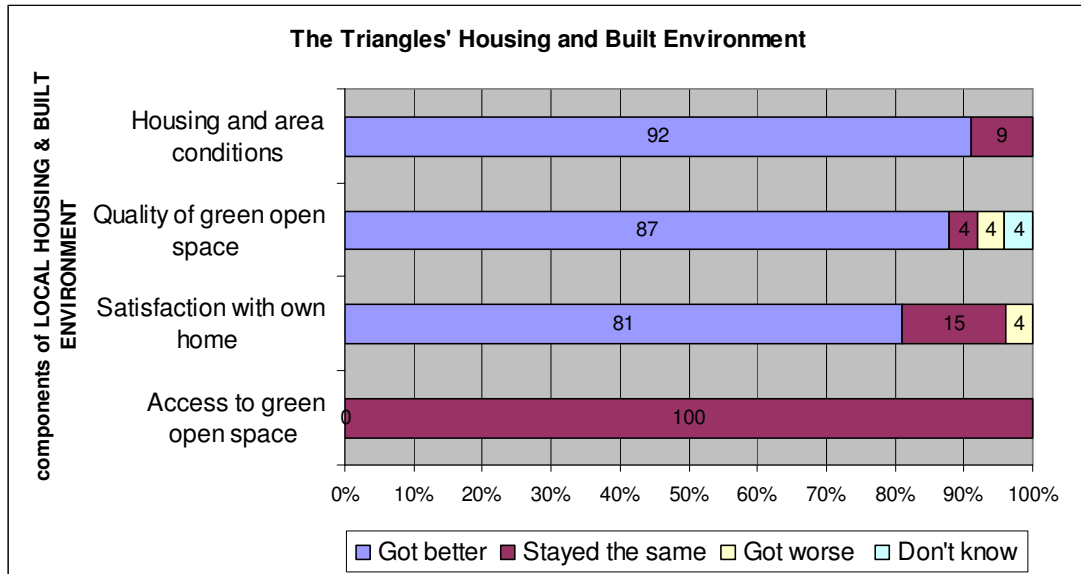
Discussions with local residents revealed little awareness of ways to reduce water consumption in their homes. One respondent suggested that water awareness should be promoted more and mentioned specifically that in the next door property a pipe “had been running solidly for the last two years”.

next door I have a rented property and at the back of the house there used to be an old toilet which the landlord has demolished when he's done up the property for letting...and he's left in the back yard a water pipe which has been running solidly for two years...I tried to talk to the people next door but they are tenants and keep changing...and for me it's like living next to a waterfall...imagine a pipe that big [] and it's running constantly...and we are all paying for it...I have lodged a complaint with the water company but they said they cannot do anything except for the landlord: he has to do it...and the landlord doesn't want to pay for the plumber to do it (W1)

The Triangles' housing and built environment

Figure 8.16 shows that most aspects of the Triangles' *housing and built environment* were considered as improving by a vast majority of residents following housing refurbishment-led regeneration. The *access to green open space* was the only exception as no additional green space was provided throughout the regeneration process. This was in contrast to the other two case study areas.

Figure 8.16 – Components of the Triangle’s Housing and Built Environment



Source: Fieldwork survey

Satisfaction with home, housing and area conditions

The vast majority of residents (81%) were more satisfied with their homes than in the past. In addition, most respondents (92%) thought that the overall housing and area conditions *got better* when compared to the past. This pattern of satisfaction is comparable to that found by ECOTEC’s 2007 *NewHeartlands Residents Survey* which found overall very high levels (86%) of satisfaction with current properties in the Pathfinder area (ECOTEC, 2007b). Residents mentioned alterations tailored to their needs and improvements they could have not otherwise afforded. They thought that the area looked smarter, more uniform and therefore, more visually pleasant.

it looks nicer...the walls, gates, railings, front steps are very good...the paintwork...the gutters...all looks clean and repaired (W1)

so many streets made to look smart and uniform...feels and it is a nice look (W15)

Housing state of repair

Respondents were asked to rate various aspects of their home and average scores were calculated for each aspect (Table 8.7). Based on these average scores, all aspects were rated between *excellent* and *OK* condition. The condition of the most visible parts such as the front of the house, windows and doors, roofs, and chimney stacks were rated by respondents as either *excellent* or *good* condition. The least

visible parts such as kitchens, bathrooms, back yards and gardens were rated as *good* and *OK* condition.

Table 8.7 – The Triangles’ housing state of repair and average scores of individual house parts

	Excellent (1)	Good (2)	OK (3)	Poor (4)	Awful (5)	Does not apply	Sample size	Average scores
Front of house	24	10	9	3	1	0	47	1.9
Windows/ Doors	26	9	8	3	1	0	47	1.8
Roof	27	6	8	5	1	0	47	1.9
Kitchen	13	8	16	5	5	0	47	2.6
Bathroom	10	15	12	6	4	0	47	2.6
Chimney stack	29	4	12	1	1	0	47	1.7
Back yard walls	19	10	10	5	3	0	47	2.2
Back yard	7	13	15	8	4	0	47	2.8
Garden	1	1	0	1	0	44	3	2.3
Front garden	0	1	1	1	0	44	3	3.0

Source: Fieldwork survey

Green open space

Most residents (87%) agreed that the quality of local green open space had increased, mainly as a consequence of the £5 million Lottery investment to the nearby Birkenhead Park. Nevertheless some mentioned that “*fences were still in a poor condition*” and the Park attracted a lot of anti-social behaviour due to the lack of park rangers. Key actors commented about improvements to the public realm and plans to incorporate more greenery into the area.

it has improved...yes the public realm has improved, not only the green open space but the hard urban environment via streetscape works and plans to incorporate in more greening work (KAW02)

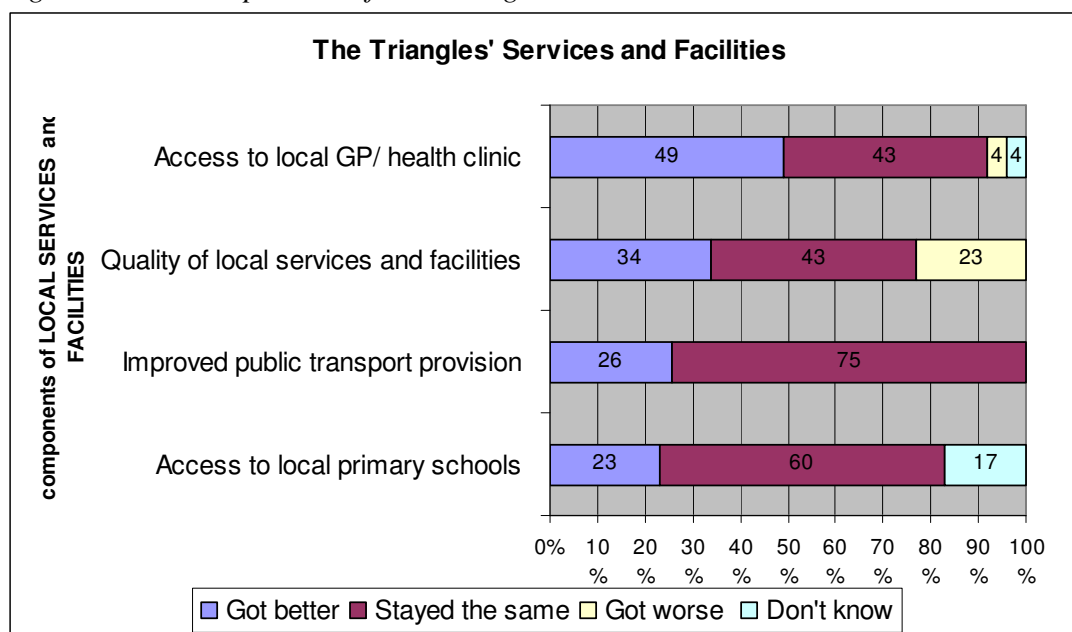
The Triangles’ services and facilities

The majority of residents thought that most aspects of local services and facilities stayed the same and therefore did not improve as a consequence of area regeneration (Figure 8.17). However, access to health services was perceived as improving by almost half of residents (49%) as a new health clinic was being built nearby. Key actors told us that overall improvements to local facilities and services were planned

and delivered through wider regeneration plans, and that most services and facilities were available within a radius of about one or two miles.

within the overall masterplan area improvements have been made to facilities like the new community centre (St James) on Laird Street...also the local shopping street, Laird Street, is to be improved through both renovation and clearance and development...however the immediate Triangles scheme area offers very little services and facilities but these are all available within walking distance (KAW04)

Figure 8.17 – Components of the Triangle’s Services and Facilities



Source: Fieldwork survey

One third of our residents (34%) told us about improvements such as better health services, more reliable transport and some new shops.

they've got a bit better...new shops have opened up and there is a new supermarket now (W5)

a new surgery just opened with a chemist attached which is opened till late (W22)

The school

The Triangles’ closest primary school was Portland Primary School, on Laird Street. Three quarters of its pupils (75%) were eligible for free school meals in 2008, five times higher than the national average of 16%. Nearly a third of pupils had some form of learning difficulty and/or disability, also higher than the national average of 20% (DCSF, 2009). The school achieved a number of national and local awards. In

its latest report, OFSTED awarded the school a *good* overall grade and found a good focus on improving pupils' achievement and raising standards, strong leadership and parents speaking highly of the school (OFSTED, 2008). Yet some of the residents expressed their concerns regarding the school's performance.

I think they've improved stuff but my kids don't go to this school...I'm taking them to a better school on the other side of the park (W16)

the school has been the same for ages...but nearby schools are not good enough (W42)

Discussions with key actors and the school's head teacher told us that the school had limited involvement in the Triangles' regeneration or wider regeneration plans, mainly through Art Schemes aimed to embellish the local boarded-up properties and school premises being used as a meeting venue. Some improvements were made to its side roads and the main entrance, and some regeneration funding was invested towards a new football pitch.

we've got some money to improve the school yard and parking space outside pupils' entrance...we've pushed hard for them and kept saying that it would be a shame not to improve things as the whole area seems to come up again...I personally think that more money pots should be available for this kind of improvements as better schools attract better families and the money invested always pay back (KAW09)

Health services

Half of respondents (49%) thought that access to local health services was improved by the regeneration of the area through more responsive appointment systems, better car parking arrangements and modernised buildings.

they've done up the local clinic which is a modern building now always lit up...it is a pleasure to walk past now (W39)

there is more car space now at Claughton Village Medical Centre (W34)

Moreover access was likely to improve even further with “*plans for a brand new clinic and extra services*”. Indeed, works to the new Birkenhead Health and Wellness Centre, began in 2008. The centre was built on Laird Street and merged two existing local GP practices, along with PCT and other health care services into a single, state-of-the-art medical centre.

Public transport

Three quarters of the residents interviewed (75%) did not think that the regeneration of the area had any impact on local transport provision. They felt that public transport had always been good in the area and was not linked to the regeneration process.

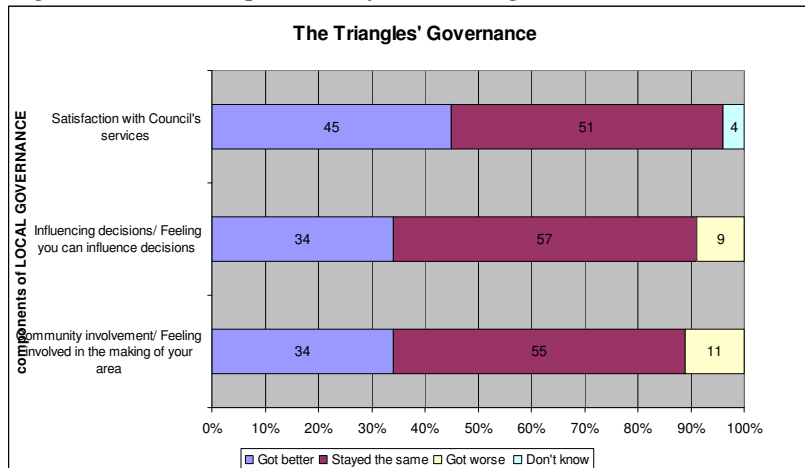
regeneration hasn't done anything because the public transport system has always been good in the whole of North Wirral and the area provides good links to motorways, rail networks, buses and ferries...all within two miles (KAW04)

One quarter (26%) of residents felt that the public transport *has got better* during the regeneration because of “*more buses being put in*” and “*the bus timetable getting better and better*”.

The Triangles’ governance

The majority of residents did not feel that the regeneration of the area had a notable impact on aspects of *local governance* (Figure 8.18). Only one in three (34%) respondents thought that there was greater community involvement in the making of the area and 45% of respondents were more satisfied with the services provided by the local authority than in the past. Despite the fact that residents were involved during the regeneration process through Neighborhood Options Appraisals, resident liaison meetings and regularly progress updates via newsletters, there was little sign of effective involvement in the regeneration of the area. The local residents association had little say and no plans were laid ahead by regeneration partners for the future up keeping of the area.

Figure 8.18 – Components of the Triangle’s Governance



Source: Fieldwork survey

A number of wider regeneration related partnerships were mentioned by key actors and the works were delivered through an informal 'working-team' agreement.

There's plenty of partnerships around...the Birkenhead Regeneration Partnership is one of many...also, increasing partnerships between the Council, Peel, WPH and Keepmoat...historically a neighborhood management arrangement existed ...oh yes ...they have contributed greatly and brought the area into the spot light but it needed to be better coordinated in line with other neighborhood management pathfinders such as Tranmere Together for example (KAW02)

at local level there is a partnership arrangement between RSLs with properties in the area, us and the architect...but it will not go beyond the works and it's not something formal (KAW03)

8.4 Discussion

The first part of this chapter highlighted the Triangles' legacy of shipbuilding and the failure of previous regeneration programs to lift the area out of poverty and physical decline. The second part discussed the socio-economic profile of the resident community and found that the Triangles' residents were predominantly white, mostly owning or renting private accommodation, older, less economically active and with more dependent children than the borough as a whole. We then looked at residents' perceptions towards living in the area and discovered that, although the vast majority of residents were more satisfied with their area following regeneration and optimistic about the future of their community, they raised concerns regarding the area's underlying problems including crime and unemployment which had an impact on their daily lives. The third part looked closely at how various components of sustainable communities were perceived by local residents and key actors, and recorded in various official surveys and reports. This final section aims to bring together all the case study evidence and draw a conclusion regarding the sustainability of community in the Triangles.

So, is the Triangles' community moving towards sustainability following area regeneration?

The Triangles' *economy and jobs* did not appear to move towards sustainability. The local economy and job market were very much perceived in relation to what might happen at a wider scale in Birkenhead, the Liverpool metropolitan area and the North

West region. Moreover, Liverpool was placed on recession 'red alert' as one of the cities most exposed to recession and least well placed to ride out job losses and business closures over the coming months (Centre for Cities, 2009); this will certainly have an impact on the economic performance of the whole Merseyside conurbation. There were few jobs created and available locally, mainly facilitated through local apprenticeship and training schemes. Access to job markets further afield was not addressed and remained limited by the Mersey River which acted as a geographical and physical barrier to residents' mobility. Despite regeneration investment in the area, local business activity continued to decline, decline fuelled by proposed demolition in the surrounding areas. House prices recovered and increased significantly in the area, but they still lagged behind Liverpool, regional and national averages. Moreover, the housing affordability gap grew year on year between 1997 and 2005 as modest rises in local income did not keep pace with rises in house prices.

However, forecasting undertaken by Cambridge Econometrics in 2007 revealed that the underlying prospects for growth in the Merseyside area and the Liverpool City Region showed an improvement on their historical performance, with short-term prospects for growth being favourable and employment growth in the next few years to 2010 averaging 0.5 %. In addition, 120,000 new jobs were forecast to be provided by 2020, with the largest employment increases expected in Liverpool City Centre (Cambridge Econometrics, 2007). Despite positive evidence of wider the area's economic growth there was little evidence that the communities within the Pathfinder's area were able to access economic opportunities; the overall unemployment rate across the Pathfinder area being 34% in 2006 and raising to 50% in nine of its wards (Liverpool City Council, 2006). Long-term structural weaknesses in the local economy played a key role in the entrenched deprivation and housing market weakness within the Triangles, which were further deepened by the economic recession.

The Triangles' *community* did not seem to move towards sustainability either, albeit a perceived fostered sense of community generated by area regeneration and locally manifested through more social contact. Birkenhead had the highest drug offences and overall crime rates when compared to the rest of the Pathfinder (NewHeartlands

HMR Pathfinder, 2008) and this was echoed by Triangles' residents views. They were concerned about becoming a victim of crime and avoided walking alone around their area. The Triangles' overall community mix was changing. Residents noted more people from ethnic minority backgrounds and better-off families purchasing homes in the area. However, during the regeneration process levels of home ownership in the area dropped in favour of private renting.

The Triangles' *use of resources* depicted a more positive picture in comparison to the previous two case study areas. The regeneration of the area had an environmental agenda at its onset and energy saving measures were introduced more uniformly and systematically than in the previous two case study areas. A three-bin recycling system was implemented and as a result residents felt that they recycled more waste in their homes. Yet no water saving measures were considered or introduced in the Triangles.

There is evidence that the Triangles' *housing and built environment* was moving towards sustainability at the time of fieldwork. People were more satisfied with their homes; area conditions and the quality of green open space were much improved through the regeneration of the area. Yet, there were no 'maintenance' mechanisms in place and the area was in need of neighbourhood management such as park rangers and street wardens, as well as more access to green open space.

The Triangle's *services and facilities* did not seem to be moving towards sustainability. Area regeneration did not improve or upgrade much of the existing public infrastructure and relied instead on existing good transport links and facilities and services being within walking distance. Yet access to local health services was improved by the construction of a new health centre, which replaced two long established local surgeries. Residents commented on the lack of facilities for children and teenagers and poor quality local shops and services. Despite regeneration investment, they felt that the image of their area was still one of deprivation with "cheap take-aways and pound shops" that continued to come and go along the boarded up Laird Street, once a *flourishing* high street.

The Triangle's regeneration did not lay strong foundations for *local governance* arrangements. According to our survey, the area had lower levels of community activity than the other two case study areas; for instance, only one in four residents (25%) at the Triangles was a member of a community group, compared to one in two (55%) at Langworthy North and one in three (39%) at North Benwell. As a result, residents did not feel much involved in the making of their area or influencing decisions. Regeneration works were delivered through a low-key partnership which did not involve in a meaningful way the local community or any other local stakeholders; and did not extend its responsibilities beyond the scope of works.

Table 8.8 – Direction of sustainability: The Triangles’ domains and components of sustainable communities

Domains of sustainable communities	Components of sustainable communities	T1 (baseline information in 2001/02)	T2 (information in 2007 – from recent data and fieldwork)	Direction / Trend of sustainability (by component)	Direction of sustainability (by domain)
The Triangles’ Economy and Jobs	Local jobs	Long term structural weakness	Some apprenticeship schemes created during regeneration works but very few other job prospects and generally high unemployment (34%-50% overall unemployment rate)	↓	↓
	Local business activity	Declining due to abandonment, crime and proposed demolition	Still declining; boarded-up local high street; threat of further future demolition	↓	
	Training and skills	n/a	Low local take up; regeneration relying on wider area initiatives	↓	
	House prices	£25-30,000 (2002)	£70-90,000 (2007) (threefold increase in relation to 2002; still lagging behind regional average)	↑	
	Housing affordability	n/a	Affordability gap increasing	↓	
The Triangles’ Community	Sense of community	Community blighted by crime and abandonment	Little community activity; slightly more social contact encouraged by works	≈	↓
	General safety	Crime; fear of crime	Fear of crime	↓	
	Fear of crime	High levels of crime	Fear of crime, residents felt unsafe	↓	
	Walking alone during day	High levels of crime	Fear of crime, residents felt unsafe	↓	
	Walking alone after dark	High levels of crime	Fear of crime, residents felt unsafe	↓	
The Triangles’ Use of Resources	Energy efficiency	No evidence	Energy-efficiency measures implemented	↑	↑
	Water saving	No water saving measures/ campaign	No water saving measures/ campaign	↓	
	Waste recycling	No recycling scheme in place	3 bin recycling scheme in place; residents reporting to recycle more	↑	
The Triangles’ Housing and Built Environment	Satisfaction with own home	High levels of abandonment; residents leaving the area	High levels of satisfaction (86%)	↑	
	Housing and area conditions	High levels of abandoned and boarded up homes, poor area conditions	High levels of satisfaction	↑	
	Housing state of	Poor area conditions	Front of house in better condition than the back;	↑	

Domains of sustainable communities	Components of sustainable communities	T1 (baseline information in 2001/02)	T2 (information in 2007 – from recent data and fieldwork)	Direction / Trend of sustainability (by component)	Direction of sustainability (by domain)
	repair		private tenants less satisfied		↑
	Quality of green open space	Birkenhead Park	Birkenhead Park refurbished	↑	
	Access to green open space	Birkenhead Park	Birkenhead Park	≈	
The Triangles' Services and Facilities	Services and facilities in general	In decline, many awaiting demolition	No major improvements or additions	≈	≈
	Primary school	n/a	Good OFSTED rating (2008); little involvement in the regeneration of the area	≈	
	Health services	n/a	New health centre	↑	
	Public transport	Good transport links (buses + Metrolink)	Good transport links (buses + Metrolink)	≈	
The Triangles' Governance	Community involvement	Blighted by abandonment and deprivation	Little community activity	↓	↓
	Influencing decisions	n/a	Little involvement in decision making	↓	
	Satisfaction with LA services	n/a	Residents highly satisfied	↑	
	Partnerships	none	Informal partnership to serve the scope of works	↓	
OVERAL AREA IMPACT				Components: 9 x ↑ 5 x ≈ 12 x ↓	Domains: 2 x ↑ 1 x ≈ 3 x ↓

Key: ↑ - moving towards sustainability
↓ - moving away from sustainability
≈ - no or little change compared to T1 (2001/2002) situation

In 2007, an analysis carried out by the Pathfinder's Sustainability Index found that the Triangles was an area of *intermediate sustainability* which had the potential to become more sustainable with the right investment and support. Our findings found that a number of components of sustainable communities improved following area regeneration, but that many others needed further attention, in order to move the Triangles' community towards becoming a sustainable community. Table 8.8 shows that twelve (12) components of sustainable communities moved away from sustainability, while five (5) did not change their situation in relation to their 2001/02 baseline position. The nine (9) components of sustainable communities that showed some progress towards sustainability were house prices and all aspects of the local housing and built environment.

The evidence gathered points to the fact that the overall positive impact of area regeneration on the Triangle's community was less widespread than in the other two case study areas, Langworthy North and North Benwell. However, it is important to note that, when compared to the other two areas, the Triangles received more short-term regeneration investment. In addition, it was only two thirds complete at the time of the fieldwork. Nevertheless, in 2007 future prospects looked less favourable than in the other two case study areas and radical improvement looked unlikely. Some of the aspects that hampered the Triangles' progress towards sustainable communities were:

- the poor economic base which did not provide enough opportunities for local employment or access to wider job markets, exacerbated by the exclusive focus on 'physical' regeneration;
- the lack of community development: few opportunities were taken to involve the local community effectively and little effort was put into consolidating community involvement and participation throughout the regeneration process; the community was a 'passive recipient' of regeneration works
- the Council's 'one-off' or 'do the works and move-on' approach which mainly focussed on delivering physical regeneration and overlooked arrangements for the future 'maintenance' of the area. This was fostered by an 'informal' regeneration partnership which focused on delivery the works and failed to acknowledge potential partners and address wider issues and implications of area regeneration.

Part Three – ANALYSIS and CONCLUSIONS

Chapter Nine

The role of housing refurbishment-led regeneration in shaping ‘sustainable communities’ in Housing Market Renewal areas

9.1 People’s views on what makes a sustainable community

9.2 Life in three HMR areas

9.3 The impact of housing refurbishment-led regeneration on community sustainability

Local housing and built environment

Local economy, jobs and community

Local use of resources, governance, services and facilities

9.4. Discussion

To what extent do residents’ views on sustainable communities matter?

What is the overall impact?

Buyers, sellers, administrations, streets, bridges, and buildings are always changing, so that a city's coherence is somehow imposed on a perpetual flux of people and structures. Like the standing wave in front of a rock in a fast-moving stream, a city is a pattern in time (Holland, 1995).

The three case study areas are very much places in process, captured in a snapshot at a single moment of time, looking backwards. This chapter weaves together evidence from all three case study areas, and compares and contrasts the fieldwork findings in order to explore the third research question raised in Chapter One

- *What do people think about what makes a sustainable community?*

It also investigates the role of housing refurbishment-led regeneration in shaping sustainable communities by looking at:

- how housing refurbishment-led regeneration impacts on the sustainability of local communities and whether it creates more sustainable communities in HMR areas; and
- what is the impact of wider HMR challenges on the sustainability of local communities.

In drawing together the evidence from the three case studies, it is important to note that we discuss the community sustainability in these three areas by using the framework of sustainable communities developed in Chapter Three. Moreover, the study does not engage with wider aspects of urban sustainability or sustainable communities, such as for example climate change, pollution or biodiversity. Its main focus is local sustainability and local impacts, as perceived by local residents. In order to identify this research's potential for wider generalisations, residents' perceptions are corroborated by official accounts and other research carried out in the area. All the fieldwork was carried out in 2007 before the onset of recession. Things may look different now and, in fact, in Chapter Ten we suggest that revisiting the areas may shed important light and lessons for the sustainability of these communities in troubled times.

9.1 People’s views on what makes a sustainable community

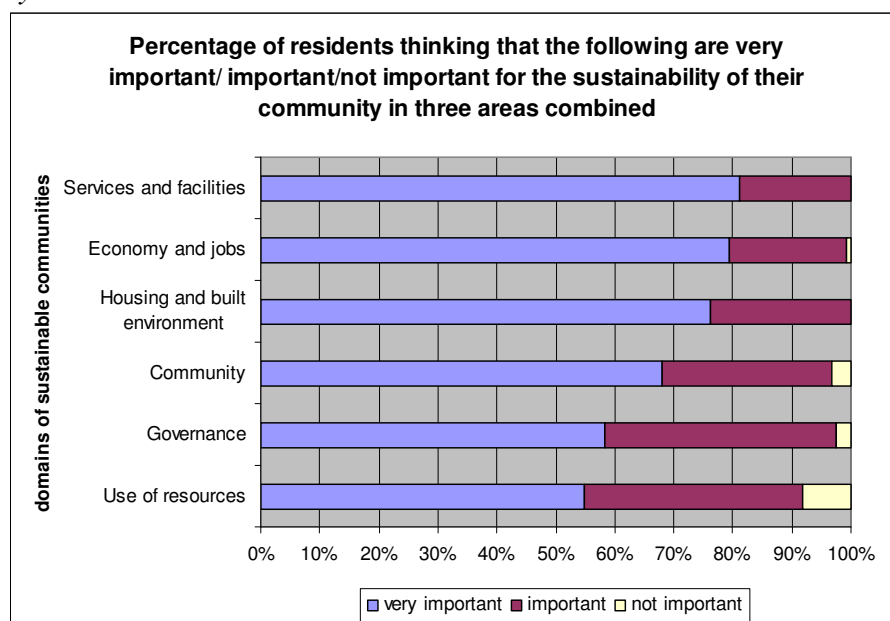
One of the questions this research aimed to answer was:

- *What do people think about what makes a sustainable community?*

In order to do so, we asked the residents in three areas what they thought about the proposed domains and components of sustainable communities. They were asked to rate each domain and component of sustainable communities: the three possible answers were *very important*, *important* and *not important* (to them). Residents were also encouraged to suggest new components and comment on the existing ones. This empirical exercise confirmed that our proposed list of domains and components of sustainable communities were, in fact, what people valued and understood as being important for the sustainability of their communities. Overall there were only few respondents who suggested new components.

Figure 9.1 shows that all domains of sustainable communities were rated as *very important* by a majority (over 50%) of the residents interviewed in three areas and that an overwhelming majority (over 90%) rated them as either *very important* or *important*. Both the *housing and built environment* and *services and facilities* domains did not receive any *not important* ratings, and the highest percentage of *not important* ratings was a mere 8%, received for *use of resources*.

Figure 9.1 – A gradient of importance: domains of sustainable communities as rated by residents in three areas combined



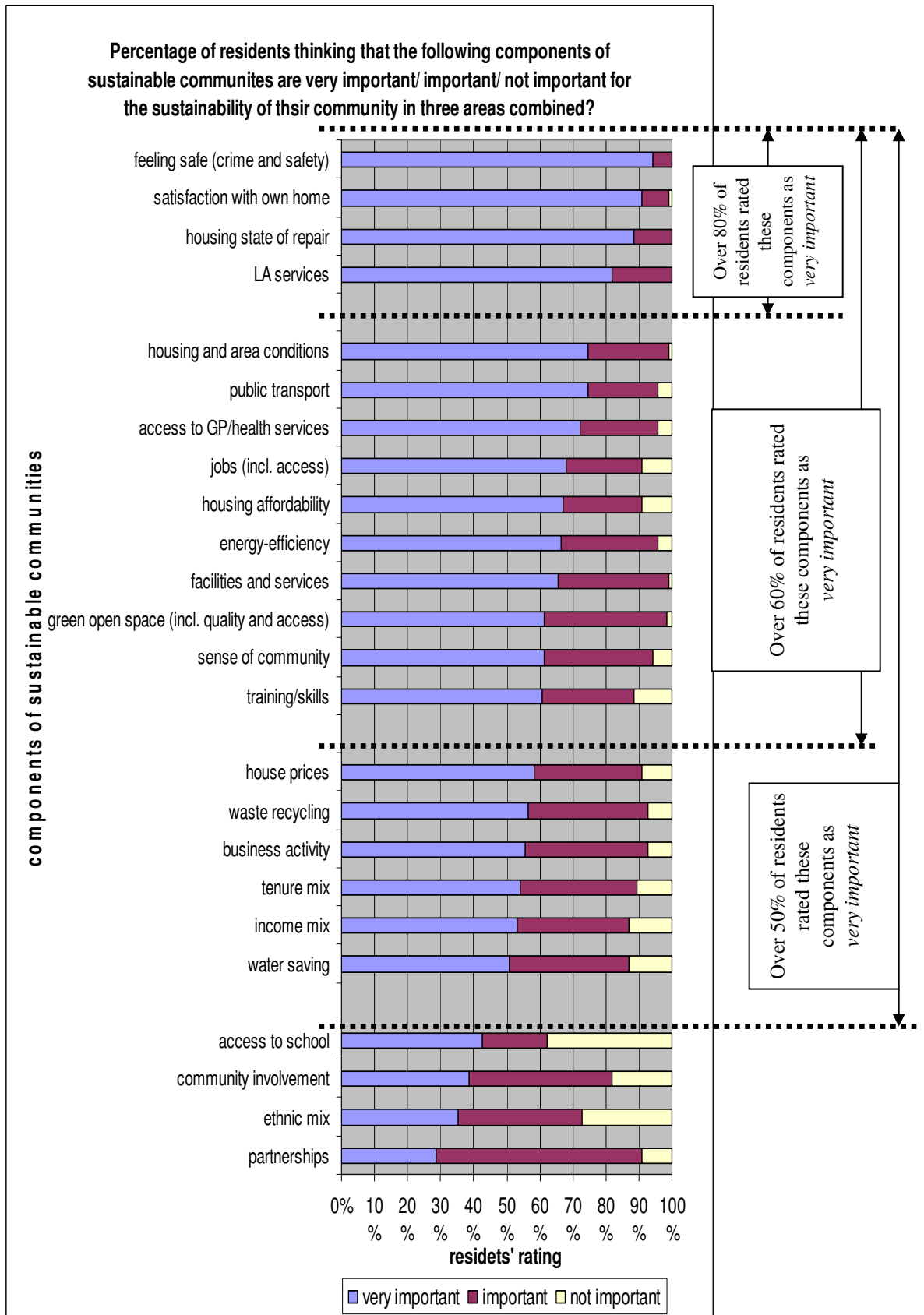
Source: Fieldwork survey

Figure 9.2 reinforces the validity of or list of sustainable communities developed in Chapter Three, showing a gradient of how *valuable* for the sustainability of their community residents thought the various components of sustainable communities were: components that received a higher number of *very important* ratings were located at the top of the chart, while those receiving a smaller number of *very important* ratings at the bottom. The diagram shows that a majority of residents rated as *very important* all the components but four: *access to school*, *community involvement*, *people moving out* and *partnerships*. All components of sustainable communities were rated as either *very important* or *important* by over 60% of the total resident sample. In addition, over 50% of residents rated 20 of the 24 components as *very important* and over 60% rated 14 of 24. Between 80-90% of residents rated all components but two as either *very important* or *important* and the one 'wild card' was *access to school*.

When counting both the *very important* and *important* ratings the results of the diagram can be summarised under the following three categories:

- A vast majority of components received virtually total support, whereby more than 90% of residents rated them as *very important* and *important*;
- Four components received a few not important ratings (between 10% and 20%). These were: *training and skills*, *income mix*, *water saving* and *community involvement*;
- Two components, *ethnic mix* and *access to school* received a notable number of *not important* ratings (between 20% and 40%).

Figure 9.2 – A gradient of importance: components of sustainable communities as rated by residents in three areas combined



Source: Fieldwork survey

Not many residents commented on or suggested new components of sustainable communities, yet the following ones were suggested by local residents:

- A component to reflect the *range of jobs available locally* in order to account for the type and ‘quality’ of jobs available in an area. A few residents from Langworthy North commented that only low-skill jobs were usually available in their areas and that had a negative impact on people’s aspirations and development.
- A component to monitor the *levels of community activity*. One resident from North Benwell commented that many community initiatives and groups were created and supported by regeneration funding but only few had a noticeable involvement in the local life.
- A component to examine *levels of car or traffic pollution*. Especially at Langworthy North, residents felt that levels of car/traffic pollution have increased throughout the regeneration process as a result of new homes being built in the area. They also complained about heavy traffic being diverted through their area as a result of wider regeneration plans and construction works carried out in surrounding areas.
- A component to look at *the way local has been integrated with city and regional agendas*. One resident at North Benwell pointed out to some inconsistency between local and wider agendas.
- A component to examine the *provision of services and facilities for children and the elderly*. Residents at both the Triangles and North Benwell commented that despite some new and upgraded facilities and services provided during the regeneration of the area, little was actually available for children and older people.

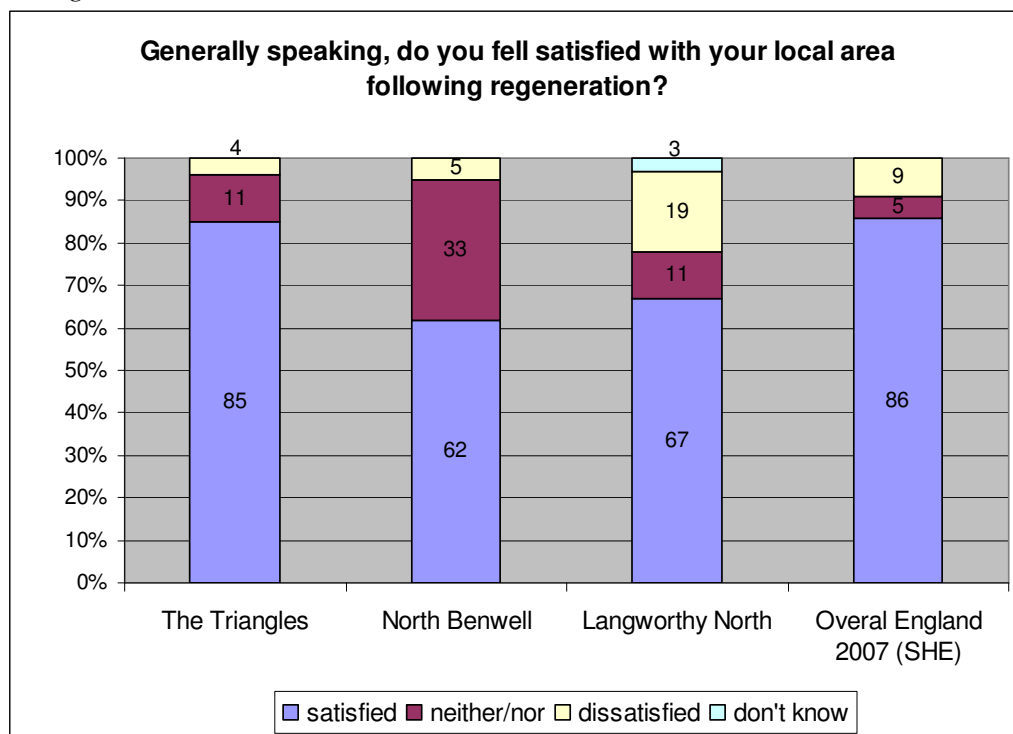
Following the detailed analysis of what residents in the three case study areas rated as *very important*, *important* and *not important* for the sustainability of their communities, some interesting patterns emerged (for a detailed account see Appendix 12):

- Local *Services and Facilities* and *Housing and Built Environment* were rated by all residents in the areas as either *very important* or *important* for the sustainability of their communities.
- Of all six domains of sustainable communities, local *Use of Resources* received a higher number of *not important* ratings. Its three components were all rated as very important by over 50% of residents (energy-efficiency, 66%; waste recycling 56% and water saving 52%). Although these were significant ratings they were not as high when compared to the other components of sustainable communities.
- All domains of sustainable communities with the exception of *Economy and Jobs*, followed the same pattern in the way residents rated their components both across the three areas, as well as within each area: the components within a domain always followed in the same order, that is to say we always found the same components at the top or bottom of the gradient.
- The way components of *Economy and Jobs* were rated was more heterogeneous: we found a lot of variation between how components were rated overall and at area level, as well as when comparing areas between them;
- The components more likely to be rated as *very important* or *important* by residents were *feeling safe* and those related to local physical environments such as *housing state of repair*, *housing and area conditions* and *satisfaction with own home*;
- The most striking finding was that *access to school* was rated as *not important* by a significant number of residents both in each area and across the three areas. A possible explanation of this was offered in Chapter Three and suggested that residents in HMR areas had a good choice of schools as a result of school density in urban areas and places available at most of them, which might have influenced local residents to think that schools were not so important for the sustainability of their communities.

9.2 Life in three HMR areas

Residents' perceptions and attitudes towards living in an area are a good indicator of how successful the regeneration of the area has been and perhaps the most general measure of this is the level of *resident satisfaction*. Satisfaction levels for all residents are compared to overall levels of satisfaction in English cities in Figure 9.1. Figure 9.3 shows that satisfaction was high and similar to national levels at the Triangles and significantly lower in the other two areas, with higher dissatisfaction levels at Langworthy North.

Figure 9.3 – Residents' levels of satisfaction with area, by case study area compared to England



Source: Field work survey and Survey of English Housing, DCLG (2007)

High levels of satisfaction at the Triangles were particularly noteworthy in light of the fact that the area's surroundings had a reputation for high levels of poverty and deprivation, and were earmarked for demolition. In addition, levels of dissatisfaction were notably lower in the Triangles and North Benwell than at national level. Across the three areas, almost three quarters of each tenure group – home owners 72%, social tenants 71% and private tenants 75% - were satisfied with their area following regeneration, less than the national levels of 89%, 80% and 85% (DCLG, 2008b). Home owners were more likely to be satisfied in North Benwell and the Triangles

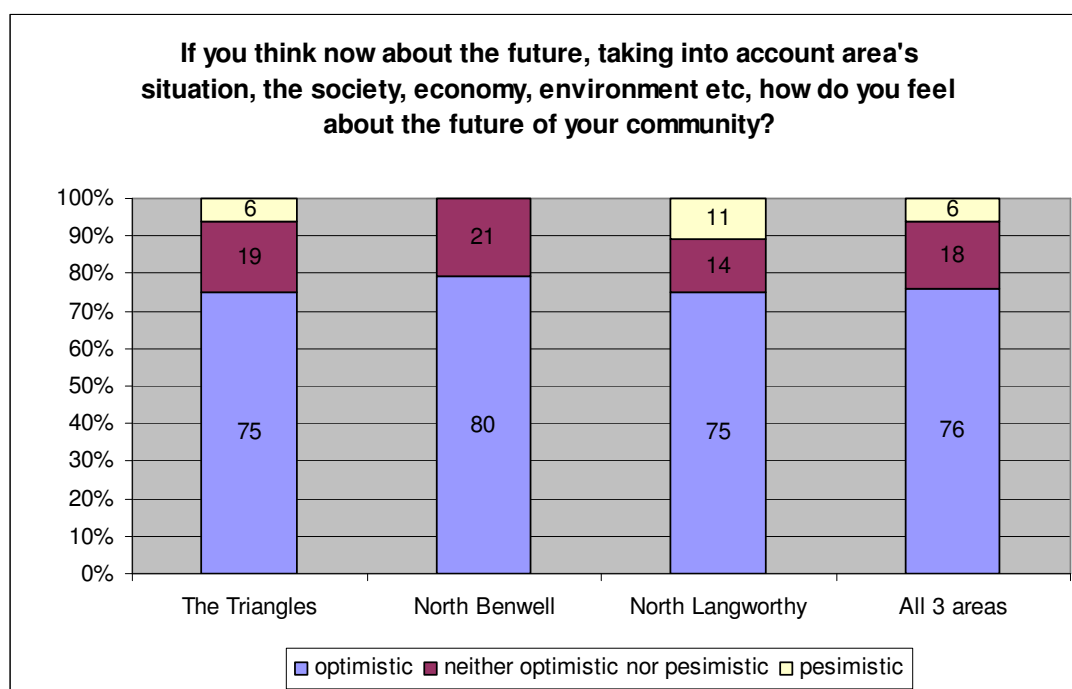
than in Langworthy North, while social and private tenants were more likely to be satisfied at Langworthy North and the Triangles than at North Benwell. The main reasons for residents' satisfaction were:

- the area's improved visual appearance;
- rising house prices; and
- greater community sense and cohesion.

Levels of dissatisfaction at Langworthy North were significantly higher than at both the other two sites and national level. Residents in Langworthy North commented on the “*unfairness of regeneration boundaries*” and “*pockets of deprivation*” pepper-potted around the area which they felt had a negative impact on the overall image of the area. They also felt that the whole regeneration process was too slow, involving “*too many meetings, proposals and presentations*” and “*bearing too little fruit*”, and were concerned about the potential of future demolition in the area as a result of local development pressure, which sought “*to make more room for fancy and expensive new developments*”.

Figure 9.4 shows that a majority of residents were also optimistic about the *future of community* across the three areas. They felt this way because their area was “*in the spotlight*” and “*at the heart of wider regeneration initiatives and plans*”. Residents were more likely to be pessimistic in Langworthy North and they expressed their concerns regarding area gentrification and potential demolition plans in the future. In all three areas, key actors felt that there was “*still a long way to go*” and “*it was still early days*” before a final evaluation could be made. They were all concerned about the uncertainty and short-term commitment of regeneration investment, as both Langworthy North and North Benwell were at the end of major SRB funding and it was not clear whether the areas were to benefit from extra funding, while at the Triangles there were concerns that the Pathfinder could cut back or withdraw funding at any time before the end of the project.

Figure 9.4 – The future of community as perceived by residents by area and in three areas combined

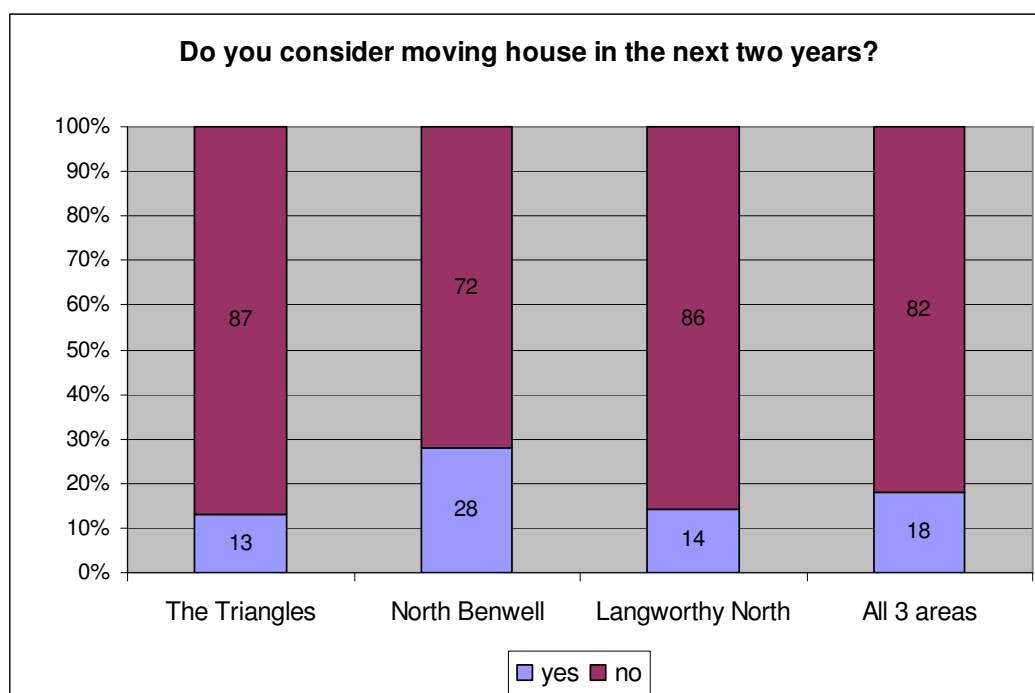


Source: Fieldwork survey

Another important indication of area stability and success is the proportion of people who want to leave the area. Each year in England about 10% of households move house. Some people seem to be more mobile than others. Groups more likely to be mobile are the unemployed, higher socio-economic groups, private renters, younger adults and among the younger adults, white people and black Caribbean (Donovan et al., 2002). However, at national level 44% of people express a preference for moving. Thus, more people want to move than actually succeed in doing so (Boheim and Taylor, 2002). Their preferences may be limited by financial constraints or current tenure. For example, social tenants are more likely to be constrained or ‘frustrated’ in their preferences than other tenures (Clarke, 2008; Hughes and McCormick, 1985).

Figure 9.5 shows that almost one fifth (18%) of the total sample considered *moving house in the next two years*, with a notable proportion of residents at North Benwell saying so. Higher levels of residents thinking of leaving North Benwell were partly explained by the area’s historic high turnover and attraction to immigrant populations, and partly by the high number of rented properties.

Figure 9.5 – Residents considering moving house in the next two years by case study area and in three areas combined



Source: Fieldwork survey

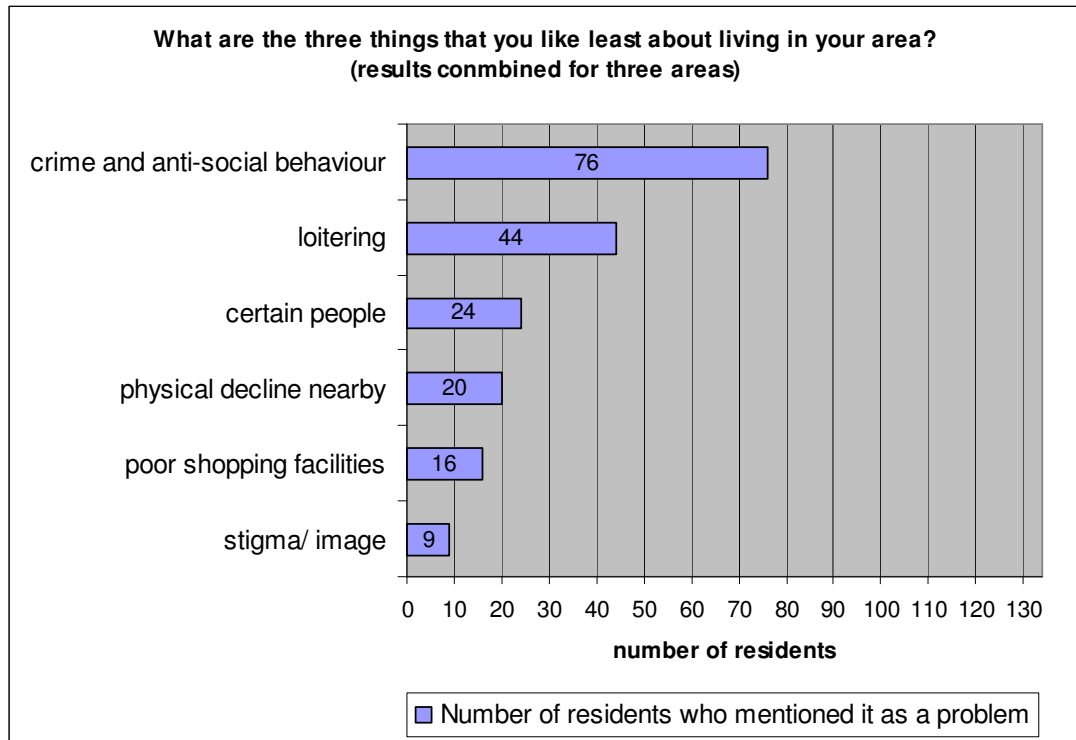
Across the three area, residents considering moving were mainly younger (under 44 and many between 16 and 24), white and living in private rented accommodation, all matching the more mobile categories identified above. More variation was noted in North Benwell, where despite key actors’ accounts of low turnover rates in the social renting sector, more than one third (39%) of the social tenants interviewed considered moving from the area. This was in stark contrast with the general expectation noted previously that social tenants were more constrained in their preferences than other tenures and thus less likely to want to move. Discussions with local residents revealed that the majority of the social tenants who intended to move were from an ethnic minority background and had larger families than average; they thought that larger family houses with gardens were more suitable for their extended families than small three bedroom terraces with tiny back yards available in the area. There were also a few single mothers accommodated in two bedroom flats who expected their second or third child and therefore sought larger accommodation. People move for many reasons. Most moves are driven by the desire to improve the quality and nature of housing rather than for job-related reasons. Lack of satisfaction with homes is one important reason why people choose to move, perhaps even more important than lack of satisfaction with the surrounding neighbourhood according to

one study (Parkes, 2002). Most moves over short distances seem to be associated with relationship formation and break ups, family, a desire to move up or down the housing ladder or move into another area. Moves over longer distances within a region are predominantly for higher education- and job-related reasons (Donovan et al., 2002).

Reasons for moving, common to all three areas, were the lack of larger family homes in the area and rising living costs. Other reasons were related to the place of employment, further education or the desire to move countries. Another reason, especially prevalent at North Benwell and Triangles, was moving to *a better place to bring up children*, closely related to issues of crime and safety in the area. Conversations with couples and young families revealed that many of them were concerned that continuing to live in the area would expose their children to undesirable behaviour such as intimidating street gangs, children hanging on streets and drug abuse. This finding contributes to the evidence discussed in Chapter Five under migration patterns in HMR areas, whereby outward migration of younger people and families with children continues in these areas (Nevin and Leather, 2007). It also highlights one of the HMR challenges, that of retaining younger people and families in these areas in order to create communities that are more 'balanced' and 'mixed'.

A common pattern of *what was least liked* about the areas emerged across the three areas. *Local crime* and *anti-social behaviour*, followed by *litter* were mentioned by an overwhelming majority of residents and key actors in all three areas as Figure 9.6 shows. This compared well to what the local council in each area recognised as a priority for improvement: *reducing levels of crime* was the first priority in all three boroughs, while *clean streets* was identified as a second or third priority (Audit Commission, Area Profiles). At national level anti-social behaviour, including vandalism, street gangs and hooliganism, was also identified as a main problem by 40% of households, and litter and rubbish by 43% (DCLG, 2008d). In addition, the incidence of anti-social behaviour including teenagers hanging around the streets rose between 1992 and 2008 from 20% to 31% (DEFRA, 2008).

Figure 9.6 – A gradient of least liked things in three areas combined



Source: Fieldwork survey

9.3 The impact of housing refurbishment-led regeneration on community sustainability

The first section of this chapter showed that local residents across the three areas were relatively satisfied with their areas and felt generally optimistic about the future of their communities. Yet a number of residents in each area considered moving from these areas, perhaps as a direct consequence of their concerns regarding crime, safety and loitering issues common to all three areas. Against this background, we look now at the impact that housing refurbishment-led regeneration had across the three areas on the six domains of sustainable communities in order to identify common patterns. These domains were defined in Chapter Three by the framework for assessing sustainable communities and are as follows:

- Economy and jobs
- Community
- Use of resources
- Housing and built environment
- Services and facilities

- Governance

Table 9.1 summarises the final tables from each area chapter and shows whether the six domains of sustainable communities as listed above were found to move towards or away from sustainability under the impact of area regeneration. The table highlights that area intervention did not have the same impact on all domains of sustainable communities either across the three areas or within each area: it had a **clear** or **somewhat** positive impact on some domains of sustainable communities, while on others the positive impact was **uncertain**.

Table 9.1 also shows that, according to our framework, the community in Langworthy North appeared to make more progress towards sustainability than the other two areas: area intervention had a *clear* or *somewhat positive impact* in at least four domains of sustainable communities. In addition, housing refurbishment-led regeneration had a *clear positive impact* on the *housing and built environment* of all three areas. The following section turns to each domain of sustainable communities and discusses its progress towards sustainability.

Table 9.1 – The overall impact of area regeneration in three areas

<i>Domains of sustainable communities</i>	<i>Langworthy North</i>	<i>North Benwell</i>	<i>The Triangles</i>	<i>Overall impact of housing refurbishment-led regeneration (across 3 areas)</i>
<i>Housing and built environment</i>	↑	↑	↑	Clear positive impact (3 x ↑)
<i>Economy and jobs</i>	↑	↑	↓	Somewhat positive impact (2 x ↑)
<i>Community</i>	↑	↑	↓	Somewhat positive impact (2 x ↑)
<i>Use of resources</i>	≈	≈	↑	Somewhat positive impact /Uncertain (1 x ↑)
<i>Governance</i>	↑	≈	↓	Uncertain
<i>Services and facilities</i>	≈	≈	≈	Uncertain
<i>Overall impact of housing refurbishment-led regeneration in each area</i>	4 x ↑	3 x ↑	2 x ↑	

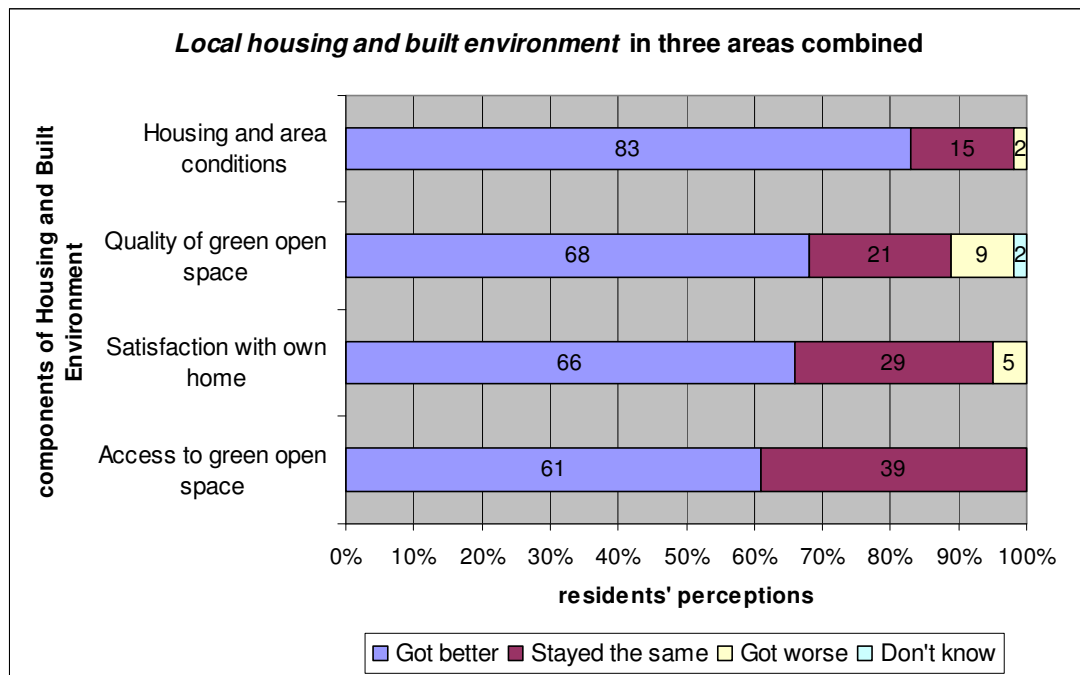
Source: Research fieldwork

- Key:** ↑ - urban regeneration had a **clear** positive and significant impact on most or all components (moving towards sustainability)
- ↓ - urban regeneration had a **somewhat** positive impact on few components and insignificant on others (moving away from sustainability)
- ≈ - urban regeneration had an **uncertain** impact on most components (stagnant)

Local housing and built environment

Chapter Three suggested that the positive impact of urban regeneration on the local *housing and built environment* was likely to be clear and significant as most of its components were related to area's physical regeneration and including those related to green space. These components were where most regeneration investment went and also, as is shown later in this chapter, those most valuable to local residents. Indeed, the evidence from the three case study areas indicated that area regeneration had a *clear positive impact* on all components of each area's local *housing and built environment* (Figure 9.7). In all three areas the housing and area conditions were greatly improved, houses were in a better state of repair and residents were happier with their homes. These findings confirm and add to the body of research reviewed in Chapter Two which found that the overall appearance and cleanliness together with residents' satisfaction with their homes and neighbourhoods improved in areas of regeneration (Page and Boughton, 1997; Jupp, 1999; Power, 2009a; Lawless, 2006; Rhodes et al., 2005).

Figure 9.7 – Components of Housing and Built Environment as perceived by residents in three areas combined



Source: Fieldwork survey

More specifically, the general **housing and area conditions** had significantly improved across the three areas as a direct result of regeneration works. Interviewees talked about streets and houses looking smart and uniform, the area’s new appearance which “*was tidier and very attractive*” in Langworthy North, “*had greatly improved*” in North Benwell and showed that the area was “*well looked after by its residents*” in the Triangles. Local residents were also more satisfied with their homes as a result of their better state of repair. They mentioned warmer and safer homes, and improvements made to meet their needs. Yet across the three areas, more effort was put into improving the visible ‘front of the house’, including front gardens, doors and windows, roofs and chimney stacks, than the less visible back such as back walls and yards. In addition, many residents felt that their kitchens and bathrooms were in much need of repair and upgrading.

The residents most satisfied with their homes were from the Triangles (81%), followed by those in Langworthy North (67%) and North Benwell (49%). A possible explanation for high levels of satisfaction at the Triangles could be the nature and extent of refurbishment works carried out which involved extensive improvements and generous subsidies for all residents willing to take part in the scheme. In

contrast, a more piece-meal approach was taken at North Benwell, whereby home owners and social tenants were the main beneficiaries of regeneration subsidies. As a result, private tenants, a significant share of area's population, were left out. In fact, only 21% of North Benwell's private tenants were more satisfied with their homes, in comparison to 89% at Langworthy North and 56% at the Triangles.

Evidence reviewed in Chapter Two drew attention to the highly variable approach to **green space** delivered under current urban regeneration practice in the UK, with best results rather occurring in Growth Areas than in Housing Market Renewal initiatives (SDC, 2007). In contrast, the three case study areas offered commendable good practice in their approach to green space. Housing refurbishment-led regeneration made commendable improvements to the quality and quantity of green open space by providing additional space in two areas and upgrading the existing green space in all three areas. Overall, 68% of the interviewed residents held the view that the area's green space was of higher quality and regeneration contributed significantly to raising its standards. Residents' **access to green open space** was also found to have improved in all three areas. Both the Triangles and Langworthy North had benefited from the recent and extensive refurbishments of nearby parks, Birkenhead Park and Chimney Pot Park, while Langworthy North and North Benwell had benefited from additional green space opened up through selective demolition.

Local economy, jobs and community

Housing refurbishment-led regeneration had a *somewhat positive impact* on the area's *economy and jobs* and *community* in all three areas. Local residents improved their skill base as a result of more readily-available training courses offered throughout the regeneration process; house prices and land values rocketed in all three areas and there were signs that local business activity was slowly picking up in two areas. However, local job markets were still weak, as not many jobs and opportunities seemed to have been created locally across the three areas. Urban regeneration fostered a greater sense of community and levels of crime were reduced in all three areas. Yet the community mix was still challenging as tenure diversification did not actually happen in any of the three areas, despite a general feeling that better-off people were actually moving into all three areas.

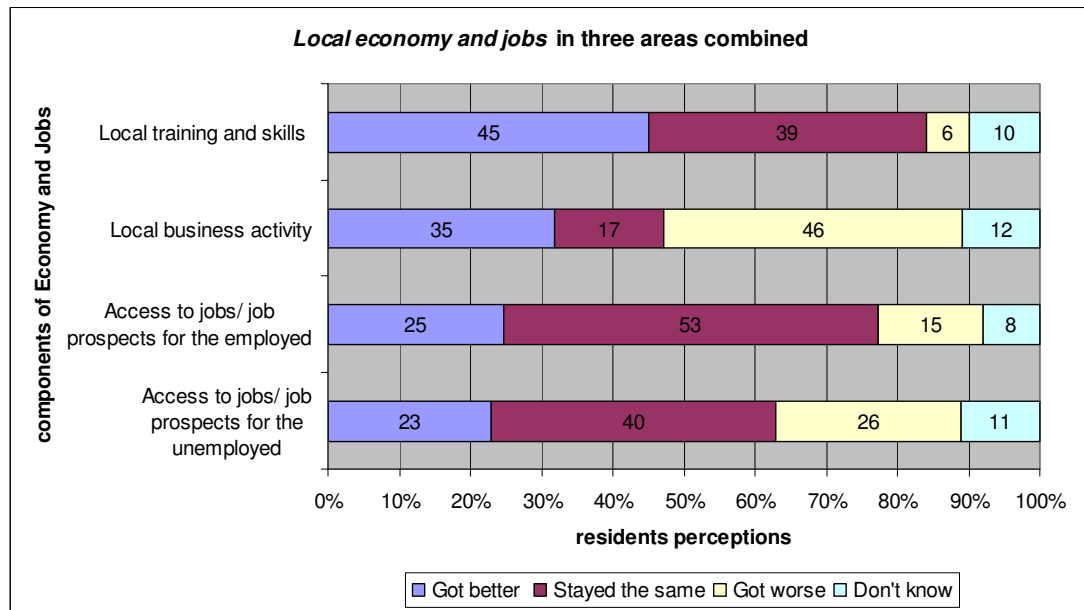
Local economy and jobs

Evidence reviewed in Chapter Two noted that urban regeneration efforts developed under the *urban renaissance* agenda over the last decade have failed to have a major effect on and improve the overall economic performance of cities and towns (Leunig and Swaffield, 2007). Evidence from the case study areas showed, however, that quite a few economic components of sustainable communities seemed to have improved as a result of area regeneration in at least two areas (Figure 9.6). Both Langworthy North and North Benwell were better off in terms of their overall economic outlook at the end of the regeneration process than in its beginning, perhaps a direct consequence of Langworthy North's close relationship to the nearby market jobs of Salford Quays and Manchester City, and North Benwell's successful local business activity fuelled by ethnic-led entrepreneurship. In contrast, the Triangles' economy seemed cut-off and hampered by proposed demolition in the surrounding areas.

Still in all three areas, local economies and job markets appeared to be in a fragile balance and subordinated to wider economic rationales. On one hand, house prices increased significantly in all three areas and local residents appeared better prepared to take on new job opportunities as a result of better training opportunities. On the other hand local job markets and business activity still struggled and areas seemed to become less and less affordable to local residents.

Evidence from the three case study areas showed that local residents gained employment only marginally throughout the regeneration process, despite their overall skill base being much improved. This finding complements research reviewed in Chapter Two which also found that despite comprehensive physical regeneration with resultant economic growth undergone by the UK's cities, those living near or in regeneration areas did not benefit much in terms of employment prospects and only a fraction of dedicated budgets were spent on tackling unemployment and boosting skills and enterprise in regeneration areas (Hayman, 2009; All Party Urban Development Group, 2009).

Figure 9.8 – Components of Economy and Jobs as perceived by residents in three areas combined



Source: Fieldwork survey

Local jobs and **access to jobs** were generally perceived as poor by local residents as a result of poor local choice and opportunities, and failure to promote viable employment alternatives to previous industry and manufacturing jobs. Key actors thought that creating local employment opportunities was not one of the strengths of the regeneration process, that “*jobs have not been successfully linked into the regeneration process*” and “*jobs still needed to kick in*”. Yet a few new local jobs were created, mainly as a result of the regeneration process per se.

Levels of **local business activity** were perceived in both Langworthy North and the Triangles as deteriorating, a result of declining and disappearing traditional high-street shops in favour of big supermarkets and demolition plans which fuelled private investors’ lack of confidence in the area. In contrast, in North Benwell local businesses were doing well and predominantly catered for ethnic minority groups. Despite residents’ negative perceptions, key actors talked about local business activity that “*started to pick up recently*” in Langworthy North and North Benwell, mainly as a result of on-going construction works: developers, contractors and labourers were using local shops and businesses to either order construction materials, buy their lunches or sub-contract work.

Residents' **access to new training and skills** improved across the three areas. Both residents and key actors agreed that regeneration greatly facilitated local residents' access to new training, and especially so in Langworthy North and North Benwell. A number of training courses and initiatives targeting residents' low skills base were publicised throughout the regeneration process via leaflets, local newspapers and board notes at local neighbourhood offices in two areas. Yet residents at Langworthy North complained about the difficulty of finding a job once a training course had been completed, and thought that a better match between jobs available locally and the local skills base, on one hand, and training courses, on the other hand, should be sought by regeneration and economic development programmes.

Chapter Two noted that **house prices and land values** usually increase in renewal areas (Razzu, 2004; Roessner, 2000; Turok, 1992; Groves et al., 2003). Findings from the three case studies supported this evidence. House prices and land values increased by a significant amount in all three areas and at a faster pace than their boroughs and regional counterparts. Moreover land or houses had initially been turned over to developers and buyers at essentially nil value. Public realm and infrastructure improvements had been subsidised with public investment, and the majority of the newly refurbished homes for sale had been heavily subsidised. Yet respondents did not know precisely by how much house prices increased and a wide range of figures were mentioned in each area, together with a slight inclination for exaggeration when compared to actual prices and values in the area.

Key actors across all three areas thought that the areas were still **affordable** when compared to the city in general and to terraced housing within the city in particular, and a main attraction to first time buyers who "*wanted to get on the property ladder*". The wider areas, within which the three case studies sat, experienced increases in the affordability gap, with North Benwell and the Triangles' HMR wider areas undergoing a higher increase than that of the Triangles (*Table 5.2*). Moreover, local residents mentioned increasing costs and rents at North Benwell, an active buy-to-let market represented by "*private landlords who took over the streets*" at the Triangles, and feared being pushed out of the area "*by young professionals working in Manchester*" at Langworthy North.

For low-income residents increasing land values can be problematic, despite the fact that the value of their assets increase as well. In fact local residents voiced concerns across the three areas regarding increasing lack of local affordability. Limited evidence from the three case studies supports evidence examined in Chapter Five which indicated a fall in affordability across the HMR areas and residents feeling priced out of the market as a result of area regeneration (*Table 5.2*). Moreover, Chapter Two noted that lack of affordability for low income local residents could lead to area gentrification, which is not, however, an aim in these areas. As house prices in an area increase, low-income home-owners may find it difficult to improve their housing situation within the area, and their relatives or other social tenants looking to move into home ownership may be priced out, contributing to the so-called 'exclusionary' or 'second generation' displacement (Marcuse, 1986).

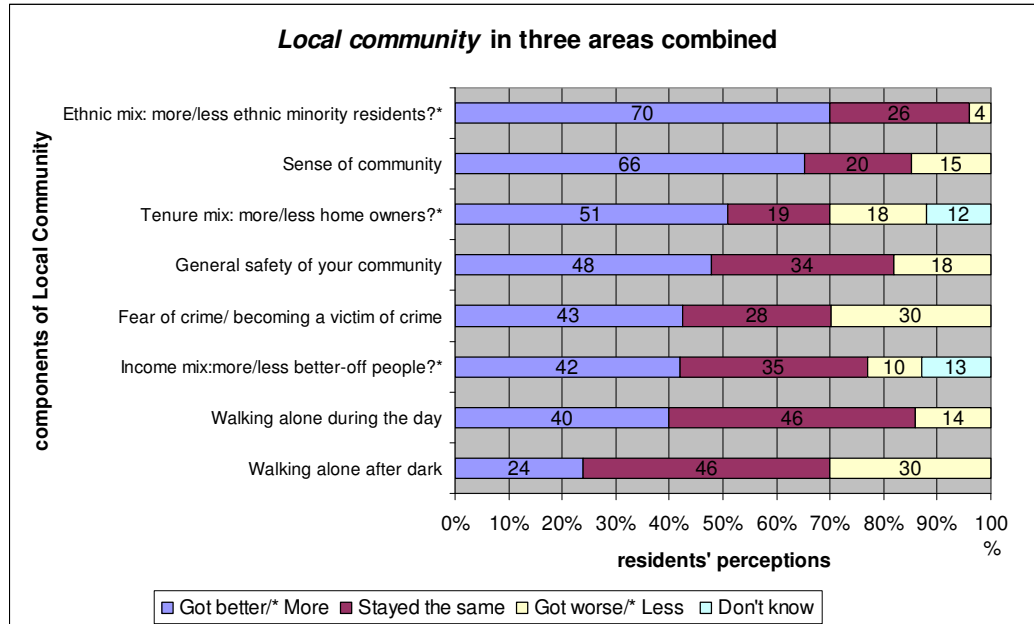
Local community

Two main changes in an area's *community* outlook were notable across all three areas. First, area regeneration fostered a local *sense of community* at all case study areas. Second, all three areas experienced important changes in terms of *ethnic composition*, with new migrant populations, mainly from Eastern Europe, coming into the areas. *Figure 9.9* illustrates how the various components of *community* were perceived by the residents in the three areas.

Chapter Two noted that community cohesion was found to improve in urban regeneration areas through more interaction among different groups (Audit Commission, 2008b; SDC, 2007). Findings from the three areas support this evidence. It was generally agreed that the regeneration process had contributed to consolidating the existing community and fostered a greater **sense of community**, with more social contact and community activity noted especially in two areas, Langworthy North and North Benwell, much supported by the two local neighbourhood offices. However, research also found that increased socio-economic and ethnic diversity could impact negatively on community cohesion (Dekker and Bolt, 2005). We found some evidence of this in North Benwell where despite a generally acknowledged strong sense of community, local residents mentioned little communication and ties among the various local ethnic communities and key actors

expressed concerns about the “*local community that did not gel*” because of such an ethnic diversity.

Figure 9.9 – Components of Community as perceived by residents in three areas combined



Source: Fieldwork survey

Power (2004) listed four key questions about sense of community (Power, 2004). These questions were answered for the three case-study areas in Table 9.2 below. A comparison across the three areas in these terms shows that Langworthy North and North Benwell offered more scope for building a stronger sense of community than the Triangles for example.

Sense of community and belonging to an area can be promoted by informal meeting places such as streets, public open spaces or bus stops as well as more formal places such as community and sport centres and schools (Appleyard and Gerson, 1981; Gehl, 1971). The alley-gating, communal gardens and pocket parks at Langworthy North and North Benwell were mentioned by residents as valuable informal meeting places. In both areas there were also a few formal community venues, most notably the Cornerstone in Langworthy North, a new state of the art community facility built with regeneration funding, and the Milin Community Centre in North Benwell, an existing and well run local community facility. There were not many places as such at the Triangles and local residents relied on wider area community facilities. In

addition, the Birkenhead Park was perceived as part of a wider circuit and so not a place which potentially could increase social contact among Triangles' residents.

Table 9.2 – Questions on sense of community

Questions of sense of community	Langworthy North	North Benwell	The Triangles
<i>Are there any community meeting points?</i>	Yes many (e.g. SALT office, communal gardens; gated alleys; Chimney Pot Park)	Yes many (e.g. RMI office; communal gardens; pocket parks)	Limited (e.g. Birkenhead Park)
<i>Are there community facilities for hire?</i>	Yes many (e.g. Cornerstone, SALT office)	Yes many (RMI office; Millin Centre)	No
<i>Are there any community organisations?</i>	23	16	1
<i>Are there any front-line jobs?</i>	Yes (e.g. park keeper, street wardens)	Yes (e.g. street wardens, community police officers)	No
Overall area assessment	Positive	Positive	Limited

Source: Adapted from Power (2004)

A sense of community was also fostered by the local community activity developed through a range of community organisations and projects: there were 23 active community groups and initiative in Langworthy North and 16 in North Benwell. Moreover, at both Langworthy North and North Benwell, and in contrast to the Triangles, a range of front-line jobs, such as street wardens, community police officers and park keepers, which offered a human link and a neighbourhood presence, were established throughout the regeneration process.

It was noted earlier in this thesis that reducing crime levels in areas of urban regeneration has been seen as a pre-requisite of successful urban regeneration. Levels of crime have been found to decrease in areas of urban regeneration and as area conditions improved, residents' perceptions of crime also have improved (Coleman, 2004b; Coleman, 2004a; SEU, 2001). All three areas experienced significant reductions in levels of crime throughout the regeneration process. Fear of crime and general perceptions of community safety also improved as a result of active policing and local warden services, at both Langworthy North and North Benwell.

People felt safer in their communities and were less concerned about becoming a victim of crime. Yet **perceptions of local crime and safety** were more positive at Langworthy North and North Benwell, than at the Triangles: residents walked more confidently about their area and were less concerned about becoming a victim of crime. They felt safer as a result of less reported crime, public realm improvements such as better street lighting and surfacing, and better channels to report crime including neighbourhood offices, street wardens and community police officers. Yet the future of these front-line jobs in both areas was very much questioned at the time of fieldwork due to shortfalls in funding and reconfiguration of regeneration plans.

Police patrolling was intensive and closely networked with the local community at North Benwell via community police officers, who patrolled the area each day between 6am and 11pm, junior wardens who were 'trained' in the local school and neighbourhood watch schemes. In addition, the area was sandwiched between two busy commercial roads, West Road and Adelaide Terrace which stimulated more pedestrian flows through the area. In contrast, there was no street policing at the Triangles, the neighbouring areas were partially abandoned and the local high street, Liard Street, was lined with boarded-up shops.

Evidence reviewed in Chapter Two highlighted that policy makers and city planners have tried for many years to mix communities better by attracting *better-off* households back into urban deprived urban areas, in order to prop up schools, de-concentrate poverty and prevent sprawl. Better-off households, in particular, are expected to contribute to an area by pressuring local bodies and institutions for better services, monitoring public order and facilitating social interaction across different backgrounds, resulting in an improvement in standards (Silverman et al., 2006; Tunstall and Fenton, 2006). Moreover, re-balancing tenure in the favour of home-ownership has been seen as a pre-requisite of successful regeneration delivery and sustainable communities in the HMR areas (Audit Commission, 2006a; Shelter, 2009). We found little evidence of this in the three case study areas.

Tables 9.3 to 9.5 below show changes in **housing tenure** between 2001 and 2006 in the three case study areas. Small changes across all housing sectors were noted at

Langworthy North and North Benwell and more significant changes at the Triangles. At Langworthy North all three housing sectors contracted in favour of *other*, perhaps an indication of increasing *concealment* of households within the area. The Triangles was the only area that experienced important changes across all tenures between 2001 and 2006, with both home-ownership and social renting shrinking in favour of the private rented sector. In previous research, the shift to private renting has been related to collapsing local housing markets and surrounding areas earmarked for demolition, the latter certainly being the case at the Triangles (Holmans and Simpson, 1999; Keenan et al., 1999). In addition, residents across the three areas noted a higher number of better-off residents in their areas who “drove expensive cars” and “bought expensive furniture, wore smart suits” or “went to work every morning”.

Table 9.3 – Housing tenure at Langworthy North (2001-2006)

Housing tenure	2001	2006
Home ownership	59%	55%
Social renting	22%	20%
Private renting	17%	14%
Other	2%	10%

Source: Figures for 2006 were based on author’s calculations from the survey carried out in 2006 for (Quaternion, 2007); figures for 2001 are based on 2001 Census data for Lower Layer Super Output Area (Salford 023C) which almost overlapped over the case study area.

Note: Totals may not add up to 100% as percentages were rounded to one decimal place.

Table 9.4 – Housing tenure at North Benwell (2001-2006)

Housing tenure	2001	2006
Home ownership	29%	30%
Social renting	35%	35%
Private renting	33%	35%
Other	23%	-

Source: Figures based on (Social Regeneration Consultants, 2005; Total Research, 2007)

Note: Totals may not add up to 100% as percentages were rounded to one decimal place.

Table 9.5 – Housing tenure at the Triangles (2001-2006)

Housing tenure	2001	2006
Home ownership	60%	55 %
Social renting	17%	6%
Private renting	20%	39%
Other	2%	-

Source: Figures for 2006 are based on author’s calculations drawing on the Wirral Door-to-Door survey carried out in 2005/2006 at the beginning of the regeneration scheme; figures for 2001 are based on 2001 Census data for Super Output Area which perfectly overlapped over the case study area’s middle section (Thornton-Clifford-Kinsley streets); assumptions were made that tenure was distributed evenly across the case study area.

Note: Totals may not add up to 100% as percentages were rounded to one decimal place.

The **ethnic mix** of an area is not often explicitly mentioned in official discussions of social balance, perhaps due partly to legal obstacles for affirmative action (Cole and

Goodchild, 2001). This research did not focus on area's change in ethnic mix, as little information was available on the three areas' ethnic profiles. However, our area interviews indicated important changes in the ethnic composition of all three areas which led to adjustments and tensions within the already-existing local communities: in all three areas interviewees reported the arrival and settling of East European populations who either "*did not speak too much English*" or "*drove expensive cars around the area*" or "*ganged together*" at certain times of the day or week. In places, the existing residents felt threatened by the new arrivals: they did not know what "*these Easter Europeans were doing for living*" or why they gathered together.

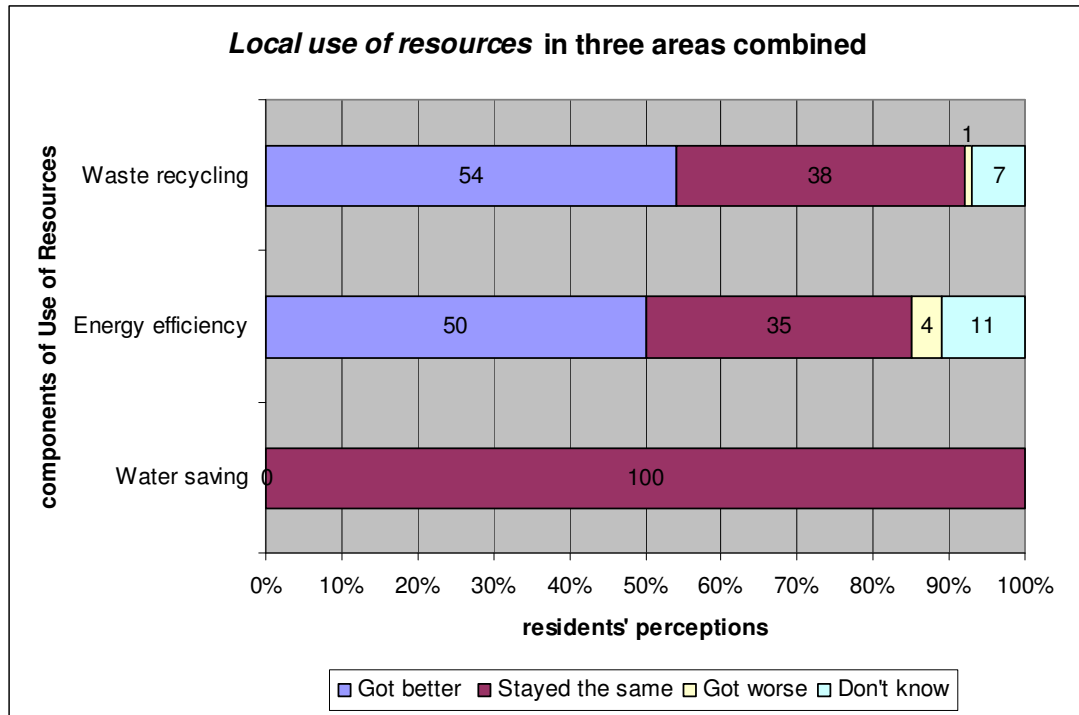
These changes were not seen as a direct impact of the regeneration process but rather as a result of UK's migration policy and practice. Residents at Langworthy North and North Benwell were more likely to report significant changes in their area's ethnic mix than those living in the Triangles. A possible explanation of this is that both Langworthy North and North Benwell were dispersal areas for asylum seekers and refugees and thus supposedly subject to higher flows of ethnic minority populations. Moreover, the population of Langworthy North was historically white and thus changes in area's 'quantity' of ethnic minority population was easier and faster noticeable, while at Benwell North, change was noted on the background of changing 'substance' of the dominant ethnic minority groups from predominantly Asian and Bangladeshi to newer Easter European and Black African populations. In North Benwell, the only area where more detailed ethnic minority information was available, the indigenous white population declined by 13% between 2001 and 2006, from 75% in 2001 to 62% in 2006, in favour of other ethnic minority groups (Total Research, 2007).

Local use of resources, governance, services and facilities

Across the three areas, area regeneration had an *uncertain impact* on the area's *use of resources, governance, services and facilities*. Despite residents' positive feedback, especially in regard to energy efficiency and household waste recycling, evidence of pursuing a coordinated regeneration approach for an efficient local use of natural resources was weak, especially in two areas; foundations for local governance mechanisms were fragile in two areas and inexistent in the third; and local services

and facilities benefited and improved little throughout the regeneration process in three areas.

Figure 9.10 – Components of Use of Resources as perceived by residents in areas combined



Source: Fieldwork survey

Local use of resources

Chapter Three indicated that the positive impact of regeneration was likely to be less clear or significant on *use of resources* as a result of some of its weak components: *water saving* was highlighted as such a weak component of sustainable communities, despite its contribution to reducing housing costs, especially important for low-income households (EST, 2008). In addition, *use of resources* did not purposively include an important component of efficient use of local resources, that of ‘using’ and ‘recycling’ existing buildings and infrastructure, an action that takes place during any ‘refurbishment’ initiative. Chapter Three explained that we considered this an intrinsic feature of housing refurbishment-led regeneration and thus did not include it as a separate component of sustainable communities under the *use of resources* domain. The fact that local residents have fought in all our three areas as well as many other HMR areas to save their homes and areas from being demolished shows how important this aspect was for them and the sustainability of their communities.

Evidence from the three areas indicates, indeed, that the positive impact of housing refurbishment-led regeneration was less clear on *local use of resources*. An up-front ‘environmental’ agenda was pursued only at the Triangles, while in the other two areas measures were implemented unevenly and sparingly, which points to evidence reviewed in Chapter Two highlighting sporadic application of upgrades (Clarke et al., 2008). This seemed to be the effect of an *economic barrier* in all three areas, by which the up-front cost seemed to be the predominant criteria in deciding whether to implement a measure or not (Couch and Dennemann, 2000). Nevertheless, a majority of residents across the three areas felt that their homes were more energy-efficient and they recycled more waste as a result of improvements carried out throughout regeneration works (*Figure 9.10*).

Looking at the wider context of each case study area, both Salford and Newcastle councils have shown very good progress on energy-efficiency and waste recycling when compared to national figures, in contrast to Wirral council which lagged behind (Audit Commission, Area Profiles). Moreover, Newcastle came first in a very recent classification of UK’s most sustainable cities (Forum for the Future, 2009). Residents in all three areas showed some awareness regarding energy-efficiency in their homes only when specifically questioned about various measures to reduce energy-efficiency which they immediately related to cheaper bills. The most easily recognisable and reported energy-efficiency measures were double glazing, loft insulation and energy saving bulbs. Few residents commented or knew if they had room thermostats or water tank insulation. This evidence suggests that the insufficient knowledge of effective ways to reduce household energy use, which we discussed in Chapter Two, was a potential barrier for greater energy efficiency in the three areas (Steg, 2008).

Chapter Two also showed that the private rented sector is the least energy efficient sector (DCLG, 2007a). We found that private tenants were less likely to be informed about energy efficiency in their properties than other residents. More interestingly, when comparing the two areas with similar large private renting sectors, North Benwell and the Triangles, private tenants at the Triangles were likely to be more informed about measures implemented in their homes than those at North Benwell. This could have two possible explanations. First, these measures might have been

missing altogether from some privately rented accommodation, as a result of landlords not being interested in investing in their properties. At the Triangles, the council developed the 'Homesteading', an 'out-reach' initiative which actively aimed to track and involve 'absent' landlords, while North Benwell's two schemes, the Private Rented Service and Accreditation Scheme, passively aimed to involve landlords and had a less of an outreach approach. Second, it could be explained by the private renting turnover, whereby current tenants were less likely to know about improvements carried out by the landlord to the property previous to their time at the property. The Triangles scheme was still on-going at the time of fieldwork and thus residents were more likely to be aware about works carried out in the area.

More efforts for an efficient consumption of local resources were noted at the Triangles than at Langworthy North and North Benwell where less coordinated approaches were noted. When compared to the other two areas, the Triangles' regeneration plans were more aligned to national and regional **energy-efficiency** policy, and, as a result, a more uniform approach to energy-efficiency was pursued throughout the regeneration process. Most houses received double glazing, roof insulation, draught-proofing and central heating, and the whole scheme committed to using local and low-maintenance construction materials. In contrast, at both Langworthy North and North Benwell, energy-efficiency measures were inconsistently and sparingly applied throughout successive regeneration initiatives.

All three areas progressed notably in terms of **waste recycling**, from being basically non-recycling areas to areas where waste recycling was publicly promoted and acknowledged by local partners and residents. A good proportion of local residents across two areas, Langworthy North and the Triangles, admitted that they recycled more waste in their homes as a result of measures implemented throughout the regeneration process. The percentage of people claiming to be recycling more waste following regeneration at the Triangles is particularly noteworthy. This could have a twofold explanation: first, the newness of the recycling scheme in comparison to the other two areas and second, the close relation between the local community and the local council, which was also reflected by residents' high levels of satisfaction with council services and which led to smooth-running, coordinated waste collection and management services. By contrast, both the other areas complained about unreliable

collection services, while at North Benwell, the area with the lowest percentage of people saying that they recycled more following regeneration, waste collection seemed to be hindered by high population turnover and cultural differences.

In all three areas, door-step waste recycling schemes were had only been running for a relatively short period of time at the time of fieldwork: one year at Langworthy North and North Benwell and less than six months at the Triangles. These schemes were supplemented by a monthly Skip Day in Salford and an annual Week of Action in Newcastle. Our discussions with key actors revealed, however, that practice across all three areas lagged well behind city practice and was hindered by practical issues such as irregular collections and wider issues such as North Benwell's turnover.

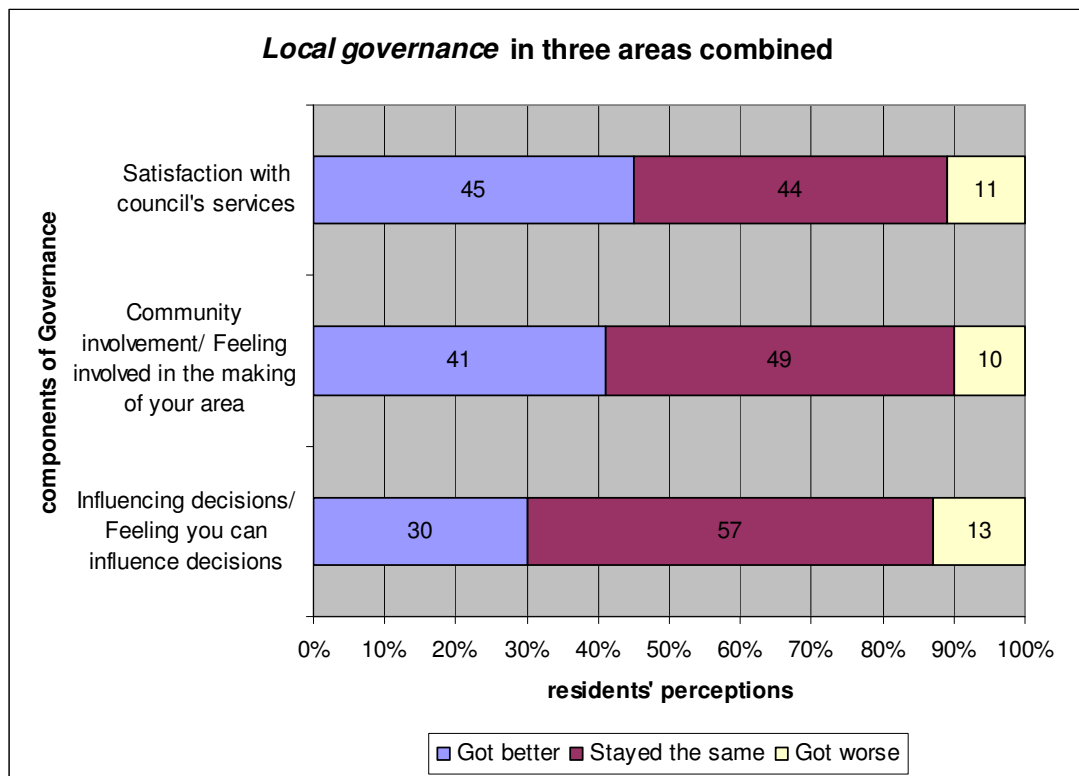
Chapter Three highlighted the importance of **water saving** in homes and the general lack of public awareness (EST, 2008), which could be, per se, a consequence of the less well-documented evidence and government support on the subject, highlighted in Chapter Two. Financial incentives and public subsidy have been less publicised and promoted for water saving than for energy efficiency and waste recycling (SDC, 2007). As a result, water efficiency programmes have registered to date a relatively low level of activity for a series of reasons such as uncertainty of water saving returns, technological aspects, unclear regulatory framework and a misleading perception of UK as '*water plentiful*' (Howarth, 2009). Findings from the three case study areas support this evidence: plans for an efficient use of water in homes were little considered within the areas' initial regeneration plans. Water butts were installed at Langworthy North and water meters were initially discussed at both North Benwell and the Triangles, but never implemented due to high cost implications. Local residents also showed little water efficiency concern and awareness. Only one resident at the Triangles made a specific comment regarding a water leak in the next door property and wondered whose responsibility it was to stop water waste.

Local governance

Chapter Two discussed the importance of community involvement and local partnerships in shaping local governance mechanisms (Kotecha et al., 2008), while Chapter Five highlighted that involving further local communities and building upon

past success or lack thereof is one of the HMR Programme's challenges. **Community involvement** throughout the regeneration process varied across the three areas with an overall four in ten (41%) residents feeling involved in the making of their area (Figure 9.11).

Figure 9.11 - Components of Governance as perceived by residents in three areas combined



Source: Fieldwork survey

Arnstein's ladder of citizen participation (Figure 2.5) can be employed here to describe the type and degree of community engagement in the three areas:

- a combination of *partnership* and *delegated power* at Langworthy North, where the local community was well represented in local partnerships and SALT was delegated by the local council to carry out various 'tasks' during and following the regeneration of the area;
- *placation* at North Benwell, whereby a few hand-picked community representatives informed and were involved in the regeneration plans, but the regeneration partnership retained the right to judge the legitimacy or feasibility of the advice; and

- *consultation* at the Triangles, where residents' opinions were invited to inform and not to shape regeneration plans for the area.

High levels of community activity and membership were noted in two areas, Langworthy North and North Benwell. At Langworthy North, the regeneration of the area took place against the background of intensive and ongoing community participation and empowerment. Notably, one in two residents (55%) we interviewed was a member of a community group. Yet, in North Benwell, key actors commented about significant historic levels of community involvement which had recently dropped. Indeed, in comparison to Langworthy North, only two in five of the residents interviewed (39%) were a member of a community group.

Across the three areas, three in ten residents (30%) felt that they could **influence decisions about their area**. Residents at Langworthy North and the Triangles were more likely to feel that they could influence decisions regarding their areas, and figures were also closer to the national average of 37% (Citizenship Survey, 2007), than those at North Benwell, where only 21% felt so. An analysis of the 2007 Citizenship Survey showed that people's feelings about their ability to influence local decision-making were related to levels of trust in the local council, volunteering and civic involvement in local life. It also found that an important role was played by community cohesion which was seen as necessary for people to effectively act collectively and exert influence (DCLG, 2006a).

Indeed, residents at North Benwell showed less trust in the local council as a result of high staff turnover at the local neighbourhood office and plans to move the regeneration focus to another area. Moreover, residents described their community as less cohesive and felt that community cohesion was undermined by an increased cultural and ethnic diversity, and transient populations who lacked the motivation to invest in their area. In contrast, higher levels at Langworthy North were the result of long-term community building programs, while at the Triangles, the close and 'consultative' relationship between the local council and residents created the impression of effective community involvement in decision-making; in reality, residents were presented with a set of pre-defined choices they could impact little upon.

Research showed that lower levels of residents who felt unable to influence decisions affecting their local area were linked to younger (16-24) and older (over 65) populations, and lower levels of qualifications. Moreover, Black and Asian populations were more likely than other ethnic groups and whites to agree that they can influence decisions in their areas (DCLG, 2006d). At North Benwell, the overall resident population was not particularly younger or older than average and a large amount was of Bangladeshi origins. Bangladeshi groups have long been associated with lower educational attainment, qualifications and occupations (Phillips, 2009). This could offer another explanation for lower levels of residents feeling that they can influence decisions about their area in North Benwell.

Another important indication for an area's governance outlook is the type and quality of leadership and services promoted by each local authority. The local authority's approach across the three areas varied from a 'back-seat' approach in Langworthy North, where SALT had been invested with many local responsibilities, to a 'concealed top-down' approach in North Benwell, where the council veiled its centralised control by setting up NMI, and 'overt top-down' approach in the Triangles. The latest national survey of user satisfaction and local government service provision found that approximately two fifths of respondents (42%) were **satisfied with the way that their council ran things**, while one fifth expressed a degree of dissatisfaction (21%) (Audit Commission, 2009a; Cole, 2008; Bernstock and Baker, 2008; Shelter, 2009; Cullingworth and Nadin, 2002) p.20. Satisfaction with council services was similar across the three areas, averaging 45%, and slightly higher than the national average of 42%. More importantly, levels of dissatisfaction were significantly lower than the national average in all three areas.

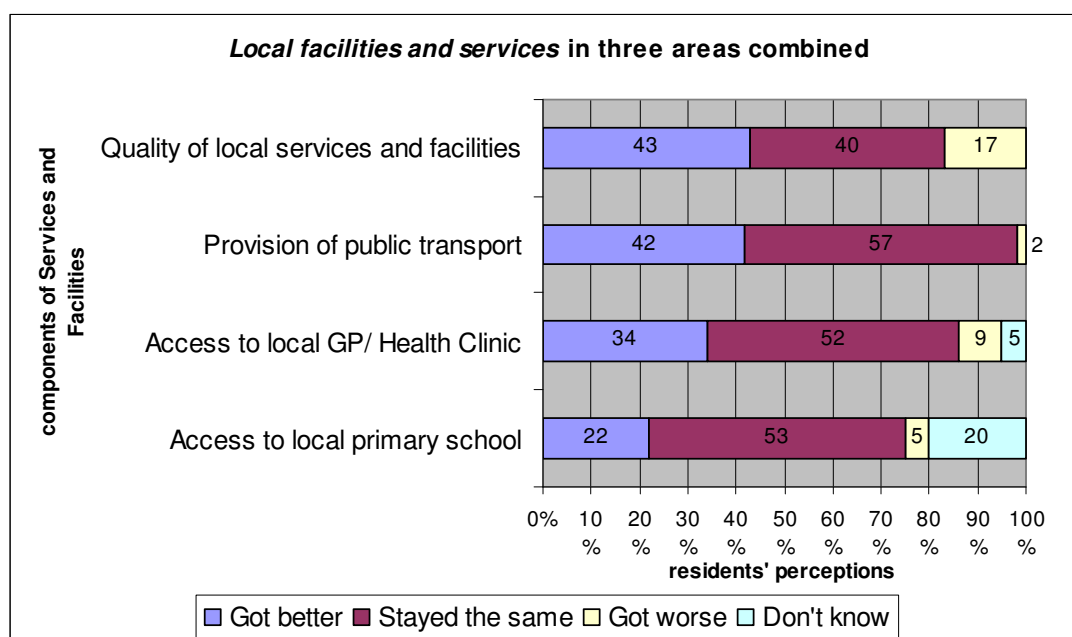
Chapter Two highlighted that perhaps one of the most acclaimed strengths of current urban policy in practice has been the establishment of multi-agency local partnerships at the forefront of regeneration initiatives (Barnes et al., 2008; Foot, 2009). Local partnership arrangements were similar in a number of ways at Langworthy North and North Benwell. First, a wide range of local partners and stakeholders were involved in the regeneration of both Langworthy North and North Benwell, all under the supervision of well-established partnerships which equally orchestrated the regeneration of the area and advocated its priorities. Second, once

dissolved, these partnerships transferred some of their responsibilities to wider-area arrangements and neighbourhood based organizations such as SALT and NMI. Discussions with key actors in the three areas highlighted their concerns regarding the extent to which wider governance structures took into account local and area specific issues, such as street wardens and communal gardens maintenance, as resources were even more thinly spread over wider areas, which, per se, pointed to one of the limitations of partnership arrangements discussed in Chapter Two, a tendency to marginalize local contributions (Allen et al., 2005; Power and Mumford, 1999).

Local services and facilities

The housing refurbishment-led regeneration of the three areas had an *uncertain positive impact*, at least in the short-to-medium term perspective taken by this study, on each area's overall facilities and services. Some were demolished or closed down, few were built or upgraded and others were in the pipeline. Local services and facilities can contribute to the vitality of an area. Barton and colleagues (2003, p.91) argued that "*many local jobs are related to local services. Local shops, schools, surgeries, pubs, police, social services...can amount to 30% of total demand*". The presence of 'friendly' neighbourhood business can thus be a real asset for a community. Evidence reviewed in Chapter Two found that local services and facilities might be struggling in the early years of a regeneration scheme, particularly where demolition had temporarily reduced the volume of users for shops, health services, and leisure activities (Clark et al., 1999; West and Noden, 2009). We found evidence of this in all three areas, and particularly at Langworthy North and The Triangles where considerable demolition had already taken place or had been proposed. Chapter Two also indicated that local services and facilities were likely to be geared to the predominant population which was evident at North Benwell where many shops, facilities and services catered for the large ethnic minority population.

Figure 9.12 – Components of Services and Facilities as perceived by residents in three areas combined



Source: Fieldwork survey

Figure 9.12 shows that four in ten (43%) residents across the three areas thought that the overall **quality of local facilities and services** improved as a result of housing refurbishment-led regeneration. Yet some residents commented about the lack of facilities for children and young people in their areas. Some local shops and services were lost during the regeneration process in all three areas. At Langworthy North, some of the local shops and businesses were relocated following demolition, while the local primary school was awaiting demolition. Yet some new facilities were provided, including the Langworthy Cornerstone Centre. In North Benwell, disappearing traditional high street shops were replaced at a fast pace by minority ethnic-led businesses. Moreover, an important North-South link bus line running through the middle of the area had been cancelled and the nearby hospital planned to relocate, to be replaced by a major Tesco’s supermarket and shopping centre. At the Triangles, the threat of demolition in the immediate surrounding area kept potential services and businesses at bay, shops kept closing down and residents had to travel farther afield in order to access community facilities and services.

Chapter Two noted that involving **schools** in regeneration plans is challenging (Lawless, 1999; Lawless and Dabinett, 1995). In North Benwell, the school was somewhat involved in area regeneration: well adapted to a high population turnover,

it played an active role in the regeneration of the area by adding to the curriculum extra courses such as literacy for adults and junior neighbourhood warden courses. Yet overall, local schools in the three areas benefitted little from area regeneration. Open spaces around and within schools were little improved; children's routes to schools were in need of upgrading for example through larger and better pavements, cycle paths, 20mph restrictions on roads and pedestrian areas, and residents felt they were less safe than before regeneration as a result of increased car traffic and chaotic car parking arrangements. Moreover, the local educational authorities had marginal input into regeneration plans and were little involved in local partnerships in all the areas.

At the Triangles, the headteacher noted that while the school's yard and football pitch were recent additions, most of the funding did not come through the regeneration partnership, and the timing was unrelated. Residents also thought that little had been done to improve local schools. Interestingly, a notable proportion of residents in each area, averaging a fifth (22%) across the three areas, did not know much about the local primary school as their children went to another school or they did not have children of school age (Figure 9.9).

Residents complained about local health services and GPs closing down in all three areas. Long waiting lists and difficult access/journeys due to building works and demolitions were other reasons for dissatisfaction: in fact only a third (34%) of all residents thought that access to local health services actually got better following the regeneration of the area and residents at the Triangles, where a new state-of-the-art medical centre was built nearby, were more likely to think so than those living at Langworthy North and North Benwell.

Evidence reviewed in Chapter Two found that, despite its positive impact on the property market, investment in public transport infrastructure and provision was little related to and delivered via urban regeneration programmes (Barton et al., 2003). Moreover, regeneration and transport investment come under separate funding streams and government departments, and as a result there is little coordination and partnering between these two areas. We found no evidence of integration between regeneration plans and wider public transport strategy, which in the case of North

Benwell, for example, could have brought more benefits to the area through faster and more reliable links into the city centre. The area regeneration in all three areas mainly relied on already-existing and well-established **public transport infrastructure and provision**. Across the three areas, two in five residents (42%) thought that the quality of public transport had improved following area regeneration, varying from 64% saying so in North Benwell, to 25% in the Triangles. They often cited more buses, better and more reliable service.

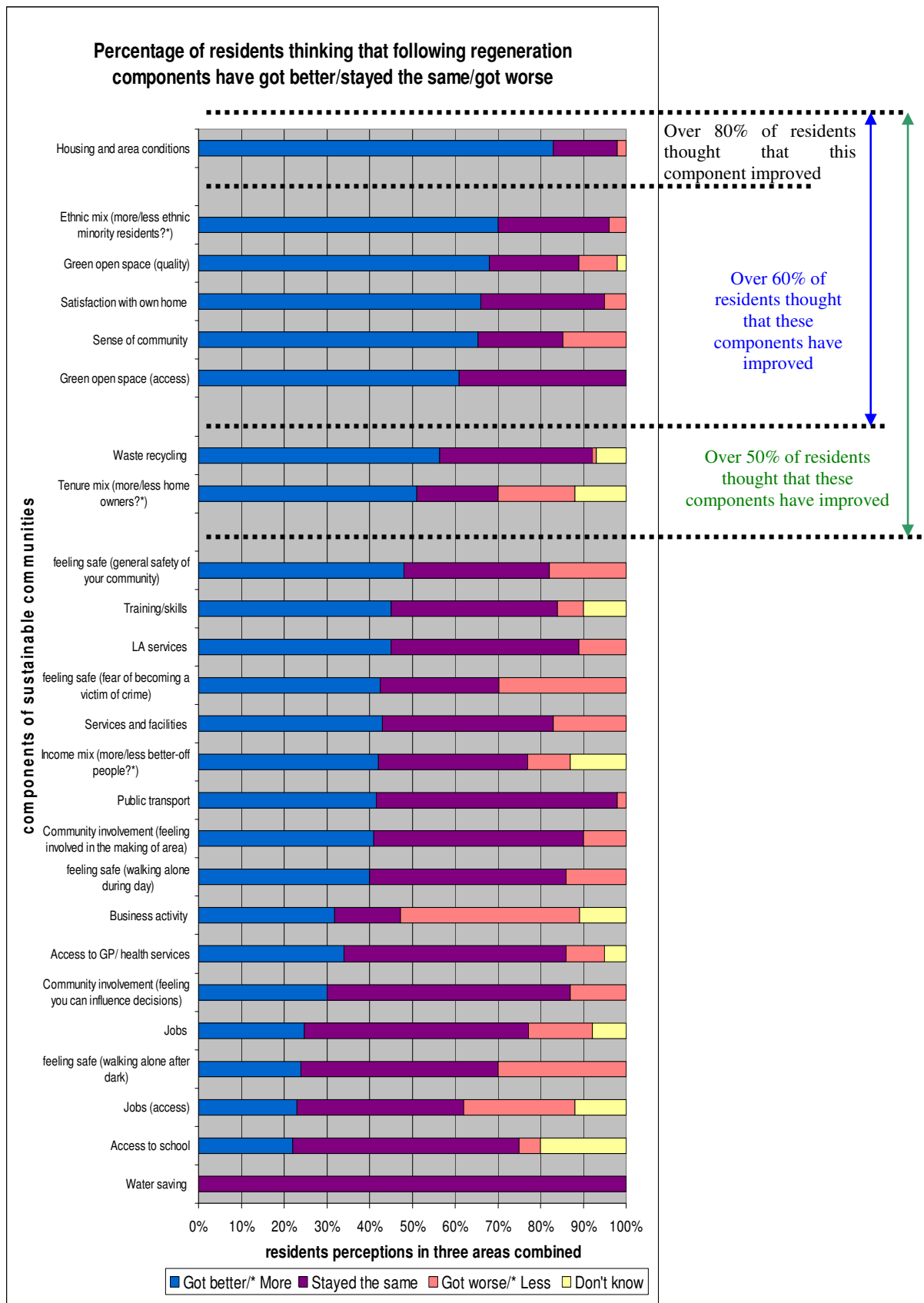
9.4. Discussion

To what extent do residents' views on sustainable communities matter?

The first section of this chapter examined how the components of sustainable communities were ranked by local residents in the order of their importance to them. We found that all components were rated as *very important* by the majority of residents in the three HMR areas, which supports the framework adopted by the research. We also found that some components were 'held dearer' to local residents than others: for example, *feeling safe* and aspects of the *physical environment* were considered *very important* and *important* by more residents than, for example, *access to school* and *water saving*. This finding lent itself to another question, whether *what the public thinks and values about sustainable communities matters*. The answer coming from the public, private and community sectors is 'yes, it matters'. One reason among many is that if regeneration programmes invest a great deal of money, time and effort into a place and it is not used by the local community for the purpose for which it is intended, an opportunity for creating sustainable communities is lost.

Figure 9.13 shows which components of sustainable communities residents actually thought have improved: at the top of the diagram there are components which were perceived by residents as significantly improving as a result of area regeneration, while at the bottom of it those components which were seen as improving less. When *Figure 9.14* is compared to *Figure 9.1* some interesting observations can be made which we discuss in detail below.

Figure 9.13 – A hierarchy of change as perceived by residents in three areas combined



Source: Fieldwork survey

Some components of sustainable communities related to an area's *physical* environment such as *satisfaction with own home* and *housing and area conditions*, were rated as *very important* by an overwhelming majority of residents (over 80% in Figure 9.1). They were also perceived by the majority of residents across the three areas as improving significantly following area regeneration (more than 65% thought so in Figure 9.13). Discussions with residents across the three areas suggested that improvements to the physical environment could provide overwhelming benefits to their quality of life through an aesthetically pleasing environment, which lifted their spirits and provided residents with a sense of community pride and spirit. Conversely and despite the fact that *green open space quality* and *green open space access* were not held among the most valuable aspects of sustainable communities by local residents (being placed in the middle of Figure 9.1 with just over 60% of residents rating them as *very important*), they were both perceived as improving significantly in all three areas (over 60% thinking so in Figure 9.13).

Feeling safe, encompassing crime and safety issues in local areas, came first, as the most valuable feature of sustainable communities (almost 95% of residents rated it as *very important* for the sustainability of their communities in Figure 9.1). Yet various aspects of *feeling safe* such as *the general safety of community*, *fear of becoming a victim of crime* and *walking alone around the area* were not perceived as improving by the majority of residents (less than 50% thought they improved in Figure 9.13). Residents felt insecure despite the regeneration efforts to reduce levels and perception of crime in the three areas including street wardens, better lighting and more policing. This means that all three areas were in need of further work to tackle actual crime and anti-social behaviour and improve residents' perceptions of crime.

Few components of sustainable communities such as *community involvement*, *access to school* and *water saving* received some of the lowest number of *very important* ratings and a notable number of *not important* ratings (Figure 9.1). At the same time, residents across the three areas thought that they did not improve significantly following regeneration (less than 30% thought that they actually improved in Figure 9.1) and indeed Figure 9.13 shows them as being perceived as aspects that improved the least.

To conclude, on the one hand some of people's most valuable aspects of sustainable communities were related to *area and housing conditions*. They were also perceived as changing for the better following housing refurbishment-led regeneration. In contrast, *feeling safe* was a high priority for local residents, but little improvements were noted throughout the three areas. On the other hand, components such as *access to school, community involvement* and *water saving* were ranked at the bottom of sustainable communities priorities and also perceived as little improving throughout the regeneration years, despite being flagged in the literature as important features of sustainable communities.

Finally, it is worth recalling our discussion in Chapter Two about the tensions between top-down and bottom-up models of sustainability indicators development and the meaning of sustainability to different various interested groups. This research showed that despite the fact that some aspects of sustainable communities (such as *community involvement* and *partnerships* for example) have been seen at the 'top' as the foundations for delivering successful urban regeneration and sustainable communities, they have been given by local residents the lowest weighting in the creation of sustainable communities. This finding adds to the literature which challenges the 'success' of the current policy on the basis that the delivery of 'sustainable communities' in practice draws rather on 'expert' assumptions of what is needed than on what local communities actually need and value.

What is the overall impact?

The second and third part of this chapter examined how housing refurbishment-led regeneration in three HMR areas impacted on the components of sustainable communities as defined by the framework for assessing sustainable communities in Chapter Three. Against the background of residents generally being more satisfied with their areas and more optimistic about the future of their communities, we found that the impact of housing refurbishment-led regeneration on the six domains of sustainable communities was *clearly positive, somewhat positive* and *uncertain*. So, what was the overall impact of housing refurbishment-led regeneration on the sustainability of communities in our three HMR areas?

Some common messages emerge from examining general conditions at the three case study areas. Housing refurbishment-led regeneration has definitely had an overall positive impact on both the area and resident community at all three case study areas, which may mean that they all have moved, to different degrees of course, closer to sustainability. It has also proved to be hugely popular with local residents, cheaper and faster than new built housing. The refurbishment works cost £17,000 per house at Langworthy North and £12,000 at the Triangles, compared to £115,000 for a two bedroom new-built house with preserved facades on a heavily subsidised private development taking place on the doorstep of Langworthy North and to £170,000, the average cost to built a house unit in the NW of England in 2007 (DCLG, 2009b). The refurbishment process was also not put on hold or delayed by lengthy Compulsory Purchase Orders or planning processes, like some of the demolition and re-development schemes we visited in HMR areas.

All three areas had improved notably as a result of area regeneration and offered higher quality housing, in a generally cleaner and safer neighbourhood. Stigma had been reduced or overcome at all three areas as a result of reductions in crime levels and better area image and perceptions, house prices and land values had risen. Community cohesion had been strengthened and local residents were more satisfied with their neighbourhoods and homes. At the same time, all three areas needed more support and guidance in order to become sustainable communities: local economies were still struggling and local residents found difficult to adjust to industrial restructuring, the community mix was challenging, area governance mechanisms were fragile and local services and facilities were little improved and did not meet residents' needs and expectations.

Area regeneration had a varied impact on the various components of sustainable communities. Some components of sustainable communities went through a greater deal of positive change than others, while others witnessed little or no change. For example, most aspects of the *housing and built environment* and *community* were transformed beyond recognition in all three areas, while area regeneration had little impact on local job markets, and negatively affected the position of some local business, services and facilities. That meant that while some domains and components of sustainable communities moved closer to sustainability, others moved

away from sustainability, making the whole community more sustainable in relation to certain domains and components and less sustainable in relation to others.

Moreover, evidence from the three case studies showed that some components were more difficult than others to be 'directly' controlled by regeneration initiatives, no matter how 'holistic' and 'comprehensive' these were designed to be. Components that were more likely to depend on broader forces and factors than those directly involved in the regeneration process, were less likely to contribute to the sustainability of a community: for example, local economies and labour markets, migration and immigration patterns and local governance arrangements were less impacted upon or influenced by housing-refurbishment led regeneration.

Comparing between the three areas, however, suggested a number of distinctions. They all had different industrial legacies, history of regeneration investment and local partnerships, degrees of local government involvement and visions to achieve sustainable communities. To a degree, the outcomes in each area depend on the specific and local personalities and circumstances, and further research would be needed to establish whether these findings can be generalised to other housing refurbishment-led regeneration areas. Yet the three communities seemed to have reached different degrees of sustainability which drew on the success of area regeneration or lack thereof, within an overall common pattern.

Langworthy North seemed to be the most sustainable area and to continue its progress towards sustainable communities: it offered good links into nearby job markets, new private development which aimed to diversify the local housing choice and improve the community mix, and above all an entrepreneurial local community which laid robust foundations for the future governance of the area. Yet levels of resident satisfaction were lower than at the other two case study areas, a result, perhaps, of mixed views regarding the impact of the nearby private development, and potential demolition in the immediate area.

North Benwell appeared to be the second most sustainable area: it faced up to the challenge of a particularly diverse and highly mobile resident population, strenuously working towards bringing the community together, and offered a particularly

successful local school, which despite its limited involvement in the regeneration of the area was an important actor in the general make-up of the area and the sustainability of the local community.

The Triangles' community, in contrast to the previous two areas, seemed to be the slowest in its progress towards sustainability. The community was at the centre of an area proposed for clearance, hence few employment opportunities were to be created in the short and medium term, crime and safety were still major concerns for local residents, private landlords seemed to take hold of the local housing market, and local services and facilities were few and further away. Yet, despite the fact that the council did not have a clear vision for the area beyond regeneration works, it worked closely with residents and, as result, levels of resident satisfaction were the highest in the three case study areas. In addition, the area was only two-thirds refurbished at the time of the fieldwork and its completion may show the area in a different light.

One interesting observation should be made here. The level of resident satisfaction seems to be inversely related to our assessment of the level of community sustainability in the three areas: that is to say that the less sustainable an area was rated, the more satisfied residents living in that area seemed to be (Table 9.6).

Table 9.6 – The relation between levels of area community sustainability and residents levels of satisfaction

	Langworthy North	North Benwell	The Triangles
Level of community sustainability*	1 st most sustainable community	2 nd most sustainable community	3 rd most sustainable community
% of residents dissatisfaction**	19%	5%	4%

* According to our framework of sustainable communities

** Fieldwork survey

Besides the area-specific explanations which we discussed above, another explanation could be that the regeneration timeframe played a different role in influencing residents' satisfaction with their area. Langworthy North, the area with the highest level of resident dissatisfaction was *long completed* at the time of this research and when compared to the other two areas which were *just completed* (North Benwell) and *about to be completed* (the Triangles). This could mean that residents' satisfaction had significantly more time 'to worn out' at Langworthy North

than in the other two areas where the 'regeneration improvements' were still all 'very fresh' and 'promising'. Thus, Langworthy North's residents were more likely to be unsatisfied with their area than in the other two areas.

Nevertheless, levels of resident dissatisfaction at Langworthy North were found to be considerably higher (19%) than in the other two areas and the national average of 9% (Figure 9.1), despite the area's first place overall sustainability ranking. This could challenge our method of assessing community sustainability, formulated in Chapter Three. Each component of sustainable communities was assigned a trend or direction by comparing its outlook at a baseline time T1 (around 2001/2002) with a time T2, five years later (when the fieldwork was carried out). On the basis of these comparisons, the three areas were compared in terms of community sustainability. Our assessment could be challenged on the basis of not accounting for comparable baseline positions in the three areas. For example, one area could be 'more unsustainable' at its baseline position than a second area, but progress significantly over a period of time. Still, when comparing the two areas' overall progress towards sustainability, one might find out that the former area performed 'less well' or is 'less sustainable' than the later as a result of unequal baseline positions. In hindsight, our sustainability assessment, could be strengthened by 'weighting' its various components in relation to a comparable baseline position.

Despite the overall progress noted across the three areas, all three areas needed further investment and monitoring of their progress towards sustainable communities, especially so in the light of the economic downturn. Among the lessons learnt here, there are the importance of continual regeneration investment in order to tackle multiple disadvantage, the need for long-term visions which look at how area's governance is shaped beyond area regeneration initiatives, the need to focus on adjacent areas and their relation to the newly regenerated areas and communities, and perhaps above all, the need to take residents seriously. However, the most difficult and time-consuming task of all may be bringing back economic prosperity in these regeneration areas.

The next and final chapter returns to the original three research questions about sustainable communities as a form of urban regeneration, and the research's implications for the people who live in these communities.

Chapter Ten

Conclusions

10.1 Questions and findings about sustainable communities

What is a sustainable community?

What people think?

10.2 The role of housing refurbishment-led regeneration in changing HMR areas and communities

The overall impact

Levels of intervention

HMR challenges

10.4 What lessons can we learn?

The wider context

Community matters

Continuing investment and support

10.5 An agenda for further research

10.6 In conclusion

In this thesis, we set out to learn about what makes a sustainable community in an urban regeneration setting and whether the housing refurbishment-led regeneration of deprived areas can ultimately lead to more sustainable communities in HMR areas. In order to do so, a framework was proposed at the outset, then adopted and applied. Each chapter could be expanded into a study in its own right. Moreover, the chapters investigating the part of the study looking at the three British case studies, chosen to explore and answer the questions rose by this research, could be valuable ‘log journals’ for further research about the ‘making’ of ‘sustainable communities’ and about the people who live there.

Chapter Two examined sustainability in general and sustainable communities in particular, as well as understanding them through the lens of intervention in the built environment. It introduced the distinction between different models and interpretations of sustainability and highlighted the lack of consensus regarding how sustainability is defined, operationalised or measured. It paused on sustainability indicators and discussed at length their merits and limitations. The chapter then examined the relationship between sustainability and the built environment, from the perspective of ‘sustainable cities’ and ‘sustainable buildings’. It also examined the likely impact that urban regeneration has on economic, social, environment and governance aspects of urban areas. The chapter concluded by highlighting two gaps in the literature: the scarcity of adequate frameworks for defining and operationalising sustainable communities and the limited number of ‘multi-dimensional’ assessments of urban sustainability. It also set out our preference for a ‘people-centred’ interpretation and ‘prism’ model of sustainability, and highlighted the importance of the local context, community and governance arrangements in shaping urban sustainability.

Chapter Three set out a new framework of sustainable communities in the context of housing refurbishment-led regeneration in HMR areas. Without being prescriptive and ‘final’, the framework proposed a definition, an approach to evaluation and a ‘list’ of components or indicators of sustainable communities. It highlighted the importance of drawing on deliberative processes and highlighting community values. The framework was designed and developed in a transparent way, and could be used at different levels of detail, thus providing a vehicle that academics, practitioners,

decision-makers, residents and other local stakeholders could engage in and contribute to at different levels of complexity. At the very least it provided a checklist of things to examine in order to establish whether a community is sustainable. At best it provided a means of explaining the interdependence between aspects of urban intervention at a local level and how can be linked to the wider sustainability agenda.

Chapter Four set out the methodological strategy employed by the research in order to find out whether the framework proposed by Chapter Three was grounded in people's values and understanding of sustainable communities and examine how local communities perceive the sustainability of HMR areas and the role of urban regeneration in changing this areas. The chapter discussed how three case studies were chosen among a pool of HMR areas and how the fieldwork, including interviewing and a residents survey, was carried out and analysed.

Chapters Five to Eight presented the fieldwork findings from the wider HMR Programme and three case study areas. Chapter Five examined the progress to date, the extent of intervention in the HMR Pathfinders and their challenges, and differentiated between the various types on interventions. It also highlighted that schemes of housing refurbishment-led intervention were more likely to be complete at the time of the fieldwork than those that used housing demolition and re-development. The chapter introduced the three case studies and described how these were selected from a pool of case studies in accordance to six criteria, from among housing refurbishment-led interventions, under HMR investment, well-regarded, with between 250 and 1000 properties, complete and continuously populated for the last five years. The fieldwork chapters told the story of each place, from its origins to the time of the fieldwork, analysed local residents' attitudes towards living in the area and the way housing refurbishment-led regeneration impacted on community sustainability.

Langworthy North, situated in a deprived but 'up-coming' area of Salford, was, perhaps the most successful of our three areas. Area regeneration had fostered community cohesion and activity; local residents were supported by a self-sustaining and entrepreneurial community organisation, and empowered by a 'back seat' local

council; they were better 'skilled' and had access to better and more green space; the area benefited from more private housing development, which brought the possibility of a possible better mix in the future, and a range of new or upgraded community facilities. It was also safer, more sought after, with good links into employment markets and well managed at neighbourhood level. Yet the local school was on the brink of collapse, 'exclusionary gentrification' was a possible threat for second generation residents, the 'regeneration boundaries' induced tensions between neighbours, and neighbourhood management funding could stop at any time.

North Benwell was one of the most ethnically diverse areas of Newcastle and, perhaps the second most successful in our three areas. Historically confronted with high flows of migrant populations and levels of deprivation, it never stopped to struggle for its survival and regeneration investment which was delivered through a multitude of local and national urban regeneration initiatives. Following regeneration, the area became more popular with residents, safer, greener and livelier. It benefited from bustling commercial activity, a thriving local school and carefully designed management arrangements. However, local governance structures were fragile and uncertain at the time of fieldwork and despite community bonding, there was little social bridging between the different resident communities. Regeneration investment was also coming to an end.

The Triangles, surrounded by large swathes of the Wirral's disused industrial land, was perhaps less successful than the other two areas. However, a number of aspects improved, even if the work was not completed at the time of fieldwork and was still continuing. Local residents were relatively satisfied with their homes and area, and enjoyed a 'close' relationship with the local council which 'fine-tuned' its service in order to please as many local residents as possible. The area also pursued a more coordinated approach to efficient use of local resources than the other two areas and benefitted from the great outdoor facility of the newly refurbished Victorian Birkenhead Park. Yet, there was little employment opportunity in the surrounding areas and the area was poorly linked into wider job markets; the local community was relatively economically inactive or effectively involved in the area. The proposed demolition of surrounding areas was a threat to area sustainability and led

to a notable increase in the number of privately rented properties. Moreover, the local council's rationale for regeneration investment was sought on a short-term basis.

Chapter Nine brought together the fieldwork findings from the three case studies which were contrasted and compared to findings from previous research examined in Chapter Two. First, the chapter examined local residents' views and understanding of sustainable communities. It found that all the domains and components of the framework were ranked as important by the majority of residents and only a few new components, drawing on local contexts and circumstances, were suggested. It also found a fairly random relation between the rankings of the perceived importance of sustainable community components and the degree to which regeneration led to improvements in those components. Second, the chapter depicted life in the case study areas. Third, it discussed the role of housing refurbishment-led regeneration in shaping community sustainability in three areas. Overall, its impact was found to be positive; however, it varied in scale and intensity. A clear positive impact was noted on all aspects of area physical environment, while the impact of housing refurbishment-led regeneration was somewhat positive on the economic and social outlook of areas, and uncertain in terms of how resources were used at local level, governance arrangements and provision of services and facilities.

This chapter now sets out the contribution of this thesis by answering the main research questions reprinted in Box 10.1 from Chapter One.

Box 10.1 – Research questions

1. *What is a sustainable community?*
2. *What makes a community sustainable from a built environment perspective?*
3. *What do people think about what makes a sustainable community?*

It also discusses the implications of this research for the broader sustainable communities and HMR agenda by looking at:

- *how housing-refurbishment-led intervention in HMR areas impacted on the sustainability of local communities; and whether housing-refurbishment-led intervention created more sustainable communities in these areas;*

- *the extent and scale of intervention in HMR areas; and*
- *the impact of wider HMR challenges on the sustainability of local communities.*

The chapter concludes by drawing out policy and practice lessons and discussing directions for future research.

10.1 Questions and findings about sustainable communities

What is a sustainable community?

In this thesis, we examined how ‘sustainable communities’ may look in practice and how their characteristics can be represented by components that are easier to understand and assess. This process helps us to recognise, structure and assess sustainable communities or lack thereof. Thus, our first two research questions were:

- *What is a sustainable community?; followed by*
- *What makes a community sustainable from a built environment perspective?*

The subject is evolving fast and new insights and techniques are being developed all the time. In writing the conclusions to this thesis, we necessarily could not include all the freshly published and emerging reports, views, journal articles and books, which might cast new light on our understanding and findings. It would be unwise to assume that the subject will reach clarity for some time to come so we cannot say with precision what a sustainable community is. Sustainable communities embody a continual process of change. They are not about what some call economic sustainability, social sustainability or environmental sustainability separately, but about all of these subjects combined. This brings into play the whole of human kind’s relationship with its environment and with one another and all living species. There is a danger that their spectrum is too wide to be meaningful or manageable. In addition, despite having risen high on the political agenda, the tools and policies needed to understand and exercise sustainable communities are not well established.

Since 1990, dozens, if not hundreds, of sustainable communities projects have been initiated across the world. Collectively termed the ‘sustainable communities movement’, these efforts share much in common with a number of other ‘community

movements' including healthy communities movement and quality of life movement. Indicators have become one of the primary tools of these movements. However, when examining the possibility of *actually moving communities in the direction of sustainable development*, one cannot claim to search for the most appropriate (local) sustainability indicator set. A single appropriate indicator set for any context of application will never exist (Astleithner and Hamedinger, 2003a).

The 'one size fits all' approach and the application of universal 'official' check-lists of sustainable communities are difficult to justify in the context of sustainability in general, and sustainable communities in particular, as local people and communities may have different needs and understanding of what sustainable communities are, influenced by their very local context and circumstances. Yet this thesis has provided some parameters within which we can work and a framework which goes beyond a mere lists of indicators to approach sustainable communities. It has also provided a list of components of sustainable communities, following a rigorous process of deduction which engaged with a range of stakeholders and was derived from established research in sustainability and urban regeneration.

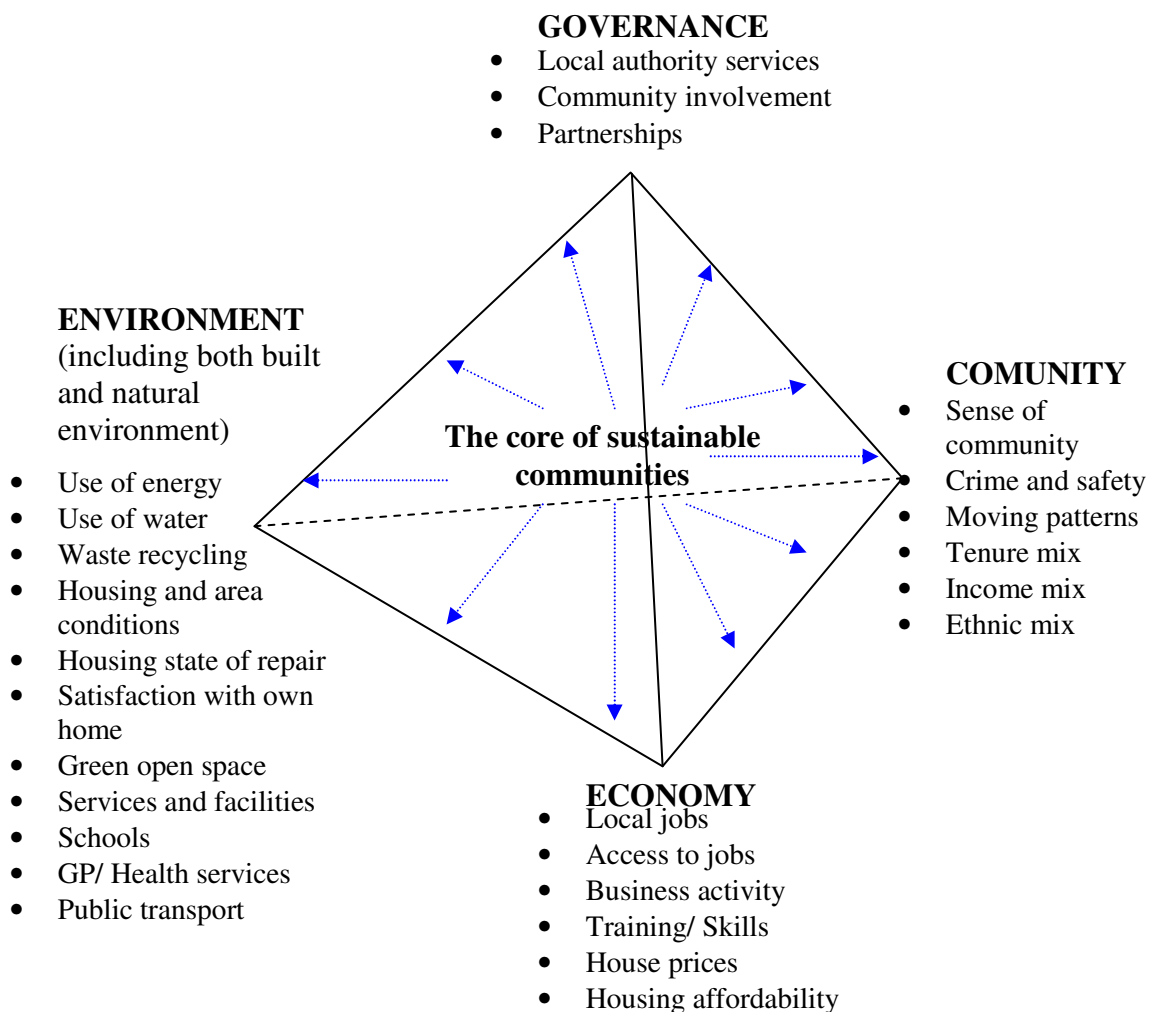
Our understanding of what makes a community sustainable in the context of housing refurbishment-led regeneration in HMR areas is represented by the diagram in Figure 10.1, reprinted from Chapter Three. The diagram uses the 'prism' model of sustainability as a basis for ordering the components of sustainable communities. This model provides in the middle the multidimensional core of sustainable communities where its various components can interact. This suggests that the concept can be approached from any direction without losing the links to the whole. It also means that in order to reach consensus and harmony between all different and often conflicting needs and aspirations, sustainable communities may require negotiation or compromise.

With hindsight, however, this 'representation' of sustainable communities has two flaws. First, *use of water* in homes has proved to be a rather inadequate component of sustainable communities. Despite its potential in cutting energy bills from heating water, saving water in homes is not something well understood by the public at large or yet pursued by the government on the same scale as energy efficiency and waste

recycling, partly as a consequence of a misleading perception of UK as ‘*water plentiful*’. Therefore, this component from the start provided little information.

Second, we explained in Chapter Three, why the *recycling of existing homes and infrastructure* (through refurbishment) was not included under the *use of resources* domain of sustainable communities: we considered it an *a priori* feature of our three housing refurbishment-led regeneration areas and an important aspect for the sustainability of a community as all three communities fought ‘*tooth and nail*’ the demolition of their homes. However, we think now that it would have been interesting to ask local residents whether they considered the ‘recycling’ or ‘renovation’ of their homes as an important feature of sustainable communities and why they did so – an overwhelming ‘yes’ answer would have strengthened further the case for housing refurbishment-led regeneration.

Figure 10.1 – A prism of particulars or components of sustainable communities in areas of HMR housing refurbishment-led regeneration



What people think?

Our third research question was:

- *What do people think about what makes a sustainable community?*

We found that an overwhelming majority of people interviewed in our three areas rated all the domains and components of sustainable communities as important for the sustainability of their communities. This was encouraging for two reasons. First, one of our main principles in the design of the framework for assessing sustainable communities was to incorporate people's understanding and knowledge of sustainable communities, which could eventually lead to less tensions between top-down and bottom-up models of sustainable communities, reflected by conflicting views between the residents of those communities and policy makers, politicians and practitioners. Such framework would facilitate dialogue at various levels by employing an understandable departure point as a base for equal and democratic participation for those involved. Second, many components on our list of sustainable communities were also found on many other 'official' lists of sustainable communities and urban sustainability, which are employed by governments or institutions to assess sustainability.

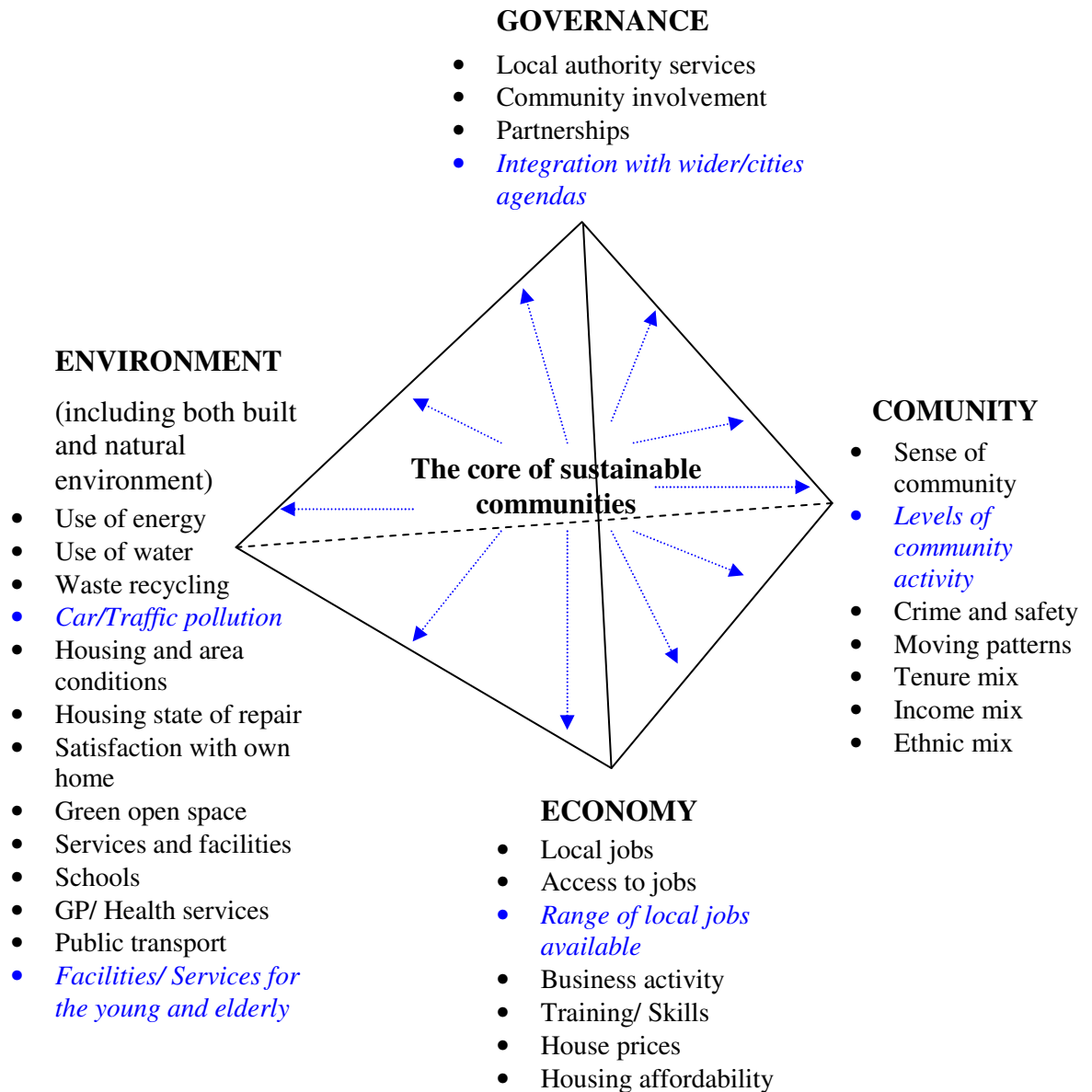
Some components of sustainable communities were rated as very important or important by more residents, than others. On the one hand, components related to area physical environment such as *housing and area conditions* or *housing state of repair*, and to area crime and safety such as *feeling safe* received resident's virtually total support, whereby more than 90% of residents interviewed rated them as *very important* for the sustainability of their communities. On the other hand, components such as *access to school* and *ethnic mix* were viewed as less salient in the making of sustainable communities (Figure 9.12).

At area level, residents rated differently the various components of sustainable communities which re-affirms the general principle shown in this thesis, of a contextualized framework for assessing sustainable communities. Communities in an urban regeneration context are dynamic entities and their components change according to local circumstances and priorities; in other words, while still inside the

prism's space, a community can be skewed in any of the four directions in order to reflect local realities and therefore become sustainable. The recipe is the same but the ingredients have different weights or are slightly different.

As a result, residents have suggested additional aspects they thought important for the sustainability of their communities. For example, for Langworthy North's community the amount of traffic and car pollution generated by nearby private developments was considered as important, while for that of North Benwell's the range of jobs available locally was an important indicator of healthy and functioning job markets. All these additional components of sustainable communities are highlighted in a revised prism of sustainable communities (Figure 10.2) and could constitute 'area related' components or indicators of sustainable communities in future research.

Figure 10.2 – A revised prism of particulars or components of sustainable communities in areas of HMR housing refurbishment-led regeneration



This study also found a fairly random relation between residents’ rankings of the perceived importance of sustainable community indicators and the degree to which we found that housing refurbishment-led regeneration led to improvements in those indicators. (Figure 9.6 and Figure 9.13). For instance, some highly ranked indicators (such as the *housing and area conditions* and *satisfaction with homes*) were seen to improve significantly, while others (such as *feeling safe*), also highly rated, were perceived to improve little. In addition, *community involvement* and *partnerships* were perceived by residents as both less salient in the making of sustainable communities and little improving following regeneration, despite significant

‘official’ efforts in delivering more local community building and effective partnerships, both seen as a prerequisite of sustainable communities. This finding raises questions regarding the possible mismatch between wider policy goals and the aspirations and needs of local communities, which could explain some of the failures of the current sustainable communities and regeneration practice, discussed in the beginning of this thesis (Leunig and Swaffield, 2007; Evans and Jones, 2008; Couch and Dennemann, 2000; Astleithner et al., 2004a; Davies, 2002) .

10.2 The role of housing refurbishment-led regeneration in changing HMR areas and communities

The overall impact

The thesis argued that housing refurbishment-led regeneration is likely to have an overall positive impact on the sustainability of local communities. It also argued that the impact on the various components of sustainable communities was clearly positive, somewhat positive and uncertain; some components went through greater positive change than others, while some components showed little or no change.

In all three areas, housing refurbishment-led regeneration had a *clear positive* impact on all aspects of area physical environment. One of the major objectives of the *urban renaissance* agenda, noted in Chapter Two, was to change the negative image of deprived housing areas and communities. Moreover, the government acknowledged that there are numerous factors that contribute to the negative image of an area but saw the process of physical improvements and upgrading as crucial in changing the state of many blighted communities and neighbourhoods. We saw these principles at work in all three areas: streets became cleaner and safer, public realm and housing were in a better state of repair and green open spaces were greatly improved and better managed. This contributed to creating a better public image and perceptions of the area, and attracted more people to the area. Targets and goals were achieved throughout the refurbishment process; however, there was a feeling that change had to move now beyond physical upgrading and area image.

Area regeneration had a *somewhat positive* impact on some economic and social aspects of the three areas and an *uncertain* impact on others. On the one hand, local residents benefitted from access to new training and skills which potentially could enhance their employment prospects; house prices and land values significantly increased and at a faster pace than their local, borough and regional counterparts; sense of community and levels of community activity were enhanced and built upon; and perception of crime improved notably in areas previously well known for high incidence of criminal activity. On the other hand, only a few jobs were created locally and jobs prospects, in general, were poor; business activity and private investment were still struggling or holding back from investing in the area; housing affordability was a problem; and only a modest change took place in the community composition, away from a larger than average social and/or private rented sector, towards a more average tenure and income mix.

Nevertheless an *uncertain* impact was noted on components related to the three areas' local use of resources, governance, services and facilities. An overall 'environmental' agenda was little pursued throughout refurbishment works in two areas and measures targeted to a more efficient use of energy and water were unevenly or little applied. However, local residents thought that their houses were more efficient as a result of double-glazing, loft insulation and use of energy-saving bulbs. They also reported recycling more waste because of the newly set-up recycling schemes. Area regeneration fostered community activity and involvement in the area. Yet many residents felt that they did not have a say in the making of their area. We found a series of partnership arrangements in the three areas, however beyond regeneration works they had an uncertain and fragile future and only one left behind a relatively robust legacy, in the form of a self-financing community organisation. Local services and facilities benefitted little by way of regeneration. Area regeneration relied on existing public infrastructure; education and health authorities were little involved in overall regeneration plans for the area.

From the perspective of the framework of sustainable communities, we argued that local communities in the three areas were more sustainable following housing refurbishment-led regeneration than before. While we found variations in the outlook for community sustainability when the three case study areas were examined closely,

that is to say some areas were more sustainable than others, all three areas were definitely more sustainable when compared to their baseline positions. But what looks ‘more sustainable’ today may well change tomorrow. Moreover, this study chose to focus on the local impacts of housing refurbishment-led regeneration, while the future of a particular community is intimately connected with the wellbeing of other communities. The flows of materials, resources, finance and information have impacts well beyond the community under examination.

Following from the previous discussion, urban regeneration via housing refurbishment does not create sustainable communities, but *can help to create communities that are more sustainable*. We showed that its impact was positive in many aspects but limited in others. Housing refurbishment intervention was only one dimension among the many others that contribute to achieving sustainable communities and integration is key to the ‘sustainable communities’ agenda. It requires vision, determination and resources to focus simultaneously on all dimensions, that is to say social, economic, environmental and institutional; short-, medium- and long-term; from the local to the global levels.

Levels of intervention

We found the extent and scale of HMR intervention impressive – the largest, most complex and comprehensive government intervention in urban policy in England. Many projects have been started and completed, communities engaged, financial means or other resources involved. *Appendix 8* lists only some of the most publicised projects in 2006. The first part of Chapter Five showed that the HMR Pathfinders have progressed significantly within the space of a few years in terms of market information and local knowledge, developing new approaches and monitoring systems, deploying a whole range of innovative solutions and engaging with a series of private and civil sector players.

We also found a wide range of interventions which varied in scale, type, timeframe, stage of completion, delivery and implementation. However, the majority of these schemes were either *moderate*, involving primarily housing refurbishment-led regeneration, or *major* in intervention, including mainly housing demolition and re-

development. Many moderate interventions were completed at the time we visited in 2007. As regarding major intervention projects, the HMR Pathfinders were either on course to proceed from demolition and land acquisition to building new housing, were on the drawing board or still the subject of much debate within planning departments. It remains to be seen how many of these major schemes will be completed as initially planned, following economic recession and how many, indeed, have helped to create more sustainable communities.

If in the beginning of this research we felt intrigued but sceptical of the sheer scale of the HMR Programme, its web of partners, its ambitious targets and daring vision to create sustainable communities in areas of low demand housing, by the end we felt more positive and convinced about its potential. Even if the government stops funding or switches to another ‘type’ of programme or its achievements prove not to be those we hoped for, the legacy of the HMR Programme including its skill in managing complex and often competing views, its striving towards the integration of different actors and initiatives targeted at area deprivation and the amount of market intelligence collected during all these years will form a valuable point of departure for any future regeneration initiative. It may even be that some of the HMR Pathfinders will become or move towards being self-sustaining agencies as the example of the East Lancashire Pathfinder has shown is possible – the Pathfinder has merged with a new regeneration company formed to implement not only the Housing Market Renewal Programme but also other major developments on behalf of surrounding local authorities.

HMR challenges

Chapter Five discussed five main future challenges for the Housing Market Renewal Programme. They were:

- the challenge of securing further investment;
- shifting focus of intervention and boundaries;
- involving communities on an on-going basis;
- outward migration of younger people and families with children; and finally
- declining local housing affordability.

What is the impact of these wider challenges on local communities and small-scale areas? We discuss in turn each of the five challenges in the light of findings uncovered by this study.

The question of securing the government's long-term commitment in order to deliver the HMR Programme to its full scale and complexity has long been a subject of discussion. The Pathfinders have always feared the government's withdrawal and lobbied at each step for continued support and funding. However, it is fair to say that in 2002, when the Programme was announced, nobody anticipated its complexity, the extent of the change in housing markets and the current economic downturn. As a result, the amounts of public spending and, more recently, debt have spiralled. This might mean that public spending may need to be reconsidered, resources re-directed to other priority areas and, perhaps, the HMR Pathfinders forced to end. How would this impact on our three communities? The extent of community involvement and local governance would diminish as some of the community organisations and projects, and local partnerships and arrangements would cease to exist, the neighbourhood offices may close doors and more importantly all or the gap-funding for current neighbourhood management arrangements, including street wardens and police patrols may be lost. All these may mean that our communities could be less involved in the making of their areas, less well managed and more importantly feel less safe in their homes and neighbourhoods.

Chapter Five highlighted the HMR challenge of shifting focus and boundaries to respond to emerging evidence about local housing markets and changes in policy. It also noted that regeneration boundaries are known to create a 'cliff-edge effect', bringing benefits to one side of a street while excluding the other and encouraging withdrawal of resources from adjacent areas. The limited evidence from two case study areas supports these findings. In North Benwell, the HMR Pathfinder planned to shift focus to the adjacent area of High Cross and thus investment and resources in North Benwell were likely to be curtailed despite aspects such as neighbourhood wardens and community police patrols relying on gap-funding. At Langworthy North, residents commented about the arbitrariness and unfairness of regeneration boundaries, which highlighted a 'cliff-edge effect' of regeneration boundaries.

Involving local residents in re-making their areas and giving them ownership of the area they lived in are two important objectives of current regeneration practice. How have residents been involved in the governance of their areas? We found a range of arrangements on the basis of or lack of area community development. The most successful and extensive community involvement was achieved at Langworthy North where the community was 'represented' by a small area-based community organisation, made up of a small number of dedicated local staff and 'built from within' the community, which took on a negotiating role, extensively lobbied for the community's interests and helped regeneration agencies to implement local change. Yet keeping the momentum and securing investment was not easy, not all groups were reached, especially if the area had a highly diverse ethnic minority population such as in North Benwell, and both residents and regeneration staff found it difficult to transfer the burden of 'local involvement' from the older to younger generation.

Who is leaving and who is moving into these areas? Population turnover was balanced in all three areas and more people wanted to move in than move out as a result of each area's improved conditions and reputation. Younger and better-off people seemed to be moving into the areas, keen to seize the opportunity of climbing onto the property ladder or securing an easy investment return. Students were also moving in and out of these areas, which were sought for their cheap rental accommodation and proximity to academic institutions or city centres. Residents who required a smaller or bigger property and families with small children tended to aspire to move out in order to find a more suitable property type or safer areas where raising children was less challenging. A notable number of Eastern Europeans had also moved into all three areas in the last ten years; the future will tell whether they will settle in these communities or not. However, one important finding was that the housing refurbishment-led regeneration of the three areas succeeded to retain existing communities.

Areas saw a dramatic change in the state of local housing markets. House prices rocketed almost over night and some local residents feared for themselves or their families being pushed out of the three areas, as a result of falling local housing affordability and increasing costs of living. It appeared that better-off people and landlords were moving into the areas and as a result some local residents found it

difficult to improve their housing situation within the area. This was also problematic in these areas of close-knit communities, as some of the younger generations expected to continue living near friends, family and relatives.

10.4 What lessons can we learn?

Several important lessons could be drawn from this research on the impact of housing refurbishment-led regeneration on community sustainability in areas of low demand housing in England. These lessons are important for both policies regarding the sustainable communities agenda and the wider urban regeneration agenda. They highlight:

- the importance of the wider context within which housing refurbishment-led regeneration takes place and the need for a greater integration between this type of intervention and other policy areas such as employment and education;
- the importance of community development and close neighbourhood management in holding communities together, and the challenge of getting the right community mix;
- the importance of continued support and work, and long-term models for developing sustainable urban areas and communities.

The wider context

There is interdependence between local sustainability and impacts and the wider context. We asserted in Chapter Two (Figure 2.4) that the sustainability of a particular local community should be seen in the context of sustainability as a whole, as well as in relation to other ‘levels’ of sustainability. In addition, local or area impacts have effects on wider areas or are ‘spatially exported’ and vice-versa. For example jobs require wider structural changes, eco-systems operate over bigger areas than we studied and energy supply and costs are international. To look at all these issues would have been beyond the scope of this study which has focussed on community sustainability at local level and from a community perspective, and the local impact of housing refurbishment-led intervention on three clearly-defined HMR areas. However, the lesson learnt here is that both the sustainability of a community

and the impact of housing refurbishment-led regeneration cannot be examined in isolation, but in relation to wider aspects of sustainability and cities. Moreover, for many years housing refurbishment-led regeneration has been seen as a means for physically upgrading specific areas. If communities in these areas are to become more sustainable, a wider approach to housing refurbishment-led regeneration is needed including more integration with other policy areas such as employment, education and also energy efficiency policy.

We found little integration and communication between various regeneration agencies, employment agencies and potential employers. Access to jobs and job prospects were greatly enhanced when intervention areas were linked into wider areas and job markets. Langworthy North was a successful example because of its proximity to and links with Salford Quays and Manchester City Centre, assisted by an efficient and fast transport link. The strength of the Manchester job market was instrumental in improving Langworthy North's economic outlook. However, overall little has been created in terms of the forecasting and timeframes of possible employment opportunities in all three case study areas. At the same time, training and skills schemes need to be better linked into and tailored to employment markets. A majority of residents acknowledged the role played by the regeneration process in disseminating information, via leaflets, local newsletters and offices, establishing and supporting local training and skills courses. We found that that these courses had a better intake when they were tailored to residents' needs and linked into the local job market. For instance in both Langworthy North and North Benwell, local councils and on-site offices worked together to identify residents' needs and skill gaps and local job market demand.

There is a need for greater coordination between education and urban regeneration policy and initiatives. Schools are important 'keepers' of information about an area and could contribute to building a more accurate picture about the needs of a local community. A recent report commissioned by the National Union of Teachers looks at the impact of the physical environment on schools and highlights the importance of housing and local area conditions in children's school attainment. It recommends that *"policy should address the educational impact of the physical environment in local neighborhoods by locating schools within strategic plans for local*

neighborhood regeneration, community safety and environmental renewal” (Perpetuity Research, 2008) p.42. In all three areas, schools benefited little by way of additional resources and were only marginally involved in the overall regeneration plans for the area. In North Benwell and the Triangles, the two local primary schools were under pressure to play a larger role in the community by hosting services and facilities for local residents such as adult literacy courses and junior wardens. This may detract from teaching and stretch schools’ capacity and resources. However, based on evidence from other studies, community involvement is enhanced and children’s learning is extended when schools adopt wider roles in local communities and become ‘extended schools’, ‘community schools’ or ‘community learning schools’ (Power, 2007).

Community matters

Levels of community activity were sustained and increased where the local community was engaged through partnerships and delegated power. Significant levels of community activity were present in both North Benwell and Langworthy North. The regeneration of these areas was a catalyst for community involvement and greatly contributed to community cohesion and the local sense of community. In all three areas, regeneration was described as an important mechanism to bring together troubled communities and give them a voice. In both Langworthy North and North Benwell, strenuous efforts were invested in building community ‘capital’ through a wide range of initiatives and programmes that improved community participation and involvement in regeneration in particular and community activity in general. This was greatly supported through the establishment of local community offices in the two areas. Perhaps an important lesson is that building and sustaining community is not easy in these deprived neighbourhoods. It requires dedication, resources and effort, but it is important, possible and valued by residents. Merely ‘engineering’ spaces for interaction may not be sufficient. It may prove worthwhile to develop new tools and disseminate practical information of this type to those involved in ‘the creation’ of other ‘sustainable communities’.

Coordinated neighbourhood management can provide an overview of neighbourhood issues, link between agencies and deliver change. The importance of neighbourhood

management has been firmly established in housing research. At both Langworthy North and North Benwell, residents could refer problems with safety, cleanliness and anti-social behaviour to a single, on-site office which also supervised a range of front-line jobs, such as street wardens and community police officers. Across these two areas, front-line staff took on multiple environmental and social tasks including security patrols, brokering neighbourhood disputes, informing the office and police about disruptive behaviour and criminal incidents, mapping and dealing with litter and fly-tipping. What seemed to be important was that there were people at ground-level keeping an eye out for problems, undertaking low-level supervision, supporting vulnerable residents, and passing on information – and that there was someone to pass the information to. However, funding these positions can be challenging. While public funding may fund such schemes in the initial stages, there is a need to address long-term funding sources. Both Langworthy North and North Benwell, where such schemes were in place, struggled with longer-term funding arrangements.

Achieving the ‘right’ community mix is a difficult task in the refurbishment-led regeneration of low demand areas. The refurbishment of existing residential areas offers less scope for adjusting the tenure or income mix by, for example, building new homes. In addition, in low demand areas, it is more difficult to impact on mix, which critically depends on demand for housing but which is weak by definition. Demand for housing is a variable that policy makers can only indirectly influence, through changes to the housing stock, to the labour market conditions and the appearance of the area. When demand is created, prices in the area are pushed up and thus low-income households may find it difficult to improve their housing situation within the area. We found little change in the overall tenure mix in two areas and levels of home ownership across the three areas. Two main challenges were uncovered in relation to area tenure mix. First, both the Triangles and North Benwell had buoyant buy-to-let markets which fed into a significantly larger-than-average private rented sector. Second, a stronger demand for housing created through additional private development at Langworthy North opened the avenue for area gentrification.

Continuing investment and support

Housing refurbishment-led regeneration has had an overall positive impact on all three areas and each community has become more sustainable when compared to its previous position. Yet all three areas and communities needed in one form or another either extra work and investment or ‘fine-tuning’ of existing arrangements or simple continuity and maintenance.

Deprived urban areas need long term visions, sustained investment and commitment to tackle often entrenched and complex disadvantage. The pattern of regeneration investment, including its length and continuity and how local priorities are addressed in the wider context, has an important role in securing the success of area intervention and supporting the community to become more sustainable. All three case studies and the review of literature showed that the outcomes of urban intervention materialise after relatively long-term investment, generally 20 or 30 years. Areas and communities with long-term and on-going regeneration investment such as Langworthy North and North Benwell were doing better; they had a better outlook overall and a greater likelihood to continue moving towards sustainability than the Triangles which benefited from short-term one-off regeneration investment. In other words, communities in areas under sustained regeneration investment where local needs are acknowledged and resourced within the wider context of borough or city, are more likely to move towards sustainability than those that draw on short-term investment and a localised pool of resources.

The environmental agenda and efficient use of finite resources had risen high on the political agenda and had achieved some notable progress overall, but still need better understanding and implementation at local level. Consistent environmental agendas were little pursued at area level, as it was obvious they had to compete with other objectives. Cheaper energy bills and the desire to reduce housing costs were strong incentives for residents to greater energy efficiency and a wiser use of energy in homes. Yet little energy efficiency training or public awareness campaigning were pursued throughout the regeneration process. Double glazing and loft insulation were installed in many properties but not in a co-ordinated way and did not always reach the private rented sector. Despite local residents recycling more waste in their homes,

recycling schemes were not always well managed and were challenged by the lack of adequate storage space and poor practice, especially in areas with high turnover and/or a large private rented sector. More local environmental training and awareness campaigns, better systems and incentives can improve area outcomes of efficient use of natural resources.

Housing refurbishment-led regeneration improves the condition and standard of the overall housing stock, but less so in the case of the private rented sector which needs more attention and, perhaps, regulation. The private rented sector is still a challenge as we found that people renting privately were less likely to be satisfied with their homes than those living in social housing, while private landlords were more difficult to co-opt into regeneration agreements and less likely to improve their properties. In addition, evidence points to the fact that many vulnerable households live in non-decent private sector housing (Rugg and Rhodes, 2008). Whilst the government has provided ring-fenced funding programmes to enable the Decent Homes target to be met for social housing, there is no equivalent dedicated funding for improving private sector homes to a decent standard. Local councils are allocated Regional Housing Pot Grants with the expectation that it is used to improve the condition of the private sector housing stock. However it is an unspecified capital grant and can be used for any form of capital expenditure. In practice, the use of these funds varies, with some local councils using the grant to improve the condition of the private sector stock whilst others spend it for other purposes. Ring-fenced funding and using statutory accreditation to target the private rented sector could help to improve conditions and standards for private tenants. A concern, however, is that more regulation of the private rented sector could impact negatively on its growth; this could then threaten its development as an alternative to owning a home, although this has not happened in Germany due to a strong subsidy system alongside clear regulation (HM Treasury, 2010).

10.5 An agenda for further research

The research findings have enhanced our understanding of the nature of housing refurbishment-led regeneration in three Housing Market Renewal communities in England, providing insights into this type of area intervention and its impact upon the sustainability of local communities. The research also opens up opportunities for further research which are discussed below.

Refurbishment vs. demolition and redevelopment of housing: a comparative perspective

Chapter Five explained how the initial focus of this research was to compare housing-refurbishment and demolition-and-redevelopment of housing in terms of achieving ‘sustainable communities’ and how the focus changed following the first stage of fieldwork in HMR areas: while we found a significant number of housing refurbishment projects which were complete or near completion in 2007, we could not find many housing demolition-and-redevelopment schemes in the same position and as a result, we chose to focus on the former. The government’s house building drive has been slowed and reshaped by the recession and urban regeneration intervention has focused more recently on delivering notably fewer and, supposedly, better quality new housing schemes. This has also impacted on the HMR Programme and many demolition and redevelopment projects have been struggling to continue or have been mothballed altogether. Nonetheless, many new developments are now complete and it would be interesting to compare housing refurbishment- and demolition-and-redevelopment-led regeneration in order to:

- examine the wider impacts of large scale demolition and refurbishment plans on the overall sustainability of urban communities;
- understand more fully the resource use of housing-refurbishment-led and housing-demolition-and-redevelopment-led regeneration;
- understand the role of community retention versus incomer communities in shaping sustainable communities.
- find out which type of intervention results in more sustainable communities; and
- measure the relative costs and benefits of demolition versus refurbishment of housing.

A few years on in the three areas: a wider and longer perspective

Chapter Two highlighted two caveats on this research. First, despite the fact that this study focused on a short-term view of sustainability, we acknowledged that sustainability needs time to establish itself and thus, a longer perspective should be considered. An intriguing task would be to return to the case study areas in the future, maybe five years on, to learn how their communities have developed and changed. Specifically, it would be interesting to ask what the impact was of the economic recession on the sustainability of these communities and on HMR areas generally, and whether they adapted or declined. Answering these questions could reveal important lessons for the future development of sustainable community projects.

Second, the interdependency between the sustainability of local communities and wider sustainability has been recognised as important in understanding the dynamic of sustainable communities. Yet the study focused on local sustainability and local impacts and, in a way, these have been examined in isolation from the wider context and the forces that shape them. It would be interesting to examine these impacts on sustainability and vice versa, and to examine the relation between the sustainability of local communities and wider urban sustainability.

Developing further the framework for assessing sustainable communities

We would like to test the framework for assessing sustainable communities, which the study developed, across other HMR areas and regeneration contexts, such as the Thames Gateway for example in order to understand its potential for generalisation. We found that the framework of sustainable communities ‘held’ well in our three HMR areas. We would be interested to consider whether this is still the case across a larger number of HMR areas or in other regeneration contexts. An answer to this question would allow us to develop a more generic process and framework which could inform wider comparisons and policy-making.

The framework for assessing sustainable communities was intended to be rooted in the understanding of those involved in the ‘making’ of sustainable communities and especially of the very people living in these communities. It would be interesting to test the components of sustainable communities on a representative sample of

residents living across a range of HMR and other regeneration areas and to investigate which parts of the framework are ‘universally’ applicable. For those components found to be generally applicable, the existing available data could be collected and analysed to develop robust and simple measures that could be used to monitor progress towards community sustainability.

10.6 In conclusion

This study set out to examine the impact of housing refurbishment-led regeneration on community sustainability and to establish whether sustainable communities are achieved under housing refurbishment-led intervention in Housing Market Renewal areas. We first developed a framework for assessing sustainable communities in the context of Housing Market Renewal which we then adopted and tested. We found that housing refurbishment-led regeneration has had an overall positive impact on community sustainability and thus the communities at the three Housing Market Renewal areas we examined in detail became more sustainable following area intervention. However, we learnt that our ‘assessment’, as indeed any assessment, cannot be ‘set in stone’ or exhaustive, as the potential spectrum of activity that falls under the heading of sustainable communities is enormous. It would be true to say that there is no simple answer to the challenge of evaluating sustainable communities. Sustainable communities require an acknowledgement that there is no single solution but many options and that our understanding of them will emerge in an evolutionary under a process of improvement over time.

The most important thing we uncovered was about the resilience of the existing housing stock and communities, and the potential of housing refurbishment-led regeneration to turn communities around. All three areas were deemed ‘unsustainable’, ‘un-fit for habitation’ and set for demolition ten years ago. Mainly thanks to community opposition the housing was retained and the areas are on their way to being ‘better places to live’ and more sustainable communities today. Housing refurbishment-led regeneration proved indeed to be a cheaper, faster, less disruptive and oppositional option to housing demolition and re-development. Finally and more importantly, by retaining existing communities housing

refurbishment-led regeneration proved to revalue local communities and give them a new lease of life.

Afterword

As I finish writing this thesis, I think of my own Islington neighbourhood, Highbury, and the community I have lived in for almost ten years now. Do I live in a sustainable community? My instant answer is *yes*, but I know that if I lived here fifty years ago my answer would have been *no*. Islington's streets were filled with dirt and unsafe, its inhabitants insecure and unprotected, many of its Victorian houses were overcrowded, multi-occupied and had shared WCs and baths. The overall conditions determined the scale of the large post-war clearance plans, which were executed painstakingly slowly. Those who could afford to, moved out of Islington to better-class suburbs or well out of town leaving the old houses to become multi-occupied furnished tenancies. It was very much like some of the low demand housing areas and communities in the North today, blighted by the threat of demolition.

Islington's transition from slum to fashionable inner London suburb was remarkable. The houses stayed despite being threatened with demolition and it is not uncommon now for central Islington houses to be priced at £1.5 million. Islington's Upper Street is thronged with people and lined with restaurants, bars and entertainments. There are some beautiful if small green parks, excellent public transport links, publicly subsidised community events and some extraordinary local facilities and services. All these are shared by the extremely wealthy alongside those less well-off. Islington is also home to some sharp contrasts. It is one of the most expensive, least affordable boroughs in which to buy a house in Inner London. At the same time, it was ranked the eighth most deprived local authority in England by the 2007 Index of Multiple Deprivation.

The 'Islington case' provides further insights into the making and fortunes of sustainable communities. It takes time and sometimes a bizarre mix of 'ingredients', or perhaps luck, to succeed. The story of my home community is not one that could be copied somewhere else. However, it shows that many other communities can find their own sustainability story. It also encourages us to engage further in the process of 'sustainable communities' for the benefit of all who are engaged in a community ... which is practically all of us!

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Appendices

- Appendix 1:** The Scoping Survey: 144 schemes/projects identified in seven HMR Pathfinders
- Appendix 2:** Key Actors Questionnaire (Template)
- Appendix 3:** List of key actors interviewed in each case study area
- Appendix 4:** Residents Questionnaire (Template)
- Appendix 5:** Letter to Residents (Template)
- Appendix 6:** From an 'ideal' to a 'pragmatic' list of domains and components of sustainable communities
- Appendix 7:** List of 'public experts' interviewed in the HMR Pathfinders
- Appendix 8:** List of residents interviewed at Langworthy North (42 residents)
- Appendix 9:** Community groups and projects at North Benwell
- Appendix 10:** List of residents interviewed at North Benwell (45 residents)
- Appendix 11:** List of residents interviewed at the Triangles (47 residents)
- Appendix 12:** How residents in three areas rated the components of sustainable communities

Appendix 1

The Scoping Survey: 144 schemes/projects identified in seven HMR Pathfinders

Pathfinder	Case Study	Scale	Status in 2006	Description of intervention	Type of intervention	
Merseyside	1.	Dickens Streets, Liverpool City Centre South	ca.500 units	proposal	Environmental Works	Minor
	2.	Princes Road and Devonshire Road, Liverpool City Centre South	ca. 1000-1500 units	proposal	Environmental Works	Minor
	3.	Camelot Streets and Elwy to Dovey Streets Area, Liverpool City Centre South	ca 1000 units	proposal	Refurbishment + Environmental Works	Moderate
	4.	Easby Estate re-development, Liverpool City Centre North	n/a	start on site 2008	Selective Demolition + New Built Infill	Moderate
	5.	Grosvenor Street re-development, Liverpool City Centre North	n/a	start on site 2008/2009	Selective Demolition + New Built Infill	Moderate
	6.	Kings, Bedford and Wadham Roads, Sefton	156 units	On site	Refurbishment	Moderate
	7.	Triangles/ Liard Street, Wirral	ca. 400	½ completed + on site	Refurbishment + Environmental Works	Moderate
	8.	Queens Road/ Bedford Road, Sefton	53 demolished + 214 new built	demolition complete	Demolition + New Built	Major
	9.	Stanley Park, Liverpool	355 demolished + 200 new built	on site	Demolition + New Built	Major
	10.	Dobson Street, Sefton	71 new built	complete	New Built Infill	Major
	11.	Dobson and Robson Street, Sefton	131 new built	complete	New Built Infill	Major
	12.	Roscommon St, Liverpool City Centre North	80 units	on site	New Built	Major
	13.	Welsh Streets, Liverpool City Centre South	500 demolished, 370 new built	on site	Demolition + New Built	Major
	14.	Fiveway's/ Rock Ferry, Wirral	ca.390 demolished + 350 new built	demolition complete	Demolition + New Built	Major
	15.	River Streets, Wirral	+350	Demolition	Demolition +	Major

Pathfinder	Case Study	Scale	Status in 2006	Description of intervention	Type of intervention
		demolished	complete	New Built	
	16. Edge Hill, Warvertree (Merseyside's largest renewal area)	5,531 units	Proposal/ on site	Demolition (900) + New Built (400) + Refurbishment (500)	Mixed
	17. Picton area, Wavertree	1004 units	proposal	Demolition (500) + New Built (450) + Refurbishment (500)	Mixed
	18. Anfield/ Breckfield area (the largest clearance programme within Merseyside)	4,960	on site/ proposal	Demolition (1800) + New Built (1300) + Refurbishment	Mixed
	19. Granby area/ Beaconsfield Street, Liverpool Centre South	800 units	proposal	Demolition (400) + New social housing (132) + Refurbishment	Mixed
	20. Tranmere/ Church Road, Wirral	1000 units	proposal	Refurbishment (500) + Demolition (500) + New Built (n/a)	Mixed
	21. Lodge Lane area, Liverpool Centre South	2127 units	proposal	Refurbishment + Environmental works+ selective demolition + New Built infill	Mixed
	22. Tulip Street, Asher Street and Oban Terrace Felling, Gateshead	ca. 50 units	complete	Environmental Works + management measures	Minor
	23. Durham Road, Bensham and Saltwell, Gateshead	54 units	complete	Environmental works	Minor
	24. The Walker Road Boulevard, Walker Riverside	n/a	On site	Environmental works + tree planting	Minor
Newcastle Gateshead	25. The Oval and Bakewell Terrace, East Newcastle	45 units	complete	Refurbishment + Environmental Works	Moderate
	26. McCutcheons Court, Walker Riverside, Newcastle East	ca.100	on site	New Built Infill	Moderate
	27. Derwent Street, Sandhoe Gardens and Axwell Park View, Scotswood and West Benwell, West Newcastle	ca. 50	1/5 complete; proposal	Refurbishment + Environmental works	Moderate
	28. High Cross, Benwell,	ca. 400	proposal	Refurbishment	Moderate

Pathfinder	Case Study	Scale	Status in 2006	Description of intervention	Type of intervention
	West Newcastle			+ Conversion + Environmental Works + Management measures	
29.	Pendoer Estate, Newcastle	+500	proposal	Refurbishment + Environmental Works	Moderate
30.	North Benwell Renewal Area, West Newcastle	ca. 700	complete	Refurbishment + Conversion + Environmental Works + Management measures	Moderate
31.	Arthurs Hill, Wingrove Terraces & the Elswick Triangle, Elswick, West Newcastle	<500 units	proposal	Refurbishment + Environmental Works	Moderate
32.	New Mills Estate, Moorside, Elswick, West Newcastle	<300 units	On site	Refurbishment + Selective Demolition + Conversion	Moderate
33.	Hillsview Avenue/ Newlyn Road, Newcastle North Central	<50 units	proposal	New Built Infill + Selective Demolition?	Moderate
34.	Cemetery Road / King James Street, Deckham, Gateshead	<30 units	On site	Refurbishment	Moderate
35.	Whitehall Road, Bensham & Saltwell, Gateshead	22 flats into 11 homes	complete	Conversion	Moderate
36.	Lower Delaval Estate, Newcastle	+400 units	proposal	Refurbishment + Environmental Works	Moderate
37.	Loadman Street housing estate/ Westmorland Road, West Newcastle	ca. 300 units	proposal	Demolition + New Built Infill	Major
38.	Cambrian Estate – Phase 1, Walker Riverside, Newcastle East	29 new built	complete	New Built	Major
39.	St Lawrence Square, Byker, Newcastle East	74 units demolished	proposal	Demolition + New Built	Major
40.	Stack and Old Walker Baths, Walker Riverside, Newcastle East	ca.60 new built	complete	New Built	Major
41.	Brewery Site, and Elswick	n/a	proposal	Demolition + New Built	Major

Pathfinder	Case Study	Scale	Status in 2006	Description of intervention	Type of intervention
	Discovery, West Newcastle				
	42. Cowgate Estate, Newcastle North Central	ca. 400	proposal	Demolition + New Built	Major
	43. Felling Bypass Corridor, Felling, Gateshead	ca. 200	16 CPOs; proposal	Demolition + New Built	Major
	44. Sunderland Road/Howard Street, Felling, Gateshead	442 new built		New Built	Major
	45. St. James Square, Gateshead	ca.100	on site	Demolition (ca.50) + New Built (n/a)	Major
	46. Cruddas Park, and Elswick, Discovery, Newcastle West	<500 units	proposal	Refurbishment + New Built Infill	Mixed
	47. Sunderland Road, Gateshead	1,200 units	On site	Demolition (296) + New Built (n/a) + Refurbishment (n/a)	Mixed
	48. Scotswood Village and Bishops Road, Scotswood and West Benwell, Newcastle West	ca.1800 new built	proposal	Demolition + New Built + Environmental Works	Mixed
	49. Walker Riverside, Newcastle East	700 demolished + 2200 new built	On site + proposal	Demolition + New Built + Minor Refurbishment	Mixed
Manchester Salford	50. Seedley West, Salford	Ca. 400 units	complete	Some Refurbishment + Environmental Works	Minor/Moderate
	51. Baytree, North Manchester	Ca. 100 units	complete	Refurbishment + Environmental Works	Moderate
	52. Langworthy North, Salford	ca.350 units	complete	Refurbishment + Environmental Works	Moderate
	53. Urban Splash/Chimney Pot Park Development	385 units converted in 349 units	On site	Conversion	Moderate
	54. Waste Renewal Area, Central Salford	ca. 300 units	On site	Refurbishment + Environmental Works	Moderate
	55. Duchy & Pendlebury Renewal Area – Phase 1, Central Salford	254	On site	Refurbishment + Environmental Works	Moderate
	56. Bute area, North	+300	proposal	Demolition +	Major

Pathfinder	Case Study	Scale	Status in 2006	Description of intervention	Type of intervention	
	Manchester			New Built		
57.	Duchy Road Clearance Area, Central Salford	116 demolished	On site	Demolition (116) + New Built (n/a)	Major	
58.	Bridson St/ Nelson St, Central Salford	20 units	Demolition complete	Demolition + New Built	Major	
59.	Nelson Street, Central Salford	35 units	Demolition complete	Demolition + New Built	Major	
60.	Harpurhey, North Manchester	Ca. 650 demolition + 350 new built	Some demolition complete (352)	Demolition (652)+ New Built (350) + alley gating + management + environmental works	Mixed	
61.	Seedley South, Salford	ca. 1500 units	proposal	Demolition + New Built + Refurbishment	Mixed	
62.	Eccles New Road, Salford	n/a	proposal	Demolition + New Built + Refurbishment	Mixed	
63.	Beswick area, East Manchester	ca. 3000	On site	Demolition + New Built + Refurbishment	Mixed	
East Lancashire	64.	Whitebirk Home Zone (Blackburn inner SE)	n/a	complete	Environmental Works (Home Zones)	Minor
	65.	Ashworth Street Estate, Blackburn inner NW	<20 units	complete	Refurbishment + New Built Infill	Moderate
	66.	St Peter's Church Conservation Area, Darwen	ca. 200	proposal	Refurbishment + Selective Demolition	Moderate
	67.	Audley and Queens Park, Whitebirk, Blackburn inner SE	ca. 200	proposal	Refurbishment	Moderate
	68.	Lincoln Road, Blackburn	<50	On site	New Built Infill	Moderate
	69.	Princess Street/ Steiner Street, West Accrington, Hyndburn	ca. 150 units	proposal	Refurbishment + Selective Demolition + conversion	Moderate
	70.	Coal Clough Lane, Burnley	10 units	complete	Refurbishment	Moderate
	71.	Railway Street & Stanley Street, Brierfield, Pendle	n/a	n/a	Refurbishment	Moderate
	72.	St Mary's conservation area, Nelson, Pendle	100 units	proposal	Refurbishment	Moderate
	73.	Whitefield Road/ Ward, Nelson, Pendle	164 units	proposal	Refurbishment + Selective Demolition + Conversion	Moderate
	74.	Every Road/ Adactus, Nelson, Pendle	n/a	On site	Refurbishment	Moderate

Pathfinder	Case Study	Scale	Status in 2006	Description of intervention	Type of intervention
	75. Bright Street, Mason Street and New Market Street, Churchfields, Colne	57 units	complete	Refurbishment + Environmental Works	Moderate
	76. Newchurch Road, Bacup, Rossendale	100 units	complete	Refurbishment	Moderate
	77. Bank Top area, Blackburn (area of Blackburn inner North West)	1000 refurb + 100 demolished + 60 new built	complete	Refurbishment + selective demolition	Moderate
	78. Redearth Road/ future Darwen Academy	80 demolished	Demolition complete	Demolition + New Built	Major
	79. Infirmary / Waterside (Blackburn inner SE)	n/a	proposal	Demolition + New Built	Major
	80. Canalside conservation area in Church/Oswaldtwistle Gateway, West Accrington, Hyndburn	+200 demolished	Demolition complete	Demolition	Major
	81. Porter Street, Accrington, Hyndburn	n/a	proposal	Demolition	Major
	82. Colne Road/Briercliffe Road, Burnley	n/a	On-site	Demolition	Major
	83. Brierfield Canal Corridor, Brierfield, Pendle (including King Street/ lower Holden Road; Berkley/ Claremont/ Belgrave/ Veevers Streets	136 demolished	Demolition complete	Demolition + New Built	Major
	84. Two Gates estate, Central Darwen	106 demolished + 260 new units	On site	Demolition + New Built	Major
	85. Hindle Street/Queen Street	n/a	Demolition scheduled for 2006/08	Demolition	Major
	86. Project Phoenix, West Accrington, Hyndburn	200 demolished	Demolition complete	Demolition + New Built	Major
	87. Devonport Road site, Blackburn inner NW			Demolition + New Built	Major
	88. Burnley Wood Phase 1, Burnley	134 acquisitions + 140 demolition + 150 refurb + 1.3ha land reclaimed	On site	Demolition + Refurbishment + New Built?	Mixed
	89. North Valley, Colne Pendle	>1000 units	proposal	Demolition + New Built +	Mixed

Pathfinder	Case Study	Scale	Status in 2006	Description of intervention	Type of intervention
				Refurbishment	
	90. Danehouse, Duke Bar & Stoneyholme, Burnley	n/a (65 demolished)	On site (demolition complete)	Refurbishment + Selective Demolition + Environmental Works	Mixed
South Yorkshire	91. Daylands Avenue, Conisbrough	130 units	complete	Some Refurbishment (facelift) + Environmental Works	Minor
	92. Probert Avenue & Washington Road / Homecroft Road, Goldthorpe, Barnsley	+200 units	complete	Environmental Works	Minor
	93. Conisbrough and Denaby - Daylands Avenue, Doncaster	66 units	complete	Some Refurbishment (facelift) + Environmental Works	Minor
	94. Richmond Park Avenue, Rotterham	none	complete	Environmental Works	Minor
	95. Burngreave, East Sheffield	n/a	complete	Some Refurbishment (facelift)	Minor
	96. Southey Owlerton, North Sheffield	none	complete	Environmental Works	Minor
	97. Wath Road & Kirby Street, Mexborough, Doncaster	n/a	proposal	Environmental Works + management Measures	Minor
	98. Arbourthorn area, Sheffield	+200 units	complete	Refurbishment + environ works	Moderate
	99. Park Hill estate, Sheffield	1961 units	proposal	Refurbishment + Conversion + Environmental Works	Moderate
	100. Woodlands Way, Denaby Main, Doncaster	+500 units	Proposal	Refurbishment + Conversion + Environmental Works	Moderate
	101. Hickleton Terrace, East Thurnscoe, Barnsley	30 units	complete	Refurbishment	Moderate
	102. Penrith Road, Sheffield North	30 into 9 units	complete	Conversion	Moderate
	103. The Meres/The Lakes, Mexborough, Doncaster	+50 units	complete	Refurbishment + Conversion + Environmental Works	Moderate
104. The Royal, Granby & Howbeck, Edlington, Doncaster	n/a	proposal	Selective Demolition + Environmental	Moderate	

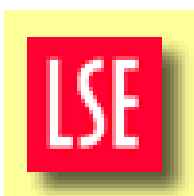
Pathfinder	Case Study	Scale	Status in 2006	Description of intervention	Type of intervention	
				Works + Refurbishment		
	105 Fir Vale and Burngreave, East Sheffield	+100	On site	Refurbishment + environmental Works	Moderate	
	106 Windhill Estate, Mexborough, Doncaster	+300 units	proposal	Demolition + New Built	Major	
	107 Shrewsbury Terrace Phase 1, Rotterham	26 demolished	Demolition complete	Demolition + New Built	Major	
	108 Spital Hill/ Ellesmere, Burngreave, East Sheffield	n/a	On site	Demolition + New Built	Major	
	109 Skinner Thorpe Road, Owlmer lane and Upwell Street, Firvale, East Sheffield	+300 demolished; 250 new built	proposal	Demolition + New Built	Major	
	110 Thurnscoe Blueprint, East Thurnscoe, Barnsley	118 demolished	Demolition complete	Demolition + New Built	Major	
	111 Shirecliffe/ Foxhill, Southey Owlerton, North Sheffield	n/a	Demolition complete	Demolition + New Built	Major	
	112 Norfolk Park, South Sheffield	+3000 units	On site	Demolition + New Built + Refurbishment	Mixed	
	113 Southey Owlerton, North Sheffield	+1000 demolition, +350 refurb	On site	Demolition + New Built + refurbishment + Environmental Works	Mixed	
	114 Page Hall, Firvale, East Sheffield	n/a	proposal	Refurbishment + Selective Demolition + New Built + Conversions	Mixed	
Oldham Rochdale	115 Langley Estate	none	complete	Environmental Works	Minor	
	116 Ripponden Road, Derker	+150 units	complete	Environmental Works + facelift	Minor	
	117 Clyde Street, Derker	165 units	complete	Refurbishment	Moderate	
	118 Wardleworth area, Rochdale	n/a	proposal	Conversion	Moderate	
	119 Central Werneth area (Block Lane, Derby Street, Oxford St, Cornwale St, Rutland St & Lincoln St) Rochdale	+100 units	complete		Refurbishment + Environmental Works	Moderate
	120 Dale Mill/ Arkwright Mill;	n/a	proposal		Demolition + New Built	Major

Pathfinder	Case Study	Scale	Status in 2006	Description of intervention	Type of intervention
	East Central Rochdale				
	122 Halifax Road, East Central Rochdale	80 new built	proposal	Demolition + New Built	Major
	122 Stoneleigh, Derker	n/a	On site	Demolition + New Built	Major
	123 Werneth/Freehold, Oldham	n/a	Demolition by 2008	Demolition	Major
	124 Selwyn Street, Coppice	18 new built	complete	Large New Built Infill	Major
	125 Granville Mill, Derker	+70 new built	On site	Demolition + New Built	Major
	126 Oxford House, Suthers St/ Harry St, Werneth/Freehold	60 new built proposed	Demolition complete	Demolition + New Built	Major
	127 Vulcan Street, Derker	73 new built	complete	New Built	Major
	128 Spencer Street, Werneth/Freehold	n/a	Demolition complete; European	Demolition + New Built	Major
	129 Broadmout Terrace, Werneth/Freehold	18 new built	complete	Demolition + New Built	Major
	130 Devon Street, Werneth/Freehold	23 new built	On site	Demolition + New Built	Major
	131 Cavour Street	+50 units	complete	Refurbishment + Environmental Works	Moderate
North Staffordshire	132 Middleport, Burslem			Refurbishment + Environmental Works	Moderate
	133 Chell Street/ Barthomley Road/ Cromwell Street, Birches Head	88 units	complete	Refurbishment + Environmental Works	Moderate
	134 Park Road/ Hamil Road, Burslem Park	78 units	complete	Refurbishment + Environmental Works	Moderate
	135 Chaplin Road/ Upper Normacot Road/ Upper Belgrave Road, Normacot	113 units	complete	Refurbishment + Environmental Works	Moderate
	136 Wellington Street area of Hanley	n/a	proposal	Demolition + New Built	Major
	137 Burslem arm of the Trent and Mersey Canal	+500 new built	proposal	Demolition + New Built	Major
	138 Sadlers Park development, Burslem town centre	420 new built	On site	Demolition + New Built	Major

Pathfinder	Case Study	Scale	Status in 2006	Description of intervention	Type of intervention
	139 Collins/Aikman site	+60 new built	complete	Demolition + New Built	Major
	140 Slater Street area of Middleport	242 demolished	Demolition complete	Demolition + New Built	Major
	141 Norfolk Street by Caldon Canal	+ 27 new built	On site	Demolition + New Built	Major
	142 Coalville, near Longton	250 demolished + 270 new built	proposal	Demolition + New Built	Major
	143 City Centre South – City Waterside	+1600 new built	proposal	Demolition + New Built + Refurbishment	Mixed
	144 Abbey Hulton (incl. Leek/ Abbots Road)	n/a	proposal	Demolition + New Built + Refurbishment + Other soft improvements	Mixed

Appendix 2

Key Actors Questionnaire (Template)



Key Actors Questionnaire: AREA _____

Interview Code _____ Interviewer _____

Hello, my name is Catalina Turcu and I am working on a study looking at how sustainable is the community in this neighbourhood. This is part of an independent study looking at the impact of urban regeneration on community sustainability and conducted by researchers at the London School of Economics. The research will be finalised in late 2009 and we will inform you and the neighbourhood about its findings. The interview will take 45min to one hour. Your identity will not be revealed. Your answers will only be combined with many others to learn about the overall impact of regeneration on community sustainability. Thank you for taking the time to answer my questions.

A. GENERAL BACKGROUND

A1. General

A1a. For how long have you been involved in the regeneration of this area? / For how long have you known this area? (Please delete as it applies)

A1b. In your opinion, has the regeneration of this area been ...?

1.	Very successful
2.	Fairly successful
3.	Neither successful or unsuccessful
4.	Fairly unsuccessful
5.	Very unsuccessful

Please explain your answer

A2. The local area

A2a. Which are the 3 best things about the area?

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____

A2b. Which are the 3 worst things about the area?

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____

A2c. If we think now about the future, taking into account the area's current situation, the today's society in general, the economy, the environment and so forth, how do you see the local community's future in the years to come?

1.	Optimistic
2.	Neither optimistic nor pessimistic
3.	Pessimistic

A3. Moving (migration patterns)

A1a. Do people move in or out of the area?

1.	Moving in
2.	Moving out
3.	Both
4.	Neither moving in or out

Who are the people moving in/ out of the area?

A4. We will be assessing community sustainability across six main areas as shown in the table below. Each area has a brief description which explains what we will be looking at. **SHOWCARD A**

Please select the topics that you feel confident to talk about...

1.	Local economy and jobs	i.e. local jobs and access to jobs; business activity; skills & training house prices; housing affordability
2.	Local community	i.e. crime/ safety; satisfaction with local area; community mix
3.	Local use of resources	i.e. energy efficiency; water saving; waste recycling
4.	Local housing and built environment	i.e. local housing; open green space;
5.	Local services and facilities	i.e. school; GP/ health services; public transport;
6.	Local governance	i.e. local partnerships; community involvement; LA services

Please go to the relevant sections now.

B. LOCAL ECONOMY AND JOBS

B1. Local Employment

B1a. Have more or less local jobs been created in the area following the regeneration process?

1.	More
2.	Same
3.	Less

Please give examples/ explain you answer

B1b. Has regeneration limited or facilitated in any way local people's access to jobs in wider area?

1.	Facilitated
2.	Same
3.	Limited

Please give examples/ explain more

B2. Local business activity

B2b. Is more or less local business activity in the area following the regeneration process?

1.	More
2.	Same
3.	Less

Please give examples/ explain more

B3. Training for local people

B3a. Has any training for local people been provided throughout the regeneration process?

1.	Yes
2.	No

If YES please give examples/ explain more

B4. Local house prices

B4a. Have average house prices decreased or increased in the area in comparison with 5 years ago?

1.	Significantly increased
2.	Slightly increased
3.	Stayed the same
4.	Slightly decreased
5.	Significantly decreased

Please provide any evidence/ numbers if available (for example 2001/2002 and 2006/2007 prices)

C. LOCAL COMMUNITY

C1. General

C1a. Do you agree or disagree with the following statement?

This area has a sense of community

1.	Agree
2.	Neither agree nor disagree
3.	Disagree

Please explain your answer

C2. Local crime, Safety and ASB

C2a. Have local crime levels gone up or down following regeneration?

1.	Gone up
2.	Stayed the same
3.	Gone down

Please give examples/ explain your answer by providing evidence/ numbers if available

C2b. Do you think that because of regeneration people feel safer walking around the area during day time? (BCS2005)

1.	Safer
2.	Same as before
3.	Less safe

Please give examples/ explain more

C3c. Do you think that because of regeneration people feel safer walking around the area after dark? (BCS2005)

1.	Safer
2.	Same as before
3.	Less safe

Please give examples/ explain more

C3. Local mix (income, ethnic, tenure)

C3a. Has the area's income mix changed because of regeneration?

1.	Yes
2.	No
3.	Don't know/ Not sure

Please give examples/ explain more/ provide evidence/ numbers if available

C3b. Has the area's ethnic mix changed because of regeneration?

1.	Yes
2.	No
3.	Don't know/ Not sure

Please give examples/ explain more/ provide evidence/ numbers if available

C3c. Has the area's tenure mix changed because of regeneration?

1.	Yes
2.	No
3.	Don't know/ Not sure

Please give examples/ explain more/ provide evidence/ numbers if available

D. LOCAL USE OF RESOURCES

D1. Energy efficiency

D1a. Has regeneration introduced any measures looking at reducing energy use in homes?

1.	Yes
2.	No
3.	Don't know/ Not sure

If YES please give examples/ details

D1b. Do you think that the area has become more or less 'energy efficient' following area regeneration?

1.	More
2.	Same
3.	Less

Please give examples/ explain more

D2. Water efficiency

D2a. Has regeneration introduced any measures looking at reducing water use in the area?

1.	Yes
2.	No
3.	Don't know/ Not sure

If YES please give examples/ details

D2b. Do you think that the area has become more or less 'water efficient' following area regeneration?

1.	More
2.	Same
3.	Less

Please give examples/ explain more

D3. Local Waste recycling

D3a. Has regeneration introduced any waste recycling schemes/ initiatives in the area?

4.	Yes
5.	No
	Don't know/ Not sure

If YES please give examples/ details

D3b. Do you think that the area is recycling more or less waste because of regeneration?

4.	More
5.	Same
6.	Less

Please give examples/ explain more

E. LOCAL HOUSING AND BUILT ENVIRONMENT

E1. Local Housing

E1a. What internal and external works have been carried out to the existing housing during the regeneration process? FOR LA/ HA ONLY!

E1b. Have regeneration works been carried out with sustainable principles in mind? FOR LA/ HA ONLY!

1.	Yes
2.	No
3.	Don't know/ Not sure

If YES please give examples/ details

E1c. Is the area affordable or unaffordable to new entrants?

1.	Affordable
2.	Unaffordable

Please give examples/ explain more

E2. Green open space

E2a. Have any works been carried out to the green open space during area regeneration?

1.	Yes
2.	No
3.	Don't know/ Not sure

If YES please give examples/ details

E2b. Do you think that the quality of green open space in general has got better or worse following area regeneration?

1.	Better
2.	Same
3.	Worse

Please give examples/ explain more

F. LOCAL SERVICES AND FACILITIES

F1.Education & Health

F1a. Has access to the local primary school got better or worse following the regeneration process?

1.	Better
2.	Same
3.	Worse

Please give examples/ explain more

F1b. How would you rate the local primary school's performance today?

1.	Good
2.	Neither good nor poor
3.	Poor

Please give examples/ explain more

F1c. Has access to the local GP/ health services got better or worse following the regeneration process?

1.	Better
2.	Same
3.	Worse

Please give examples/ explain more

F1d. How would you rate the local GP/ Health clinic services today?

1.	Good
2.	Neither good nor poor
3.	Poor

Please give examples/ explain more

F2. Local facilities & services

F2a. Do you think that your local facilities and services have got better or worse following area regeneration?

1.	Better
2.	Same
3.	Worse

Please give examples/ explain more

F2b. How would you rate them now? **SHOWCARD F**

	Very good	Fairly good	Neither good nor bad	Fairly bad	Very bad	NA
Community centre						
Youth centre						
Sport/ leisure centre						
Post office						
Place to buy milk or bread						
Local shops						
Medium/ large supermarket						
Public transport						
LA services						

Anything to add?

E3. Local public transport

E3a. Has regeneration improved or not the provision of local public transport?

1.	Yes
2.	No

Please give examples/ explain more

E3b. Has regeneration limited or facilitated people's access to wider public transport?

1.	Facilitated
2.	Neither facilitated nor limited
3.	Limited

Please give examples/ explain more

G. LOCAL GOVERNANCE

G1. Local Partnerships

G1a. Is there any partnership between different agencies in the area regarding the long-term future of the area?

1.	Yes
2.	No
3.	Don't know/ Not sure

If YES please give examples/ details

G1b. Has this partnership contributed in any way at the success/ failure of the regeneration process?

G1c. Does this partnership have any role in the future of this area?

G2. Community involvement

Gb. Has regeneration increased community involvement in the area?

1.	Yes
2.	No

Please give examples/ explain more

H. OTHER

Is there anything you would like to add at all about your working/ living experience in an area undergoing regeneration?

Please note that the following information will be kept confidential and on a separate sheet of paper. We need this information in case we need to check with you some of the information provided in this questionnaire/ interview

NAME and CONTACT DETAILS

Position/ Role

THANK YOU for your time!

FOR INTERVIEWER USE ONLY

Area

Interview

Code

Appendix 3

List of key actors interviewed in each case study area

Key actors interviewed at Langworthy North, Salford

	Code	Position
1	KAS01	Principal Officer Housing Market Renewal West Team, Salford City Council, Housing and Planning Directorate
2	KAS02	Regeneration Officer Housing Market Renewal West Team, Salford City Council, Housing and Planning Directorate
3	KAS03	Community Involvement Manager Seedley and Langworthy Trust
4	KAS04	Quaternion Research & Consultancy
5	KAS05	Research Manager Seedley & Langworthy Trust
6	KAS06	Community Involvement Officer Seedley & Langworthy Trust
7	KAS07	Regeneration Officer Seedley & Langworthy Trust
8	KAS08	Housing Officer Salford First Community Housing Company
9	KAS09	Community Warden Manager
10	KAS10	Shop Manager (Fish and Chips shop) Chair of the Traders Association
11	KAS11	Shop manager (Betting Shop)

Key actors interviewed at North Benwell, Newcastle

	Code	Position
1	KAN01	Senior Planning Officer, Newcastle Council – HMR West Newcastle Team
2	KAN02	Neighbourhood Manager, NMI on-site office
3	KAN03	Community Development Officer, NMI on-site office
4	KAN04	Neighbourhood Housing Manager, Home Group HA
5	KAN05	Housing Renewal Officer, Strategic Housing, Newcastle Council
6	KAN06	Housing Allocation Officer, Your Homes Newcastle HA
7	KAN07	Housing Assistant Officer, Your Homes Newcastle HA
8	KAN08	Police Community Support Officer

	Code	Position
		West Gate Police Station
9	KAN09	Police Community Support Officer West Gate Police Station
10	KAN10	Chair - Muungano Residents Group
11	KAN11	Treasurer Elswick and Benwell Community Association
12	KAN12	Neighbourhood Warden RNBT Management Initiative
13	KAN13	NEWE ROMA North East
14	KAN14	Manager - Millin Community Centre
15	KAN15	Youth Worker North Benwell Youth Project
16	KAN16	Head Teacher, Canning Street Primary School

Key actors interviewed at the Triangles, Wirral

	Code	Position
1	KAW01	Marketing and Communication Manager HMR Wirral Team
2	KAW02	HMRI Manager Regeneration Department
3	KAW03	Manager Home Improvements Team. Wirral Council
4	KAW04	Assistant Manager Home Improvements Team. Wirral Council
5	KAW05	Triangles Site Manager Feltons Construction Ltd
6	KAW06	Wirral Methodist HA Triangles Project manager
7	KAW07	Associate Ainsley Gommon Architects
8	KAW08	Councillor for Chaughton ward (Labour) Wirral Council
9	KAW09	Head teacher, Portland Primary School
10	KAW11	Owner/ manager, Hair Shop Hairdressers
11	KAW12	Owner/ Manager, Fish and Chips Shop on Norman Street

Appendix 4

Residents Questionnaire (Template)



Residents Questionnaire: AREA _____

Interview # _____ Interviewer _____

Time: 08:00 – 12:00; 12:00 – 16:00; 16:00 – 20:00; 20:00+

Date _____ Day _____ Location _____

Hello, do you live in the area, my name is _____ and I am doing a short survey about life in _____. This is part of an independent study looking at the impact of urban regeneration on local communities and conducted by researchers at the London School of Economics. The research will be finalised in winter 2009 and we will inform you, if you wish so, and the staff at the regeneration office about its findings. Your identity will not be revealed. Your answers to these questions will only be combined with many others to learn about the overall impact of regeneration on local communities. Thank you for taking the time to answer my questions.

A. GENERAL BACKGROUND

A1. General

A1a. How long have you been living in the area?

4.	Under 1 year
5.	1 to 2 years
6.	2 to 5 years
7.	5 to 10 years
8.	Over 10 years

A1b. In your opinion, has the regeneration of this area been ...?

6.	Very successful
7.	Fairly successful
8.	Neither successful nor unsuccessful
9.	Fairly unsuccessful
10.	Very unsuccessful

Why do you think so?

A2. Satisfaction with local area

A2a. Generally speaking do you feel more or less satisfied with your area following area regeneration?

1.	More
2.	Same
3.	Less

Why do you say so?

A2b. What are the 3 things that you like most about your area?

1. _____

2. _____

3. _____

A2c. What are the 3 things that you like least about living here?

1. _____

2. _____

3. _____

A3. Moving

A3a. Do you consider moving house in the next 2 years?

1.	Yes
2.	No

A3b. If YES, what is the main reason? (Circle all that apply) **SHOWCARD A3**

Economy	
1.	Nearer work
2.	Easier to get to work
3.	More training opportunities
4.	Want a cheaper house
5.	I cannot afford to live here anymore
Community	
6.	No sense of community
7.	Too many new people moving in
8.	Too many people moving out
9.	Not safe (crime, anti-social behaviour)
10.	I don't like who lives here
11.	I don't feel involved in decisions
Housing & area conditions	
12.	Want a larger house/ flat
13.	Want a smaller house/ flat
14.	Cannot afford mortgage/ rent
15.	Home in poor state of repair
16.	Tenancy coming to an end
17.	Want to own house
18.	Not happy with green open space (parks, streets)
Services	
19.	Want better facilities (shops, community, youth centre)
20.	Want better services (childcare, LA, health education)
21.	Other (please state)

If your reason is not on the list above please use the space below to explain

B. LOCAL ECONOMY and JOBS

B1. Local employment

B1a. Are you working at the moment?

1.	Yes
2.	No

B1b. If YES where is your job located? (*example given for the Triangles area in Wirral*)

1.	Birkenhead
2.	Wirral
3.	Wider Merseyside
4.	Liverpool
5.	Elsewhere (where?)

B1c. Which of the following applies to you? (*Circle all that apply*) **SHOWCARD**

B1

1.	Employee/ Employed by someone else
2.	Self employed
3.	Unemployed (but looking for jobs)
4.	Retired
5.	Student (full time)
6.	Student (part time)
7.	Unable to work due to long-term sickness or disability
8.	Looking after home and family
9.	<i>Other (please explain below)</i>

B1d. For someone who is unemployed and living at _____, would you say that following area regeneration their chances of getting a job have got better or worse than in the past (say 2 or even 5 years ago)?

1.	Got better
2.	Stayed the same
3.	Got worse

Why do you think so?

B1e. For someone who is working and living in _____, would you say that following area regeneration their chances of getting a **better** job have got better or worse than in the past (say 2 or even 5 years ago)?

1.	Got better
2.	Stayed the same
3.	Got worse

Why do you think so?

B2. Local business

B2a. Do you think that following area regeneration local business activity has got better or worse than in the past (say 2 or even 5 years ago)?

4.	Got better
5.	Stayed the same
6.	Got worse

Why do you think so?

B3. Training for local people

B3a. Has the regeneration helped you or somebody you know to take on new training or skills?

1.	Yes, me
2.	Yes, somebody I know
3.	No

If YES could you please explain

B3b. For someone who is living in your area, would you say that following area regeneration their chances of getting new training or skills today have got better or worse than in the past (say 2 or even 5 years ago)?

1.	Got better
2.	Stayed the same
3.	Got worse

Why do you think so?

C. LOCAL COMMUNITY / SOCIETY

C1. General

C1a. Do you agree or disagree with the following statement?

“The area I am living in has a sense of community”

1.	Agree
2.	Neither agree nor disagree
3.	Disagree

Why do you think so?

C1b. Do you think that this is a consequence of the regeneration process?

1.	Yes
2.	No

C3. Local Crime, Safety and ASB

C3a. Now, thinking of all types of crimes, do you think that following area regeneration your fear of becoming a victim of crime has got better or worse than in the past (say 2 or even 5 years ago)?

1.	Got better
2.	Stayed the same
3.	Got worse

Why do you feel so?

C3b. Generally speaking, do you think that following area regeneration the general safety of your community has got better or worse than in the past (2-5 years ago)?

1.	Got better
2.	Stayed the same
3.	Got worse

C3c. Following area regeneration, do you think that your confidence about walking alone in your area during the day has got better or worse than the past (say 2 or even 5 years ago)?

4.	Got better
5.	Stayed the same
6.	Got worse

C3d. Following area regeneration, do you think that your confidence about walking alone in your area after dark has got better or worse than the past (say 2 or even 5 years ago)?

1.	Got better
2.	Stayed the same
3.	Got worse

C4. Community mix (income, ethnic, tenure)

C4a. Do you think that, following area regeneration, the general make-up of your community (that is to say who lives here) has changed?

1.	Yes
2.	No

Why do you think so?

C4b. Do you think that, following area regeneration, there are more or less home owners in this area than in the past (say 2 or even 5 years ago)?

1.	More
2.	Same
3.	Less

Why do you think so?

C4c. Do you think that, following area regeneration, there are more or less better-off people moving to this area than in the past (say 2 or even 5 years ago)?

1.	More
2.	Same
3.	Less

Why do you think so?

C4d. Do you think that, following area regeneration, there are more or less people from an ethnic background living in this area than in the past (say 2 or even 5 years ago)?

1.	More
2.	Same
3.	Less

Why do you think so?

C5. Community involvement

C5a. Do you feel that, following area regeneration, your involvement in the 'making' of your area has got better or worse than in the past (say 2 or even 5 years ago) ?

1.	Got better
2.	Stayed the same
3.	Got worse

Why do you think so?

C5b. Do you feel that, following area regeneration, influencing decisions has got better or worse than the past (say 2 or even 5 years ago)?

1.	Got better
2.	Stayed the same
3.	Got worse

Why do you say so?

C5c. Are you member of any community group or organisation?

1.	Yes
2.	No

If YES please say which one

D. LOCAL USE of RESOURCES

D1. Energy

D1a. During the regeneration have you got any help with any of the following?
(Circle all that apply) **SHOWCARD D1**

4.	Double glazing (windows/ doors)
5.	Loft insulation
6.	Draught proofing
7.	Cavity wall insulation
8.	New boiler
9.	Central heating
10.	Room thermostat
11.	Water tank insulation
12.	Energy saving home appliances
13.	Energy saving bulbs
14.	Training on energy-efficiency
15.	<i>Other (please explain below)</i>

D1b. Do you think that, following area regeneration, the energy performance/ energy efficiency of your home has got better or worse than in the past (say 2 or even 5 years ago)?

1.	Got better
2.	Stayed the same
3.	Got worse

Why do you say so?

D2. Water

D2a. During the regeneration have you got any help with any of the following?
(Circle all that apply) **SHOWCARD D2**

1.	Individual water meter
2.	Water saving home appliances
3.	Training on water saving
4.	<i>Other (please explain below)</i>

D2b. Do you think that, following area regeneration, the water saving in your home has got better or worse than in the past (say 2 or even 5 years ago)?

1.	Got better
2.	Stayed the same
3.	Got worse

Why do you say so?

D3. Waste

D3a. Do you think that, following area regeneration, the waste recycling in your home has got better or worse than in the past (say 2 or even 5 years ago)?

1.	Got better
2.	Stayed the same
3.	Got worse
4.	I don't recycle

Why do you say so?

E. LOCAL HOUSING and BUILT ENVIRONMENT

E1. Local Housing

E1a. Do you think that, following area regeneration, the satisfaction with own home has got better or worse than in the past (say 2 or even 5 years ago)?

1.	Got better
2.	Stayed the same
3.	Got worse

Why do you say so?

E1b. Please have a look at the list below where a series of things about your home are recorded. As you go through them could you please state how you feel about that part of your home? (*Ring only one option for each issue*) **SHOWCARD E1**

Issues	Excellent condition	Good condition	OK condition	Poor condition	Awful condition	Doesn't apply
The front of your home	1	2	3	4	5	6
The windows/doors	1	2	3	4	5	6
The roof	1	2	3	4	5	6
Kitchen	1	2	3	4	5	6
Bathroom	1	2	3	4	5	6
Chimney Stack	1	2	3	4	5	6
Back yard walls	1	2	3	4	5	6
Back Yard	1	2	3	4	5	6
Garden	1	2	3	4	5	6
Front garden	1	2	3	4	5	6

E1c. Do you think that, following area regeneration, the housing and area conditions have got better or worse than in the past (say 2 or even 5 years ago)?

1.	Got better
2.	Stayed the same
3.	Got worse

Why do you say so?

E2. Open green space

E2a. Has access to green open space has got better or worse following area regeneration?

1.	Got better
2.	Stayed the same
3.	Got worse

Why do you say so?

E2b. Do you think that, following regeneration, the quality of open green space in general has got better or worse than in the past (say 2 or even 5 years ago)?

1.	Got better
2.	Stayed the same
3.	Got worse

Why do you think so?

F. LOCAL FACILITIES AND SERVICES

F1. Education & Health

F1a. Has access to the local primary school have got better or worse than in the past and following area regeneration (say 2 or even 5 years ago)? *Access* means the way one can get to the school.

4.	Got better
5.	Stayed the same
6.	Got worse

Why do you think so?

F1b. Has access to the local GP/ health services have got better or worse than the past and following area regeneration (say 2 or even 5 years ago)? *Access* means the way one can get to the GP/ health services.

1.	Got better
2.	Stayed the same
3.	Got worse

Why do you think so?

F2. Local facilities & services

F2a. Do you think that, following area regeneration, your local facilities and services have got better or worse compared with the past (say 2 or even 5 years ago)? By *facilities and services* we mean things such as community centre, post office, shops, supermarket, public transport etc.

1.	Better than in the past (2-5 years ago)
2.	Same as in the past (2-5 years ago)
3.	Worse than in the past (2-5 years ago)

Why do you say so?

F2b. How would you rate them today? (*Circle one for each*) **SHOWCARD F2**

	Good	Neither good or bad	Bad	Doesn't apply
Community centre	1	2	3	4
Youth centre	1	2	3	4
Sport/ leisure centre	1	2	3	4
Post office	1	2	3	4
Place to buy milk or bread	1	2	3	4
Local shops	1	2	3	4
Medium/ large supermarket	1	2	3	4
Public transport	1	2	3	4

F2c. Are you satisfied with the services provided by your local authority?

1.	Yes
2.	No

If NO why not?

F3. Local public transport

F3a. Has the provision of local public transport has got better or worse than in the past (say 2 or even 5 years ago) and following area regeneration?

1.	Got better
2.	Stayed the same
3.	Got worse

Why do you say so?

H. DIMENSIONS and COMPONENTS OF A SUSTAINABLE COMMUNITY

Ha. Which of the following things, do you think, are important for the sustainability of your community? (*Circle as it applies*) **SHOWCARD Ha**

	Very important	Important	Not important
Local economy and jobs	1	2	3
Local community	1	2	3
Local use of resources	1	2	3
Local housing and built environment	1	2	3
Local services and facilities	1	2	3
Local governance	1	2	3

Hb. Which aspects about the local economy & jobs are important for you? **SHOWCARD Hb**

	Very important	Important	Not important
Local jobs	1	2	3
Access to jobs	1	2	3
Local business activity	1	2	3
Training/Skills opportunities	1	2	3
Housing affordability	1	2	3
House prices	1	2	3
<i>Other (please state below)</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>

Hc. What is/ is not important for you about the local community? (*Circle as it applies*) **SHOWCARD Hc**

	Very important	Important	Not important
Sense of community	1	2	3
Feeling safe	1	2	3
Less crime and antisocial behaviour	1	2	3
Who lives there	1	2	3
The people moving in	1	2	3
The people moving out	1	2	3
<i>Other (please state below)</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>

Hd. Which things about the local use of resources are important for you? (*Circle as it applies*) **SHOWCARD Hd**

	Very important	Important	Not important
To be able to save more energy in my home	1	2	3
To be able to save more water in my home	1	2	3
To be able to recycle more waste in my home	1	2	3
<i>Other (please state below)</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>

He. Which aspects of the local housing and area conditions are important for you? (*Circle as it applies*) **SHOWCARD He**

	Very important	Important	Not important
Satisfaction with own home	1	2	3
Housing state of repair	1	2	3
Housing and area conditions	1	2	3
Quality of green open space	1	2	3
Access to green open space	1	2	3
<i>Other (please state below)</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>

Hf. Which things about local services and facilities are important for you? (*Circle as it applies*) **SHOWCARD Hf**

	Very important	Important	Not important
Access to primary school	1	2	3
Access to GP/ health services	1	2	3
Facilities and services in general	1	2	3
Public transport	1	2	3
<i>Other (please state below)</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>

Hg. Which aspects about local governance are important for you? (*Circle as it applies*) **SHOWCARD Hd**

	Very important	Important	Not important

Partnerships between different local agencies	1	2	3
Community involvement	1	2	3
Satisfaction with LA services	1	2	3
<i>Other (please state below)</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>

Hh. If you think now about the future, taking into account the area's past and current situation, the society in general, the economy, the environment and so forth, how do you feel about the future of your community in the years to come?

4.	Optimistic
5.	Neither optimistic nor pessimistic
6.	Pessimistic

Why do you feel so?

I. HOUSEHOLD CHARACTERISTICS

I1. Gender

H1a. Are you?

1.	Male
2.	Female

I2. Household type (including children)

I2a. Are you living in a home which is? **SHOWCARD I2**

1.	One person only
2.	Married/ cohabitating couple with dependent children
3.	Married/ cohabitating couple with no dependant children
4.	Lone with dependent children
5.	Other (explain below)

I2b. Are there any children under 16 living in your home?

1.	Yes
2.	No

If YES how many?

I3. Age

I3a. How old are you? How old are the other adults/ children in your household?

	Your age	Other adult	Other adult	Other adult	Child 1	Child 2
Under 16						
16 – 24						
25 – 49						
50 – 64						
Over 65						

I4. Accommodation type

I4a. What type of accommodation do you occupy?

1.	Detached house
2.	Semi-detached house
3.	Terraced house
4.	Flat/ maisonette/ apartment

I5. Housing tenure

I5a. Do you own or rent your accommodation?

1.	Own
2.	Rent from council
3.	Rent from housing association
4.	Rent from private landlord
5.	Other (please state)

I6. Marital Status

I6a. Are you? **SHOWCARD I6**

1.	Married
2.	Cohabiting
3.	Single
4.	Widowed
5.	Divorced
6.	Separated
7.	Same sex cohabiting

I7. Ethnic affiliation

I7a. To which of these groups do you consider you belong? **SHOWCARD I7**

1.	White
2.	Mixed
3.	Asian or Asian British
4.	Black or Black British
5.	Chinese
6.	Other (please state)

J. OTHER

Is there anything you would like to add at all about your experience living in an area undergoing regeneration?

J1. Would you like to be informed about the findings of this research?

1.	Yes
2.	No

J2. Would you like to be involved in future research about regeneration in the area?

1.	Yes
2.	No

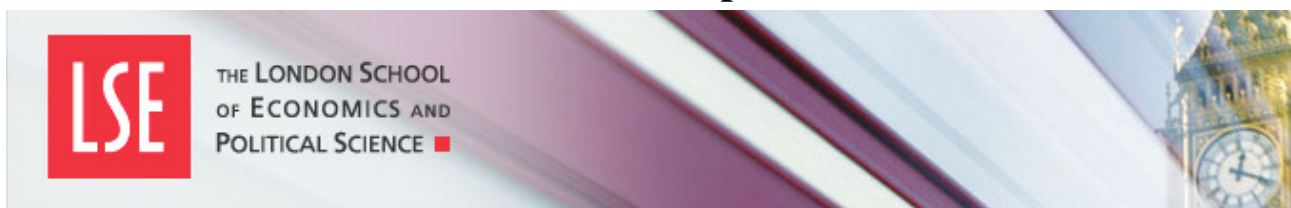
K. Your details

Your Name:	
Your Address:	
Your Postcode:	
Your Phone Number:	

THANK YOU for your time!

Appendix 5

Letter to residents (Template)



Dear Resident,

My name is Catalina Turcu and I am researcher at the London School of Economics. I hope that you will be able to find the time to meet up with me and discuss life in _____. I would love to find out what you like and dislike about _____ and more importantly what you think about your local community, shops, homes, streets and parks, schools, doctors, public transport, and so on.

This research is an academic exercise and will be finalised during late 2009. I will inform you, if you wish so, and the staff at the regeneration office about its findings. Your identity will not be revealed. Your answers will only be combined with many others to learn about overall attitudes towards living in the area and your community, and, hopefully will help to influence decisions about your area as well as broader policy making.

When

At the moment, I am planning to carry out interviews over the months of July and August, but I shall be in contact with you over the following next weeks.

How long

The interview will last between 30 and 45 minutes.

Where

We can meet, at your convenience, either at your home or _____ offices. We will arrange this prior to the interview.

I really hope you can make it!

If you have any questions please do not hesitate to contact me.

Catalina Turcu
Centre for Analysis of Social Exclusion (CASE-STICERD)
London School of Economics
Houghton Street, London WC2A 2AE
Tel: +44 (0)20 7955 6003 Fax: +44 (0)20 7955 6951
Email: l.c.turcu@lse.ac.uk

Appendix 6

From an ‘ideal’ to a ‘pragmatic’ list of domains and components of sustainable communities

Table 3.2 – Five lists of sustainable communities and urban sustainability: 36 main themes or domains

Themes or domains of community sustainability			Themes or domains of urban sustainability	
UK Sustainable Strategy (1)	Egan Review (2) (ODPM, 2004a)	Housing Corporation (3) (Long and Hutchins, 2003)	Four Capitals (4) (Green et al., 2005)	Sustainable Seattle (5) (AtKisson, 1999)
1. Society (Employment & Poverty)	1. Social & Cultural	1. Current demand	1. Social capital	1. Environment
2. Education	2. Governance	2. Long-term demand	2. Human capital	2. Population & resources
3. Health	3. Environmental	3. Reputation	3. Environmental capital	3. Economy
4. Mobility and Access	4. Housing & Built Environment	4. Crime & ASB	4. Fixed capital	4. Youth & Education
5. Social justice/ Environmental equality	5. Transport & Connectivity	5. Social exclusion	5. Well-being	5. Health & Community
6. Housing	6. Economy	6. Accessibility		
7. Well-being	7. Services	7. Quality of the environment		
8. International		8. Housing quality, design and layout		
9. Other		9. Community cohesion		
		10. The mix of community		

Source: Compiled from (ODPM, 2004a; Long and Hutchins, 2003; Green et al., 2005; AtKisson, 1999; HM Government, 2005)

Table 3.3 – Eleven domains of sustainability

Economy	Society	Environment	Housing	Built environment	Transport	Accessibility	Education	Health	Governance	Other
Society – Employment (1)	Social Justice (1)	Environmental equality (1)	Housing (1), (2)	Built environment (2)	Transport and connectivity (2)	Mobility and access (1)	Education (1)	Health (1)	Governance (2)	International (1)
Economy (2), (5)	Society – Poverty (1)	Environmental (2)	Fixed capital (Housing) (4)	Housing quality, design and layout (3)		Accessibility (3)	[Youth and] Education (5)	Human capital (4)		Other (1)
Current demand (3)	Well being (1)	Quality of the environment (3)		Fixed capital (4)				Health and community (5)		
Long-term demand (3)	Social and cultural (2)	Environmental capital (4)		Eco-development (4)		Services (2)				
Human capital (4)	Reputation (3)	Environment (5)								
	Social exclusion (3)									
	Community cohesion (3)									
	The mix of community (3)									
	Crime and ASB (3)									
	Social capital (4)									
	Well being (4)									
	Population and resources (5)									

Source: Compiled from (ODPM, 2004a; Long and Hutchins, 2003; Green et al., 2005; AtKisson, 1999; HM Government, 2005)

Note: The numbers in brackets represent the originating list reference number as follows:

(1) The UK Sustainable Strategy List; (2) The Egan List; (3) The Housing Corporation List; (4) The Four Capital List; (5) The Sustainable Seattle List

Table 3.4 – Six core domains of sustainable communities

Economy	Society	Natural Environment	Built Environment				Education & Health		Governance
			Housing & Built environment		Public infrastructure				
Society – Employment (1)	Social Justice (1)	Environmental equality (1)	Housing (1), (2)	Built environment (2)	Transport and connectivity (2)	Mobility and access (1)	Education (1)	Health (1)	Governance (2)
Economy (2), (5)	Society – Poverty (1)	Environmental (2)	Fixed capital (Housing) (4)	Housing quality, design and layout (3)		Accessibility (3)	[Youth and] Education (5)	Human capital (4)	
Current demand (3)	Well being (1)	Quality of the environment (3)		Fixed capital (4)				Health and community (5)	
Long-term demand (3)	Social and cultural (2)	Environmental capital (4)		Eco-development (4)					
Human capital (4)	Reputation (3)								
	Social exclusion (3)	Environment (5)							
	Community cohesion (3)								
	The mix of community (3)								
	Crime and ASB (3)								
	Social capital (4)								
	Well being (4)								
	Population and resources (5)								

Source: Compiled from (ODPM, 2004a; Long and Hutchins, 2003; Green et al., 2005; AtKisson, 1999; HM Government, 2005)

Note: The numbers in brackets represent the originating list reference number as follows:

(1) The UK Sustainable Strategy List; (2) The Egan List; (3) The Housing Corporation List; (4) The Four Capital List; (5) The Sustainable Seattle List

Table 3.5 – A pool of 168 aspects or components under each core domain

Note:

1. The numbers in brackets represent the originating list reference number as follows: (1) The UK Sustainable Strategy List; (2) The Egan List; (3) The Housing Corporation List; (4) The Four Capital List; (5) The Sustainable Seattle List
2. * the *overlapping/ similarity* filter is applied to this aspect; that means that there is another element on the list which is similar or overlaps to the element in discussion;
3. ** the *local/ locality* filter is applied to this aspect which means that the aspect is too general and little ‘perceptible’ at local level or it is not applicable to the local context of the research;
4. *** the *regeneration* filter is applied to this aspect; that is to say that the regeneration type that the research looks at has little influence on the element in discussion.

Economy	Society	Natural Environment	Build Environment		Governance
			Build environment & Housing	Public infrastructure	
1. Employment (1)	35. Demography (1)	81. Environmental equality (1)**	116. Households and dwelling stock (1)*	154. Mobility (1)*	165. % of citizens satisfied with the overall service provided by the LA (taking everything into account) (2) 166. Comprehensive Performance Assessment – overall service core (2)** 167. Comprehensive Performance Assessment – council ability to improve (2)** 168. Extent
2. Workless households (1) *	36. Wellbeing (1)**	82. Local environmental quality (1)	117. Land recycling (1)**	155. Getting to school (1)	
3. Economically inactive (1) *	37. Active community participation (1)	83. Air quality and health (1)**	118. Housing conditions (1)	156. Accessibility: access to key services (1)	
4. Childhood poverty (1)	38. Crime (1)	84. (a) previously development land that is unused or may be available for redevelopment as a % of the local authority land area (based on NLUD) (2)**	119. Households living in fuel poverty (1)*	157. Road accidents (1)**	
5. Young adults (16-19) not in employment, education or training (1) *	39. Fear of crime (1)*	85. (b) % of new homes built on previously developed land (2)**/***	120. Homelessness (1)**	158. (a) % of residents surveyed finding it easy to key local services (2)*	
6. Pensioner poverty (1) *	40. Social (1)**	86. % of residents surveyed who are concerned about different types of noise in	121. Dwelling density (1)**	159. (b) % of residents within a distances of	
7. Pension provision (1) *	41. Satisfaction in local area (1)*		122. % of new dwellings completed during the year which are assessed as Good, Very Good or Excellent according to the EcoHomes Environmental Rating for Homes (2)**		
8. Economic output (1) **	42. % of population who live in wards that rank within the most deprived 10% and 25% of wards in the country (2)**		123. % of relevant land and highways assessed having combined		
9. Productivity (1)	43. % of residents surveyed satisfied with their neighbourhoods as a place to live (2)*				
	44. % of people who are happy (taking all things together, would you say you are very happy, quite happy, not very				

Economy	Society	Natural Environment	Build Environment		Governance
			Build environment & Housing	Public infrastructure	
** 10. Investment (1) 11. % of people of working age in employment (with BME breakdown) (2) * 12. (a) Proportion of adults with literacy and numeracy skills at or above level 1 (2) * 13. (b) % of working age population qualified to NVQ 2 or equivalent (2) * 14. (c) % of working age population qualified to NVQ 3 or equivalent (2) * 15. Average annual earnings for (a) full timers (b) full-time males (c) full-time males (2) * 16. % satisfaction with the local area as a business	happy or not at all happy? (2)* 45. Key priorities for improving an area (2)* 46. % of respondents surveyed who feel they 'belong' to the neighbourhood (or community) (2)* 47. % of people surveyed who feel that their local areas are a place where people from different backgrounds get on well together (2)* 48. % of residents surveyed who feel 'fairly safe' or 'very safe' after dark whilst outside in the local authority area (2)* 49. % of residents satisfied with LA cultural services (a) sports and leisure (b) libraries (c) museums (d) arts activities and venues (e) parks and open spaces (2) 50. Domestic burglaries per 1,000 households % detected (2)* 51. Extent anti-social behaviour a problem in the area (2)* 52. % of people who feel a great deal involved in local community (2)* 53. Community mix (3) 54. Attendance to community	their area covering road traffic, aircraft, trains, industrial/commercial premises, road works, construction/demolition, pubs etc, neighbours and animals (2)**/** 87. Average number of days where air pollution is moderate or higher for No2, So2, O3, CO or PM10 (2)** 88. (a) number of days per year when air pollution is moderate or higher for PM10 (2)** 89. (b) annual average nitrogen dioxide concentrations (2)** 90. (c) for rural sites, number of days per year when air pollution is moderate or high for ozone (2)** 91. Household energy use (gas and electricity) per household (2) 92. Household water use per person per day (2) 93. % of people satisfied with waste recycling facilities (2) 94. % of the total tonnage of	deposits of litter and detritus (eg sand, silt and other debris) across four categories of cleanliness (clean, light, significant, heavy) (2)* 124.% of people satisfied with the cleanliness standard in their area (2)* 125.% of those interviewed satisfied with their home (2)* 126.Average length of stay in temporary accommodation of households which are unintentionally homeless and in priority need (2)** 127.(a) % of LA homes which were non-decent at 1 April (2)* 128.b) Number of unfit homes per 1,000 dwellings (private sector only) (2)* 129.(a) Average property prices (b) average property price/average earnings (2)*	500m (15 mins walk) of key local services (2)* 160.% of residents surveyed using different modes of transport, their reasons for, and distance of, travel (2)* 161.% of users satisfied with local authority provided transport services (2)* 162.% of dwellings postcode areas with access to ADSL broadband (2)** 163.Walking distance (3)	respondents feel the council keeps residents informed about benefits and services it provides (2)* 169.% of adults surveyed who feel they can influence decisions affecting their local area (2)*

Economy	Society	Natural Environment	Build Environment		Governance
			Build environment & Housing	Public infrastructure	
location (2)	meetings (3)*	household waste risings which have been recycled (2)	130.% are of authority's parks and open spaces which are accredited with a Green Flag award (2)*	164.Access to public transport (3)	
17. Regional GDP per Population (2) **	55. Community spirit (3)				
18. Availability of employment (3)*	56. Electoral turnout (3)*	95. % of local authority owned and managed land, without a nature conservation designation, managed for biodiversity (2)**	131.% of listed building of Grade I and II* at risk of decay (2)***		
19. Claiming benefits (4 indicators) (3)*	57. Satisfaction with services (3)		132.Repairs (3)		
20. Below average district levels of income (3)**	58. Fear after dark (3)*	96. Previously developed land (3)*	133.Basic amenities (3)*		
21. House prices (3)	59. Crimes/ Burglaries/ Thefts (3)*	97. Noise pollution (3)***	134.Stock condition (3)*		
22. Aspirational housing demand (3)**	60. Harassment and neighbour disputes (3)*	98. Environment/ surroundings quality (3)*	135.Housing quality indicators (3)*		
23. Employment (4)*	61. Household formation (3)**	99. Fly-tipping (3)*	136.Satisfaction with own house (3)*		
24. Skills (4)	62. Population estimates and projections (3)**	100.Dwellings. boarded up or burned down (3)*	137.Arrears (3)***		
25. Access to jobs (5)	63. Population density (3)**	101.Parks (4)*	138.Void periods (3)*		
26. Percentage of jobs in top ten employers (5)*	64. Contact (4)**	102.Streetscape (4)*	139.Long-term voids (3)*		
27. Real unemployment (5)*	65. Trust (4)**	103.Open space (4)*	140.Vacant properties (3)		
28. distribution of personal income (5)*	66. Participation (4)*	104.Wild salmon (5)**	141.Turnover (3)		
29. Health-care expenditures (5)***	67. Satisfaction with neighborhood (4)	105.Wetlands health (5)**	142.Waiting lists (3)		
30. Purchasing power (5)***	68. Change in satisfaction with neigh (4)*	106.Biodiversity (5)**	143.Transfer requests (3)*		
31. Housing	69. Satisfaction with home (4)	107.Soil erosion (5)**	144.Voluntary purchase applications (3)*		
	70. How likely is to stay in neigh (4)	108.Impervious surface area (5)**	145.Low value sales (3)*		
	71. Juvenile crime (5)*	109.Air quality (5)**	146.Rental levels (3)*		
	72. Youth involved in community service (5)*	110.Residential water consumption (5)*	147.Housing (4)**		
	73. Equity in justice (5)*	111.Waste and recycling (5)*	148.Workplaces (4)*		
	74. Electoral turnout (5)*	112.Pollution and renewable use (5)*	149.Facilities (4)		
	75. Library and community centre usage (5)*		150.Shops (4)*		
	76. Public participation in the arts (5)*		151.Roads (4)*		
			152.Open space (5)*		

Economy	Society	Natural Environment	Build Environment		Governance
			Build environment & Housing	Public infrastructure	
affordability (5) 32. Children living in poverty (5)* 33. Emergency room use for non-emergency purposes (5)*** 34. Community capital (5)*	77. Gardening activity (5)** 78. Neighbourliness (5)* 79. Perceived quality of life (5)* 80. Population growth rate (5)	113. Agricultural land (5)** 114. Car usage (5) 115. Renewable energy usage (5)*	153. Streets with pedestrian friendly criteria (5)*		

Source: Compiled from (ODPM, 2004a; Long and Hutchins, 2003; Green et al., 2005; AtKisson, 1999; HM Government, 2005)

Table 3.6 – From 23 to 20 components of sustainable communities

Note: This table is the result of a reduction process by applying the three filters (similarity/overlapping, local/locality and regeneration), which were introduced in the beginning of the previous table, to the 169 elements listed by Table 4.4

Economy	Society	Natural Environment	Build Environment		Governance
			Build environment & Housing	Public infrastructure	
1. Employment (including access to employment) 2. Child poverty 3. Pensioner poverty 4. Local business 5. House prices 6. Skills/ Training 7. Housing affordability	8. Demography (incl. moving, turnover) 9. Community participation (incl. decision-making & activity & involvement) 10. Crime/ safety 11. Community mix 12. Community spirit 13. Satisfaction (with local area, services, own home)	14. Local environmental quality 15. Energy use 16. Water use 17. Waste and recycling 18. Open/ green space (incl. public realm)	19. Housing & area conditions (incl. unfit, fuel poverty, Decent Home Standard, vacant properties) 20. Housing state of repair	21. Public transport 22. Facilities	23. Satisfaction with services provided by the LA (management arrangements etc)

Table 3.8 – Alterations to the *ideal* list of sustainable communities following consultation with 25 ‘public experts’

Economy	Community	Natural Environment	Build Environment		Education & Health	Governance
			<i>Build environment & Housing</i>	<i>Public infrastructure</i>		
1. Employment (including access to) 2. Local business 3. House prices 4. Skills/ Training 5. Affordability	6. Demography (incl. moving, turnover) 7. Community participation (incl. decision-making & activity & involvement) 8. Crime/ safety 9. Community mix 10. Community spirit 11. Satisfaction (with local area, services, own home)	12. Local environmental quality 13. Energy use 14. Water use 15. Waste and recycling 16. Open/green space (incl. public realm)	17. Housing conditions (unfit, fuel poverty, Decent Standard) 18. Housing state of repair	19. Public transport 20. Facilities	21. Schools 22. GP/ health services	23. Satisfaction with services provided by the LA (management arrangements etc) 24. Partnerships

Services and Facilities

Table 3.9 – Further changes made to the *pragmatic* list of sustainable communities

<i>Economy</i>	<i>Community</i>	<i>Natural Environment</i>	<i>Build Environment</i>		Education & Health	<i>Governance</i>
			<i>Build environment & Housing</i>	<i>Transport & Access</i>		
1. Employment (including access to) 2. Local business 3. House prices 4. Skills/ Training 5. Affordability	6. Demography (incl. moving, turnover) 7. Community participation (incl. decision-making & activity & involvement) 8. Crime/ safety 9. Community mix 10. Community spirit 11. Satisfaction (with local area, services, own home)	12. Local environmental quality 13. Energy use 14. Water use 15. Waste and recycling 16. Open/green space (incl. public realm)	17. Housing conditions (unfit, fuel poverty, Decent Standard) 18. Housing state of repair	19. Public transport 20. Facilities	21. Access to schools 22. Access to GP/ health services	23. Satisfaction with services provided by the LA (management arrangements etc) 24. Partnerships

Appendix 7

List of ‘public experts’ interviewed in the HMR Pathfinders

Pathfinder	Code	Position
Manchester Salford	1. PE01	Head of HMR Regeneration and Housing, Manchester Council
	2. PE02	Head of HMR Market Intelligence System, Manchester Council
	3. PE03	Principal Officer, HMR Housing and Planning Directorate, Salford Council
	4. PE04	Senior Planning officer, Safford Council
	5. PE05	Chimney Pot Park Scheme Site Manager, Urban Splash
Newcastle Gateshead	6. PE06	Head of Research and Strategy, HMR Core Team
	7. PE07	Senior Planning Officer, Newcastle Council (East Newcastle Team)
	8. PE08	Senior Planning Officer, Newcastle Council (West Newcastle Team)
	9. PE09	Community Engagement Team Manager, Walker – Cambrian Estate, Places for People
Merseyside	10. PE10	Marketing and Communication Manager, HMR Wirral Team
	11. PE11	Policy and Strategy Manager, HMR Core Team
	12. PE12	Policy and Strategy Manager, HMR Core Team
Oldham Rochdale	13. PE13	Head of Programmes, HMR Core Team
	14. PE14	Head of Strategy and Policy, HMR Core Team
	15. PE15	Senior Analyst, HMR Core Team
	16. PE16	Strategy and Policy Senior Officer, HMR Core Team
	17. PE17	Neighbourhood Manager, East Central Rochdale, Rochdale Council
	18. PE18	Werneth Neighbourhood Manager, Oldham Council
South Yorkshire	19. PE19	Director South Sheffield Development Area, Sheffield Council
	20. PE20	Regeneration Manager, Norfolk Park Team, Sheffield Council
	21. PE21	Senior Project Officer Artbourthorne Area, Sheffield Council
	22. PE22	Regeneration Manager Park Hill, Sheffield Council
East Lancashire	23. PE23	Chief Executive, Elevate
	24. PE24	Director of Development, Elevate
	25. PE25	Senior Project Officer, Elevate

Appendix 8

List of residents interviewed at Langworthy North (42 residents)

Resident Code	Housing tenure	Ethnicity	Age	Economic activity	Children under 16	Gender
S1	home owner	white	over 65	inactive	no	female
S2	home owner	ethnic minority	25-49	inactive	yes	female
S3	home owner	white	50-64	inactive	no	male
S4	home owner	white	25-49	inactive	no	female
S5	social tenant (RSL)	white	50-64	active	yes	female
S6	home owner	white	50-64	active	no	female
S7	home owner	white	50-64	active	yes	female
S8	home owner	white	25-49	inactive	no	male
S9	social tenant (RSL)	white	50-64	active	no	male
S10	social tenant (LA)	white	over 65	inactive	no	female
S11	home owner	white	50-64	inactive	yes	male
S12	private tenant	white	16-24	inactive	yes	female
S13	home owner	white	25-49	active	yes	male
S14	private tenant	white	16-24	active	no	female
S15	home owner	ethnic minority	over 65	inactive	no	female
S16	private tenant	white	16-24	active	yes	female
S17	home owner	white	over 65	inactive	no	male
S18	home owner	white	over 65	inactive	no	male
S19	home owner	white	25-49	active	no	male
S20	home owner	white	25-49	active	no	female
S21	private tenant	ethnic minority	over 65	inactive	no	male
S22	home owner	white	25-49	inactive	yes	male
S23	private tenant	white	25-49	inactive	yes	male
S24	home owner	white	over 65	inactive	no	male
S25	private tenant	white	25-49	active	yes	female
S26	home owner	white	50-64	active	yes	female
S27	social tenant (RSL)	white	over 65	inactive	no	female
S28	social tenant (RSL)	white	25-49	active	yes	female
S29	social tenant (RSL)	white	25-49	inactive	yes	male
S30	private tenant	white	over 65	inactive	no	male
S31	social tenant (RSL)	white	16-24	active	yes	female

Resident Code	Housing tenure	Ethnicity	Age	Economic activity	Children under 16	Gender
S32	home owner	white	25-49	active	yes	male
S33	social tenant (RSL)	white	16-24	inactive	yes	female
S34	private tenant	white	16-24	inactive	no	male
S35	private tenant	white	16-24	active	no	male
S36	social tenant (RSL)	white	over 65	inactive	no	male
S37	home owner	white	over 65	inactive	no	female
S38	private tenant	white	25-49	active	yes	female
S39	home owner	white	over 65	inactive	no	male
S40	private tenant	ethnic minority	25-49	active	yes	female
S41	home owner	white	50-64	active	yes	female
S42	home owner	white	over 65	inactive	no	female
Total 42 residents	home owners - 22 social tenants - 9 private tenants - 11	white - 39 ethnic minority - 3	16-24 - 7 25-49 - 15 50-64 - 8 Over 65 - 12	economically active - 18 economically inactive - 24	yes - 19 no - 23	male - 19 female - 23

Source: Fieldwork survey

Appendix 9

Community groups and projects at North Benwell

	<i>Community Group/ Project</i>	<i>Description</i>
1.	Dolphin Street Community Centre	The Dolphin Street Community Centre is run by the Elswick and Benwell Community Association and has a range of activities on offer including: gentle exercise, over 50s activities, ladies keep fit, and sequence dancing.
2.	North Benwell Residents Group	Local residents association
3.	Millin Centre	The Millin Centre provides training, education and recreational activities for Black Minority Ethnic communities throughout Newcastle. Examples of their activities include Citizens Advice Bureau sessions, welfare rights sessions, and health sessions. They also have a room available to hire for residents and meeting facilities for other organizations.
4.	North Benwell Neighbourhood Initiative	Neighbourhood management office established in 2003 which employed a neighbourhood manager, a community development officer and two administrative staff.
5.	SureStart Information Centre	SureStart 'one-stop-shop' on Adelaide Terrace.
6.	SEARCH Project	Search Project aims to support and empower older people and their carers to improve their quality of life. Search offers a range of community health activities, leisure and learning opportunities, advice and help with claiming benefits and accessing services. Most of its services are for people aged 50+, although the advice and information service is for people over pension age (60 for women and 65 for men) and for carers of pensioners.
7.	Parent and Toddler Group	Weekly playgroup for 3-5s at Dolphin Street Community Centre.
8.	Clean Sweep Week/ The Week of Action	Annual one week long initiative to embellish and clean the area
9.	Plus Project for Young People	Youth project to work with young people aged 8 – 13 at risk of offending. The project includes lots of activities from rowing to youth club to lads and dads to group discussions at Dolphin Street Community Centre.
10.	Patchwork	The Patchwork Project is a voluntary youth

	<i>Community Group/ Project</i>	<i>Description</i>
		project which aims to contact young people aged 13-19 years through detached and outreach youth work, offer a range of activities, and find creative responses to meeting these needs.
11.	BenFestival	Once a year one day multi-ethnic local festival organised to celebrate North Benwell's ethnic diversity.
12.	Children's Craft Group	After school club (twice a week) at Dolphin Street Community Centre.
13.	North Benwell Youth Project	Local youth project offering a series of activities for under 16s.
14.	International Drop in	One-stop-shop for immigrants at Dolphin Street Community Centre.
15.	Muongano Community Association	Residents association for Black Africans, organising among others a sewing club.
16.	Newe Roma Group	Roma residents' association

Appendix 10

List of residents interviewed at North Benwell (45 residents)

Resident Code	Housing tenure	Ethnicity	Age	Economic activity	Children under 16	Gender
N1	private tenant	white	50-64	inactive	no	female
N2	private tenant	white	>65	Inactive	no	male
N3	home owner	white	50-64	inactive	yes	male
N4	home owner	white	25-49	active	no	male
N5	home owner	ethnic minority	50-64	active	yes	male
N6	home owner	ethnic minority	25-49	active	yes	male
N7	home owner	ethnic minority	25-49	active	yes	male
N8	social tenant (LA)	white	50-64	inactive	no	female
N9	social tenant (LA)	white	50-64	inactive	no	female
N10	home owner	white	50-64	inactive	no	female
N11	social tenant (RSL)	white	50-64	inactive	no	female
N12	home owner	white	25-49	inactive	yes	male
N13	social tenant (LA)	ethnic minority	25-49	active	yes	male
N14	home owner	white	25-49	active	yes	female
N15	social tenant (LA)	ethnic minority	25-49	active	yes	male
N16	private tenant	ethnic minority	50-64	active	yes	male
N17	home owner	ethnic minority	25-49	active	yes	male
N18	social tenant (RSL)	white	25-49	active	no	male
N19	social tenant (LA)	ethnic minority	25-49	active	no	male
N20	social tenant (LA)	ethnic minority	>65	inactive	no	male
N21	social tenant (LA)	ethnic minority	>65	inactive	no	male
N22	private tenant	ethnic minority	16-24	inactive	no	male
N23	private tenant	ethnic minority	16-24	inactive	no	male
N24	home owner	ethnic minority	25-49	active	no	male
N25	private tenant	ethnic	25-49	inactive	no	female

Resident Code	Housing tenure	Ethnicity	Age	Economic activity	Children under 16	Gender
		minority				
N26	private tenant	ethnic minority	16-24	inactive	no	male
N27	social tenant (LA)	ethnic minority	25-49	active	yes	female
N28	private tenant	white	25-49	active	no	female
N29	private tenant	white	25-49	inactive	yes	female
N30	private tenant	ethnic minority	25-49	inactive	yes	female
N31	private tenant	white	25-49	active	no	female
N32	home owner	ethnic minority	25-49	active	yes	female
N33	private tenant	ethnic minority	25-49	active	yes	male
N34	home owner	ethnic minority	25-49	active	yes	male
N35	private tenant	ethnic minority	16-24	inactive		female
N36	private tenant	ethnic minority	16-24	inactive		male
N37	social tenant (LA)	white	25-49	inactive	yes	female
N38	social tenant (RSL)	white	25-49	inactive	yes	female
N39	social tenant (LA)	white	>65	inactive		female
N40	home owner	white	>65	inactive		male
N41	home owner	white	25-49	inactive	yes	female
N42	social tenant (RSL)	white	25-49	active	yes	female
N43	private tenant	white	25-49	active	yes	female
N44	private tenant	white	25-49	active	yes	male
N45	home owner	white	25-49	active	yes	female
Total 45 residents	<i>home owners – 15 social tenants – 14 private tenants – 16</i>	<i>white – 23 ethnic minority – 22</i>	<i>16-24 – 5 25-49 – 27 50-64 – 8 Over 65 – 5</i>	<i>economically active – 23 economically inactive – 22</i>	<i>yes – 24 no – 21</i>	<i>male – 24 female – 21</i>

Source: Fieldwork survey

Appendix 11

List of residents interviewed at the Triangles (47 residents)

Resident Code	Housing tenure	Ethnicity	Age	Economic activity	Children under 16	Gender
W1	home owner	white	>65	inactive	no	female
W2	home owner	white	50-64	active	yes	female
W3	home owner	white	25-49	active	no	female
W4	home owner	white	>65	inactive	no	female
W5	home owner	white	>65	inactive	no	male
W6	home owner	white	50-64	inactive	no	female
W7	home owner	white	50-64	inactive	no	male
W8	home owner	white	>65	inactive	no	female
W9	home owner	white	50-64	inactive	no	female
W10	home owner	white	>65	inactive	no	female
W11	home owner	white	50-64	active	no	male
W12	home owner	white	25-49	inactive	no	female
W13	home owner	white	50-64	active	no	female
W14	home owner	white	>65	inactive	no	male
W15	private tenant	white	50-64	inactive	yes	female
W16	home owner	white	25-49	active	no	female
W17	home owner	white	>65	active	no	female
W18	private tenant	white	16-24	active	no	male
W19	private tenant	ethnic minority	25-49	inactive	yes	female
W20	private tenant	white	50-64	active	yes	female
W21	social tenant (RSL)	white	25-49	active	yes	male
W22	private tenant	white	25-49	active	no	male
W23	social tenant (RSL)	white	25-49	inactive	no	male
W24	private tenant	white	25-49	active	yes	female
W25	home owner	white		inactive	yes	female
W26	private tenant	white	25-49	active	yes	male
W27	home owner	ethnic minority	25-49	active	yes	male
W28	private tenant	white	25-49	active	yes	male
W29	social tenant (RSL)	white	25-49	active	yes	male
W30	private tenant	white	16-24	active	yes	female
W31	private tenant	white	50-64	active	no	female
W32	social tenant (RSL)	white	50-64	active	yes	male
W33	private tenant	white	50-64	inactive	yes	male
W34	home owner	white	50-64	active	yes	male
W35	private tenant	white	50-64	inactive	yes	female
W36	private tenant	white	16-24	active	yes	male

Resident Code	Housing tenure	Ethnicity	Age	Economic activity	Children under 16	Gender
W37	private tenant	white	25-49	active	yes	female
W38	private tenant	white	16-24	inactive	yes	male
W39	social tenant (RSL)	white	25-49	active	yes	male
W40	home owner	white	25-49	active	yes	male
W41	private tenant	white	25-49	inactive	no	male
W42	private tenant	white	50-64	active	yes	female
W43	private tenant	white	16-24	active	yes	female
W44	home owner	ethnic minority	16-24	inactive	yes	female
W45	home owner	white	25-49	active	yes	female
W46	social tenant (RSL)	white	25-49	inactive	no	male
W47	home owner	white	>65	active	no	female
Total 47 residents	home owners – 23 social tenants – 6 private tenants – 18	white – 44 ethnic minority – 3	16-24 – 6 25-49 – 18 50-64 – 15 Over 65 – 8	economically active – 27 economically inactive – 20	yes – 24 no – 23	male – 21 female – 26

Source: Fieldwork survey

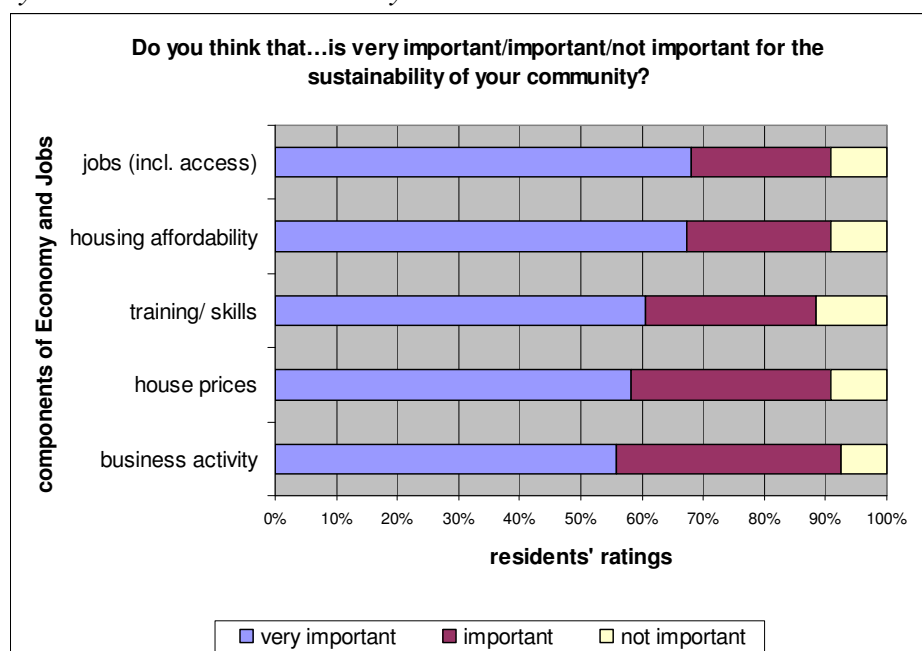
Appendix 12

How residents in three areas rated the components of sustainable communities

Rating components of Economy and Jobs

The majority of residents across the three areas considered all components of *economy and jobs* as *very important*. However, as Figure 9.14 and Table 9.6 show, all components registered some *not important* ratings in at least two of the three case study areas. Moreover, residents at Langworthy North were more likely to rate *very important* and *important* than those at North Benwell and the Triangles.

Figure 9.14 – A gradient of importance: components of Economy and Jobs as rated by residents in three case study areas



Source: Fieldwork survey

Table 9.6 – A gradient of components of Economy and Jobs as rated by residents in each case study area

Components of Economy and Jobs	% of residents who rated very important and important		
	Langworthy North	North Benwell	The Triangles
Business activity	100	92	87
Jobs (incl. access)	100	90	85
Housing affordability	97	85	91
House prices	94	85	94
Training/skills	92	85	89

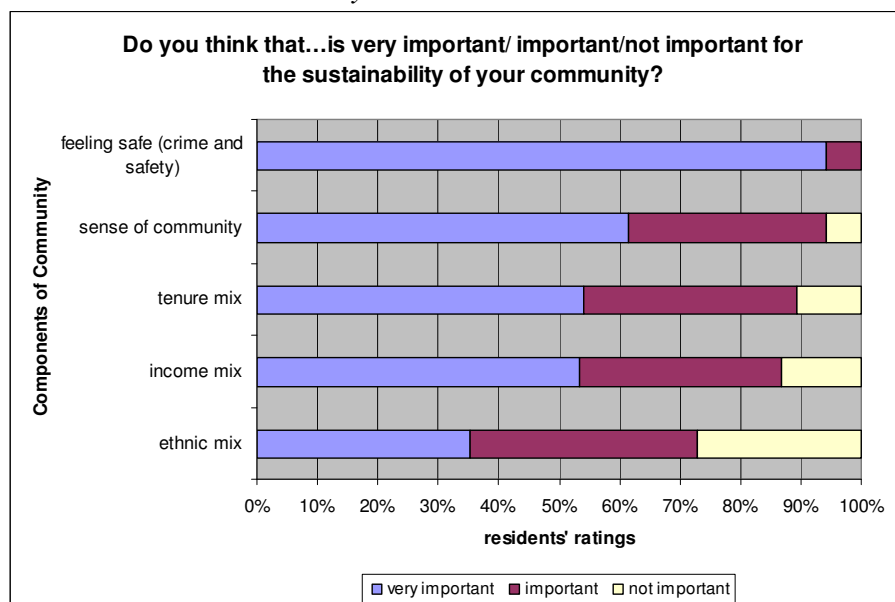
Source: Fieldwork survey

Rating components of Community

All components, but one, of *local community* were rated *very important* by the majority of residents. Moreover, all components were rated either *very important* or

important by at least 70% of residents. Residents at North Benwell were less likely to rate a component as *not important*. (Figure 9.15 and Table 9.7). *Feeling safe* was rated as *very important* by an overwhelming majority of residents both within and across the three areas.

Figure 9.15 – A gradient of importance: components of Community as rated by residents in three case study areas



Source: Fieldwork survey

Table 9.7 – A gradient of components of Community as rated by residents in each case study area

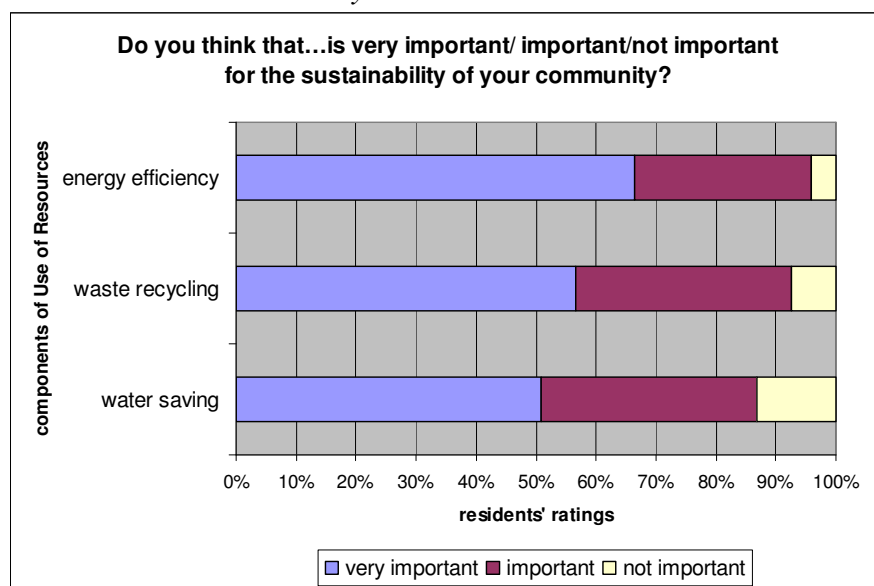
Components of Community	% of residents who rated <i>very important</i> and <i>important</i>		
	Langworthy North	North Benwell	The Triangles
Feeling safe (crime and safety)	100	100	100
Sense of community	94	95	89
Tenure mix	89	90	83
Income mix	83	85	83
Ethnic mix	75	77	68

Source: Fieldwork survey

Rating components of Use of Resources

All components of *use of resources* were rated as *very important* by a majority of residents across the three areas. *Saving water* received most *not important* ratings and residents from North Benwell were more likely to consider all aspects as *very important* and *important* than those from Langworthy North and the Triangles (Figure 9.6 and Table 9.8).

Figure 9.16 – A gradient of importance: components of Use of Resources as rated by residents in three case study areas



Source: Fieldwork survey

Table 9.8 – A gradient of components of Use of Resources as rated by residents in each case study area

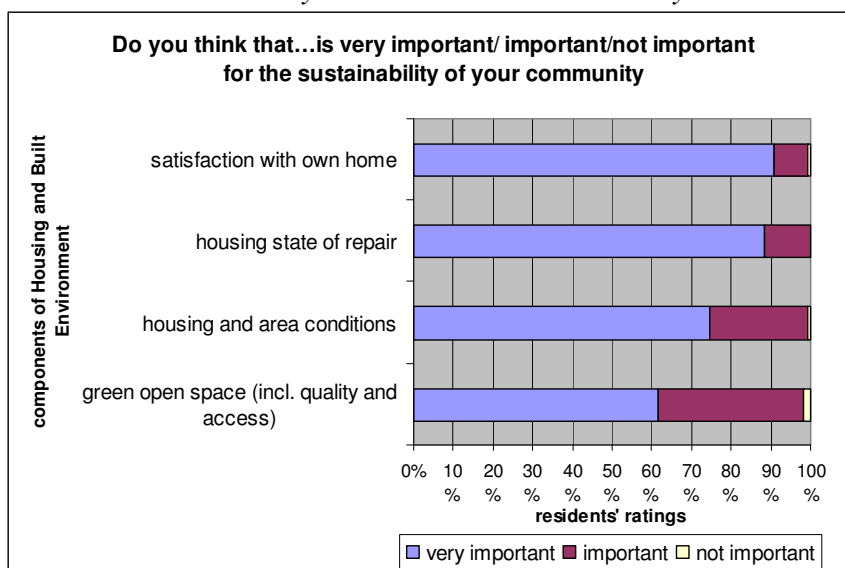
Components of Use of Resources	% of residents who rated <i>very important</i> and <i>important</i>		
	Langworthy North	North Benwell	The Triangles
1. Energy efficiency	94	97	96
2. Waste recycling	92	97	89
3. Water saving	83	95	83

Source: Fieldwork survey

Rating components of Housing and Built Environment

The components of *housing and built environment* received the fewest *not important* ratings, both across the three areas as well as within each area. All components were considered by an overwhelming majority of residents to be either *very important* or *important* (Figure 9.17 and Table 9.9). All residents at both North Benwell and Langworthy North sites thought that *housing and area conditions* was either *very important* or *important* for the sustainability of their community; on the contrary some residents at the Triangles rated it as *not important*. Moreover, residents in the Triangles and North Benwell ‘valued’ more *green open space* than those in Langworthy North. Not all residents in North Benwell thought that *satisfaction with own home* was important, while all residents in the Triangles and Langworthy North thought so.

Figure 9.17 – A gradient of importance: components of Housing and Built Environment as rated by residents in three case study areas



Source: Fieldwork survey

Table 9.9 – A gradient of components of Housing and Built Environment as rated by residents in each case study area

Components of Housing and the Built Environment	% of residents who rated <i>very important</i> and <i>important</i>		
	Langworthy North	North Benwell	The Triangles
Housing state of repair	100	100	100
Satisfaction with own home	100	97	100
Housing and area conditions	100	100	98
Green open space (incl. quality and access)	100	100	96

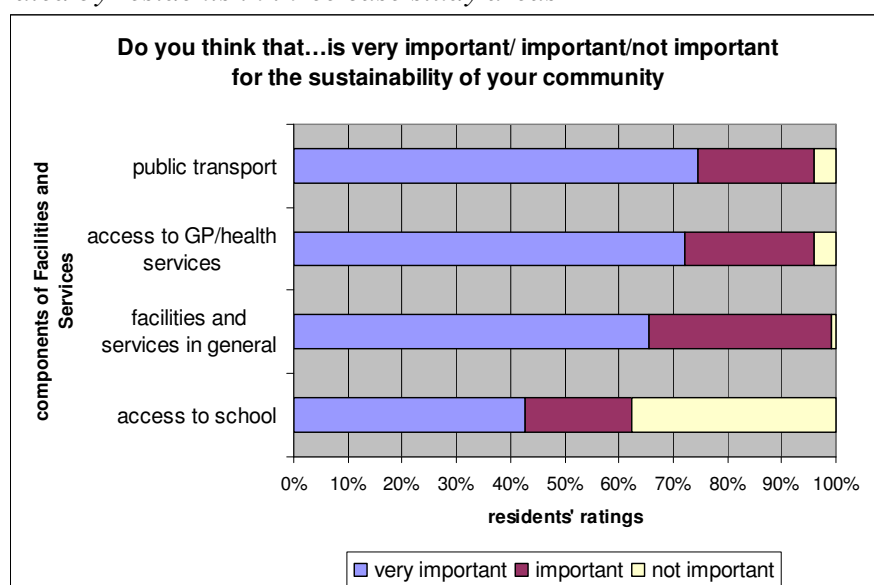
Source: Fieldwork survey

Rating components of Services and Facilities

All components of the *services and facilities* domain, but one, *access to school*, were rated as *very important* by a majority of residents in each area as well as across the three areas (Figure 9.18 and Table 9.10).

Chapter Four discussed how during the process of deriving a *pragmatic list of sustainable communities*, ‘public experts’ and academics emphasised the importance of an *education* component on the *list*, and suggested *access to school* as such a component. However, this exercise shows that a notable proportion of residents rated *access to schools* as *not important* for the sustainability of their community, both in the three areas as well as across them. A possible explanation of this was discussed in Chapter Four which highlighted the fact that schools may be regarded as ‘less important’ in HMR areas as a result of the choice offered by these areas (Ch 4, p.20).

Figure 9.18 – A gradient of importance: components of Services and Facilities as rated by residents in three case study areas



Source: Fieldwork survey

Table 9.10 – A gradient of components of Services and Facilities as rated by residents in each case study area

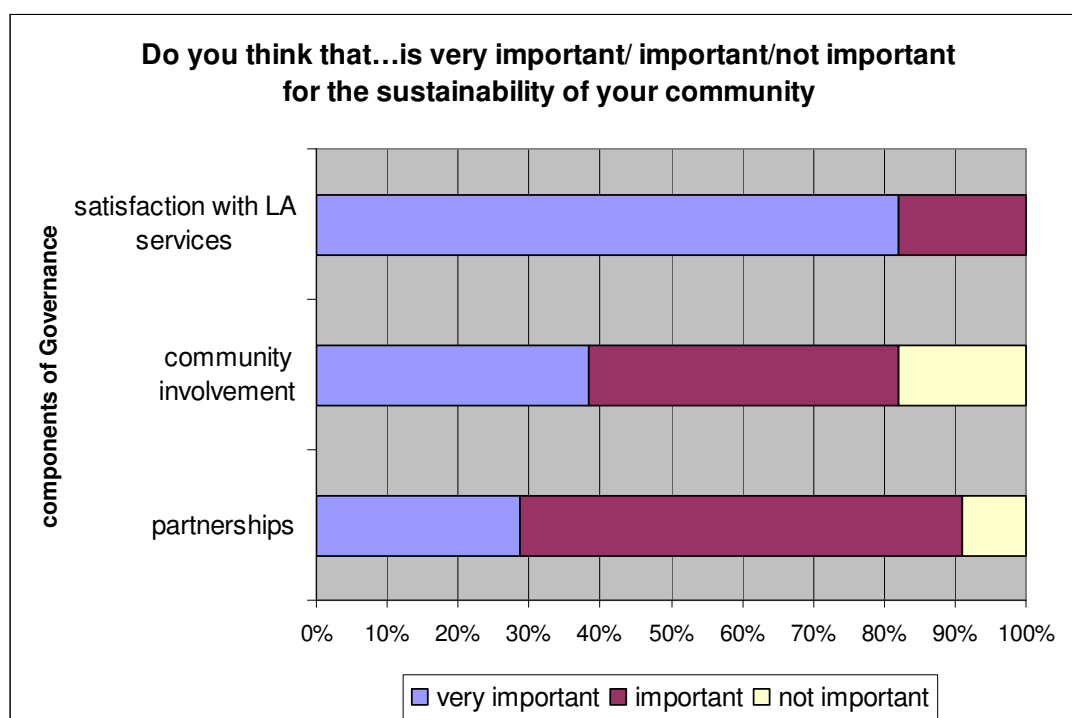
Components of Services and Facilities	% of residents who rated <i>very important</i> and <i>important</i>		
	Langworthy North	North Benwell	The Triangles
Facilities and services in general	100	100	98
Public transport	94	100	94
Access to GP/ health services	94	97	96
Access to school	69	62	57

Source: Fieldwork survey

Rating aspects of Governance

A substantial majority of residents across the three areas rated all components of the *Governance* domain as *important* (Figure 9.19 and Table 9.11). Only *community involvement* and *partnerships* were reported by some as *not important*, while *satisfaction with local authority services* was rated by all residents in all three areas as *very important* and *important*. Residents at North Benwell and Langworthy North, both areas with notable levels of community activity, were more likely to think that *community involvement* was a valuable aspect for the sustainability of their communities than those at the Triangles, where less community participation was noted.

Figure 9.19 – A gradient of importance: components of Governance as rated by residents in three areas



Source: Fieldwork survey

Table 9.11 – A gradient of components of Governance as rated by residents in each area

Components of Governance	% of residents who rated <i>very important</i> and <i>important</i>		
	Langworthy North	North Benwell	The Triangles
1. Satisfaction with LA services	100	100	100
2. Partnerships	92	85	98
3. Community involvement	83	82	79

Source: Fieldwork survey