

**FAMILIES AND URBAN
REGENERATION:**

**THE CASE OF MIXED
INCOME NEW
COMMUNITIES IN THE UK**

by

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ABSTRACT

This thesis investigates the potential of inner-city MINCs to attract and retain families in private homes. MINCs are new housing developments with both social rented and market-rate homes, and are supported by current policy for higher density urban regeneration in Britain.

The presence of better-off families in MINCs, not just childless households, is important: according to studies of 'area effects', better-off families can help improve schools and other services shared with low-income children. Further, most research in mixed tenure areas has found that social interaction across tenures is strongest among households with children. Inner-city MINCs may also offer an opportunity to stem the stream of non-poor families out of cities, if they can become good places to raise children.

Families' choices to live in or leave inner-city MINCs are explored at three UK case studies areas, selected as among those most likely to attract families to the market-rate homes: Greenwich Millennium Village and Britannia Village, both in London, and the New Gorbals in Glasgow. Each case study involved a survey of 100 residents; semi-structured interviews with about 20 families in market-rate homes, 10 families in social rented homes, and 20 key actors; Census analysis, and a review of primary documents.

There were more families in the private sector homes than developers and planners expected. Each area attracted different types of families, based on their socio-demographic characteristics, previous ties to the neighbourhood, and attitudes to city living. Families' decisions to live in and leave these neighbourhoods were influenced by the planning, design, and management of homes, schools, and open spaces, as well as by the social mix and community life.

The research concludes that carefully managed MINCs may be able to retain non-poor families in the inner cities, but this will require more explicit policy support, as well as deeper understanding of the different types of families and their expectations and

contributions. This new understanding contributes to knowledge about sustainable communities, 'child-friendly cities' and the broader urban renaissance agenda.

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This thesis is dedicated to Noam, who made me a mother and helped me see the city -- and the case study areas -- through a child's eyes.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER ONE: ORIGINS AIMS AND METHODS	22
1.1 ORIGINS	22
1.2 POLICY FRAMEWORK	25
Increasing residential density.....	26
Mixed Communities.....	27
Families in cities	30
1.3 RESEARCH QUESTION AND CONTRIBUTION OF THE STUDY	31
1.4 STATEMENT CONCERNING JOINT RESEARCH:	33
1.5 RESEARCH METHODS: THE CASE STUDY APPROACH.....	34
<i>Criteria for selecting case studies.....</i>	<i>37</i>
<i>Scoping survey and case study selection.....</i>	<i>44</i>
<i>Documentation and site observations</i>	<i>51</i>
<i>Documentation and site observations</i>	<i>51</i>
<i>Stakeholder Interviews</i>	<i>52</i>
<i>Interviews with families.....</i>	<i>54</i>
<i>Resident Survey.....</i>	<i>56</i>
1.6 STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS	61
CHAPTER TWO: ‘RENEWAL’ AND ‘WHOLLY NEW’ MIXED COMMUNITIES	63
2.1 AIMS AND OUTCOMES OF RENEWAL AND WHOLLY NEW MIXED INCOME COMMUNITIES:.....	66
<i>Deconcentrating poverty and improving life chances for low-income residents. ..</i>	<i>67</i>
<i>Evidence on deconcentrating poverty in mixed-income neighbourhoods.....</i>	<i>69</i>
Outcomes for Education:	71
<i>Delivering new housing, reducing stigma and increasing land values</i>	<i>75</i>
<i>Social interaction and community stability.....</i>	<i>80</i>
2.2 AREA BASED INITIATIVES AS THE ROOTS OF ‘RENEWAL’ MIXED COMMUNITIES	86

Displacement	88
Boundaries and ‘who benefits’	89
Joined up programmes and partnerships:.....	89
Pilots, special funds and mainstreaming	91

2.3: NEW TOWNS AND THEIR PREDECESSORS AS THE ROOTS OF ‘WHOLLY NEW’

MIXED COMMUNITIES	93
Victorian industrial villages:.....	93
Garden cities and garden suburbs:	95
Post World War Two New Towns.....	98

2.4 GENTRIFICATION AND ITS LESSONS FOR MIXED COMMUNITIES 102

<i>Conclusions:</i>	109
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CHAPTER THREE: BETTER-OFF FAMILIES IN CITIES..... 111

3.1 THE URBAN EXODUS AND ITS CONSEQUENCES.....	112
The transport revolution and the rise of the private car:	114
The changing nuclear family and cultural attitudes toward the city:	115
Changes in housing and education policy.....	117
Consequences of the urban exodus	118

3.2 REVERSING THE URBAN EXODUS? 119

Reducing car use and increasing mobility in the city:	119
Family structures transformed	123

3.3 TYPES OF BETTER-OFF FAMILIES IN CITIES 131

‘Creative Class’ urban families in Amsterdam.....	131
‘Would- be Locals’ families in Scotland	134
Economic, social and cultural capital gentrifier families in London	135
Survey data on household locational preferences:	141

3.4 INTRODUCTION TO THE CASE STUDIES:..... 142

CHAPTER FOUR: NEW GORBALS 145

4.1 BACKGROUND	145
History	145

Planning the regeneration	147
The site in 2004:	150
Planning to attract families to the New Gorbals:	153
4.2 RESIDENTS AT NEW GORBALS	156
Private sector residents:	159
Social tenants:	162
<i>Families at New Gorbals</i>	164
Local families in private sector homes:	166
Newcomer families in private sector homes	168
Families in social housing:.....	169
4.3 RAISING CHILDREN AT NEW GORBALS	171
<i>Homes and gardens for families</i>	172
<i>Child care and schools</i>	174
<i>The public realm</i>	180
4.4 DISCUSSION.....	185
Outcomes:	186
Meeting the challenges of Area Based Initiatives?.....	189
<i>Conclusions</i>	191
CHAPTER FIVE: GREENWICH MILLENNIUM VILLAGE	194
5.1 BACKGROUND	194
<i>The site in 2004:</i>	197
Services.....	199
Housing and tenure integration:.....	200
Future plans:	203
<i>Planning to attract families</i>	204
5.2 RESIDENTS	206
<i>Private sector residents</i>	210
<i>Shared owners and social tenants:</i>	213
<i>Families at GMV</i>	216
5.3 RAISING CHILDREN	226

<i>Homes and courtyards</i>	227
<i>Childcare and schools</i>	231
<i>The public realm</i>	236
5.4 DISCUSSION:	244
Outcomes:	244
The challenges of New Communities and GMV	248
<i>Conclusions</i>	250
CHAPTER SIX: BRITANNIA VILLAGE	254
6.1 BACKGROUND	254
<i>Planning the regeneration</i>	255
<i>The site in 2004:</i>	258
<i>Planning to attract families</i>	263
6.2 RESIDENTS AND FAMILIES	265
<i>Residents</i>	266
Newcomers in private sector homes :	270
Newcomers in social housing	272
Long-term residents, ‘locals’:	275
<i>Families</i>	278
Families in private housing	280
6.3 RAISING CHILDREN	287
<i>Primary School</i>	288
<i>Public realm and community</i>	291
6.4 DISCUSSION	293
Outcomes in services for low-income residents	294
Outcomes for housing, neighbourhood and social relations:	297
<i>Conclusions</i>	302

**CHAPTER SEVEN: SYNTHESISING THE CASE STUDIES
OUTCOMES AND FAMILY TYPES AT RENEWAL AND WHOLLY
NEW MINCS 304**

7.1 ACHIEVING THE AIMS OF MINCS 305

a. deconcentrating poverty and improving outcomes for low-income residents.. 306

Cleanliness and safety:.....308

Social infrastructure, leisure and retail:311

*b. producing, high quality affordable homes, reducing stigma and raising land
values..... 315*

Decent affordable homes:315

Stigma and exclusion at MINCs:316

Land values319

c. social interaction and community stability..... 320

Social interaction320

Community stability:324

7.2 FAMILIES IN THE PRIVATE-SECTOR HOMES..... 327

Numbers of families and children in private housing..... 327

Child density..... 330

Types of families living in the private homes 333

Expanding the share of local families at MINCs339

Conclusions 342

**CHAPTER EIGHT: WHY BETTER-OFF FAMILIES LIVE IN AND
LEAVE MINCS..... 346**

8.1 FAMILY HOMES IN INNER-CITY MINCS..... 349

8.2 NEIGHBOURHOOD PRIMARY SCHOOLS 356

Using the local primary schools:.....357

Beyond individual schools: educational policy and social mix in MINCs364

8.3 SAFE, GREEN AND FRIENDLY NEIGHBOURHOODS..... 368

Places to Play368

Safe and Clean372

Friendly Community375

Conclusions 378

CHAPTER NINE: CONCLUSIONS..... 381
 9.1 RESEARCH FINDINGS ABOUT THE PLACES:.....384
 9.2 RESEARCH FINDINGS ABOUT THE PEOPLE:390
 9.3 REFLECTIONS ON METHODS AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS.....394

BIBLIOGRAPHY 400
 APPENDIX ONE: STATEMENT CONCERNING JOINT RESEARCH..... 422
 APPENDIX TWO: REQUEST FOR INTERVIEW AND DESCRIPTION OF RESEARCH.... 424
 APPENDIX THREE: LIST OF INTERVIEWS..... 426
 APPENDIX FOUR: SURVEY FORM 429

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE 2.1 SUMMARY OF EVIDENCE ON SERVICES FOR LOW-INCOME RESIDENTS	75
TABLE 2.2: SUMMARY OF EVIDENCE ON HOUSING AND ECONOMIC BENEFITS	79
TABLE 2.3: SUMMARY OF EVIDENCE ON SOCIAL INTERACTIONS	85
TABLE 2.4: CHALLENGES FOR MINCS AS URBAN REGENERATION.....	110
TABLE 3.1 TYPOLOGIES OF BETTER-OFF FAMILIES IN MIXED-INCOME URBAN AREAS.....	140
TABLE 3.2: PRESENTING THE CASE STUDY AREAS	144
TABLE 4.1: FAMILY HOMES AS SHARE OF ALL HOMES, BY TENURE (2004)	155
TABLE 4.2: ESTIMATED POPULATION BY TENURE: NEW GORBALS 2001	157
TABLE 4.3: FIELD SURVEY INTERVIEWS, BY TENURE	157
TABLE 4.4: TYPICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF 'LOCALS' AND 'NEWCOMERS' IN MARKET-RATE HOMES.....	161
TABLE 4.5: RESIDENTS' OPINIONS: NEWCOMERS AND LOCALS IN MARKET-RATE HOMES.....	162
TABLE 4.6: RESIDENTS' OPINIONS: SOCIAL TENANTS COMPARED WITH PRIVATE SECTOR.	164
TABLE 4.7: FAMILIES INTERVIEWED AS SHARE OF ALL FAMILIES AT NEW GORBALS, BY TENURE.....	164
TABLE 4.8: HOUSEHOLDS WITH CHILDREN AND CHILD DENSITY AT NEW GORBALS, BY TENURE.....	165
TABLE 4.9: SUMMARY OF FAMILY CHARACTERISTICS AND ATTITUDES, BY TENURE AND TYPE.....	171
TABLE 4.10: OUTCOMES FOR SERVICES COMPARED WITH RENEWAL MINCS.....	188
TABLE 4.11: OUTCOMES FOR HOUSING, SOCIAL RELATIONS COMPARED WITH RENEWAL MINCS.....	189
TABLE 5.1 PROPOSED HOMES BY TYPE AND TENURE, 1997	205
TABLE 5.2: ESTIMATED POPULATION BY TENURE: GMV 09/2004.....	207
TABLE 5.3: FIELD SURVEY INTERVIEWS, BY TENURE	207
TABLE 5.4: TYPICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF RESIDENTS AT GMV, BY TENURE	216
TABLE 5.5: FAMILIES INTERVIEWED AS SHARE OF ALL FAMILIES AT GMV, BY TENURE.....	217
TABLE 5.6: ESTIMATED HOUSEHOLDS WITH CHILDREN, AND CHILD DENSITY, BY TENURE.....	218
TABLE 5.7: SUMMARY OF FAMILY CHARACTERISTICS AND ATTITUDES, BY TENURE AND TYPE.....	226
TABLE 5.8: INDICATORS OF SPECIAL NEEDS AT MILLENNIUM PRIMARY SCHOOL	233
TABLE 5.9: COMPARING OUTCOMES AT GMV WITH EXISTING EVIDENCE ON SERVICES AT WHOLLY NEW MINCS.....	246
TABLE 5.10 COMPARING OUTCOMES AT GMV WITH EXISTING EVIDENCE	248
TABLE 6.1 FAMILY HOMES' AS SHARE OF ALL HOMES, BY TENURE (2004)	265
TABLE 6.2 POPULATION AT BRITANNIA VILLAGE, BY TENURE:	267
TABLE 6.3 : FIELD SURVEY INTERVIEWS, BY TENURE	267
TABLE 6.4: TYPICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF RESIDENTS AT BV, BY TENURE.....	277
TABLE 6.5: FAMILIES INTERVIEWED AS SHARE OF ALL FAMILIES AT BV BY TENURE	278
TABLE 6.6 : HOUSEHOLDS WITH CHILDREN AND CHILD DENSITY AT BRITANNIA VILLAGE, BY TENURE....	279
TABLE 6.7: SUMMARY OF FAMILY CHARACTERISTICS AND ATTITUDES, BY TENURE AND TYPE.....	287
TABLE 6.8 INDICES OF DEPRIVATION AT BRITANNIA VILLAGE PRIMARY SCHOOL.....	289
TABLE 6.9: COMPARING OUTCOMES AT BRITANNIA VILLAGE WITH EVIDENCE ON SERVICES	296
TABLE 6.10 SUMMARY OF EVIDENCE ON HOUSING, NEIGHBOURHOOD AND SOCIAL RELATIONS	299

TABLE 7.1: SERVICES AND AMENITIES AT THE CASE STUDY AREAS.....	313
TABLE 7.2: SUMMARY OF OUTCOMES FOR IMPROVING SERVICES FOR LOW-INCOME RESIDENTS	315
TABLE 7.3: SUMMARY OF FINDINGS ON ECONOMIC AIMS	319
TABLE 7.4: SUMMARY OF FINDINGS ON SOCIAL INTERACTION AND COMMUNITY STABILITY	326
TABLE 7.5: CHILD DENSITY: CHILDREN AS A PROPORTION OF TOTAL PEOPLE HOUSED, BY TENURE.....	331
TABLE 7.6: PRIVATE SECTOR FAMILIES IN THE CASE STUDY AREAS.....	335
TABLE 7.7: ‘TYPES’ OF FAMILIES: COMPARISON OF FINDINGS.	336
TABLE 8.1: WHY PARENTS CONSIDER MOVING AWAY	348
TABLE 8.2: PRIVATE SECTOR FAMILY HOMES IN CASE STUDY AREAS	356
TABLE 8.3: NEIGHBOURHOOD PRIMARY SCHOOLS IN THE CASE STUDY AREAS.....	358
TABLE 8.4 FAMILIES’ RATING OF SCHOOLS AS COMPARED TO OTHERS IN THE AREA, BY TENURE	359
TABLE 8.5: ELEMENTS OF COMMUNITY BUILDING	376

LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURE 3.1: POPULATION CHANGE IN UK CITIES 1991 – 2001 (WHITE AND NON-WHITE RESIDENTS).....	113
FIGURE 3.2 HIGHER EDUCATION AND PERCENTAGE OF BRITISH MOTHERS RETURNING TO WORK	124
FIGURE 3.3: SINGLE FAMILY HOUSING AT BORNEO-SPORENBURG PENINSULA, AMSTERDAM	132
FIGURE 4.1: HOMES BY SIZE AND TENURE: NEW GORBALS 2004	151
FIGURE 4.2: INCOME BY TENURE, NEW GORBALS: SELF REPORTED	157
FIGURE 4.3: WHAT RESIDENTS LIKE BEST ABOUT NEW GORBALS.....	158
FIGURE 4.4: WHAT DO RESIDENTS LIKE LEAST AT NEW GORBALS	158
FIGURE 4.5: NUMBERS OF CHILDREN BY AGE AND TENURE.....	166
FIGURE 4.6: RESIDENTS RATE NEW GORBALS AS A PLACE TO RAISE CHILDREN.....	172
FIGURE 4.7: PROBLEMS AFFECTING QUALITY OF LIFE	182
FIGURE 4.8: FEELINGS OF BELONGING TO COMMUNITY.....	183
FIGURE 5.1 BUILT HOMES AT GMV, BY SIZE AND TENURE 2004	202
FIGURE 5.2: INCOME BY TENURE AT GMV SELF-REPORTED.....	208
FIGURE 5.3: WHAT RESIDENTS LIKE MOST ABOUT LIVING AT GMV	209
FIGURE 5.4: WHAT RESIDENTS LIKE LEAST ABOUT LIVING IN GMV	209
FIGURE 5.5: CHILDREN AT GMV, BY AGE AND TENURE.....	218
FIGURE 5.6: RATING THE AREA AS A PLACE FOR RAISING CHILDREN.....	227
FIGURE 5.7: FEELING SAFE AT HOME, AND WALKING ALONE	238
FIGURE 5.8: NEIGHBOURHOOD PROBLEMS AFFECTING QUALITY OF LIFE	239
FIGURE 5.9: MORE NEIGHBOURHOOD PROBLEMS AFFECTING QUALITY OF LIFE	239
FIGURE 5.10: IMPORTANCE OF BELONGING TO COMMUNITY	241
FIGURE 5.11: STRENGTH OF BELONGING TO A COMMUNITY	241
FIGURE 5.12 EXAMPLES OF COMMUNITY BUILDING AT GMV	242
FIGURE 6.1: HOUSING PROVISION IN BRITANNIA VILLAGE, C 2005*	260
FIGURE 6.2: SELF-REPORTED INCOME BY TENURE, BRITANNIA VILLAGE	268
FIGURE 6.3: WHAT DO RESIDENTS LIKE MOST AT BRITANNIA VILLAGE.....	269
FIGURE 6.4: WHAT DO RESIDENTS LIKE LEAST AT BRITANNIA VILLAGE.....	270
FIGURE 6.5: CHILDREN AT BRITANNIA VILLAGE, BY AGE AND TENURE.....	280
FIGURE 7.1 : RESIDENT SATISFACTION WITH NEIGHBOURHOOD	306
FIGURE 7.2 HOUSEHOLD INCOME (SELF-REPORTED)	307
FIGURE 7.3: SHARE OF SOCIAL HOUSING	308
FIGURE 7.4: PROBLEMS OF LITTER AND OPEN SPACES	309
FIGURE 7.5: PROBLEMS OF CRIME AND DRUG USERS	311
FIGURE 7.6: EXPERIENCE OF SOCIAL MIX	322
FIGURE 7.7: SHARE OF FAMILIES BY TENURE, ACROSS 3 CASE STUDY AREAS	328
FIGURE 7.8: SHARE OF CHILDREN IN PRIVATE SECTOR HOMES	329
FIGURE 7.9: CHILDREN IN PRIVATE HOMES, BY AGE.....	329
FIGURE 7.10: CHILD POPULATION BY TENURE, AND AGE	333

FIGURE 8.1: AREA RATING AS A PLACE TO RAISE CHILDREN	347
FIGURE 8.2: SUITABILITY OF PRIVATE HOMES FOR RAISING CHILDREN	349
FIGURE 8.3 SIZE OF PRIVATE SECTOR HOMES	350
FIGURE 8.4 FAMILY HOMES: PLANNED AND BUILT	351
FIGURE 8.5: PUBLIC SPACE IN THE CASE STUDY.....	369
FIGURE 9.1: RESEARCH QUESTIONS	383

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

PLATES 1 AND 2: NEW GORBALS.....	13
PLATES 3 AND 4: GREENWICH MILLENNIUM VILLAGE.....	15
PLATES 5 AND 6: BRITANNIA VILLAGE.....	17

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CHAPTER TWO: 'RENEWAL' AND 'WHOLLY NEW' MIXED COMMUNITIES

LEARNING FROM THE EVIDENCE

Chapter One introduced the concept of mixed income new communities (MINCs). It surveyed the policy context for income and tenure mix, and set out a definition of the inner-city mixed income new communities studied in this research as:

Mixed income: containing both market-rate and subsidized homes, with at least 20% sub-market housing.

New: involving significant proportions of new build homes

Communities: of at least 300 homes, thus having a distinct identity and giving rise to demand for new services and facilities.

Inner –city: mid-high residential density, within easy commute to city centre by public transport.

This chapter establishes the framework for evaluating outcomes at mixed income new communities, particularly with respect to families. I suggest that it is important to distinguish between 'wholly new' and 'renewal' mixed communities, in order to understand their different outcomes. The first section of the chapter reviews the aims and evidence on outcomes at mixed communities, indicating where these apply to renewal or to new mixed communities. The review of evidence leads to hypotheses about different outcomes at renewal and wholly new mixed communities. These hypotheses are used to interpret the case study field work in Chapter Seven. The second and third sections of the chapter contextualize mixed communities by reviewing their ties to previous forms of urban regeneration. These sections look to area based initiatives in deprived neighbourhoods in order to learn about INCs in renewal areas,

and at New Towns and other planned new communities to learn about ‘wholly new’ MINCs. The final section looks at the challenges and implications of gentrification for new mixed-income communities in inner-city areas.

At the start of this research in 2001/2002 there had been relatively little published research on mixed communities in the UK, and somewhat more evidence from the US. In recent years, however, there has been a veritable outpouring of research on mixed communities, including studies of income mix as well as tenure mix, case studies or evidence from over fifty mixed communities, and several thoughtful surveys of the concepts and the evidence.

The areas studied have many dissimilar features, united only in all housing residents of different tenures. The cases studied are spread across rural, suburban and urban areas; some are in tight housing markets and others in areas of low demand; some have had large amounts of public subsidy while others have had little or none; the share of social housing tenants ranges from a small minority to a large majority; some are spatially integrated by tenure while at others there is a clear physical divide across tenures; the lead partner in development can be the local authority, a housing association, a private developer or a special purpose partnership; and of course different layouts and designs prevail. Reviews of the evidence may sometimes draw general conclusions based on comparing rather dissimilar cases.

In this research, I suggest that one important distinction is between *renewal* and *wholly new* mixed communities. As set out in Chapter One, *renewal* MINCs embed new private housing within a surrounding low-income area, and often provide new housing for long-term area residents. *Wholly new* MINCs, on the other hand, are built at sites that did not have previous residents, often on land previously used for industrial purposes. The distinction is particularly useful in helping to interpret the case studies in this research: while the case studies are similar in many respects, they differ in that one

represents a renewal site (New Gorbals), one a wholly new site (Greenwich Millennium Village) and one a site that is a hybrid of both (Britannia Village).

Research that has focused primarily on new mixed communities in Britain included studies of three towns twenty years after mixed tenure was introduced (Allen, Camina et al. 2005); social interaction and the creation of social capital across tenures among one thousand residents in ten new-build mixed-tenure developments (Jupp 1999); the role of housing design and layout at the veteran mixed-income village of Bournville (Grove, Middleton et al. 2003); and spatial segregation of tenure in four new suburban mixed-tenure sites (Andrews and Reardon-Smith 2005).

British research primarily into renewal or hybrid mixed communities includes a comparative study of ten priority purchase schemes in Scotland (Beekman, Lyons et al. 2001) and an in-depth study of one such scheme (Pawson 2000); a diary exercise examining social interaction among thirty-seven residents of different tenures in four Scottish mixed tenure estates (Atkinson 1998; Atkinson and Kintrea 2000); an analysis of the drivers for mixed-tenure and studies of mixed tenure estates and low cost home ownership schemes in London (Page and Boughton 1997; Page 2003); and studies of housing estates with a mix of tenures including new build private homes (Cole and Shayer 1998; Dixon 2000; Martin and Watkinson 2003; Tunstall and Coulter 2006).

Other research has looked across both new and renewal sites in examining particular themes including studies of community governance in mixed communities (Knox and Alcock 2002); the economic impact of income mix (Rowlands, Murie et al. 2006); and a guide to best practice implications for designing and managing mixed communities (Bailey 2006).

Several reviews of research evidence scheduled to be published in early 2006 also group together evidence from both new and renewal areas. These include an overview of

recent case study evidence (Holmes, 2006) and a thorough review of the concepts and research evidence (Tunstall and Fenton 2006). This chapter now turns to a review of the existing research, differentiating between aims and outcomes at 'renewal' and 'wholly new' mixed income communities.

2.1 Aims and Outcomes of Renewal and Wholly New Mixed Income Communities:

This review of existing research highlights differences between renewal and wholly new mixed income communities, and emphasizes issues of importance to families. Three main issues are covered, looking first at the goals, and then at the outcomes:

- deconcentrating poverty and improving life chances for low-income residents, including improvements to education;
- delivering new affordable housing including family homes, reducing stigma and improving land values and,
- promoting social interaction across tenure, including among families with children.

Deconcentrating poverty and improving life chances for low-income residents.

This section describes the problems associated with concentrated poverty, the goals of mixed income housing for deconcentrating poverty, and the existing evidence.

“Being poor is bad enough, but living in a poor community magnifies everything that is bad about poverty” as one social tenant is quoted (Cowans 2005), encapsulates the problems resulting from concentrated deprivation. Concentrated poverty, defined as areas where more than 40% of households are poor, was theorized as a root cause of joblessness and social isolation in Wilson’s (1987) seminal research in Chicago. The racial aspects of concentrated poverty in the US were raised in Wilson’s study and confirmed in Massey and Denton (1993) finding that black Americans were far more likely than white Americans to live in areas of concentrated poverty. The extent of concentrated poverty in the US was analysed and mapped in Jargowsky (1997), and tracked through later changes in the 1990’s (Jargowsky 2003). In the UK, initial studies have indicated lower concentrations of poverty (Tunstall and Lupton 2003).

Accumulating evidence indicates that children growing up in areas where the majority of people are poor are likely to have poorer health, leave school less employable, and experience more crime than demographically and economically identical children living in wealthier areas (Ellen and Turner 1997). Neighbourhoods where most residents have little disposable income may also have fewer shops, though higher-density poor areas may have a plentiful supply of market stalls and low-cost stores. Area effects may be greatest on young children, who spend most time in the neighbourhoods and are most impressionable (Berube 2005, p. 24). The evidence for these combined ‘*neighbourhood effects*’ appears stronger in the US than in the UK (Lupton 2003; Berube 2005; Page 2005).

Mixed income communities are considered to '*deconcentrate poverty*', reducing the cumulative impact of living in poverty within a poor neighbourhood. In renewal areas, deconcentrating deprivation is achieved by adding housing and amenities for better-off households. In new high-demand areas, a mix is created by including a proportion of housing for low-income residents among the market-rate homes. The increased variety of income-levels among residents, it is suggested, brings improved services because more affluent newcomers will have more disposable income, demand higher municipal standards (Rogers and Power 2000) and also because there will be a demand for services at different times of day, leading to a more vibrant street life (Jacobs 1961).

One important issue for families is safety and crime prevention. It is expected that higher-income residents will make stronger demands for security services, resulting in higher frequency security patrols and greater spending on lighting and design features to enhance the perception of safety (Brophy and Smith 1997; Jupp 1999; DTLR 2001; Schwartz and Tajbakhsh 2001; Turbov and Piper 2005).

Education is perhaps the area where income mix is expected to bring the greatest improvements for low income families. It is well-established that socio-economic background of the family has great influence on school achievements for individual students (Coleman and others 1966). In addition to the contribution of family background, most research concurs that the socio-economic composition of the student body also has some influence on the achievements of individual students: that is, lower-income students have higher achievements in schools with more middle-class students (Rusk 1994; Thrupp 1999).

There are three key mechanisms at work: *peer effects*, or the influence of the children on one another; *teaching and curriculum* differences, in which schools in poor areas often have lower standards of teaching, lower expectations of achievement from the

curriculum, and higher teacher turnover; and *organizational and management context*, in which schools with many high-poverty pupils expend more management time on behavioural and disciplinary issues, explored in Lupton (2003) and in Thrupp (1999).

West and Pennell (2003) review the evidence (drawn largely from secondary schools, not primary schools) and conclude that research on peer effects in the UK, while sparse, confirms that ‘school composition does matter’:

Students attending schools that have more advantaged as opposed to disadvantaged intakes – whether measured in terms of the ability mix or level of poverty – are likely to achieve higher results in part because they are being educated with more-advantaged students. Likewise, students attending schools with more-disadvantaged intakes are likely to achieve poorer results because they are being educated with more-disadvantaged students (West and Pennell 2003, p138 - 139).

The goals of deconcentrating poverty, then, seem to hold strong potential for low-income children. We move now to examine the evidence on outcomes from existing research.

Evidence on deconcentrating poverty in mixed-income neighbourhoods

This section reviews the evidence on general outcomes for wholly new and renewal MINCs, and then focusses on the evidence for educational outcomes.

General outcomes:

Wholly new MINCs have been found to have high standards of environmental amenities and cleanliness (Jupp 1999, p. 62; Alexander and Reardon-Smith 2005).

Wholly new MINCs are also seen as safer than social housing estates, according to evidence from the US (Rosenbaum, Stroh et al. 1996; Turbov and Piper 2005, p. 27). Social infrastructure can be lacking in wholly new mixed communities, where 'services follow people' (Neal 2003), and may be tailored more to the needs of the better-off population, particularly where these are in the majority (Alexander and Reardon-Smith 2005; Allen, Camina et al. 2005). Some services that are typically targeted at areas of concentrated deprivation, such as job counseling or childcare programmes, may be reduced in wholly new MINCs, on the grounds that these are not areas of concentrated deprivation

At renewal MINCs, evidence indicates that external appearance, cleanliness and maintenance may all improve (Page and Boughton 1997; Beekman, Lyons et al. 2001). However, these areas may be more likely than wholly new communities to retain a feel of 'roughness', expressed in neighbourhood nuisance factors such as graffiti, litter, and loitering, particularly where they are contiguous or embedded within existing low-income areas where these nuisances are present.

Perception of safety is also found to improve at renewal sites (Page and Boughton 1997; Pawson 2000). Improvements in perception of safety may not be strictly a function of income mix per se, since they may result from the redesign of the social housing (Schwartz and Tajbakhsh 1997), or from a reduction in visual signals such as graffiti, broken windows, or loitering. Although some have theorized that the gaps in income might encourage theft, there is little evidence for this in published research.

Some services in renewal areas may suffer during remodeling and demolition, particularly those that rely on high volumes of users, such as shops, leisure facilities, health services and schools. Where demolition and temporary decanting are taking place, there may temporarily be insufficient numbers of residents to maintain former services, leading to decline and even closure, particularly of schools (Mumford 1998). New services may open only once a sizable number of residents are living on site. Residents of different incomes may have different wants and needs from local services. Community centres in renewal areas were shunned by owners in Atkinson and Kintrea's study, and better-off residents tended to shop and use other services outside the neighbourhood, rather than supporting an increasing variety of local services (Atkinson and Kintrea 2000). Neighbourhood services are likely to be geared to the predominant population, and there is some evidence that a greater proportion of owners brings greater improvements to services (Page and Boughton 1997).

However, it has also been suggested that higher rents may drive out services favored by low-income residents, as when espresso bars replace fish and chips shops. This problems may be lessened in renewal areas, where there is a wider –low-income population using these services, than in wholly new communities (Arthurson 2002).

Outcomes for Education:

Schools may differ in renewal and wholly new MINCs. Existing schools in renewal MINCs may have poor records of academic achievement, appear dilapidated, or may even be demolished over the course of the project, while wholly new MINCs may have no neighbourhood school, or offer a new school purpose-built for the project.

The expectation that better-off families would send their children to local primary schools has been explicit in some new mixed-income urban communities, for example

in Newcastle (Cameron 2003), York (Martin and Watkinson 2003, p. 5), New Towns (Allen, Camina et al. 2005) and at New East Manchester (Silverman, Lupton et al. 2006). However, very few studies have directly investigated the extent to which this is actually occurring. The field-work for this thesis contributes new evidence on this under-researched question. The review looks first at the evidence in renewal MINCs and then at wholly new MINCs.

In renewal MINCs, limited evidence from Scotland indicates that some owners may be sending their children to local primary schools alongside social tenants. Pawson's study of one mixed estate in Edinburgh found no significant tenure difference in the proportion of children attending the local primary school: 70% of owners, 73% of council tenants and 87% of housing association tenants (Pawson 2000, p. 49). Atkinson and Kintrea's diary-study of thirty-seven residents from three mixed estates in Scotland also suggested that owners were sending their children to the local primary schools alongside social tenants (Atkinson and Kintrea 2000, p. 100). Beekman et al's more extensive study of ten mixed estates in Scotland also found that at least some children of owners were attending the local primary schools. Teachers in their study reported that *'the introduction of owner occupation appears to have led to greater parental involvement in the school and its activities'*, and that attitudes of children and parents toward the school had improved as a result of neighbourhood regeneration, the 'feel good factor' (Beekman, Lyons et al. 2001, p. 69 and Scott (2004) personal communication).

However, Beekman et al also found anecdotal evidence that at least some owners in these renewal areas were not sending their children to local schools. In parallel, Cole reported on one English renewal estate where 'few children from the owner-occupied section went to the local primary school' (Cole, Gidley et al. 1997). School uptake by better-off residents may be influenced by a number of fine-grain factors, including the

quality of the school, the socio-economic background of the students, and the types of better-off families living in the neighbourhood.

Moving now to wholly new mixed-income communities, the evidence on school-uptake is very sparse. In additional research for the study of 'mature' mixed tenure towns (Allen, Camina et al. 2005), Camina found that one primary school in Bowthorpe was chosen by parents from both tenures, but another primary school had children only from the social rented sector (Camina 2005, personal communication). A study at Bournville found that 90% of residents were satisfied with their choice of schools, but did not investigate school intake by tenure (Grove, Middleton et al. 2003, p. 25). There is no evidence on school intake from other studies of new mixed communities in Britain. Some wholly new mixed-income neighbourhoods incorporate new primary schools, possibly less likely in inner-city areas.

In addition to the limited evidence on schools in mixed-income new communities in the UK, it is also instructive to look at examples from the US, although the issues of racial segregation and mandated school busing there have driven housing and school choices in very different ways than in the UK. Two new studies from the US examine families and primary schools in HOPE VI renewal mixed communities (Abt Associates 2003; Raffel, Denson et al. 2003; Raffel, Denson et al. 2005). Both studies report on only three instances in which new or improved schools are integral to the HOPE VI project. In one instance, students from the near-by public housing project were initially not permitted to attend the new school built at the HOPE VI project in Dearborne Park, Chicago. The lower-income children were later admitted on appeal, and middle-class parents from the HOPE VI area then removed their children from the new school (Raffel, Denson et al. 2005, p. 154- 155).

At the two other schools, in Atlanta, Georgia and St. Louis, Missouri, neither of the studies was able to determine the uptake of local school places by better-off parents, noting that the difficulty was compounded by the relatively early stages of the new

schools (Abt Associates 2003, p. 32; Raffel, Denson et al. 2005, p. 154). These same two HOPE VI projects are also profiled in Turbov and Piper's (2005) review of HOPE VI. Although the latter study does not directly ask about the uptake of local school places by better-off families, it does cite poverty levels among the student body: 75% at the new Centennial Place school in Atlanta, Georgia and 97% at the revamped Jefferson Elementary School in Murphy Park, St Louis (Turbov and Piper 2005, pp 29, 31). The high levels of poverty, particularly in St. Louis, suggest that few children of the better-off families are in fact attending the schools

The chart below sums up the published evidence on these issues for wholly new and for renewal MINCs, and adds my conjectures based on existing evidence. The evidence suggests that improving life chances for low-income residents does not seem to be an automatic outcome of mixed income housing. Improvements to services may depend on other factors such as location, planning and management, the relative share of low-income residents among the area population and the types of households.

Table 2.1 Summary of evidence on services for low-income residents

		Wholly New MINCs	Renewal MINCs
External appearance cleanliness and safety	Evidence	Generally high standards.	Improved standards.
	Conjecture	Standards higher where social homes are spatially and aesthetically integrated with private homes?	Neighbourhood nuisance factors may still be strong where MINC abuts existing low-income area?
Social infrastructure, leisure and retail	Evidence	Lacking in early years.	Services based on user-volume often suffer during demolition. Owners tend to prefer services outside neighbourhood
	Conjecture	Tailored more to higher-end market?	Low-rent services may be driven out? Depends on tenure ratio.
Programmes for low-income residents	Evidence	Little evidence	Little evidence, related to original plans.
	Conjecture	Limited?	Dependent on external provision?
Local school uptake by better-off residents	Evidence	Very limited evidence. Sometimes new school is built.	Some evidence of participation.
	Conjecture	Variable depending on school, students and types of better-off parents?	Variable depending on school, students and types of better-off parents?

Delivering new housing, reducing stigma and increasing land values

Goals and mechanisms for new housing:

At some social housing estates, the motivation for introducing homes for sale can be primarily to generate revenues for social housing improvements (Cole and Shayer

1998). Cross-subsidy of social housing may be a central aim in many cases: “*most mixed tenure housing developments since 1988 have been driven by finance and development considerations, and any social benefit is a bonus*” (Page and Boughton 1997, p. 61). The public sector is expected to benefit from the lower- cost production of new or refurbished affordable housing.

The mechanisms for delivering new housing are different at renewal and at wholly new mixed-income communities. In renewal neighbourhoods, land for redevelopment may be owned by the local council or by a housing association. In these cases the land can be transferred to the private sector at nil or discounted values in exchange for renewal of the social housing stock. Where land is privately owned, including by multiple individuals and/or by low-income home owners, the cross-subsidy is more complicated to arrange, and fewer of these schemes were in existence.

In wholly new areas, land may also be publicly owned, for example by English Partnerships or the National Health Service. The value of the land can be discounted in order to increase the provision of affordable housing, and a portion of the projected revenues from private housing can be dedicated in advance to subsidize the cost of building new affordable homes. Where land is privately owned, local authorities have used planning gain agreements (‘Section 106’) to negotiate contributions towards affordable housing. The use of Section 106 agreements to secure new affordable housing has been increasing, particularly in areas where land values are high such as London and the South East (Crook, Alistair et al. 2002; Monk, Crook et al. 2005, p. 10).

Outcomes of housing provision:

Most research indicates that affordable housing in new and renewal mixed income projects is usually of reasonable standards, and often higher (Beekman, Lyons et al. 2001; Smith 2002; Alexander and Reardon-Smith 2005; Tunstall and Fenton 2006). Studies found that lower-income residents experienced an increase in satisfaction over

previous low-income housing, while owners or people from the higher-income group expressed satisfaction with the mixed-income or mixed-tenure development as a trade-off for the lower costs (Brophy and Smith 1997; Page and Boughton 1997). One US study found that public housing tenants received better quality housing in new mixed-income neighbourhoods than in mono-tenure public housing projects (Schwartz and Tajbakhsh 1997).

One explanation is that house-builders at mixed income sites are wary that low-quality social housing will reduce the value of the homes for sale, and so have a positive incentive to design the social housing homes to higher standards, sometimes designing them to be nearly indistinguishable from the market-rate homes. There may however be a trade-off between the higher quality of the new social housing homes and a reduced quantity.

Reducing Stigma

Stigma and neighbourhood image have been considered among the key causal factors of low-demand housing, particularly among housing managers (Bramley and Pawson 2002, p. 403). Improving the external appearance of neighborhoods without addressing problems of stigma has been found to quickly undermine the effects of regeneration (Carmon 1996, p. 123). However, the goal of changing neighbourhood image can be used to justify eviction of particularly troublesome tenants, a concern advanced against the social mix agenda (Cole and Goodchild 2001, p. 358). The concern is particularly apt given the influence of HOPE VI policies on new mixed communities in Britain (ODPM 2005 (e)), since HOPE VI was found to have resulted in the exclusion of many former tenants from the new homes, on the grounds of socially unacceptable behaviour (Keating 2000; National Housing Law Project 2002).

Most research into changing stigma in mixed income neighbourhoods has found that the new private housing tends to increase neighbourhood prestige and reduces stigma,

particularly in renewal areas (Atkinson 1998; Cole and Shayer 1998) but also in the conversion of formerly industrial areas (Allen, Camina et al. 2005; Turbov and Piper 2005). Rowlands, Murie et al (2006) found marginal impact of social housing on land values in a mixed income neighbourhood. There is little evidence in the UK for exclusion of social tenants based on changing policies for allocation of social housing.

Increasing land values

Studies from the US have noted that the reduction in stigma can lead to an increase in land values on adjacent parcels (Roessner 2000; Turbov and Piper 2005). The public sector land-owner or housing association may benefit from rising land values during sales of adjacent land parcels or later phases of development, conditional on timing and 'overage' clauses in the original agreements. Low-income home-owners may also benefit from increasing land values, as the worth of their asset appreciates (*Rusk 2001; Freeman 2002*).

However, for low-income residents increasing land values can also be problematic, as discussed also in the following section on gentrification. As the cost of new homes in the neighbourhood increases, low-income home-owners may find it 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, p. 195). This second generation displacement, or 'exclusionary gentrification' (Marcuse 1986) is likely to be more problematic in renewal areas, where residents may expect to continue living adjacent to friends and relatives, than in wholly new mixed communities where all residents have moved in from elsewhere.

For private developers there can also be financial advantages from the mix of incomes. In a weak housing market, private developers can receive government grants for providing subsidized or affordable housing, thus reducing risk and expanding

investment sources (Smith 2002). The local authority can also reap revenues from council taxes or property taxes, a source of income less significant for local authorities in the UK where it amounts to less than a fourth of the total budget, than in the US where residential property taxes and earnings taxes together form 63% of the average municipal budget, and can be as high as 90% of the total budget (Rusk 1994).

Table 2.2: Summary of evidence on housing and economic benefits

	Wholly New	Renewal	Comments
Decent affordable housing	✓✓	✓✓	Especially where spatially integrated with market-rate homes.
Stigma reduced	✓✓	✓	Takes longer at renewal neighbourhoods. May result in excluding troublesome households?
Land values raised	✓✓	✓✓	At renewal areas, rising prices may be problematic for social tenants and low-income home-owners seeking to up-grade within the neighbourhood.

Social interaction and community stability

Aims of social interaction:

Social interaction across tenures or income gaps in mixed communities is considered to be a goal in itself. Wilson (1987) describes the importance of 'economically stable and secure families' in inner-city neighbourhoods:

.. the very presence of these families.. provides role models that help keep alive the perception that education is meaningful, that steady employment is a viable alternative to welfare, and that family stability is the norm, not the exception. Thus, a perceptive ghetto youngster in a neighborhood that includes a good number of working and professional families may observe increasing joblessness and idleness but he will also witness many individuals regularly going to and from work: he may sense an increase in school dropouts but he can also see a connection between education and meaningful employment; he may detect a growth in single-parent families, but he will also be aware of the presence of many married-couple families; he may notice an increase in welfare dependency, but he can also see a significant number of families that are not on welfare; and he may be cognizant of an increase in crime, but he can recognize that many residents in his neighbourhood are not involved in criminal activity' (p. 56).

It is important to distinguish between the subtle changes in awareness that Wilson describes above, and more tangible potential benefits such as employment opportunities and direct interactions among neighbours of different tenure. A number of UK researchers have sought to measure the impact of social mix by focusing on the more tangible and quantifiable benefits, often referring to Putnam's (2000) seminal work on social capital. Research designs such as focus groups or street surveys may not observe or capture the transformations of perception and recognition that Wilson describes. Further, the benefits of income-mix that Wilson postulates may not necessitate direct social contact, much less any measurable manifestations of bridging social capital.

At new neighbourhoods the most intensive studies of cross tenure social interactions were Jupp's survey of social networks among one thousand residents in ten mixed communities (Jupp, 1999) and Allen, Camina et al's (2005) study of social relations across tenure in New Towns, twenty years after their founding . In renewal neighbourhoods, social contacts across tenures were researched in Beekman, Lyons et al study of ten mixed communities in Scotland (2001) and in Atkinson and Kintrea's (1998) analysis of thirty seven residents' diaries.

Evidence of social interaction:

Residents in mixed-tenure communities tend to be indifferent to tenure, at least when asked directly about their opinions by a researcher, and stress that '*we are all ordinary people*' (Allen, Camina et al. 2005, p. 52). Jupp's study found that residents in wholly new mixed communities were equally divided in thinking that the mix of tenures brings difficulties, benefits, or has no impact (Jupp 1999, p. 10). Beekman et al found that tenants were more likely than owners to believe that the existing tenure balance was 'just about right' (Beekman, Lyons et al. 2001, p. 54). Page and Boughton (1997) noted that owners, while not unhappy with the tenure mix, would have preferred to live in a non-mixed scheme, all other things being equal.

The overall attitude of indifference to tenure-mix among residents in mixed-tenure areas contrasts with a negative perception of tenure mix among the general population, including of course many who do not live in mixed-tenure areas (CABE 2005). This contradiction may indicate that attitudes towards tenure mix improve upon experience. An alternative explanation for the difference would be that those who are most opposed to tenure mix simply do not choose to live in these areas.

The impact of spatial proximity across tenures appears to have different consequences in wholly new and in renewal mixed income communities. Most studies at wholly new mixed communities indicated that residents interacted more across tenures where they

lived closer together, and particularly where they shared networks of paths or common open space (Beekman, Lyons et al. 2001; Allen, Camina et al. 2005, p. 12; Andrews and Reardon-Smith 2005). Jupp's study was less convinced about the importance of spatial proximity:

We found no overall correlation between degrees of segregation of the tenure types and residents actually perceiving problems with mixed tenure (ibid, p. 72)

While in wholly new areas physical proximity appeared to improve social contacts across tenures, in renewal neighbourhoods Beekman et al found that:

It is in neighbourhoods that are the most integrated where owners have the greatest reservations about living next to tenants (Beekman, Lyons et al. 2001, p. 53).

A similar correlation between physical integration across tenure and problematic social relations was also observed in renewal mixed income neighbourhoods in Israel (Billig and Churchman 2002). The discrepancy in findings at wholly new and renewal neighbourhoods may be related to the impact of additional factors, such as ethnicity, history of the area, income gap, or other issues.

Concerns that closer proximity might increase social tensions across tenure have been used to justify building physical barriers separating otherwise mixed housing. Physical barriers across tenure appear to be particularly prevalent in renewal areas where more economically stable households may be in a minority (Blakely and Snyder 1997) . Despite these concerns, there is little evidence of any severe tension across tenures in new mixed income neighbourhoods. Where tensions exist, they may be caused by a very small number of households, although experienced by many more (cf Jupp 1999pp. 66, 70).

It is worth noting that most of the attempts to measure social interaction looked at direct contact, questioning residents about the numbers of people they know by name or

converse with, or the kinds of help and advice they seek from neighbours. None of the studies directly investigated the role of indirect social contact such as those made in shared social spaces, like bus stops, parks and playgrounds, shops and health clinics. These shared spaces may contribute to well-being and a sense of place (Whyte 1988; Rogers and Power 2000; Nash 2002).

Children and social interaction

Nearly all studies at both renewal and new mixed communities point to the central role small children play in cross-tenure contacts. Parents with small children undertake more activities within the neighbourhood than most one and two person households (Van Beckhoven and Van Kempen 2003). Page and Boughton noted that:

‘the most promising recipe for social interaction between tenures is where tenants and lessee households both have children (and so have some shared interests) and live close enough to each other for their paths to cross frequently’ (Page and Boughton 1997, p. 60)

Schools, nurseries, and crèches were considered ‘by far the most important local amenities for meeting other people’ and ‘more people met fellow estate residents through their children than any other way except next door neighbours’ (Jupp 1999p. 47), although Jupp’s study also found that nearly a third of parents with children at school did not know other residents of another tenure. The importance of schools and nurseries in promoting social contacts was also noted in less wide-scale studies (Atkinson and Kintrea 1998, p. 29, 37; Dixon 2000, p. 176, 206. ; Forrest and Kearns 2001). Only one study found little evidence of social mixing due to children (Beekman, Lyons et al. 2001, p. 87), but this may be attributed to parents driving their children to school, rather than walking and talking at the school gates (Scott, 2004, personal communication).

Social contact through children was not always a positive factor in mixed communities. Research from both new and renewal areas points to tensions around the behavior of children and young people perceived to be from the social rented homes (Manzi and Bowers 2003; Martin and Watkinson 2003, p. 19; Andrews and Reardon-Smith 2005). Page and Boughton (1997) note that the high proportion of children in social housing on estates causes more wear and tear on the estate, and sets the scene for disputes about children. They discuss '*child density*', measured as the share of children among all residents. High child density has been extensively correlated with dissatisfaction and low-demand in social housing (Page 1993; Page and Boughton 1997; Cope 2002).

Community stability

In addition to issues of social interaction, the variety of housing available at mixed communities has been postulated to contribute to an enhanced community stability. A wide range of housing types allows a household to remain in the same neighbourhood despite changing economic circumstances and life cycle stages (Page and Boughton 1997), for instance when grandparents take care of grandchildren, or are taken care of by their own adult offspring, or following relationship breakdown. The option to change one's housing situation, 'staircase up or down' while remaining in the neighbourhood, may be more relevant in renewal communities in the early years, but over time is also relevant to the wholly new areas (Allen, Camina et al. 2005).

Table 2.3: Summary of evidence on social interactions

	Wholly New MINCs	Renewal MINCs
Residents' perception of tenure mix	Indifferent	Indifferent. Tenants more satisfied than owners.
Physical proximity and social interaction	Greater physical integration may bring increased social interaction.	Greater physical interaction may increase social tensions.
Children and social interaction	Greatest social interactions occur across families with children, but high 'child density' can be a source of tension.	Greatest social interactions occur across families with children, but high 'child density' can be a source of tension.
Turnover and community stability over time	Mix of housing types can help increase social cohesion over time.	Mix of housing types may add to early social cohesion.

Summing up, this brief review of the evidence at mixed communities indicates that some variety in outcome may be expected between renewal and wholly new areas. Differences may be strongest in terms of service delivery: renewal areas serving larger populations of low-income people may have a 'rougher' environment and perhaps less good schools, but may in contrast offer a wider range of programmes and shops appealing to low-income residents. Both types of mixed communities seemed to engender equally good social housing. Evidence suggests that social interactions across tenure are similar in both wholly new and renewal communities, though owners at the latter may express greater tensions. This evidence will be revisited against the field work findings from this research in Chapter Seven.

This section has examined case-study evidence from the past two decades of mixed communities. I wanted also to gain a sense of the bigger picture, to learn how MINCs 'fit' within the longer-term experience of urban regeneration. The next two sections investigate antecedents of both renewal and new mixed communities in Britain, relying

on existing sources to draw out lessons and challenges for current policy. The first section look at area based initiatives, as a precursor of renewal MINCs, and the second section looks at New Towns and earlier models of wholly new communities.

2.2 Area Based Initiatives as the roots of ‘renewal’ mixed communities

This section examines the lessons of earlier Area Based Initiatives (ABIs) for ‘renewal’ MINCs. There is a large body of literature describing and evaluating ABIs, including Cullingworth and Nadin’s (2002) chronicle of the evolution and progression of ABIs; Lawless’ (1999) evaluation of the evidence base of ABIs; Power and Tunstall’s (1995; forthcoming 2006) examination of twenty unpopular housing estates which have undergone various forms of area based initiatives; and Lupton and Power’s (2005, pp. 119 - 139) description of Area Based Initiatives under New Labour. This section does not profess to review or summarize those sources; instead, the intention here is to draw on existing information about ABI’s in order to paint a broad picture of the challenges facing mixed-income communities as area-based regeneration programmemes.

Characteristics of area based initiatives

Area based initiatives (ABI’s) target special public funds to deprived neighbourhoods, when mainstream policies and budgets are deemed insufficient or in order to correct market failures. Mixed communities in renewal areas match the criteria for area-based initiatives as set forth by the ODPM unit in charge of area-based initiatives:

- Aimed at particular geographical areas, or intended to have a greater impact in some areas or regions than others.
- Managed through regional, sub-regional or local partnerships.

- Intended to support a number of objectives locally which are the responsibility of more than one Department.
- Put forward as pilots or pathfinders for programmes that will ultimately be rolled out nationally. (Regional Coordination Unit 2003).

The rationale for area based initiatives rests on concerns for equity; efficiency in targeting resources; additional impact from concentration rather than dispersal of resources; low 'take-up' rates of national programmes in very low-income areas and the ability to involve residents (Lawless 1999; Smith 1999).

Very briefly, slum clearance and construction of new council estates was a main focus of British area-based policies related to housing through the late 1960's (Cullingworth and Nadin 2002, p. 296). It took time to recognize that improvements in physical infrastructure do not necessarily lead to improvements in social, health and economic outcomes. Approaches have broadened since the mid 1980's to include environmental and infrastructure improvements, economic and social programmes. More recently there have been attempts to combine 'brick and mortar' interventions with social projects, as within the Housing Action Trusts and then within the Single Regeneration Budget.

New Labour has continued the direction of 'joined-up' programmes, and these are reviewed in Lupton and Power (2005). Comprehensive area-based initiatives direct funds to one area for multiple purposes. The New Deal for Communities, for example, promises funding over a ten-year period to thirty-nine of the most deprived small areas (with fewer than four thousand residents). The budget is managed through a partnership between residents, local agencies, and municipal authorities. In contrast to the comprehensive approach, some ABIs focus on a single issue, such as early childhood education, or target a single group of disadvantaged people in a given area, such as the

elderly or the disabled. Single issue ABIs have been found to have considerable success (Lawless 1999).

Problems of ABIs

Evaluation of area based initiatives has highlighted a number of endemic challenges for MINCs in renewal areas. The remainder of this section looks at four of these challenges and the questions they raise for mixed communities.

Displacement

Displacement of low-income residents has long been a central concern for area based initiatives. Early slum clearance programmes involved whole-sale demolition, often destroying social networks and displacing low-income residents. More recently, the US HOPE VI programme described in Chapter One, has led to planned and unplanned displacement. Careful studies of HOPE VI sites found that re-developed sites were home to between 8% and 40% of previously existing public housing tenants were (Abt Associates and Urban Institute 2002; Abt Associates Inc 2003; Popkin 2004). Two factors combined to bring about this high rate of displacement: first, nearly all projects demolished more public housing homes than were rebuilt, resulting in a net loss of public housing; and second, many former tenants were disqualified from entering the new homes through strict allocations and lettings policies. (Keating 2000; National Housing Law Project 2002). Many HOPE VI sites maintained an eviction policy allowing them to evict any household in which one member has been convicted of a crime, even before sentencing has taken place (Brody, personal communication, 2003).

Any programme involving demolition is bound to raise the spectre of displacement of low-income residents, discussed in Section 2.4 of this chapter through the viewpoint of gentrification. .

Boundaries and ‘who benefits’

Area-based initiatives necessarily define boundaries of eligibility or access to their programmemes. The boundaries have been known to create a ‘cliff effect’, bringing benefits to residents of one street while excluding their near neighbours. Area based initiatives may encourage withdrawal of previously existing resources away from the adjacent areas, as well as fostering a dependence on time-limited budgets, with the result that the adjacent areas may experience absolute as well as relative worsening conditions (Robson 1994). Mixed communities, too, can become show-pieces for local authorities, with private sector investment joining on to public funds to build new schools, libraries, and parks. Do these projects also benefit those who live outside the neighbourhood? Do they drain resources from adjacent neighbourhoods?

A second challenge of boundaries relates to those included, rather than those excluded. Area based programmemes also benefit the ‘non-needy’ who live within the area. This may be seen as an inefficient use of resources. Within most area-based initiatives, a broad base of access can be justified as the price for avoiding the stigma of means-testing. For MINCs, this mix of people using any given service is more than a justification, it is a deliberate aim, with the rationale that the higher-income service users will help ensure a higher-quality service. The question for MINCs will be the question of who benefits: to what extent are lower-income residents using the new services, or are these mostly taken up by the better-off residents? This question is primarily relevant to renewal areas, but on a different scale may also be an issue at wholly new MINCs.

Joined up programmemes and partnerships:

An important element of success in earlier area-based regeneration programmemes, such as the Single Regeneration Budget (SRB), and City Challenge, has been found to be strong local partnerships, with one evaluation noting that ‘when the level of

participation was low, performance ... was poor' (Cullingworth and Nadin, p. 303). In contrast, where earlier area based regeneration programmes did not develop local partnerships, as with some of the Urban Development Corporations, bypassing the local authority as well as residents was found to result in bureaucratic resistance, insufficient attention to local needs and problems for later follow-through (Robson 1994; Foster 1999).

Most recent area-based regeneration programmes under New Labour have adopted some form of local partnerships. The partnerships usually include residents and community based organizations; local service providers; local authority representatives; and often local businesses as well. The role of the local partnership is to identify issues and determine priorities, maximize resources and encourage private investment, and sometimes to design and monitor programmes.

Two of the difficulties associated with local partnerships have particular relevance for mixed communities. First, large multiple-stakeholder partnerships tend to marginalise the contribution of residents. Residents in low-income areas are being expected to invest far more time in neighbourhood governance than if they lived in middle class neighbourhoods (Amin and Thrift 2002). How can residents be involved in neighbourhood planning when at least half – and perhaps all – the residents are new? What role do the first residents play in determining services and facilities for later residents? How do residents' associations engage both social housing tenants and those in the market rate homes?

Second, service providers have found that the time and resources they expend in area based partnership are not recognized in evaluating their national performance targets. The 'business' of regeneration can require service providers in fields such as health, education and leisure to engage with broader issues beyond service delivery, draining time from business-as-usual. Getting schools involved with housing and planning

regeneration can be particularly challenging, in part since performance is primarily evaluated on the basis of students' educational achievements (Clark, Dyson et al. 1999). Getting schools involved as equal partners in regeneration in a mixed income, mixed-tenure situation can be even more challenging (Beekman, Lyons et al. 2001; Crowther 2003; Dyson and Cummings 2004). Are school headteachers pro-active in attracting and retaining children from different backgrounds throughout the neighbourhood? Do local educational authorities support the goal of income-mix in schools as part of tackling neighbourhood effects, or do they maintain a standard 'tenure (or income) -blind' approach?

Pilots, special funds and mainstreaming

Area-based initiatives typically draw on specially allocated funds outside the mainstream budget. These budgets are usually time-limited, and when the time limit is up, funding is over. This may mean that an area loses successful programmes and the investment in staff with local expertise. Regeneration programmes may compete for other public expenditure or distract attention from budget cuts (Healey 1991). Special funding or 'funny money' is sometimes used locally to replace mainstream budgets allowing those budgets to be diverted elsewhere. When the special funding stream ends, an area may be left with a relatively lower share of the overall budget than it had prior to the programme. Special funding can also lead programmes to favour quick wins over long term impact, visible results (bricks and mortar) over investment in social programmes. Perhaps most critically, pilot projects are used as 'demonstrations' for subsequent schemes, but typically receive far greater resources and attention, making wide-spread replication difficult.

Some of these problems have been addressed in long-term area based initiatives, such as in the ten-year Housing Action Trusts at Castle Vale and at Waltham Forest, among

others. These developed sophisticated indicators for measuring outcomes, and not just outputs, in hard-to-quantify areas such as health in particular, and planned an 'exit strategy' from an early stage (Castle Vale Housing Action Trust 2005)¹.

Mixed income communities may benefit from an initial injection of public funds for capital expenses. Social infrastructure costs are sometimes unbudgeted in the early stages, though in some cases schools, health clinics and shops may be supported through a stage of de-population during demolition and/or refurbishment. Long-term, however, there is little expectation of additional special public funds. Will there be less need to spend money on social programmes such as neighbourhood wardens, or job centres at mixed communities, because the middle and higher-income residents will be providing some of these services? How will 'exit strategies' be funded and implemented, when the private developers are often the lead partners in development, but may have little vested interest in long-term outcomes?

The transition from pilot project to mainstream is another challenge for area based initiatives in general, and mixed communities in particular. Pilot projects often benefit from special political attention, and can more easily attract media coverage to expedite problem solving. Mixed communities were typically considered pilots at the start of this research, under schemes such as 'urban villages', 'millennium communities' and the most recent 'mixed communities' initiative in deprived areas. However, policies for mixing incomes at new developments were moving into the mainstream planning process by the end of this research. To what extent are the pilots replicable, and what are the implications for mainstreaming the policies?

¹ For information about New Labour policies to 'bend mainstream funding, see the Neighbourhood Renewal Unit website at <http://www.neighbourhood.gov.uk/page.asp?id=11>

2.3: New Towns and their predecessors as the roots of 'wholly new' mixed communities

This section looks at three instances of planned new communities in the UK: Victorian model worker villages; pre- World War One Garden Cities; and post-WW II New Towns. All three are important antecedents for new mixed communities, since all aimed to attract a mix of residents from different social backgrounds, and to provide a mix of uses including housing, employment and leisure. What follows is intended to briefly set the historical context, in order to highlight the lessons and questions which these communities pose as precursors for wholly new MINCs today.

Victorian industrial villages:

The roots of planned new communities in the UK are often traced to Victorian industrialists who founded new villages (Sarkissian 1976; Hall 1988; Neal 2003). Among the most influential of these were Titus Salt's 'Saltaire' near Bradford (1853); George Cadbury's Bournville, near Birmingham (1879); William Lever's Port Sunlight (1888) near Liverpool, and Joseph Rowntree's New Earswick (1904), designed by Raymond Unwin and Barry Parker outside York. These paralleled similar efforts in the US, Germany and France (Kastoff 1991, pp 169 - 171).

The industrialists constructed model housing for workers adjacent to their own factories. The towns tended to reflect the social ideology of the industrialist developer, for instance incorporating a centrally located church, a Village Hall, Village Green, and schools, but often lacking a pub due to the influence of the Temperance Movement. They were typically constructed on out-of-town sites, because the planning bylaws in cities at that time did not permit construction of new factories near residential uses.

The industrial villages pioneered a new financial model, mixing private sector investment with philanthropy, motivated in part by the desire to make the work force more productive while easing the conscience of industrialists. The degree of philanthropy varied, but in each case the private sector industrialist funded the new homes, and then sold or rented these on to residents at a subsidized rate. They were to house 'honest, sober, thrifty workmen, rather than the destitute or very poor' (Cadbury Company Website 2005). The industrialists' involvement was sometimes very personal². At Bournville, for example:

George Cadbury chose some of the first residents himself, with a view to 'gathering together as mixed a community as possible applied to character and interests, as well as to income and social class' (Sarkissian 1976, citing the Bournville Village Trust, p. 18)).

Recently researchers have returned to see how residents experience New Earswick and Bournville after more than a hundred years (Grove, Middleton et al. 2003; Martin and Watkinson 2003). These two villages were unique in reaching beyond their own workers to aim for a wider social mix, in contrast to most of the other Victorian model villages intended to provide housing only for their own workers. However, New Earswick had homes only for rent, while Bournville had homes for sale and for rent. At New Earswick the researchers found that the residualisation of social rented housing had led to a concentration of very low income families, affecting the schools and social life. The Rowntree Trust, as managers of the estate, were re-introducing income mix by selling off alternate vacant homes, aiming for thirty percent home ownership across the estate (Martin and Watkinson 2003).

At Bournville in contrast, a broad social mix had been maintained, with about 40% social housing homes, due at least in part to exemption from the Right- to- Buy

² See, for example, the fictional portrait of life in the model villages in Disraeli, B. (1844). Coningsby; Or, the New Generation. London..

regulations. House prices seemed unaffected by the tenure mix, and researchers found the area to be popular and socially cohesive, a 'mixed-tenure neighbourhood that works' (Grove, Middleton et al. 2003).

The way that Bournville has stood the test of time may bode well for the new mixed income communities, with their combination of homes for sale and for subsidized rent. There are, of course, some important differences, especially with the mixed communities studied in these reports: the model villages were self-contained villages with single family homes, rather than dense inner-city neighbourhoods with flats; many of the residents shared a common workplace; and there was minimal public sector involvement.

Perhaps the most interesting question the model villages pose for MINCs comes from their development model. The model worker villages were highly dependent on the ideals and allegiances of one particular philanthropic industrialist, who determined everything from the social mix to the location and size of the church, and whether or not the village would include a pub. For MINCs today, what are the strengths and weaknesses of having one developer or several, one lead partner or multiple agencies, over the entire site? In what way do MINCs led by public sector agencies differ from those at which private sector developers have taken the lead?

Garden cities and garden suburbs:

The next wave of planned new communities, Garden Cities and Garden Suburbs, was influenced by the industrial villages (Hall 1988, p. 89, 93) and was later to influence the New Towns. The mastermind behind the Garden Cities was Ebenezer Howard. He

proposed to adapt the principles of new mixed-use villages to a larger scale, allowing thousands of citizens to escape the crowded and polluted conditions of Victorian cities.

Howard proposed Garden Cities of about 5,000 acres, in which about 32,000 people would live on 1,000 acres, leaving the rest of the land free for a green belt. The Garden Cities would form a regional network, sited on rail corridors connecting them to the central city, and separated from one another by green belts (Hall 1988, p. 93). Howard also proposed a radical new funding mechanism, in which gains in land value would accrue to the citizens and the communities of the city itself through a form of development trust. Each 'Garden City' would be a form of limited partnership, with funds raised from investors for the initial land purchases and building expenses. Over time, rising land values would return dividends to investors, and profits would be used to improve and expand the new communities (Hall 1988 pp 88 - 112).

Sarkissian notes that Howard was never definitive about the scale and integration of social mix intended for these new communities:

Howard's Garden City was definitely segregated according to class and income on the micro-level, though taken as a whole it included... a cross-section of society (Sarkissian 1976).

More strongly in favor of social mix in the new communities were Unwin and Parker, designers of New Earswick, who together and separately designed many of the new

garden cities and garden suburbs. They aimed to 'prevent the complete separation of different classes of people which is such a feature of the modern English town' (Hall 1988, p. 101).

Unwin's Garden Suburbs may be more relevant for the MINCs studied in this research, since they were located closer to the central cities than the Garden Cities, and not intended to be self-contained. One example was Hampstead Garden Suburb in London, where Unwin was the main planner. The aims for social mix were clearly formulated in 1905 by Henrietta Barnett, the wealthy patron of the Hampstead Garden Suburb, and stipulated that:

Persons of all classes of society and standards of income should be accommodated and that the handicapped be welcomed;

Lower ground rents should be charged in certain areas to enable weekly wage-earners to live on the Estate. (Contemporary Review, 1905, cited in Hampstead Garden Suburb Website, 2005).

However, the lower rent homes at Hampstead Garden Suburb were sited at some distance away from the more expensive homes, in contrast to the finer grain of social mix achieved at Bournville. In later years, as building costs rose in the aftermath of World War One, nearly all new homes were offered for sale and the mix of incomes was abandoned. By 2005, a 'worker's cottage' at Hampstead Garden Suburb is likely to cost a teacher more than twenty annual salaries.

There are at least three important caveats for MINCs in the story of the Garden Suburbs and the Garden Cities. First, the extent of 'social mix' was rarely clearly defined, and lessened over time. What mechanisms can MINCs use to help ensure a population with a broad range of incomes, especially when the MINCs are successful and house prices begin to rise? Second, lower-income housing was often spatially segregated from higher income housing in the Garden Cities. What measures help to bring about greater spatial integration by tenure at some MINCs, and what is the importance of achieving spatial integration by tenure? Finally, the Garden City movement grappled with the popularization of its name, and new areas were indiscriminately labeled 'Garden City' by their developers, often with little regard for the Garden City principles, driving down

the reputation and cachet (Hall 1988, p. 105). The 'Urban Village' terminology may encounter the same problem.

Post World War Two New Towns

The next major incarnation of the planned new communities with a mix of uses, mixed finance, and a social mix was in the post World War II New Towns, and a subsequent round of New Towns designated in the 1960's and early 1970's. The New Towns are of a much larger scale than the Garden Cities and the model industrial villages: individual New Towns were planned to house between 20,000 and 60,000 residents in the first wave (Hall 1988, p. 132), and up to 200,000 at Milton Keynes in the second round (Ward 1993, p. 43). By the mid- 1990's, over 1.5 million people lived in New Towns in England (Wannop 1999).

In 1993, Colin Ward gave a lecture to Italian architects entitled 'Why the British don't talk about New Towns any more', in which he explained that: *'We don't talk about New Towns any more because we are ashamed of the naïve social-service ideal in architecture and planning that inspired them'* (Ward 1996, p. 62). By 2005, however, the history of the New Towns was being seen as a source of inspiration and learning for the new mixed communities in Britain (Allen, Camina et al. 2005; Bennet 2005).

The New Towns drew directly from the model of the Garden Cities, with continuity in planning and design provided by the Town and Country Planning Association, and Ebenezer Howard as their 'grandfather' (Ward 1993, p. 19). This time the driver for building new communities was pragmatic, as well as ideological. About one -quarter of British homes had been devastated by bombing in World War II. Following the war, there was an urgent need to house those who were now homeless, and the severe shortage of homes was compounded by the lack of house-building during the war years and the new baby boom. Government embraced the new towns, drawing on the Garden

City model of mixed –use, mixed- finance and social mix as a quick, efficient, and potentially cost-effective solution to the housing shortage (Hall 1988; Ward 1993).

Social mix was intended to be an explicit aspect of life in the New Towns. The ideological motivation for the social mix in the New Towns is attributed to the impact of break down of class barriers begun during the War years (Sarkissian 1976, p. 239), and inspiring then Housing Minister Aneurin Bevin's much quoted speech calling for the New Towns to be '*the living tapestry of a mixed community... (where) the doctor, the grocer, the butcher and the farm labourer all lived in the same street*' (cited in Cole and Goodchild 2001; Wiles 2005).

However, social mix in most of the New Towns had a fairly limited range at first. In the early years, few investors could be found to build homes for sale in the risky new areas, and the majority of new homes at most New Towns were for social rent. Allocations of the new social rented homes were aimed squarely at skilled workers, primarily those who were employed with the industries relocating to the New Towns. Rents were also higher than usual in council homes, in order to cover the public sector costs of construction and maintenance (Bennett 2005, p. 8). Unskilled workers, the unemployed, and ethnic minorities were usually unable to secure a social rented home in the New Towns (Ward 1993). Later, developers built homes for private sale, but these were often segregated from the homes for social rent. As a result, households were grouped around cul de sacs in serial homogeneity, with large amounts of lower income social rented housing pre-dominating (Dixon, 2000, p. 16; Hall, 2004 p. 7). The end product of social mix in New Towns has been described as '*more a product of the serial homogeneity of different groups in neighbourhoods across a district than a reflection of any thoroughgoing localized social diversity*' (Cole and Goodchild 2001, p. 353)

The New Towns adopted a directed approach to building community, sometimes critiqued as heavy-handed '*dirigisme*' with 'Social Development Officers' employed to help make new residents feel at home. Their roles varied with the individuals employed, but included welcoming new residents (the 'arrivals officer'), helping to organize residents associations, input into the planning process, and even promoting dances and other social events, helping to counter the difficulties of absorbing a very large number of new residents all at once.

The delivery mechanism at the New Towns was modeled on that of Howard's Garden Cities in attempting to capture the increase in land-values resulting from development. However, the New Towns were financed directly by the Exchequer, and built by public corporations or quangos, known as the New Town Development Corporation. While the Garden Cities relied on private investors who would receive dividends and were intended to allow citizens to own their town, in the New Towns model the public sector would fund the initial investment, to be returned over time through capturing profits from increasing land values, thus severing the connection of residents to the 'unearned increment' (Hall 1988). The return on investment varied considerably across the different New Towns. Estimations of the overall profitability range from 'nearly covered costs' (Ward 1993, p. 91) to an estimation that the public sector recouped less than half the costs of investment, despite subsequent sales of social rented homes through the Right to Buy (Wannop 1999, p. 228).

The New Town Development Corporations had extremely wide-ranging powers: they were able to purchase land at its value prior to designation as a New Town, and were responsible for master-planning, infrastructure, and social development. Such broad powers often led to tensions and built-in resentments with local planning authorities (Ward 1993, pp. 108 - 115). In at least one second generation New Town (Stevenage), however, the Development Corporation and the local authority were reported to enjoy

good relations, possibly indicating the importance of the particular individuals involved (Hall 2005).

The New Towns have been critiqued for a number of features. Social infrastructure often lagged behind the growing residential population. The large volume of new homes being supplied sometimes resulted in poor design and poor quality materials.

Developing new areas may have come at the expense of existing areas. Employment – linked allocations policies at the New Towns meant that the less skilled or less mobile were left out, further worsening the situation in the run-down inner-city areas.

Concerns about these very same issues are repeated by many of those looking at the large-scale plans for new mixed communities in the Thames Gateway and other Growth Areas (Bennett 2005). These concerns may only increase when recognizing essential differences between the former and the current models for new mixed communities: the ‘sustainable communities’ being planned today are planned for much higher residential densities; would include more unemployed and very low-income residents; and many will be located further away from the central cities.

The story of the New Towns raises three central questions for this research on families in mixed communities. First is the issue of social balance. While the New Towns were intended to attract residents from a wide range of social classes, economic pressures linked with allocation policies excluded many of those at the bottom of the pyramid. To what extent will the new mixed communities attract and retain residents from diverse backgrounds, incomes, household composition and social groups? Will selective measures be used to exclude tenants with ‘anti-social behavior’?

Second is the question of social development. There was a deliberate investment in building community at many of the New Towns, through the work of the publicly funded social development officer. Community development is probably also an important function at the case study MINCs, with their even more diverse populations.

But with the private sector often taking the lead in development, who pays for the social development function, and how is it delivered, if at all?

Finally, the relation with local authorities was often problematic at the New Towns because of the strong independent powers given to the Development Corporations. The mixed communities studied here were led by partnerships including the private sector, and the local authority was not the lead body. Does this model lead to tensions among the partners, as at the New Towns? Does the new emphasis on partnership mean that the local educational authorities were more involved than they had been with the New Towns? What methods have been used to help avoid tensions between the delivery partnership and the local authorities?

In summary, the experience of the model industrial villages, the Garden Cities and the New Towns highlight difficult challenges for the new mixed communities. The questions raised in this chapter will be explored within the case study chapters, and synthesized in the analysis and conclusion chapters of the dissertation.

These last two sections have explored top-down, policy-led precursors to mixed income new communities. The next and final section of this chapter turns to the more diffuse mechanism of gentrification in its various forms, to examine the lessons and challenges for MINCs.

2.4 Gentrification and its lessons for mixed communities

As mixed income communities become more central to the housing and urban regeneration agenda in Britain, some researchers are questioning the relationship between mixed communities and gentrification (see for example Atkinson 2006). The

consequences of gentrification for low-income residents have been hotly contested. A sense of general unease about gentrification is captured in the tale of one US researcher who interviewed nearly 300 policy makers:

After I introduced myself and explained that I wanted to interview them about gentrification, the first response was almost always the same: 'well, is it a good thing or a bad thing?' (Kennedy 2002)

Gentrification has been extensively researched. Good UK reviews include Lees (2000) Atkinson (2002) and Slater (2005). Much research on gentrification emphasizes displacement and other negative impacts for low-income residents: as new higher-income residents purchase or rent homes in previously low-value areas, they may displace the existing lower-income residents, bringing heavy social costs. (Palen and London 1984; Atkinson 2000; Lees 2000; Atkinson 2002). Some research finds that the political system tends to accord little weight to these social costs, as measured against the economic benefits of urban revitalization. (Marcuse 1999).

Other studies, however, note the positive consequences of gentrification and 'urban pioneers' (Gans 1982; Rogers and Power 2000; Schoon 2001), particularly in areas with few existing residents or with vacancies in existing housing. The Urban Task Force noted the positive impact of gentrification in de-populated areas as an indication that it is indeed possible to transform a stigmatised urban area by attracting higher-income new residents, without displacing low-income residents (Urban Task Force 2005, p. 65).

The debate over gentrification and displacement may be partly semantic. Some definitions of gentrification embody displacement as an essential element in the process. This is found in the first recognized coinage of the term, by Marxist urban geographer Ruth Glass describing London in the 1960's (Glass 1964):

One by one, many of the working-class quarters of London have been invaded by the middle-classes - upper and lower. Shabby, modest mews and cottages - two rooms up and two down - have been taken over, when their leases have expired, and have become elegant, expensive residences. Once this process of 'gentrification' starts in a district it goes on rapidly until all or most of the original working-class occupiers are displaced and the whole social character of the district is changed (Glass 1964).

Displacement is also embodied within the succinct definition of gentrification in a thorough, policy-oriented survey produced for the Brookings Institute:

Gentrification is the process by which higher income households displace lower income residents of a neighborhood, changing the essential character and flavor of that neighborhood (Kennedy and Leonard 2001, p. 4)

However, other definitions of gentrification do not include the term displacement. In his systematic literature review of gentrification, Atkinson (2002, p. 3) selected a previous definition of gentrification that did not necessarily involve displacement:

The rehabilitation of working-class and derelict housing and the consequent transformation of an area into a middle-class neighbourhood (Smith and Williams, 1986:1).

To some degree, changing the terminology may help to reframe the argument. A number of terms for gentrification without displacement have been proposed, including: 'development without displacement' (the US-based Funder's Network for Smart Growth); 'planned gentrification' (Billig and Churchman 2002); and 'low-level' gentrification (Power). Other related terms describe the types of new developments investigated in the field work for this thesis: 'conversion', defined as developer-led gentrification for multi-family occupancy (Gans 1982, p. 386), 'urban husbandry' (Gratz

and Mintz 1998, p. 61), and 'policy-led' gentrification as opposed to 'capital led' gentrification (Cameron 2003, p. 2373).

A third approach is to re-frame the gentrification debate altogether. Kennedy and Leonard try this third approach, re-framing gentrification within the context of 'equitable development':

Gentrification is good or bad to the degree that it supports equitable development. Equitable development is the creation and maintenance of economically and socially diverse communities that are stable over the long term, through means that generate a minimum of transition costs that fall unfairly on lower income residents. Equitable development is the goal, and gentrification is a process that spurs or impedes that goal.

(Kennedy and Leonard 2001, p. 4)

Whatever the terminology, the issue of displacement looms large in the discussion of better-off residents in low-income areas. A central question for current mixed-income communities will be whether they are another variation on gentrification and result in displacement, or whether they represent a distinctly different form of neighbourhood upgrading, improving an area without displacing the low-income residents.

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). This last can be especially significant for the relatives of original low-income residents. For example, in high-demand areas, council properties purchased by their original tenants at discounts through the Right-to-Buy have been sold on for high values, at prices precluding ownership opportunities for existing tenants and their extended families.

So the first and most important challenge for new mixed communities from the discussion of gentrification is whether they will bring about displacement of low-income residents. One surmise is that mixed-income new communities may bring lower levels of displacement than gentrification typically has. This relates in part to the supply of housing: many new mixed communities in high value inner-city areas increase the total supply of homes. In contrast, classic gentrification rarely added new homes, instead refurbishing existing homes and replacing the existing residents. Theoretically at least, if the absolute number of subsidized homes is retained or even increased, displacement should not be inevitable. In practice, this analysis is relevant primarily for the transformation of social housing estates in areas of high demand, where public intervention often ensures that social rented homes are refurbished or replaced in full. Outcomes in areas of low-demand but fully inhabited private housing may be very different, and demolition may drive out unprotected low-income private tenants in particular.

The way in which new mixed-income communities are developed may also help to mitigate against potential displacement. Gentrification typically begins with a 'bottom-up' approach, in which individuals use their own sweat equity to improve existing dwellings³. This can bring rapid change, with little chance for municipal control, even if desired. MINCs, in contrast, are 'top-down' institution-led developments. Local authorities and central government may have more opportunity to employ fine-tuned financial mechanisms to help control the pace and level of both the gentrification and the displacement. This process has been variously termed 'new build' gentrification (Butler and Robson 2003); top-down 'gentrification by public policy' (Cameron 2003); and 'property developer gentrification' (Warde 1991). Greater public control over the

³ (In some recent cases, developers who have invested in run-down areas have subsidized short-term leases for artists and other 'creatives', in order to jump-start the gentrification process. The city of Amsterdam has taken this role on itself in the 'Broedenplätzen' policy.)

process may help to prevent first-order displacement, although the impact on second-order or exclusionary displacement is less clear-cut.

In addition to the issue of displacement, the outcomes of gentrification pose at least three other challenges for new mixed-income communities. First, and most centrally for this research, is the question of retaining new residents in the city over time. Some researchers argue that gentrification adds little to the total population of the city, since most gentrifiers are moving from other areas of the city, not from the periphery inwards (Atkinson 2002, p. 19). However, it may also be argued that the possibility of renovating low-cost homes has helped to retain many 'urban pioneers' within the city, whereas without that opportunity they may have left the city altogether. Recent research on centre city population in England has found that the vast majority of new better-off city centre residents are young, often students. (Nathan and Urwin forthcoming 2006). The turnover rate, or 'churning', is high: many see city centre living as a stage in life and intend to move on – and outwards -- once they have children. To what extent are inner-city MINCs able to attract and retain gentrifiers who would otherwise be leaving the city?

Second, some gentrification research has noted that low-income residents in gentrified neighbourhoods can lose out on services and programmes targeted at low-income areas (Wyley and Hammel 1999). The rising average income in these gentrified areas can lift the neighbourhood above the threshold for programmes targeted at deprived neighbourhoods. Will low-income residents in MINCs miss out on these special programmes? Does access to better quality mainstream services compensate for this loss?

Finally, a third issue for MINCs arising from literature on gentrification is about race and ethnicity. Lees (2000) notes that there are few studies of race and gentrification. Massey (2002) takes this point rather further in a spirited rebuff to the critics of gentrification in the US:

I suspect that much of the gentrification debate is actually a coded reference to the contestation of blacks and whites for urban space. After all, affluent and middle-class blacks are generally blamed for the concentration of urban poverty through their 'abandonment' of poor black neighborhoods. It is hard to imagine people complaining about gentrification if it were to involve middle class and affluent black families moving into or remaining within poor black neighbourhoods. This, it seems, would be good. Apparently class-mixing within neighborhoods only becomes evil when it crosses a racial as well as socio-economic lines, although this fact is never explicitly stated (Massey 2002, p. 175).

The gentrification debate highlights the political and value-laden nature of this discussion, with different versions of social mix being seen as positive, or negative. .

Little has been written to date about race and ethnicity in new mixed-income neighbourhoods, and there is little evidence on the extent of black and minority ethnic representation among residents. How will issues of race and ethnicity play out in MINCs, and how will this affect social cohesion in the new communities?

Conclusions:

In this chapter, I have aimed to place mixed income communities within the broader context of urban regeneration. The chapter first distinguished between ‘wholly new’ and ‘renewal’ MINCs, drawing on published case study evidence to describe differences in goals and outcomes. Both types of mixed communities seemed to engender equally good social housing, but the evidence pointed to several main differences. ‘Renewal’ MINCs, serving a wider low-income population, seem to have more problems of neighbourhood nuisance and more entrenched problems with school quality, but may also offer more programmes and services targeted to low-income residents. Spatial integration was seen to strengthen social cohesion at ‘wholly new’ MINCs, but has been observed to lead to some social tensions at ‘renewal’ MINCs. The analysis found little evidence concerning school uptake by better-off parents in either renewal or wholly new MINCs.

The following sections raised a large number of broad questions and challenges for MINCs, based on the experiences of earlier approaches to regeneration. These issues are summarized in Table 2.4 below. Addressing all of these questions would be far beyond the scope of this dissertation and its focus on better-off families in MINCs. Shaded fields in the figure indicate those issues most salient to the field-work and the analysis of this thesis.

The next chapter concludes the conceptual framework of the thesis. It moves from the first research theme, of mixed income housing as urban regeneration to the second research theme of families in cities, seeking to better understand the reasons why families with choice have left cities, and the possibilities for their return.

Table 2.4: Challenges for MINCs as urban regeneration

(shaded fields indicate issues most salient to the field work and analysis)

	Questions and dilemmas
Area Based Initiatives	Boundary effects: Do adjacent low-income residents benefit from the new services? What is the effect of mixed income new communities on surrounding neighbourhoods?
	Joined up partnerships: How are schools engaged in the mixed-income agenda? How do residents' associations work across tenures in MINCs? How do 'joined up' partnerships work within MINCs?
	Pilots and special funding: Are flagship MINCs replicable? Does income -mix replace the need for special funding targeted at low-income areas? How effective are exit strategies?
New Towns and their predecessors	What are the strengths and weaknesses of single versus multiple partners in the development process? Does community development in MINCs require special funding? How can the social mix be maintained over time? How does spatial integration affect social mixing? How do delivery vehicles at MINCs work with the local authorities?
Gentrification	Can increasing density in MINCs reduce displacement? Can MINCs retain new city dwellers over time, especially as they have children. Do low-income residents lose out on targeted services? What is the impact of race and ethnicity at MINCs?

CHAPTER THREE: BETTER-OFF FAMILIES IN CITIES

In Bogotá, our goal as to make a city for all the children. The measure of a good city is one where a child on a tricycle or bicycle can safely go anywhere. If a city is good for children, it will be good for everybody else. If only children had as much public space as cars, most cities in the world would become marvelous.

- Enriquo Peñalosa, former mayor of Bogata, Colombia (Project for Public Spaces 2005)

The previous chapter focussed on mixed-income new communities, both wholly new and renewal. It reviewed the aims they are intended to achieve, the evidence supporting these claims, and the challenges and dilemmas posed by previous strategies of urban regeneration.

This chapter moves away from mixed income new communities to explore the second theme of the thesis, better-off families in cities. The inclusive term '*better-off families*' is used throughout the thesis to refer to those with at least some degree of housing choice. It excludes those families who are dependent on social housing and includes all others, from 'key workers' and households in shared ownership through to the higher income deciles. A more stratified analysis, while beyond the scope of this thesis, would be very helpful in further research.

In this chapter I look first at the reasons why better-off families had left cities, starting more than a century ago. The academic literature has provided a number of explanations, three of which are described in the first section of this chapter: the role of the transport revolution; the changing nuclear family and cultural attitudes; and changes in housing and education policy.

In reviewing these explanations I began to wonder about their current validity, in light of recent social changes. Did these explanations still describe the situation of cities and families in the twenty first century? Was the urban renaissance perhaps nmaking cities less difficult for raising children, more attractive for families? Might transformation in family structures – such as more women working, and more men parenting – make parents more interested in living closer to their work in the cities? The second section

of this chapter outlines the rationale for my speculations, weaving together sources from diverse fields. There is as yet little hard evidence to help answer the very broad questions, and I reach no firm conclusions. I include this thought-piece, however, in order to frame the issue of families in mixed-income new communities within the more general discussion about better-off families in cities.

The third and fourth sections of this chapter return more directly to the thesis field work. The third section looks at the types of better-off families who have chosen to raise their children in mixed-income urban areas. Three qualitative studies provide ‘typologies’ for these families, used to examine the field work evidence in subsequent chapters. Finally, the fourth section presents an overview of the case studies that then form the bulk of the next three chapters.

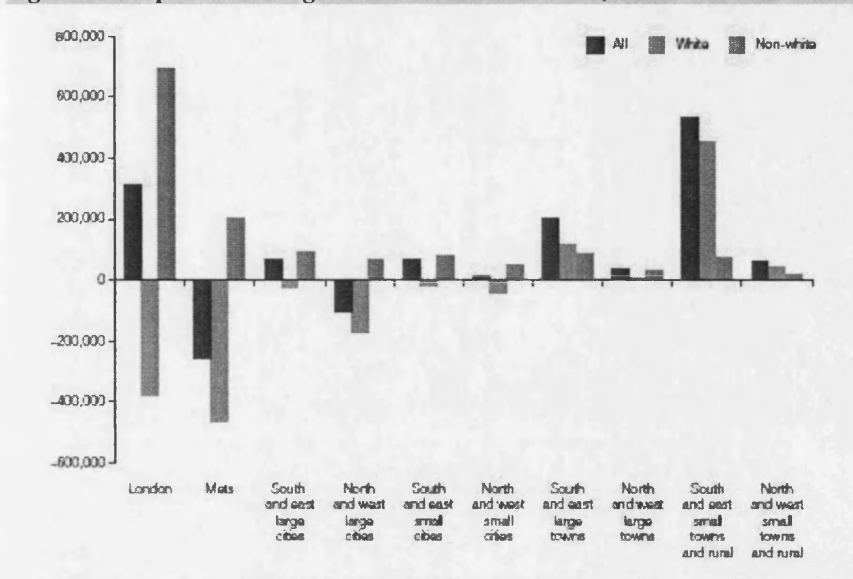
3.1 The urban exodus and its consequences

The quote introducing this chapter describes a vision of a ‘city for all the children’ that is not a daily reality in most UK cities. For over a century, British families with housing choice have been leaving the cities behind, moving out to raise children in low-density neighbourhoods.

The pattern of families leaving has been part of the movement of all residents away from cities in the last century. More recently, some cities have seen the trend of general outward migration halted, or even reversed. However, the patterns are ‘neither simple nor uniform’, as Champion et al remark in their detailed study for the CPRE (Champion, Atkins et al. 1998). Figure 3.1 below shows population change in cities, (including migration into and out of cities, as well as natural change due to births, and deaths, and international migration), noting that race and ethnicity are a factor. The overall result was a small net increase in population in some larger cities, particularly in the south and east⁴.

⁴ For a graph showing how London’s pattern of growth differs from that of other English cities, see: *State of the Cities: A Progress Report* (Parkinson 2005, p. 21).

Figure 3.1: Population change in UK cities 1991 – 2001 (white and non-white residents)



Source: reproduced from *State of the Cities: A Progress Report* (Parkinson 2005, p. 25).

The movement of families with children in cities is less well-studied than that of residents overall. A detailed analysis of where in cities families with children choose to live could be very helpful, particularly if it looked at differences by income or social class, and established patterns of movement over time. Initial work examining this question at the case study areas used Census 2001 data to map the distribution of families by occupational class across city wards in Glasgow, London and Manchester (Fenton 2005c). The distribution of better-off families varied across the cities: In Manchester there was a near total absence of middle-class families, while Glasgow's outer ring was home to many professional and managerial families. The London maps showed concentrations of junior professional families throughout the outer suburbs, together with higher professional families in some wards. Further research could compare the 2001 figures to 1991, in order to begin to establish how these patterns have changed over time. It could also be useful to go beneath the large-scale ward level, and explore the subtleties across neighbourhoods, identifying pockets of middle-class families obscured by the ward-level analysis. A growth in these pockets of middle-class families is anecdotally reported by Time Out London, commenting on inner city streets newly 'taken over by cappuccino-sipping parents with the push-chair equivalent of an SUV' (Time Out London, 2005).

Review of the reasons families have left British cities

This section looks at three explanations for the movement of better-off families away from British cities over the last century. The first explanation is the transport revolution and the impact of the private car, providing the means to live away from work in the city. This explanation is insufficient by itself, however, because while the transport revolution spread to other European countries, the move away from the cities was more pronounced in England than elsewhere (Fishman 1987). The second explanation, then, looks at the cultural factors that influenced the move of families away from the cities in England. The third explanation looks at the contribution of national housing policies, highlighting in particular the decline of the private rented sector, and the changes in social housing. These three explanations are supplemented by a number of other factors cogently analysed in Rogers and Power (2000), and also reviewed in Schoon (2001).

The transport revolution and the rise of the private car:

One reason better-off families left cities was because they could, by car and by train. The transport revolution provided the technological capacity for the new middle-class to live further away from the city, and commute to work by rail or by private car. Private developers were able to reap large profits from converting previously agricultural land to residential homes. National budgets supported the move out of town, with heavy investments in new roads, schools, homes and other infrastructure. The subsidies for new towns and suburbs often came at the expense of city budgets. (Power and Mumford 1999; Urban Task Force 1999; Rogers and Power 2000).

Meanwhile, the increasing numbers of cars in the cities caused problems for children (Rogers and Power 2000 pp. 89 - 127). The cars roaming through narrow crowded city streets added ever-present background noise and pollution. The particulate pollution from cars has been especially problematic for children, contributing to an increase of fifty percent in the incidence of asthma among small children in the UK over the last thirty (Hood 2004: 32).

Cars created other problems for raising children in the city. Cars need space, to move and to park. The open spaces and streets where children had played --especially poorer children-- were turned over to parking and traffic. Children's health has been further

affected by the lack of play opportunities, thought to contribute to growing child obesity (Crawford 2000; Crawford 2003).

The prevalence of cars also brought about an increase in traffic accidents, and fears of traffic accidents. Fears of risk from cars, as well as from strangers, have led to severe restriction in children's independent mobility in the cities, as witnessed by the drastic reductions in numbers of children who walk or cycle to school alone (Ward 1978, pp. 116 - 125; Worpole 2003, p.10; Transport 2000 and Barnardos 2004). High volumes of traffic also affect sociability, as Appleyard's studies have shown, reducing contact among neighbours, particularly important for young families (Appleyard, Gerson et al. 1981; Grayling, Karl Hallam et al. 2002). Furthermore, for parents, navigating about the city with children can be difficult, especially with a pushchair or more than one small child: narrow pavements, buses, and underground trains can all be difficult to access. Parking is typically more limited and more expensive in cities than elsewhere. Overall, increasing numbers of cars on the streets have made raising children in cities a less attractive option.

The changing nuclear family and cultural attitudes toward the city:

However, the rise in car use, coupled with access provided by suburban rail lines, can not be saddled with full responsibility for the urban exodus. After all, similar changes in transport also took place in other European cities, but the city core has remained home to middle-class families in Paris and other French cities, as well as in Vienna, Stockholm, and others European cities.

An argument for the importance of changing cultural attitudes is put forth by Fishman in Bourgeois Utopias (1987). He suggests that the development of the English suburbs in the Victorian era was an answer to transformations in family structure, working life, and the rise of evangelicalism. Middle-class urban families had typically lived and worked in the same place up until the mid-eighteenth century, with the banker or the merchant doing business on the ground floor fronting a busy street, family members living above, and the top floors inhabited by the servants. Poorer families lived adjacent, in the alleys, creating a veritable mix of inhabitants. (Fishman 1987, p. 8).

The growing English evangelical movement saw the city as a corrupting influence for women and children, offering theatres, street fairs, pleasure gardens, and other licentious entertainments. The Evangelicals argued that women and children needed to be protected from the grime, crime, violence and poverty of city life. In contrast to the city, suburbs provided privacy and intimacy inside the home, away from the busy streets. In the suburbs, the middle-classes were insulated from the poor, who could not afford the commute. The suburbs also separated work from home, segregating women and children in the home sphere, while allowing men to commute to work in the cities (Fishman 1987, pp 39 - 52). Another important allure was the economic incentive: development of cheap agricultural land allowed families to build large new single-family houses in the suburbs, replacing rather more cramped city quarters.

Similar economic incentives were at work in Paris as well, with the option of providing less expensive single family homes outside the city. Neighbourhoods in Paris in the mid nineteenth century was even more crowded than in London, and were disease ridden, and the source of class conflict (Fishman 1987, p 107). The transport revolution was just as developed as in England.

But the middle-class families in Paris did not, by and large, avail themselves of the cheaper option of moving to the suburbs, and choose instead to relocate to high-quality new apartment houses lining the new city boulevards. Fishman attributes great importance to the difference between French cultural attitudes and those of the English. He writes that the French cultural ideal sought to combine privacy of the nuclear family, as in England, with a:

'.. ready access to the theatres, balls, cafes and restaurants of Paris that had once been the privilege of the upper class. The urban apartment house – at once aristocratic in its façade and thoroughly bourgeois in its domestic arrangements – exactly expressed this ideal (Fishman 1987, p. 110).

The Parisian middle-class's choice to remain in the cities was enabled by Haussmann's transformation of Paris, which demolished poor quality housing, widened new boulevards, and provided loans for developers to build new apartment houses. The

displaced poor, meanwhile, relocated to the periphery, where suburbs were built for workers in new industrial plants. Fishman concludes that:

The example of Paris proves that middle class suburbanization was never the inevitable fate of the bourgeoisie. With bourgeois commitment to a distinctly urban culture, the central city could be rebuilt to suit their values. But this rebuilding was impossible without a government willing to intervene massively, both in the housing market and in the urban fabric. In the nineteenth century, suburbia represented the path of small scale enterprise and laissez-faire. The great Parisian boulevards lined with rows of apartment houses expressed the unison of middle class values with authoritarian planning (ibid , p. 116).

Changes in housing and education policy

Young families at the turn of the century often sought to rent homes in the city, before buying, if at all. In 1900, nearly 90% of all British households rented privately, but by 1990 private renting had shrunk to a mere 10% (Rogers and Power 2000, p. 74 - 77). The reduction in private renting is attributed to rent control legislation, together with increased new-build social housing. Where in other European countries young families might rent in the cities until their income allows them purchase a flat there, the absence of private rental stock in the UK has channelled families to lower-cost suburban housing.

Another possibility for young families in the city had been the option of council housing. For many years council housing was let only to the stable working class (Power 1993, p. 182). Power and Mumford (1999) describe how social housing was initially a privilege awarded to working households who met prescribed social standards, but then became a benefit for neediest, primarily the economically inactive, including new immigrants and homeless families. They sketch a vicious cycle in which these changes led to the departure from social housing of long-term tenants, particularly white working class families. The resulting residualisation of social housing, together with decreasing municipal budgets, contributed to increasing anxieties about crime and personal safety and lower maintenance and standards in city parks and the public realm (Power and Mumford 1999: 72).

Schools were also affected by the move of the middle-classes away from cities. As playing fields disappeared and the share of poor children increased, inner-city schools became a reason in themselves for families with choice and concerned about education, to leave cities. Many middle-class families had avoided the problem by sending their older children to selective grammar schools, where admittance was based on tests for eleven year olds (the eleven plus). However, most grammar schools were transformed into non-selective comprehensive schools in the 1960's and 1970's. These comprehensive inner-city schools have often achieved lower results, measured over the last decade by Ofsted and other readily available indicators, creating further incentives for middle class parents to leave the city (Schoon 2001, p 64, cf 175 - 194).

Consequences of the urban exodus

The move of better-off families out of the city has had some severe consequences.

First has been the impact on those left behind. Low-income children and their families have remained in inner-city areas. As better-off families departed, the concentration of poverty increased, leaving behind worse schools, poorer health facilities, and a more deprived physical environment, all contributing to the vicious cycle of neighbourhood effects described in Chapter Two.

Second, without working families, there can be a problem finding 'key workers' – nurses, teachers, bus drivers and police officers, who are willing and able to afford the commute to work in the city, particularly in the metropolitan area of London. This problem can be particularly severe for the traditionally female jobs such as social workers and early childhood education carers, as working mothers may be less likely than working fathers to commute into the cities. Care-taker jobs can be particularly critical in cities, with the increased need for park-wardens, maintenance workers, and carers for the elderly and the dependent.

Third, the environmental impact of urban abandonment can be devastating. Land-hungry, car-dependent, energy –inefficient -- these arguments against sprawl are at the core of policy for more compact cities in Britain and in the US (cf Funder's Network for

Smart Growth and Livable Communities; Burton, Williams et al. 1996; Urban Task Force 1999; Rogers and Power 2000; The Civic Trust 2000; ODPM 2003(c); Congress for the New Urbanism 2005).

For all these reasons, the absence of middle-income families in the cities is deeply problematic. Perhaps the most compelling argument, though, is that expressed by the noted Dutch architect and playground designer Aldo van Eyk:

*'If cities are not meant for children, they are not meant for citizens either. If they are not meant for citizens – ourselves—they are not cities'-
Aldo van Eyck (cited in Worpole 2003, p. 7)*

3.2 Reversing the urban exodus?

The previous section presented three explanations for the flow of families away from cities throughout the twentieth century: the transport revolution and the rise of the private car; cultural attitudes about the nuclear family; and housing and education policy. This section takes a second look these explanations, in light of recent changes. The section questions whether the explanations offered still hold true, or whether conditions are beginning to change, to make cities more attractive to better-off families.

The section opens by revisiting the issues of cars and open space in cities, examining recommendations from the Urban Task Force with the potential to make transport less of a problem for children in cities. The section then turns to the nuclear family, and considers whether changes in parenting, and in attitudes towards work, may increase families' willingness to raise children in cities. The section concludes by examining whether changing housing policies are encouraging better-off families to raise children in the cities.

Reducing car use and increasing mobility in the city:

A review of planning for children in Western cities conducted in 2003 concluded sombrely that:

One can with a high degree of certainty assert that, on the whole, (western) cities are not planned and managed with children in mind. They do not provide many or sufficient places that adequately and appropriately meet the developmental needs of children. They do not facilitate and encourage the independent use of the city by children, nor do they always facilitate and encourage the use of the city by families. They do not welcome children in all areas of the city with open arms, or project a message that says this is for you too (Buss, 1995). This is true even at the neighbourhood level, which one would assume would be understood to be the major environment of children (Ritzdorf, 1986), and, even more so, in the business, commercial, cultural and recreational areas of the city. (Churchman 2003)

This section asks whether that bleak assessment may be changing in some British cities. New policies were being introduced to reduce the dominance of the car and improve the urban public realm, holding the potential to make cities more child-friendly. Because policy implementation was still in the early phases at the time of writing, there was little published evaluation available.

Reducing car use:

The Urban Task Force looked closely at ways to reduce the use of cars and congestion in cities (Urban Task Force 1999, pp 87- 109). One important first step was to require local authorities to compile information on their performance in meeting national transport guidelines. Called '*Local Transport Plans*', these could include information on air quality, satisfaction with bus services, numbers of children killed or seriously injured in road accidents; variations in the modes of transport used for journeys to school or work ('modal share'); changes in the numbers and length of cycling trips; time lost per person due to congestion; and 'accessibility' indicators, such as the percentage of school pupils within fifteen minutes of a primary school by public transport. The information collected through the Local Transport Plans could help monitor progress in meeting national targets, and could bring greater flexibility in funding allocations, although local authorities have found the process cumbersome (Atkins 2003).

Home Zones are another recommendation with the potential to make cities more child-friendly (Urban Task Force 1999: 108). Based on the Dutch '*woonerf*' and best practice from Germany, they redesign residential streets giving greater priority to the needs of children, pedestrians and cyclists, while still allowing motor vehicle access. Home Zones are expected to reduce noise pollution and improve air quality, help reduce crime

by increasing surveillance, increase community interaction, and encourage walking and cycling. The Transport Act 2000 allowed English local traffic authorities to designate home zones in their area and Government allocated £30 million for nine pilot projects in England and Wales, four in Scotland and one in Northern Ireland

(<http://www.homezonenews.org.uk>)

The UTF also recommended that Government increase spending on walking, cycling and public transport from 55% to 65% of transport public expenditure (Urban Task Force 1999, p. 101). The government promotes walking and pedestrian access through *Encouraging Walking: Guidance on Full Local Transport Plans* and the revised Planning Policy Guidance note 13 increases the emphasis given to the needs of cyclists and pedestrians in any future developments. However, the Government had not set any specific target for the proportion of public expenditure going to each mode of transport. In the absence of clear funding other than parking fees, cities will have less incentive to channel budgets towards improving walking, cycling and public transport.

These are all important national measures to reduce the impact of cars on urban life. Some cities have added their own local measures. In London, for example, the Mayor's 'Children and Young People's Strategy' (GLA 2004) includes many recommendations to make it easier for children and their families to move about the city. Safe routes to school and facilities for cycle parking at schools are officially on the agenda of Transport for London (GLA 2004, ss 5C.1.5, 5A.1.5). New developments are expected to include Home Zone principles such as reduced traffic speeds and more street space for children's play (GLA 2004 ss 5A.1.3, 5E.5.1). Families are encouraged to use public transport by granting free bus travel for children, and on weekends adults travel for less when they accompany children. And, importantly, the congestion charge on cars entering the central city has reduced the number of incoming cars by about 20%, with a reduction in car traffic of 30% within the city (Transport 2000, 2005), improving conditions for cycling and walking.

Public realm and open space strategy:

Another area with great potential to make cities more child-friendly is in improving the public realm. This issue has received much political attention since the UTF pointed to the decline of Britain's parks and public spaces, and recommended requiring 'local authorities to prepare a single strategy for their public realm and open space, dealing

with provision, design, management, funding and maintenance' (Urban Task Force 1999: 84).

The plethora of government reports and initiatives included PPG 17: Public Spaces (2002); the Urban Green Spaces Taskforce report Green Spaces, Better Places (2002); the ODPM report Living Places: Cleaner, Safer, Greener (2002); the Heritage Lottery Fund's Urban Parks Programme and CABESpace.

A critical and insightful report on children, young people and public space from 2003 found that many of these reports and programmes, particularly those concentrating on urban design, rarely mentioned children, and neglected the centrality of play (Worpole 2003). Instead:

...different messages are still emanating from different government departments about what is meant by a safe, secure and convivial public realm. For some politicians and civil servants, public realm issues seem to be regarded principally as a crime and disorder matter, for others an issue of environmental quality, while yet another group see them as being principally about tourism and consumer-led leisure and regeneration ... The concept of 'public space' has never been so popular, but never so poorly conceptualised or understood, especially in its use by children and young people. (Worpole 2003: 9)

Since then, a number of new initiatives have focused attention on children and play. These include the Government Green Paper 'Every Child Matters' (2003) and the Children's Act (2004); 'Getting Serious about Play' (DCMS 2004), the Audit Commission Best Value Performance Indicator on play strategies; the Children's Play Council; 'Green Flags for Parks', and a good practice guide by CABI Space for involving children and young people in design.

On the implementation side, London's 'Draft Guide to Preparing Play Strategies' draws on all these resources to provide detailed guidelines for the London boroughs in preparing local strategies for children's play (GLA 2004), although standards such as these are still lacking nationally.

It is probably still too early to evaluate the impact of these measures. Some are still only in the planning stages, others are not yet implemented. Benefits may be offset by rising car ownership. Child pedestrian casualties taking place on the way to school, for

instance, increased in London from 25% in 1999 to 32% in 2004 (Hood 2004, p. 95). Still, these measures hold the potential to make it much easier for families to move about in cities without cars, and for children to play more freely on streets and in open spaces.

Family structures transformed

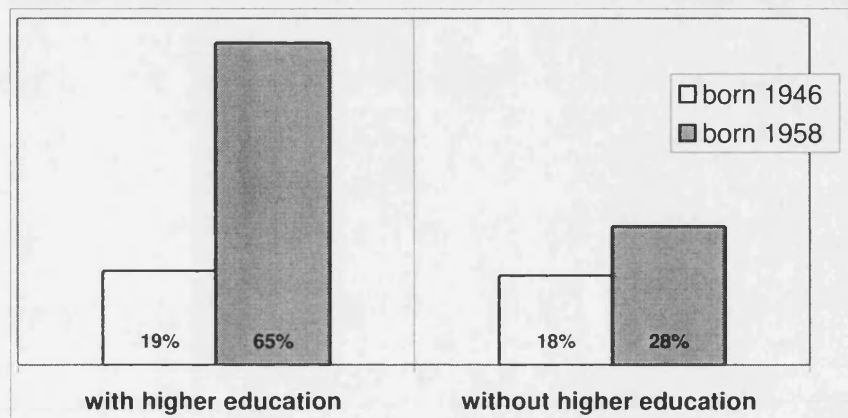
The first section of this chapter introduced the argument that changes in family structure were instrumental in the birth of the middle-class English suburbs. The out-of town residential suburbs supported an idealised nuclear family, separating work and domestic home life. In this concept, women were married and mothers, and worked at home raising children over much of their life spans, while men were married and fathers, commuted to work in the city, and were involved in family life primarily at weekends.

But the nuclear family structure has been undergoing radical transformations for the last fifty years and many fewer families fit that mould. As Stanley and Williams write, marriage and sex were uncoupled in the 1960's, and in the 1980's, marriage and parenthood were uncoupled (Stanley and Williams 2005, p. 40). Middle-class mothers in Britain today are more likely to be divorced or single-parents. Where in 1971, nine of ten UK families with dependent children were married couples, by 2001 this figure had dropped to 64%, with a four-fold increase in divorced parents and a ten-fold increase in single parents (Williams 2004, p. 13).

Women are having fewer children, with an average of 1.7 births per woman (Williams 2004, p. 16), shortening the total time span that women might devote exclusively to child-rearing. Also, the average age at which women first give birth has risen to thirty (*ibid*) meaning there is more time before becoming mothers for women to gain experience in the labour force. After giving birth, middle-class mothers are now far more likely to return to work than they were in the past, a trend particularly accentuated among mothers with higher-education who are working in professional jobs (Gatrell 2004, p. 17).

Figure 3.2 below illustrates the short time span in which the changes have been taking place. Among mothers born in 1958, those with higher education were far more likely to return to work (65%) than those without higher education (19%). Among slightly older mothers, however, those born just twelve years previously, higher education made little difference in labour force participation rates.

Figure 3.2 Higher education and percentage of British mothers returning to work



(Source: adapted from Gatrell 2004: 19, citing Macran et al 1996: 291)

The role of fathers within the family has also been changing. An influential report for the Equal Opportunities Commission found that fathers are spending more time parenting their children:

Time use studies consistently show that fathers, both resident and non-resident, are spending more time with their children, albeit still at a lower level than mothers. In dual full-time earner couples, men spend about 75 per cent of women's absolute time on childcare and other activities with dependent children(O'Brien 2004, iii).

The average amount of time UK fathers spend with children under five has increased from 15 minutes per day in the mid-1970s to two hours a day in the late 1990s and up to three and half hours a day in dual income families according to ONS figures {(O'Brien 2004, p. 4)⁵. The trend is more characteristic of wealthier parents, according to some

⁵ These studies also do not examine parenting time as function of living in cities versus suburbs, except to the extent that city dwellers have shorter commuting times (Brun and Fagnani 1994). It would also be helpful to know whether dual-earner families living in cities spend relatively more or less time with their children than out-of-town working parents, and whether expectations are different of commuting fathers than of city fathers.

sources: higher-income dual-earner parents spend more time with their children than their lower-income counterparts (O'Brien 2004, p. 7)⁶.

The trend of fathers spending more time with their children is supported by new national policies. As part of a greater focus on 'work-life balance', national policies have encouraged fathers to be more involved parents by including the right of fathers to take two weeks paid paternity leave and four weeks unpaid parental leave; and by recognising parents' right to ask for more flexible working arrangements (Gambles, Lewis et al. 2005, p. 20). Other recent policies to increase the involvement of fathers in parenting are surveyed in Burgess (2005).

Increased readiness to raise children in cities?

I suggest that these changes to the family mean that middle-class parents may be more willing to raise children in cities than they have been in the past decades. Reasons in support of this suggestion are followed below by a discussion of factors working in the opposite direction.

One reason middle-class parent may be more willing to raise children in cities is that more of them will have experienced city life as single adults and young couples. The increase in centre city population is attributed primarily to students and young childless adults (Nathan and Urwin forthcoming 2006). With child-birth postponed to the age of thirty, they will have had more time to establish life in the city before the birth of the first child, making leaving a more difficult choice.

The trend to have fewer children can also make city life more attractive. Smaller city homes, for example, may be more acceptable when there are fewer children. Similarly, navigating public transport with pushchairs and small children is manageable with one youngster, or even two, but becomes difficult with three or more.

Where mothers as well as fathers are working at professional jobs in the city, living close to work has a number of advantages. Commuting time in the UK increased forty

⁶ Most of these studies refer to dual-parent families, excluding fathers who do not reside with their children.

percent in the last thirty years, though it has remained stable over the last decade (Urban Task Force 1999, p. 101; National Statistics 2005, p. 6). Living closer to work means that commuting time is shorter, allowing for more time with children. In addition to total length of commuting time, reliability of the commute is a critical factor for those charged with picking up children from school or childcare. Being dependent on commuting by train, or subject to the uncertainties of traffic and congestion, can cause great anxieties. In contrast, a within-city commute may be on foot or by bicycle, far more reliable.

Further, with two parents working, the urban economy may offer professional parents greater job flexibility, particularly in the public sector, finance and new media, allowing one or both parents – and ex-spouses as well – to change jobs without moving children far from their schools and friends.

Social reasons may also make city living more attractive for some middle-class parents. For those who are divorced, single, or widowed, cities can provide more opportunities to meet new partners. Cities also offer a wider range of housing types, which may offer children greater proximity to non-resident parents.

Cultural attitudes too have changed, to be more welcoming of the diverse cultural possibilities offered in cities. From talking with parents raising children in London, I have learned that many value the diversity and multi-ethnic culture to which their children are exposed, broadening their children's horizons in a globalising world.

Middle-class parents also praised the sophisticated – and often free -- cultural activities on offer. In London, for example, children can participate in weekend film-making sessions at the Tate Modern, pour cement at the Soane Museum, go behind the stages of popular musicals, learn to play the gamelan at the Barbican, or go to summer camp at the British Library.

There are of course also many factors that may mitigate against the readiness of middle-class parents to raise children in the cities. The rise in digital technologies makes working from home more of an option in many professions, a trend which may make out-of-town living more attractive for some families. However, in 2004 only three percent of men and three percent of women were working from home more than once or

twice a week (National Statistics 2005, p. 46). Workplaces may re-locate close to senior executives in out of town areas, as has increasingly happened in the US (Garreau 1991), making it easier to commute from outside the city.

Perception of safety is an important problem: One in two parents in London, for example, asked to describe problems with quality of life in the capital cited fears for the safety of their children (GLA 2004: 67). New programmes to fund neighbourhood wardens and community police in the poorest inner-city areas may make some inroads in combating these fears (Power and Willmot 2005, pp. 289 – 293).

School quality is also an immediate concern. While some middle-class parents are happy to send their children to ethnically diverse inner-city local primary schools, this willingness has dropped off rapidly at secondary school age (Gorard, Fitz et al. 2001; Ball 2003; West and Pennell 2003). New Labour has initiated a number of programmes to improve schools in deprived areas, including many in inner cities. Programmes such as Education Action Zones, Sure Start, Excellence in Cities and City Academies are reporting to be improving educational achievements in poorer areas faster than elsewhere (Ofsted 2003; McKnight, Glennerster et al. 2005, pp. 54 - 60; Toynbee and Walker 2005, p. 89). The insistence on school 'choice' has meant that some better-off families have remained in inner-city areas despite poor secondary schools, choosing to send their children to schools in adjacent boroughs. The overall impact of these measures, and whether they are sufficient to retain middle-class families in cities, raise thorny questions beyond the scope of this thesis. The field work for this thesis, however, does provide some insight into the schooling decisions of better-off families in mixed-income inner-city areas.

Finally, finding suitable and affordable family homes in the city can also be a major obstacle. While dual-income parents may be able to afford a more expensive home than single-earner families living in the suburbs, the price differential between a suburban house and a suitable family home in the city may be too large to bridge. As part of the urban renaissance, new planning regulations in Planning Policy Guidance 3: Housing (PPG3) have limited the number of new single-family homes by setting a minimum

housing density of thirty dwellings per hectare (ODPM 2005(b), ss 58)⁷; a target of 60% development on previously utilized brownfield land, raising costs and usually densities (ibid, ss 23, 32); and reducing off-street parking provision (ibid, ss 59 -62).

One outcome of these measures is that the number of flats being built in England has overtaken the number of detached houses being built for the first time. According to the House Builders Federation:

The proportion of detached houses built by private house builders has slumped from 45% in 1999 to 32% in 2002. The proportion of flats has almost doubled from 17% to 32% over the same period. Newly-released figures for the first quarter of 2003 reveal an acceleration of this trend with flats making up 37% of completions with detached houses further declining to just 27%. This is the first time on record that more flats are being built than detached homes.

House Builders Federation website, April 22 2005).

The move from houses to flats is particularly strong in the South East, where the proportion of detached houses declined from 44% of housing starts in 1996 to 19% in 2003, paralleled by a climb in the proportion of flats and maisonettes, from 17% to 46% over those same periods. (URBED 2005: 9).

However, the reduction in single family houses has not been accompanied by an increase in family-sized flats, within cities or elsewhere. Only one percent of all new flats have three bedrooms, and a negligible number are being built with four or more bedrooms (CABE 2005, p. 15). These smaller two –bedroom flats are unlikely to suit the long-term aspirations of dual-earner professional families. In addition to the critical problem of size and number of bedrooms, families with children may have different demands for the flat design and layout. While flats for childless households are often designed with small kitchens, multiple en-suite bathrooms for sharers, and limited storage, families may prefer larger kitchens, extra storage, and access to green space (Hayden 1996). Although there are plans to build new larger family homes in some cities, such as Manchester and Newcastle (Lupton 2005), the trend for building smaller homes is projected to continue (Survey of English Housing 2005).

⁷ The Urban Task Force, reconvened in 2005, recommended raising the minimum density to forty dwellings per hectare, and raising the target for brownfield development from 60%, achieved in 2005 and surpassed in most cities, to 75% across the country. One member, Sir Peter Hall, dissented from this recommendation. Urban Task Force (2005). *Towards a Strong Urban Renaissance*. London.

Housing better-off families in flats is not a part of the popular image of family life in England, as illustrated in the following quote from Jeremy Paxman's portrait of the English:

Because the English dream is privacy without loneliness, everyone wants a house. Given a choice between their own back garden and life in a communal living project where they might share the benefits of a common swimming pool or playground, most will choose their own plot of ground. ... at the end of the day, instead of sitting on the street chatting, the English would rather go home and slam the door.' (Paxman 1998, p. 118-119)

There are a few English precedents for better-off families living in flats. Some middle-class London families, for example, chose to live in flats during the late Victorian era, when there was a flurry of purpose-built mansion blocks throughout the city, from Kensington and St John's Wood to Belsize Park and Battersea. This fashion for family flats was briefly repeated during the 1930s (Colquhoun 1999). Another example of high-density flats housing families in London is found at the Barbican, home to some professional City families who have been attracted by the large flats, plentiful open space, extraordinary cultural and leisure facilities and excellent nursery and school (field interviews). Modern conversions of terraced Georgian single-family houses into multiple-household flats provide another example.

However, flat living for families has become associated with low-income housing in the popular perception, and influenced by poorly executed and ill-managed high-rise council flats built in the 1960's and early 1970's⁸. Opposition to housing families in high-rise council flats grew with the notorious collapse of Ronan Point in 1968 (Power 1993, p. 196), and was fed by television portrayal of the miseries of high-rise family life in serials such as *Our Friends from the North*.

The public feeling against high-rise flat living for families spread to all forms of higher-density flat living for all income-levels. However, flat-living can be more congenial for rich families than for poorer families, as Peter Hall notes in citing Colin Ward:

⁸ See Hall, P. (1988). *Cities of Tomorrow : An Intellectual History of Urban Planning and Design in the Twentieth Century*. Oxford, Basil Blackwell., p. 220 for the history of the post- world war two Abercrombie plan decision to house families in flats in London.

Mum isn't isolated at home with the babies, she is out shopping at Harrods. The children, when small, are taken to Kensington Gardens by Nannie. At the age of eight they go to a preparatory school and at thirteen to a public school, both residential. And during the holidays they are either away in the country, or winter-sporting, sailing and so on: golden and brown in the playful wind and summer sun. At any rate they are not hanging around on the landing or playing with the dustbin lids. (Ward, cited in Hall 1988, p. 227)

A broad question for this thesis, then, is whether flat-living can be also be considered congenial -- or at least an acceptable alternative -- by middle-income families as well as by the very rich, by those who will choose to live in mixed-income areas and send their children to local public schools alongside the children of the low-income families. The cost of family flats may be as much an issue as their size and design. To cite Colin Ward again, writing more than twenty-five years ago:

Can we imagine a city in which children are housed at a density which provides space for family life and activities, and at the same time offers contact with the world or work with the variety of participatory activities as well as spectator entertainments which the contemporary urban child demands? Can we merge the obvious advantages of suburbia with the traditional advantages of the inner city? We probably could if we had the political will to burst the bubble of inner city land values"

(Ward 1978, p. 73).

Summing up, these two sections have questioned whether the conditions that led to the exodus of better-off families from cities over a century ago still obtain. Some conditions were found to be changing. Problems of transport, pollution, and safe space to play may be becoming less formidable, and transformations in the structure of middle-class families, with more women working, and more men parenting, may make raising children in cities more attractive to some families. However, a number of obstacles still remain, including the quality of inner-city schools, the perception of safety, and the issues of housing design, supply and affordability within cities. It may yet be too soon to expect any measurable increase in the share of urban middle-income

families⁹. It does seem, however, that conditions for attracting middle-income families to UK cities are more favourable than they have been for many years.

3.3 Types of better-off families in cities

This section turns from the broad demographic trends about demand for city living by better-off families, to an examination of the particular characteristics of these families. The section reviews the best existing case study evidence on these *types* of families, and builds a comparative framework which will be used later in Chapter Seven to examine findings from the field work.

Three studies have been selected as providing the best available comparisons for the thesis field work: Karsten's interviews with family gentrifiers in Amsterdam (Karsten 2003); Atkinson and Kintrea's diary exercise with households in mixed-tenure renewal neighbourhoods in Scotland (Atkinson and Kintrea 1998; Atkinson and Kintrea 2000); and Butler and Robson's interviews with families living in gentrifying neighbourhoods in London (Butler and Robson 2001; Butler 2002; Butler and Robson 2003; Butler and Robson 2003). In all three cases, the researchers first observed or interviewed a number of families, and then generated hypotheses to generalise from their observations.

'Creative Class' urban families in Amsterdam

Karsten's work (2003) is set within gentrification studies, and surveys the limited research on *family gentrifiers*, better-off households who are choosing to raise their children in diverse inner-city areas (ibid, p. 2574). The research was based on interviews with twenty-seven well-to-do home-owning families, each with at least one child under the age of twelve, living in Amsterdam's former Port District, a series of 'wholly new' mixed-income neighbourhoods with 8500 new homes. The new mixed-

⁹ The State of The Cities Database (Parkinson 2005) is developing indicators to measure, among other things 'liveability in cities'. This could fill an important gap in current data, by focussing directly on changes in and across cities, as compared to each other and to non-urban areas.

income neighbourhoods were part of the national Urban Renewal Policy, which has sought to increase the share of owner occupiers and middle-class households in the city.

One area was designated for family homes, allowing owners to design their own terraced single- family homes alongside a canal, in accordance with master-plan design guidelines. Figure 3.3 below shows the aesthetically striking results, with distinctive homes united by similar proportions, set among less design-rich social housing homes.

Figure 3.3: Single family housing at Borneo-Sporenburg peninsula, Amsterdam



Source: author's photo, 2004.

Karsten found that the owner families shared a number of characteristics, summarized in Table 3.1 below. All were white, highly educated, and all had borne their first child considerably later than the average age in the Netherlands. All had lived in Amsterdam for many years, often as gentrifiers in low-income city areas. The families all had two working partners, allowing them to purchase the more expensive housing available in the city. Most worked within the social services or cultural sectors.

Both parents worked in Amsterdam in two out of three families. Perhaps even more tellingly, the woman in nearly every household was employed in Amsterdam. Living near work held special attractions for women in demanding jobs, as it reduced the stress of unreliable commuting time, and allowed more time for parenting. Work was the main reason the families wanted to remain in Amsterdam.

Other reasons for choosing to live in the city were the wish to participate in the cultural life of Amsterdam, and a rejection of 'boring' suburban architecture and values (ibid pp 2577 – 2579). The opportunity to go to theatres, museums and restaurants was considered quite important for these families, in common with earlier research on dual-income city gentrifiers (Fagnani 1993). The owner parents positively valued the ethnic diversity at their children's local primary school, attributed to the children from the social housing families, and reported a great deal of socialising and practical support among the home-owning families in the small neighbourhood. Karsten concluded that the decision to raise children in the city was driven by professional working mothers in dual-income households, in order to combine work and care, and to enjoy the liberal and culturally vibrant city life.

Karsten points out that the neighbourhood was not well-designed from a child's point of view, with no appropriate place to play (Karsten 2003 p. 2581), and argues that while Amsterdam's 2002 structure plan projected 50,000 new homes, the plans had not considered 'the position of *families* with urban lifestyle preferences' (ibid p. 2577).

Strong parallels exist between the urban gentrifier families of Karsten's research on the one hand, and the 'Creative Class' described at length in the bestselling Rise of the Creative Class (Florida 2002), although Florida's discussion centres on younger singles and couples, 'pre-child' households. However, Florida asserts that the younger members of the Creative Class will continue to prefer Creative Cities even after they have children:

Creative Class people do not lose their life-style preferences as they age. They don't stop bicycling or running, for instance, just because they have children. When they put their children in child seats or jogging strollers, amenities like traffic-free bike paths become more important than ever. They also continue to value diversity and tolerance...And if they have children, that's the kind of environment they want them to grow up in (Florida 2002 pp. 295 - 296).

For evidence, Florida notes that cities ranked highly on his 'creativity index' also tended to rank highly on an index of 'Child-Friendly Cities' (ibid, p. 297)¹⁰. Because of the parallels with Florida's work, I use the term 'Creative Class' urbanite families to refer to the type of families described in Karsten's research.

'Would- be Locals' families in Scotland

Atkinson and Kintrea's research (1998; 2000) is based on interviews and a week-long diary exercise with thirty eight households (27 owners and 11 social tenants) living in three 'renewal' mixed-tenure estates in central Scotland. (Atkinson and Kintrea 1998; Atkinson and Kintrea 2000). On all three estates, the government GRO grant scheme¹¹ had subsidised some demolition of council housing, and construction of new private homes, targeted to first-time purchasers and the low-end of the housing market. For comparison with this thesis, it is important to note that all three neighbourhoods were peripheral to main urban areas, more so than the cases researched for this thesis.

Atkinson and Kintrea's research examined social interaction between owners and tenants. Participants recorded their movements over the course of one week, providing details about where they shopped, worked, played and socialized. The researchers found that owners and tenants had very different social patterns: owners carried out most activities outside the estate, while for most tenants, who were long term residents, the estate was a more important social base.

Atkinson and Kintrea distinguished between two types of owners, the 'Metropolitans' and the 'Would-be Locals'. The 'Metropolitan' owners did not have children. They had

¹⁰ The index is based primarily on measures associated with area deprivation, such as high-school drop-out rate, infant mortality, and the rate of violent crimes, rather than on positive features such as parks or mobility. The index is put out by a group advocating 'zero population growth', which explains the otherwise rather unusual inclusion of a measure ranking cities more highly if the size of their population neither increases nor decreases (www.kidfriendlycities.org).

¹¹ The Scottish Grant for Rent and Ownership (GRo grant) scheme was designed to bring more housing choice for local people, particularly in urban housing estates. Grants were given to private developers to build affordable homes for sale in areas where they would otherwise not operate, and the homes offered initially to first time buyers, housing association or council tenants, and those on their waiting lists.

moved in because the area was convenient and the homes were attractive and affordable. They had little contact with other residents, and were likely to move away from the area to raise children (Atkinson and Kintrea 1998, p. 42).

The 'Would-be Locals', in contrast, usually had young children. At least one member of the household had relatives on the estate, or had grown up there themselves. Their children attended the neighbourhood schools, and they had met their neighbours, including social tenants, through activities with the children. Many wanted to remain and raise their children on the estate, but thought the homes available on the estate would be too small or unsuitable as their families expanded (Atkinson and Kintrea 1998, p. 43). The 'Would-be Locals' constituted about half of the owner households (Atkinson and Kintrea 2000, p. 100). Atkinson and Kintrea termed them 'the foot-soldiers for social inclusion', but cautioned that without suitable accommodation, they will leave the estates.

Atkinson and Kintrea's study does not provide detailed information about types of jobs, educational background or the extent to which mothers are employed outside the home. It is also not clear whether proximity to work or culture within the city was an important reason for choosing to live in these peripheral neighbourhoods. Table 1 below compares these 'Would Be Local' families with the 'Family Creatives' found in Karsten's study.

Economic, social and cultural capital gentrifier families in London

The third typology to be presented here was based on qualitative interviews with about 400 middle-class 'gentrifiers' in London, of whom 97.5% were white (Butler and Robson 2001; Butler 2002; Butler and Robson 2003; Butler and Robson 2003; Butler 2004).

About 40% of the households interviewed were families with children living at home, and these constituted 160 households (Butler and Robson 2003, 125). Unfortunately for the purposes of this thesis, their analyses of the data do not usually distinguish between households with children and those without. For example, there is little discussion of whether mothers are employed and how work impacts on the families' choice to live in the city, as described in Karsten's work above.

The research examined ‘middle-class strategies of cultural reproduction’, describing how gentrifiers relate to homes, schooling consumption and employment in six inner-London neighbourhoods: Barnsbury in Islington, London Fields in the London Borough of Hackney; Tulse Hill and Herne Hill near Brixton in the London Borough of Lambeth; Telegraph Hill in New Cross in Lewisham; ‘Between the Commons’ in Battersea in the London Borough of Wandsworth; and three Docklands areas spanning three London boroughs, and including Britannia Village, one of the case study areas studied for this research.

The researchers note that gentrifiers often began as single professionals, but then became dual-income couples without children, and then dual-income parents choosing to remain in the city in order to reduce commuting time to work (Butler and Robson 2003: 28)

The researchers hypothesised that different middle-class groups would be attracted to different areas. They used Bourdieu’s discussion of habitus to explore the modes and levels of gentrifier capital: economic, social and cultural. Earlier publications from the research assert strong connections between particular modes of capital in the separate neighbourhoods (Butler and Robson 2001; Butler 2002) while later publications present a more subtle variation (Butler and Robson 2003). These characteristics are summarized in Table 3.1 below.

‘*Economic capital*’ gentrifier families were found primarily in ‘Between the Commons’ in Battersea.¹² Forty percent of households interviewed had dependent children, confirming the areas reputation as ‘Nappy Valley’ in estate-agent parlance. Researchers characterized the area as having ‘a one-dimensional and rather stifling atmosphere of conformity’, but clean and safe streets and high-quality local amenities including private nurseries and successful private schools (Butler and Robson 2001, p. 14).

¹² In the Docklands areas, typified by economic capital gentrifiers, less than 15% of respondent households had children. These areas were excluded from analyses about schools and children’s social patterns. Butler, T. and G. Robson (2003). London Calling: The Middle Class and the Re-making of Inner London. Oxford, Berg..

Families were living in self-renovated Victorian houses, and developer-renovated flatted 'mansion blocks'. Fathers tended to work full-time at private sector corporate jobs, predominantly higher-managerial finance services, while mothers had ceased working full-time after having children. Household incomes were noted to be relatively high with about 65% earning in excess of £60,000 (Butler and Robson 2003, p. 117, 120).

Families were reported to see the area as a 'staging post', from which to move into the countryside. They tended to isolate themselves from the neighbourhood and use mostly private services. Their children typically attended private schools, with which the parents were highly satisfied, and did not mix with children from the low-income homes who were not from their own schools. These families chose the city neighbourhoods due to 'the presence of many other families with young children, the array of child-friendly activities that has developed to cater for families and the 'good', mostly private schools' (Butler and Robson 2003, p. 120)

'*Social capital*' *gentrifier* families predominated in Telegraph Hill (64%) (Butler and Robson 2003, p. 127). They lived in renovated Victorian houses, in an area characterized as 'quiet, leafy and calm', with little vibrancy. Fathers mostly worked in the public sector (40%), in junior professional and managerial occupations. There was no discussion of mothers' employment. Household incomes were lower than at Battersea, with about forty percent earning above £60,000 annually (Butler and Robson 2003, p. 117).

The families worked through an active residents' association to transform existing public services to better meet their needs. The local primary school, attended by most of the children, was reported to be the basis for extensive social networks among the families. (Butler and Robson 2003, p. 153, 154). The children had friends from different backgrounds through the local school, and used the local community centre and park. When selecting a neighbourhood, social capital gentrifier families looked for 'the presence of other families with children' as well as the local, well-equipped park, the cafes and shops, and like the ethnic and professional diversity of the area (Butler and Robson 2001, p. 9).

Cultural capital gentrifiers families were found mostly in the Brixton area. Families there composed about 35% of households interviewed. The neighbourhood was culturally and ethnically diverse, a centre for London's Afro-Caribbean community. The researchers characterized the area as 'volatile and vibrant': it had been notorious for drugs and urban unrest, but had become renowned for the plethora of bars, clubs and restaurants and fashionable alternative culture.

The gentrifier families were living in two enclaves: 'Poet's Corner', a conservation area which included a range of architecturally interesting private homes, and 'Brixton Hill', with 'solid terraced housing', on 'dense but relatively peaceful' streets. Fathers were working predominantly in the public sector, in junior managerial and professional occupations. There was no detail given on mothers' employment. Household incomes were slightly lower than at Battersea, with about thirty-five percent above £60,000 per annum (Butler and Robson 2001, p. 31).

Family gentrifiers chose the area for the ethnic diversity, the buzz, and the attractive housing. Children here played with others they had met through the locality, more than in the other areas. Despite this, the researchers likened the parents' interaction with the wider neighbourhood to 'two tectonic plates intersecting' (Robson and Butler Tim 2001, p. 78). Most of the gentrifiers' children attended the state primary schools, one of which was considered to have particularly strong achievements (Butler and Robson 2003, pp 144, 151). However, secondary schooling was considered a problem. Seventy-three percent of families were reported to be considering leaving the area before transfer to secondary school, for the sake of their children's education (Butler and Robson 2003, p. 145).

Table 3.1 below compares the 'typologies' discussed in each of the three studies. There are some important differences between the areas they studied and those presented in the field work for this thesis. Families in these studies were mostly living in single-family homes, converted period homes in the London areas and individually-designed houses in Amsterdam, while most families in this research were living in new-build flatted accommodation. Families in Atkinson and Kintrea's Scottish case studies were living in suburban areas, not the inner-city. The families in Butler and Robson's London study appear to be living in middle-class enclaves, rather than integrated mixed-tenure

streets. Dutch families may have a different cultural attitude to raising children in the city. Despite the differences, these studies can be useful in examining the findings from the field work research.

Table 3.1 Typologies of better-off families in mixed-income urban areas

	Areas	Families	Schools and Services
'Creative Class' urban families, Amsterdam Karsten (2003)	<p>'Wholly new'</p> <p>Former industrial port area. All new build single family houses, individual styles.</p>	<p>Dual-earner couples.</p> <p>Highly educated, work in social and cultural sectors.</p> <p>Prefer city living for proximity to work (mothers) and cultural activities.</p> <p>Intend to remain.</p>	<p>Young children, attend local primary school. No information on children's friendships across tenure.</p>
'Would be Local' families, central Scotland Atkinson and Kintrea (1998, 2000)	<p>'Renewal'</p> <p>Former council estates, some demolition and new-build through GRO-grant.</p> <p>Out of town areas.</p> <p>New build single family low-density homes.</p>	<p>First-time buyers, likely to be junior professionals and skilled manual workers. Not clear if mothers are employed.</p> <p>Chose estate because of attractive, affordable homes and proximity to relatives.</p> <p>Likely to move out for lack of suitable larger family homes., though prefer to stay.</p>	<p>Young children, attend local state primary school and play with children across tenure.</p>
Economic capital gentrifiers, Battersea	<p>Gentrified, edge of inner-London.</p> <p>Safe, clean streets, high quality amenities, many families.</p> <p>Renovated Victorian homes and mansion blocks.</p> <p>High quality amenities for children.</p>	<p>Fathers work full-time at high-earning corporate jobs, in finance and media. Mothers at home after child-birth.</p> <p>Chose area because many similar families, and good private schools.</p> <p>Intending to move out of city as children get older</p>	<p>Children attend private schools, use private services.</p> <p>Play with other children from private school only.</p>
Social capital gentrifiers, Telegraph Hill	<p>Gentrified enclave , edge of inner London. Quiet, leafy and calm streets.</p> <p>Renovated Victorian houses.</p> <p>Good local park</p>	<p>Fathers work as junior professionals/managers in public sector. Chose area for similar families, and diversity.</p> <p>Intend to remain</p>	<p>Attend local primary schools, and secondary.</p> <p>Many local friendships.</p>
Cultural Capital gentrifiers, Brixton, London, Butler and Robson (2001, 2003).	<p>Gentrified enclave, inner London.</p> <p>Dense but peaceful streets</p> <p>Renovated terraced houses</p>	<p>Fathers working in public sector, as junior professionals/managers.</p> <p>Chose area for ethnic diversity and vibrancy, and housing.</p> <p>Intending to move as children reach secondary.</p>	<p>Attend one local primary – others problematic.</p> <p>Secondary school problematic.</p> <p>Some socializing across tenure.</p>

Survey data on household locational preferences:

Finally, it should also be noted that a number of studies have explored 'household locational preferences' by analyzing survey data on city dwellers (see for example Hedges, Clemens et al. 1994; Farley, Fielding et al. 1997; Mulholland 2000; Myers and Gearin 2001; Parkes 2002; Senior, Webster et al. 2002; Leishman 2004; CABE 2005; Nathan and Urwin 2006). For many of these studies, the scale of the survey or format of the data does not permit detailed conclusions about the preferences of middle-income families with children in mixed income inner-urban areas

One large-scale survey research that did single out middle-income families with children is Varady and Raffel's Selling Cities (1995). These authors examined homebuyer surveys from two metropolitan areas in the US (Cincinnati, Ohio and Wilmington, Delaware) to find out why some middle-class households, and families in particular, choose to live in or leave inner city areas. Their study sought to examine hypotheses about five factors necessary to retain middle-class families in inner city areas: quality public schools; neighbourhood organizing to create a sense of community; marketing and public relations; financial incentives such as below-market rate loans to rehabilitate inner-city housing; and sustaining existing stable middle-income areas by addressing crime, reducing ethnic tensions, and keeping taxes as low as possible (Varady and Raffel 1995, p. 35). Their findings stressed the importance of changes in metropolitan and national-level policy, including the potential contribution of magnet schools, a theme pursued in their later work (Varady, Raffel et al. 2005). These themes are also echoed in the case studies examined for this research, introduced in the following section.

3.4 Introduction to the case studies:

In this chapter, I have considered whether the long-familiar trend of urban exodus by families may be set to change. The chapter noted that improvements in city living, such as reduced congestion and improved public spaces, together with changing family structures, may combine to generate a new demand for city-living among better-off families. Mixed-income new communities may be one avenue to meeting this potential new demand for city-living by families.

This chapter and the preceding one have argued that whether better-off families choose to live in inner-urban MINCs is important for at least two reasons. First, the preceding chapter indicated that many of the social benefits of MINCs may depend on the presence of these families, including improved schools and an expanded range of social network, as well as goals of increasing social cohesion. This chapter has added the argument that there may be a new demand for city living by families. MINCs are a growing segment of the new-build residential market in cities, and if they are able to meet the demand for urban family –living, they may have a role to play in stemming the tide of urban exodus and sprawl.

The next three chapters of this thesis now directly investigate better-off families living at three case study MINCs: at New Gorbals in Glasgow, and at Greenwich Millennium Village and Britannia Village, both in London. The case study chapters unfold the stories of these very different places, and their appeal – or lack thereof—for certain kinds of better-off families.

The three case study areas were similar in that they all met the criteria described in Chapter One: all were mid-to high density, inner urban new build projects, with upwards of three hundred households in residence for at least two years. All were planning with at least twenty percent affordable housing by completion. Finally, all were planned to house families in the market-rate as well as the affordable housing homes.

The case studies were similar in some other ways as well: all were master-planned, each had won design prizes, and all were considered successful models of urban regeneration,

particularly New Gorbals and Greenwich Millennium Village. Some of the same individuals were involved with more than one site: the planning weekend for Britannia Village was orchestrated by the same urban design firm involved in the consortium planning Greenwich Millennium Village¹³, and one of the invited participants was the then head of the development consortium at New Gorbals¹⁴.

But the case study areas were also different in some important ways, as summarized in Table 3.2 below. The ‘renewal’ site of New Gorbals was built in the midst of an existing council estate, embedded in a predominantly low-income area with low demand for housing, with a goal of improving the situation of local residents and large number of existing low-income residents to rehouse. In contrast, the ‘wholly new’ Greenwich Millennium Village was built on the site of a former gas works, was isolated from the surrounding area, and had no previous residents to rehouse. Britannia Village, the ‘hybrid’ site, was built on the site of a former council estate with few remaining residents and was relatively isolated from adjacent areas. The two London sites encountered a stronger housing market than the Glasgow site: although demand was weak in the first years at Britannia Village, by the time of field work both were considered to be areas of high demand.

English and Scottish policies for housing and regeneration differed in some regards, and London and Glasgow were very different cities for families. London families may expect higher density, and faced greater congestion and further travel distances to work. Salaries were higher in London, but so were house prices, and there were more options for recently regenerated city centre city living. These differences, and many others, are explored in the next chapters.

¹³ Hunt Thompson Associates

¹⁴ Mike Galloway

Table 3.2: Presenting the case study areas

	New Gorbals (‘renewal’)	Greenwich Millennium Village (‘wholly new’)	Britannia Village (‘hybrid’)
Previously			
Area	Large modernist unpopular council estate.	Industrial gas works	Industry and small council estate.
Former Residents	Many residents to rehouse.	No former residents	Few former residents.
Location and transport	Short walk across Clyde river to city centre.	On the Thames. New tube station.	Overlooks former docks, waterfront. New light rail station.
Affordable housing			
In 2004	25%	12%	25%
On completion	25%	20%	25%
In immediate area	75%	12%	25%
Total homes¹⁵			
In 2004	1100	700	1400
On completion	1400	2400	1400
Density (net, in 2004)	90 homes/hectare	134 homes/hectare	127 homes/hectare
Phasing			
First residents	1995	2000/2001	1997
Stage in 2004	Nearly complete	Early middle phase.	Nearly complete

¹⁵ Numbers are rounded off to reflect the changing situation.

CHAPTER FOUR: NEW GORBALS

This chapter presents the story of families in the mixed income new community at New Gorbals in Glasgow, the first of the field work case studies.

The history of the area and the background of the regeneration project are described in the opening section. The second section portrays the residents at New Gorbals, and discusses their attitudes toward the neighbourhood. The main body of the chapter focuses on the families living at New Gorbals. It looks at three issues of concern for these families: the design and cost of homes; child care and education; and neighbourhood surroundings that feel safe, green, clean and friendly. The final section examines how New Gorbals has faced the challenges of urban regeneration, as discussed in Chapters Two and Three.

4.1 Background

The New Gorbals was a new residential development located within the notoriously poverty-stricken Gorbals neighbourhood in Glasgow. The neighbourhood is bounded by the river Clyde and by a large park, the Glasgow Green, to the north and to the east, and by busy main roads and railway lines to the east and south, as shown on the map above. The location is a short walk from Glasgow's central shopping, transport and employment districts.

History

The Gorbals began as a mediaeval village at the most westerly toll-free crossing of the Clyde River. By the late eighteen century it had become Glasgow's 'first suburb', with classical style elegant stone tenements and wide streets. By 1807, the Gorbals was a respectable middle-class area with a population of 26,000 (Keating 1988; Galloway and Gough 1992). However, by 1870, a major transformation had occurred, and Gorbals was considered a slum. One main cause of the transformation was the introduction of the main-line railroad running through the edge of the neighbourhood. The combination of the railroad, the river, and the proximity to the centre city made the area attractive to

industry, and large, noisy and polluting factories set up shop. The industry, in turn, then made the area attractive to the immigrants pouring into Glasgow and looking for work. The immigrants who settled in Gorbals included Jews leaving Eastern Europe, Irish Catholics escaping famine, and Scottish Highlanders facing land clearance. By the 1870's, the neighbourhood was overcrowded and had very poor sanitary conditions. The mortality rate in Gorbals at that time was reported to be 25% higher than that for the city as a whole (Keating 1988).

The city council decided that the appropriate response was to demolish the entire area, and to evict most of the 30,000 residents. Developers were invited to lay out grids of well-proportioned Victorian tenements in place of the former slum (Middleton 1987; EDAW 1997). However, fresh waves of new immigrants to Glasgow continued to seek housing in the area, and it was not long before the new large flats were subdivided into smaller quarters (Keating 1988). Poor conditions and overcrowding returned and by the early twentieth century Gorbals had become notorious for massive social problems and violence, as fictionalized in 'No Mean City' (McArthur and Kingsly-Long 1935).

By 1957, Gorbals was deemed 'unfit for human habitation' by the local Council. It was designated as the first Comprehensive Development Area in Glasgow, launching a second round of demolitions and redevelopment. The redevelopment was cast as a great social experiment, moving Glasgow into the new world of highways and high-rise buildings. Demolition during the 1960's replaced the Victorian terraces with 'Hutcheson town': tower blocks twenty-one stories high, in an award-winning design by Sir Basil Spence, and lower, seven-storey deck-access blocks. Shops and pubs were also demolished, reducing the number of shops by ninety percent, and the number of pubs by eighty percent (Keating 1988). Over seven thousand residents were relocated away from the area (Keating 1988). Those who were re-housed originally included very few families with children, since the new homes were mostly one and two bedroom flats (Galloway and Gough 1992; EDAW 1997).

It quickly became apparent that the system-built blocks, modelled on a construction method imported from Algeria, did not hold up well to the Glasgow rains. Five years after they were first built, the buildings called 'Hutchie E' were already plagued with

condensation and mould. They became known locally as ‘the Dampies’¹⁶. By 1982, only fourteen years after construction, the last residents had been moved out of ‘Hutchie E’. The buildings were left standing while plans to solve the excess condensation were debated. Meanwhile, residents in the surrounding areas mounted an ‘Anti-Dampness Campaign’ demanding that the buildings be demolished.

The third wave of demolition in Gorbals began in 1987, after five years during which the buildings stood empty. The forty-acre site then stood vacant for another five years, while politicians and locals considered the next steps. During this time the population of the wider Gorbals area declined, and by 1991 there were only 11,000 people living in Gorbals, nearly all (99.8%) in social rented homes owned by Glasgow District Council or Scottish Homes. Significantly for this research, the remaining residents included few young families. (EDAW 1997).

Planning the regeneration

The current wave of redevelopment in the Gorbals, the fourth since the Victorian-era demolitions, was initially spear-headed by the Scottish Executive. Three public agencies were appointed to lead the plan. The Glasgow Development Agency¹⁷ put up the initial financing: £10.5m for infrastructure work, demolition and landscaping between 1992 and 1998 (McArthur, 200: 57, EDAW, 1997: 7). Scottish Homes¹⁸ subsidised the new social-rented homes as well as the new low-cost private market homes, through the Scottish GRO grants (Grants for Regeneration and Ownership)¹⁹. The third partner was the local authority, Glasgow District Council²⁰ who together with Scottish Homes owned over 99% of the housing, and contributed much of the funding for new services in the area.

The three partners formed a dedicated urban regeneration vehicle, the Crown Street Regeneration Project (CSRP). The goal of the CSRP was to make the Gorbals ‘*a place*

¹⁶ For a television portrayal of the development process and outcome, see the BBC series, ‘Our Friends from the North’.

¹⁷ Later known as Scottish Enterprises Glasgow

¹⁸ Later known as Communities Scotland

¹⁹ For a description of the GRO grant program, see below and http://www.communitiesscotland.gov.uk/stellent/groups/public/documents/webpages/cs_008477.doc

²⁰ Later known as the Glasgow City Council

in which people want to live', (Galloway and Gough 1992). The vision statement of the CSRP lists the following guiding principles:

- Achieve the highest attainable standards of quality
- Ensure that the site will not be developed in isolation from its surroundings but will become an integral part of wider Gorbals community, economy and townscape.
- Exploit all opportunities to stimulate the growth of the Gorbals economy. (Galloway and Gough 1992).

The CSRP was charged with providing the physical infrastructure including new homes, shops, business and leisure facilities. A key aspect of the plan was to offer new homes for sale at below market-rate values, with a mix of about 25% social housing and 75% home ownership. In order to achieve the plan, the CSRP was to commission a master plan; tender land to bidding house-builders in parcels; and leverage private sector funds.

In 1991 the CSRP held a design competition and selected Piers Gough of CZWG as the project's master planner. The master plan, working within the freedom of an empty site, set out four design 'building blocks':

- An urban grid connecting to the rest of the Gorbals;
- Wide residential streets with on-street parking;
- Perimeter blocks with four-storey buildings, each with their own front entrance onto the street, an internal staircase, and access to the enclosed communal back garden.
- 'Remodelled tenement' with large family homes and private gardens on the bottom two floors and smaller flats above. (Galloway and Gough 1992).

The project aimed to provide a low cost home-ownership option for first-time buyers and local residents. Land was transferred at essentially nil value, minimising the cost per home. However, expensive design specifications laid out in the master plan, (such as large windows, separate street-facing entrances for townhouses, and detailed brick work) raised the cost of construction above the market value of the homes, at least in the early years while the neighbourhood retained a strong stigma.

In order to bridge the gap between the construction costs and the purchase price, the CSRP relied on Scotland's GRO grant programme. Under the GRO grant programme, pre-qualifying developers bid for the level of subsidy required to bridge the difference between the sale price and the cost of building the homes according to the design guidelines. In the event that the homes sold for a higher than expected price, the resulting profit was to be split evenly between the developers and the CSRP. Termed a 'claw-back', this profit-sharing mechanism regulation was intended to discourage developers from cutting costs – or corners – in the house construction. As a condition of the GRO grant, the subsidized private-market homes were declared a 'Priority Purchase Area', and developers were required to offer the homes first to people who met a set of published criteria, as listed below. Those homes not purchased after 28 days were then offered on the general market.

Priority Purchase Area criteria:

- Gorbals area residents (those living in the G5 postcode)
- First time buyers;
- Council tenants; and
- Council waiting list

The plots were parcelled out to different developers and the CSRP matched each developer with an architect. The CSRP retained development control over each plot through the Scottish '*feu superior*' system, giving the project the right to impose service charges and maintenance conditions on successive owners.

A community-based housing association was created for the area, specifically charged with providing and managing the new-build social housing. Called the New Gorbals Housing Association (NGHA), it later became the 'factor' (manager of shared areas) for most of the private homes at New Gorbals. The NGHA also later assumed ownership of the older council housing at Gorbals, as part of the Glasgow-wide transfer of social housing from the municipality to community-based housing associations.

The site in 2004:

Homes and tenure integration

Plates 1 and 2 at the beginning of the thesis show the site map of New Gorbals in 2004, along with photographs of the area. The project had expanded beyond the Hutchie E original site, taking over the site of two demolished tower blocks at Queen Elizabeth Square. The first homes were constructed in 1995, and by the time of the field work in 2004 there were nearly 1200 homes on an area of about 17 hectares. On completion the project was planned to include a total of 1400 homes, giving an overall density of about 90 homes per hectare²¹ (NGHA presentation, 2004). About 20% of the homes were offered for social rent, somewhat fewer than the 25% envisioned in the master plan. The homes were built in vivid colours and shapes, and decorated with public art, funded through a 'one percent for art' budget design guidelines.

The 1200 new homes were set within the wider fabric of about 5,000 council and housing association homes in the 'old' Gorbals. There were four distinct areas: a river-front new-build area with some shared ownership homes ('Gorbals East'); a refurbished area of lower-rise homes including some purchased through the Right to Buy (Hutcheson Town); two refurbished 21 storey tower blocks close to the river; and two tower-blocks on the edge of the neighbourhood scheduled for demolition and providing temporary emergency housing, reportedly housing asylum seekers and homeless families in one building, and drug addicts in another (NGHA, 2003). Taking 'new' and 'old' Gorbals together, social rented homes made up about 80% of all homes in the wider Gorbals area, and the vast majority of the privately owned homes were located within New Gorbals.

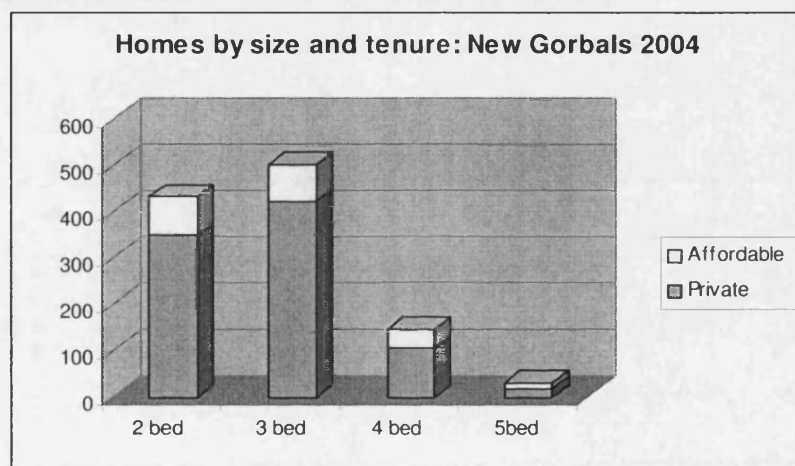
The typical design for the new build homes was as perimeter blocks of flats, enclosing a shared internal courtyard. The larger flats were on the ground floor, with direct access to small private gardens on the edge of the shared courtyard. The upper-floor flats were

²¹ Net densities varied across the site, and were lower in the first phases of the project.

usually smaller, although the later stages of the project saw the inclusion of larger penthouses with dual aspect balconies.

Social housing homes were integrated within each perimeter block, typically as one side of a polygon enclosing an internal courtyard. This typology changed in later phases when some blocks were built without any social housing, as shown in the tenure map in Plate 1 above. The social housing homes had more bedrooms, on average, than the private homes, as shown in Figure 4.1 below. Figure 4.1 also shows that about 60% of the homes had at least three bedrooms.

Figure 4.1: Homes by size and tenure: New Gorbals 2004



Source: based on figures obtained from NGHA and CSRFP.

The new-build social housing homes at New Gorbals offered about 20% more internal space than the minimum space standards for social housing (NGHA, 2004), and rent levels were actually less than for the run-down Council tower-blocks²². Perhaps not surprisingly then, the social rented homes were in high demand: turnover was in the single digits in 2004/5 while the waiting list for new homes numbered in the thousands.

Most private homes at New Gorbals were also in high demand, and estate agents described their work as 'selling candy to children'. The homes were marketed locally,

²² At the time of stock transfer, the NGHA contracted to set rental prices in line with real costs, while the Council was required to repay previous housing debt through rental receipts, adding additional costs to rent level.

with interested buyers signing up at the on-site sales office for notification when the homes were released for sale. Advertisements were placed only a few days in advance of first sales, giving an advantage to local residents. Despite the limited and local marketing, there were large queues of potential purchasers at each phase. The homes were attractive for the architecture and design; the space standards; the 'as advertised' price rather than the 'offers above' method common in Scotland for resale of homes; and, in the first years, for their subsidized price. The townhouses were the only house type that was more difficult to sell, and some remained for sale on the open market after the expiration of the 28 day priority purchase period.

Services

In addition to the new homes, the Crown Street Regeneration Project also oversaw the construction of new shops and other services. Shopping at New Gorbals was on the main Crown Street, with four storey flats built over shops. There were few shoppers from outside the area, since Crown Street itself was not a through-route for cars, buses, or pedestrians. The new shops included a supermarket, greengrocers, newagent, a bakers, an optician, post office, and a fish and chip shop. There were no pubs, since CSRP had prohibited pubs in an attempt to engineer a clean and safe neighbourhood. However, two pharmacies had received licences to dispense methadone as a treatment for heroin addiction. These had become what residents and community police claimed was the single largest centre for methadone distribution in Scotland, attracting 167 registered patients, a cause of much concern for many residents.

In addition to the shopping area, new facilities included a business centre with office space; a hotel with 114 rooms; and student dormitories. New facilities particularly attractive to children included a state-of-the-art leisure centre with an indoor gym, tennis and badminton courts and a twenty-five metre swimming pool (offering free access for all Glasgow children); a new 'cyber-library' with free internet access and a media training suite, open seven days a week until nine at night; and playing fields available for rent. Old facilities remaining in the area included two functioning churches and one converted to office and community space; a large health centre; a police station; a large park; and three primary schools. The last remaining secondary school had been

demolished in 1997, and a number of playing fields had been removed along with the school.

Responsibility for social activities was initially vested with the CSRP, but was later placed with the Gorbals Social Inclusion Partnership (SIP)²³. The SIP had a Gorbals-wide mandate to social and economic activities: they coordinated among services and provided funding for special programmes in training and employment, health, early childhood education and community development, among others. There was no direct CSRP representation on the SIP board, although national and municipal agencies were directly involved with both organisations (Gorbals Social Inclusion Partnership 2003).

Future development plans:

Crown Street and Queen Elizabeth Square were nearing completion at the time of the field research. The latest phases of new build homes had departed from some of the earlier standards: there were some blocks built with no social housing at all, gardens and courtyards were growing smaller, and there were fewer family-sized homes for sale.

The success of New Gorbals has now motivated a similarly large-scale project in the adjacent neighbourhood of Laurieston to the west. Development there will involve demolition of four unpopular 'double' high rise blocks containing 1200 homes. The Laurieston project begins with higher land values than did Crown Street: the land is even closer to the city centre, closer to public transport, closer to the river front, and capitalizes on the precedents from Crown Street for rising land values. Scheduled demolition of tower blocks is planned to provide land for about 2000 new homes, including about 35% for social rent. The style of building is planned to be similar to New Gorbals, though at higher densities.

Planning to attract families to the New Gorbals:

The master plan for the CSRP explicitly noted that the project aimed to attract families. New families were seen as *'a priority to help redress the current age imbalances in*

²³ The Social Inclusion Partnerships (SIPs) were a national Scottish programme to channel funds to low-income areas, to particular issues, such as homelessness, or to demographic groups such as youth or elderly. For more information see www.scotland.gov.uk.

Gorbals' (GDA 1991). The number of children in the neighbourhood had been falling steadily for years due to the limited supply of family housing, and by 1991 there were 1.86 people per household in the Gorbals, as compared with 2.26 in Glasgow (Census, 1991). The low child population meant the schools were hollowing out, a problem exacerbated by the need for both Catholic and non-denominational schooling. By 1991, two of five primary schools had been closed, one secondary school had already been demolished and the second was under threat of closure due to low enrolment.

The goal to attract families seems to have been addressed primarily through the tool of design for the new homes. The master plan envisioned that '*about half*' of all homes would be for families, with no distinction between the private and the social housing sectors (Galloway and Gough 1992).

The desire to recreate the strongly urban character of the Gorbals while bringing families and young people to the area has led the Crown Street Regeneration Project and its architects to rethink the basic concept of the tenement. (Galloway and Gough 1992)

Two housing types were developed specifically in order to provide a supply of homes for families: 'maisonettes' and 'townhouses'. 'Maisonettes' were two-story homes with private gardens and access to shared courtyards, built as the bottom floors of a flatted block. 'Townhouses' were usually three-storey single-family row houses with private back gardens and street access. Both maisonettes and townhouses were built to specifications appropriate for households with children: ample storage, larger kitchens and dining areas, and shared bathrooms for the children's bedrooms, among other features.

Demand for family housing in the social rented sector was readily apparent: many families were living in over-crowded conditions in council tower blocks within Gorbals. However, the demand for family housing in the private sector homes was weaker. In order to estimate local interest in purchasing the new-build homes, the CSRP surveyed eight hundred households in Gorbals. One hundred and sixty local households (just over 20%) reported some interest in purchasing homes in Crown Street, and about half of these were families with children (McArthur, 1992, 61), giving a total of eighty local families with an expressed interest in purchasing the homes.

Even if all eighty local families expressing interest had in fact purchased family homes, this would still be less than a fifth of the ‘half of all homes’ the planners originally intended to provide for families. Despite this apparent shortfall in demand by local families, there was little evidence of marketing targeted to attract families from outside the neighbourhood. Marketing pamphlets listed the names of local schools, but did not describe the neighbourhood in terms of benefits for families, and marketing agents interviewed did not present the neighbourhood as a good place in which to raise children.

Table 4.1 below shows the numbers and percentages of ‘family homes’ (maisonettes and townhouses). By 2004, family-sized homes amounted to nearly 40% of the social rented homes, but only 22% of the private sector homes. The total share of family homes for sale falls far below the ‘*half of all homes for families*’ envisaged in the original masterplan.

Analysis of floor plans shows that in the first phases of the project, about half of the homes for sale were indeed designed for families. However, in the later phases of the project, most homes were designed with smaller internal space standards, fewer bedrooms, and smaller private gardens. I found no evidence of a deliberate planning decision to reduce the number of family homes for sale. An alternative explanation for the change is administrative: the project budget was reduced after the first five years, the GRO grant subsidy was removed, and the project leadership changed hands. The lower share of family homes for sale in the later phases may have been a consequence of the reduced staff’s difficulties in overseeing and maintaining project goals, a point discussed further in Chapter Eight.

Table 4.1: Family homes as share of all homes, by tenure (2004)

	‘Family homes’ (% within tenure)
Private	200 (22%)
Affordable	80 (37%)
Total family homes	280 (25%)

Source: derived from figures drawn from the NGHA and the CSR.P.

4.2 Residents at New Gorbals

This section first presents a socio-demographic profile of the residents living at New Gorbals at the time of the field work, and describes their attitudes toward living in the neighbourhood. The demographic profile is based on Census 2001, the most authoritative source of information. It should be noted, however, that the population at New Gorbals grew considerably between Census 2001 and the fieldwork in 2004: at the time of the census there were only six hundred homes in New Gorbals, but there were nearly twice as many homes by 2004. Residents' attitudes about the neighbourhood are based primarily on the field survey of one hundred residents conducted for this research, correlated with other local surveys and community reports (True Grit 1999; Terry Harding Associates 2001; DTZ Piedad Consulting 2002; Gorbals Social Inclusion Partnership 2002; Gorbals Community Forum 2004).

The second part of this section then focuses on the families living in private homes at New Gorbals. Drawing on the in-depth interviews conducted for this research, the section develops a new typology of the private-sector families.

Table 4.2 below shows that owners and private renters together made up just over three-quarters of all residents at New Gorbals at the time of the Census, while the remaining quarter were in social rented housing. Private renters made up about 13% of the total population, or less than 20% of all private sector households. The priority purchase agreement had deliberately tried to restrict buy-to-let investors, through a clause in the title deeds stating that private homes were not to be rented on the open market. By 2004, the legitimacy of this clause had been challenged under European property legislation, and enforcement was proving difficult. Exemptions were granted for relatives and other cases.

Table 4.2: Estimated population by tenure: New Gorbals 2001

	# of households	% of all households	% of population
Owner Occupied	374	64%	65%
Privately Rented	76	13%	13%
Social Rent	131	23%	22%
TOTAL	581	100%	100%

Source: Census 2001

The field survey conducted for this research interviewed 117 residents at New Gorbals.

Table 4.3 shows the breakdown by tenure of the interviewees.

Table 4.3: Field Survey interviews, by tenure

Tenure	No. of interviewees	Percentage
Owner occupiers	87	74%
Private renters	10	9%
Social tenants	20	17%
TOTAL	117	100%

Figure 4.2 below shows the distribution of income at New Gorbals, as reported by interviewees in the field survey²⁴. The median income for owners was higher than that for social tenants, as expected, however there was a degree of overlap in incomes across tenures. The difference between the medians at New Gorbals was less, across tenure, than at the other two case study areas (see Chapters Five and Six).

Figure 4.2: Income by tenure, New Gorbals: self reported

Source: Field Survey

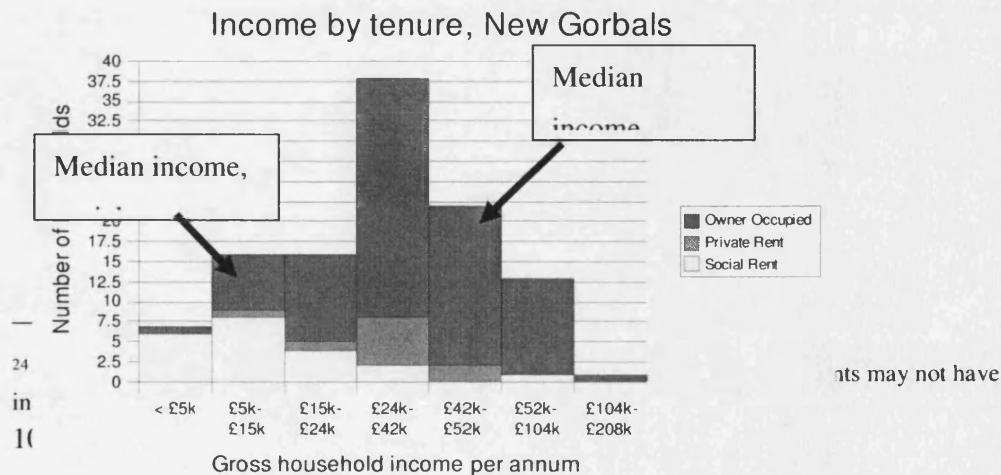


Figure 4.3 shows the aspects of living at New Gorbals that residents in general liked most across all tenures. The single factor that appealed to the most respondents was 'city centre living'. Interviewees used 'city centre living' to group together the proximity to work as well as proximity to cultural activities and to shopping, noting that the advantage was in the 'bundle' of these factors all together.

Figure 4.3: What residents like best about New Gorbals

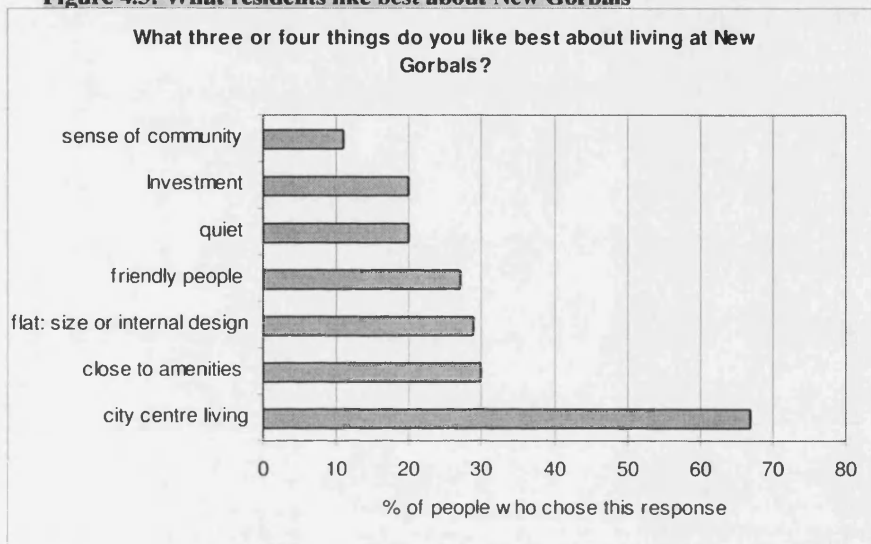
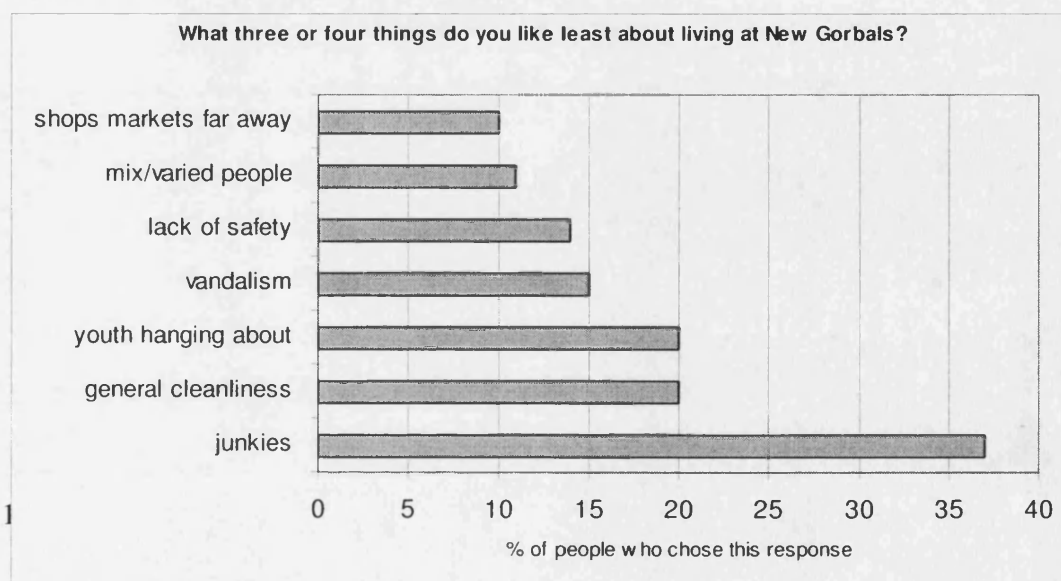


Figure 4.4 below shows the aspects about living at New Gorbals that residents liked least. By far the most prevalent response was "junkies", referring to the methadone users at the local pharmacies as well as to other apparent drug users in the neighbourhood.

Figure 4.4: What do residents like least at New Gorbals



Residents' attitudes towards the neighbourhood were not significantly correlated with their tenure, exacerbated by the small sample of tenants in social rented housing. However, close manual analysis of the survey showed that among the residents of the private homes (owners and private renters) two distinct 'types' of residents could be discerned. The first group is termed the 'locals' and is defined as those who had grown up in council housing in Gorbals or had family there. The second group is termed the 'newcomers' and is defined as those with little previous ties to the neighbourhood. Locals and newcomers in the private housing had different social profiles, and experienced the neighbourhood in quite different ways. The next section describes the locals and newcomers in the private housing, and is followed by a brief discussion of the social tenants at New Gorbals. The 'typology' of locals and newcomers as developed here adds to Atkinson and Kintrea's hypothesis of 'Would-be-locals' and 'Metropolitans' (1998, p. 43), as described in Chapter Three.

Private sector residents:

'Locals' in the private homes had family, friends or a personal past history in Gorbals. Nearly all locals in the private homes were in full or part-time employment. They tended to work in lower-status professions than the newcomers, and to earn less money. All were white British, and many were Catholic. Many had families, with children of all ages. Locals in the private homes had often moved directly from the council rented homes in Gorbals, while others had already purchased their first homes outside the neighbourhood. The main reasons that locals purchased homes in the neighbourhood were the affordable price of the homes, and the opportunity to live close by friends and relatives. The initial purchase prices at New Gorbals were not far above the cost of social rent, and local residents were offered a 10% reduction on the purchase price, encouraging many to buy.

In the early phases of the project about 20% of all purchasers had local ties (True Grit 1999). However, the field survey found a lower share of locals among those who had lived less than five years at New Gorbals. One explanation for the decrease in the share of locals is found in the rising home values: the cost of homes at New Gorbals increased as the project has progressed, putting the new homes beyond the means of most locals.

The aspects of the neighbourhood that private-sector locals most appreciated were the flat itself, the friendly people and sense of community, and the amenities. About half of locals indicated that they were 'not at all likely' to move out of the neighbourhood. Their greatest concerns were about the "junkies" in the neighbourhood, particularly on the main shopping street adjacent to the methadone-dispensing pharmacies. Locals also often voiced concerns that the prices of new homes had risen so rapidly that their friends and relatives were unable to purchase, and that they themselves would have difficulty moving into larger homes where necessary.

It's not fair that people need the homes here, and the houses are going to outsiders (local, private rent).

'Newcomers', those who arrived without any previous ties to the neighbourhood, tended to work in professional and junior managerial jobs. Many were first time buyers. About ten percent owned a second home. They were on average slightly younger than the locals, and had moved in more recently. Fewer newcomers than locals had children, and these were tended to be younger, pre-school aged children,.

Newcomers were attracted to New Gorbals by the idea of city centre living and by the investment potential of the new homes. In contrast to the locals, newcomers had less praise for social aspects of life at New Gorbals; the positive aspects they cited tended to be more functional, such as the proximity to the city centre and the value of their investment. The newcomers had some concerns about the tenure mix:

There are huge tower blocks of council housing here, and I feel a bit of a minority. It wouldn't be a problem if it was about half and half.

The concept (of tenure mix) is positive, so long as they are not on my street. They lower the price of the property (owner).

Perhaps the most critical difference between locals and newcomers was in the intention to remain in the neighbourhood: nearly all newcomers indicated that they were ‘very likely’ to leave the neighbourhood.

Table 4.4: Typical characteristics of ‘locals’ and ‘newcomers’ in market-rate homes

	Locals	Newcomers
Ties to neighbourhood	Relatives, friends, grew up there.	None.
Typical age	35 – 44	25 – 34
Occupations	Associate professionals, skilled trades	Professional, junior managerial.
Typical income	<£24, 000	<£42,000
Families	Many families, with children of all ages	Fewer families, with one or two children under five years old.
Reasons for purchasing	Affordable, close to friends/family,	Close to city centre, good value for money, close to work.
Previous residence and tenure	Gorbals, often in council homes. Some had purchased outside Gorbals.	Elsewhere in Glasgow or UK, usually in private rental.
Residence in new homes	More than five years	Less than two years

Source: Field survey

Table 4.5: Residents' opinions: newcomers and locals in market-rate homes.

	Locals	Newcomers
Like best	Friendly people, sense of community, amenities, the flat.	Access to city centre, value for money, the flat, quiet.
Like least	Junkies, Cost of flat, 2 nd school, general cleanliness, parking, youth hanging about.	Junkies, youth hanging about, social mix, lack of safety, general cleanliness.
Tenure mix	Neutral to positive	Neutral to positive
Satisfaction	Fairly satisfied, range.	Fairly satisfied, range
Intentions to move	About half 'not at all likely' to move.	Most are 'very likely'.

Social tenants:

Only twenty social tenants were interviewed for this research, since the focus was on families in private sector housing. The following profile is based on background materials and administrative statistics supplied by the New Gorbals Housing Association, together with community surveys and other sources of information.

Social housing homes at New Gorbals were allocated first to Gorbals' tenants whose homes had been demolished for the new build. Remaining homes were allocated to tenants from the wider Glasgow City Council (GCC) list, and from the New Gorbals Housing Association (NGHA) lists. In the early phases of the project, over 90% of social housing in New Gorbals was rented to previous Gorbals tenants (EDAW 1997; True Grit 1999). By 2000, the share of previous Gorbals residents had decreased to about 75% (New Gorbals Housing Association 2001).

Criteria for allocation of social housing were standard at New Gorbals; there was never a move to apply special streams of allocation, or higher standards of 'vetting' for the new social housing at New Gorbals, as happens in some MINCs elsewhere. Most tenants were eligible for Housing Benefits (87%), and only about 20% were in work, full-time (11%) or part-time (9%) (NGHA 2001). About 15% of homes were allocated to statutory homeless households. Tenants included households with known drug addictions.

The presence of ethnic minority households among social tenants appears to be similar to that for Glasgow as a whole, given the very small numbers overall. In 1999, 2% of NGHAs lettings were to BME households, somewhat lower than the share of the expanding BME population in wider Glasgow (3.6% of households) but higher than that for Scotland as a whole (1.1% of households), according to Census 2001. Families with dependent children made up just over half the households in social housing, nearly double the rate for social tenants across the city (Census 2001), and lone parents headed nearly two thirds of these families (New Gorbals Housing Association 2001, tables 2, 8, 10).

Social tenants interviewed for the field survey said the main reasons they moved were to have a larger flat, and to live near family and friends. The new homes had 20% more internal space than housing standards required, and offered the possibility of a three, four or five bedroom flat, while the council homes were primarily one and two bedrooms. The size and design of the new homes were among the features that social tenants liked best.

Many tenants also spoke approvingly of the amenities, including the shops, and the open spaces and parks. When asked what they liked least, most people spoke first about 'the junkies, drugs'. This usually referred to the queues of addicts coming from outside the neighbourhood to receive methadone prescriptions from two local pharmacies, but occasionally also meant neighbours, particularly in one of the two retained council blocks. Other aspects of life at New Gorbals that were not liked by tenants included poor public transport – the lack of buses within the neighbourhood – and the cost of purchasing new homes. The tenure mix did not seem to be a central issue for most tenants: when asked, most said the mix of social and private housing was either a neutral phenomenon or somewhat positive.

It gives you something to aim for (social tenant).

Here in (this block) it's a bit 'us and them', but it's not so bad. (social tenant).

Overall, social tenants usually said they were either 'fairly' or 'very' satisfied with the neighbourhood, and most thought it very unlikely that they would move away. These attitudes are compared with those of residents in the private homes in Table 4.6 below.

Attitudes of the social tenants towards the neighbourhood are more similar to those of the 'locals' than to those of the 'newcomers', perhaps unsurprisingly given the high percentage of social tenants with 'local' ties.

Table 4.6: Residents' opinions: social tenants compared with private sector.

	Newcomers	Locals	Social tenants
Like best	Access to city centre, value for money, the flat, quiet.	Friendly people, sense of community, amenities, the flat.	The flat, sense of community, open spaces, amenities.
Like least	Junkies, youth hanging about, social mix, lack of safety, general cleanliness.	Junkies, Cost of flat, 2 nd school, general cleanliness, parking, youth hanging about.	Junkies, vandalism, poor public transport.
Tenure mix	Neutral to positive	Neutral to positive	Neutral to positive.
Satisfaction	Fairly satisfied, range	Fairly satisfied, range.	Fairly to very satisfied.
Rate area as a place to raise children	Poor, very poor.	Fair, good.	Fair, good.
'Very' or 'fairly' like to move in next few years	'Very likely'.	About half 'not at all likely' to move.	Not at all likely

Source: field survey

Families at New Gorbals

In-depth interviews were conducted with thirty-three families at New Gorbals. The field research interviewed about one third of all families living in the private housing at New Gorbals, but only one of every eight families in the social housing homes (see Table 4. 7 below).

Table 4.7: Families interviewed as share of all families at New Gorbals, by tenure

Tenure	Estimated total number of families, by tenure	Number Interviewed	Percentage interviewed
Owners	60	21	35%
Private renters	4	2	50%
Social tenants	80	10	13%
TOTAL	143	33	23%

Source: Census 2001, field work.

Table 4.8 below shows the distribution of families by tenure, based on Census 2001 figures. The analysis finds that among the owner occupied households, only 14% had children – half as many as among all owner households in Glasgow (28%). However, children from the owner occupied homes accounted for nearly half of all children, due to the tenure split in the neighbourhood. Analysis of the representative field survey gives a similar picture.

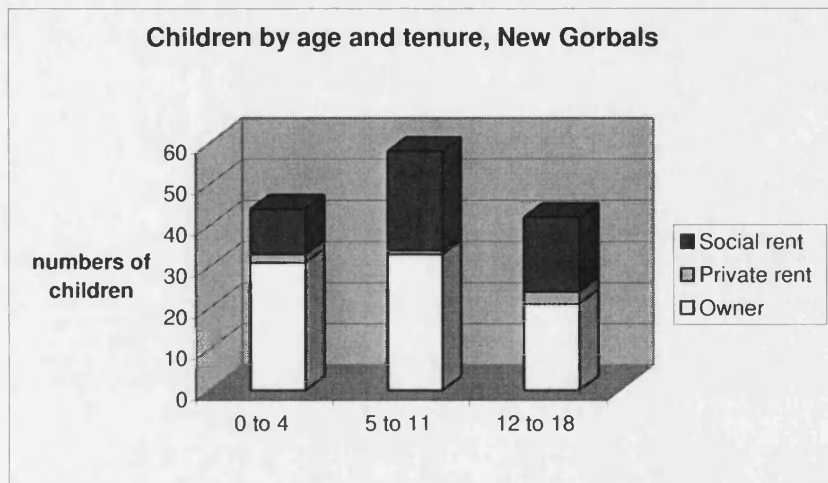
Table 4.8: Households with children and child density at New Gorbals, by tenure.

	Households with this tenure	Percentage with children	Percentage of all homes built for families (no.)	Percentage of all children within this tenure	'Child density': children as share of all people
Owner Occupied	64%	14%	22% (200)	47%	12%
Privately Rented	13%	7%		3%	4%
Social Rent	23%	31%	37% (80)	50%	21%
All tenures	100%	16%	25% (280)	100%	14%

Source: Census 2001, CAS 053. Figures refer to the local authority, not the wider metropolitan area. Adapted from Silverman, Lupton and Fenton (2006).

Figure 4.5 below shows the age distribution of the children at New Gorbals, by tenure (Census 2001). The Census figures indicate that families in the private sector homes had fewer children, and older children, than did the families in the social rented homes. However, differentiation between 'local' and 'newcomer' families paints a rather different picture: while nearly all the 'newcomer' families had younger children, primarily pre-school aged, 'local' families tended to also have older children. The remainder of this section contrasts the experiences of local, newcomer, and social tenant families. This discussion is summarized at the end of the following section, in Table 4.9.

Figure 4.5: Numbers of children by age and tenure



Source: Census 2001.

Local families in private sector homes:

About half the families in private homes interviewed in depth at Gorbals had 'local' roots. Nearly all had lived in the new homes for at least five years. Almost all were couples, with only two lone parent families²⁵. Their children were of all ages, though few were babies. Most of the mothers worked part-time, including jobs as health care assistant, insurance agent, and local government administration. Most reported that family members often helped to take care of their children.

We were previously renters in council housing -- I might not have thought of buying if I could have applied for renting, but since I had two children of the same sex, I was told I would not get more than two bedrooms in social rent, but could purchase a bigger house. We were among the first buyers, the price was reasonable, and they gave us something as an incentive for leaving rented accommodation. Purchasing was the best thing ever -- the houses have doubled, nearly tripled in price over ten years for what we paid for them.' Our children were younger, it was a good environment for the kids to be brought up in, the middle part of the courtyard was safe, and we could open the back door to play, and have a wee community' (local' mother, owner .

All the local families in private homes interviewed sent their children to the neighbourhood nurseries and primary schools. Most explained that they had chosen the

²⁵ A similar profile of GRO grant owners was noted in Pawson, H. (2000). Assessing the Impact of Tenure Diversification: the case of Niddrie, Edinburgh, Scottish Homes.

school they themselves attended, most frequently the non-denominational primary school rather than the Catholic school. Many of them volunteered in the school, or were active in the parents association. Most of the families were well-satisfied with these primary schools:

They get the parents involved, and I can go in at any time. There's a nice feel when you walk in ('local' owner).

The teachers are very caring, concerned and involved in outside activities. There's a feeling of care and welcome between the school and the teachers, they met with me before I moved in, and set up a special start for my child ('local' owner).

The issue of tenure mix seemed to have little saliency: local families did not report tensions with social tenants. All reported that their children played with children from the social housing homes, in the courtyards, playground and sport centre. Many felt that they belonged to a strong community, referencing the easy opportunities for meeting up with long-term friends and relatives. One 'local' mother commented on the down side:

...though the strong community here is also a barrier, it's hard for newcomers to break in.

Overall, the local families rated the neighbourhood as fair to good for raising children, with several commenting that although the homes and neighbourhood were fine for younger children, the exposure to drugs and crime was less acceptable with children from about eight years old. About half the local families intended to remain in the neighbourhood for the foreseeable future.

We're right on the doorstep of the city, so we've got all the factors of city living! We've got the swimming pool, library, Richmond Park is quite close, loads of parks, cycle club, gymnastics -- there's a lot here for children to do (local owner).

I would recommend this neighbourhood to people with children, it is a good friendly community, but there is no secondary school and few facilities for older children (local owner).

However, half the local families expected to move in the next few years— rather more than comparable figures for urban families nationally²⁶. Parents with very young children were more likely to say they intended to move than those with older children. The main reasons for wanting to move were to purchase a larger and more affordable

²⁶ English House Conditions Survey, in Lupton (2005b)

home elsewhere (especially those families with older children), and to find a 'less rough' area:

This neighbourhood is ok when the children are younger, but there are bad gangs when they get older, from the age of about thirteen. I don't want my children to mix with kids who swear. I'm told that my standards are too high...(local owner with school-aged children).

We might move out to somewhere more suburban – to take the younger children away from the drugs and the crime. There are not a lot of other families like ours in these houses, we thought there would be (owner with one pre-school child).

Newcomer families in private sector homes

Most newcomer families lived in two of the more recently built courtyards, to the south of the Gorbals Park and new playground. These are the only courtyards in New Gorbals that are all private housing, with no social tenants. Nearly all were couples, not lone parents, and most had lived in the neighbourhood for less than two years. Almost all were white British, with two Asian families. Like the local families, most lived in houses or maisonettes with gardens, although some, especially with younger children, were living in flats on upper floors. Most of the children were toddlers or babies, typically born after their parents had purchased their home in New Gorbals. Most of the mothers worked full-time, including among their number a dancer, an estate agent, and a legal secretary. Few had any help in taking care of their children, whether from family members, as locals often did, or from paid assistance.

Almost none of the newcomer families sent their children to local nurseries or primary schools; the exceptions were the two Asian families interviewed. Parents had usually not investigated these schools from the inside, but tended to assume they would be unsatisfactory:

I didn't like the look of the schools, from the outside. I would never send my children to one of those schools (owner, with toddler).

Many newcomers felt that they belonged to a local community in New Gorbals, although this generally referred to a community of newcomers, exclusive of the longer-term Gorbals residents:

Neighbours are nice. Everyone moved in at the same time so no old cliques who've been here for a long time. Everyone helps each other out - all still making friends.

The tenure mix was more of an issue for the newcomer families than for the locals: only about half reported that their children played with children from the social housing homes – although this is almost certainly influenced by the young age of the children, and by the absence of social tenants in the two blocks.

Newcomers were more concerned with the social mix than were the local families:

It doesn't really bother me, but I don't think I would want my daughter to be here, after about the age of eight. There are a lot of rough looking kids I wouldn't want my daughter to be mixed up with (newcomer owner with toddler.)

The problem kids are from the social housing, and the problem is that their parents are also aggressive. I went round to speak to a parent after a child was busting flowers in the street, and got an aggressive response (newcomer owner with pre-school child).

Overall, the newcomer families were less positive about the area as a place to raise children, rating it only 'poor' to 'fair'. Nearly all said they intended to move within the next few years, explaining this by a general desire to 'bring up children in a better place'.

We are intending to move. This place would need better policing, fewer loiterers, less violence to get us to stay. The neighbourhood is getting worse.

We will probably move to the suburbs. I see kids swearing at each other, also outside the schools, and that's not the environment I want for my kids. It stems from their parents, it rubs off.

Families in social housing:

There were approximately eighty families living in social housing in 2004, of whom ten were interviewed for this research. Half the households were headed by single parents, and two by grandparents. Only two of the ten households had parents in employment. Their children were of all ages, and all attended or had attended local primary schools, split about evenly between the local Catholic and non-denominational school. Parents generally felt that these were good schools, and well above average for the area:

It's a good school, supportive, they praise the children. There's a problem that there aren't enough children (at the Catholic school) and so classes are combined.

Only one parent said she volunteered with the local school, serving on the parents association. Parents said their younger children most frequently played in the local playground, usually without supervision, and that the older children used the local sports centre. The mixture of tenures at New Gorbals occasioned little comment but was generally seen as positive, *'it inspires you to do something'*. About half reported that their children play with children from the private homes, and these were mostly the primary school-aged children. The main concern parents had was for their older children, noting the absence of a nearby secondary school, and a lack of activities for older children. Most parents interviewed said they were very satisfied with the neighbourhood, rating it 'good' or 'fair' for bringing up children, and very few thought it likely that they would move away.

Table 4.10 below summarizes the attitudes of local, newcomer and social tenant families to bringing up children in New Gorbals. The final line of the table compares the intentions to move away from the neighbourhood. Parents in the social housing mostly intended to remain, as did about half the 'locals' in private homes. However, nearly all the newcomer families in the private homes said they were intending to move. The next section focuses on the elements of the neighbourhood of greatest concern for the parents: homes, schools, play, and a safe, clean and friendly environment.

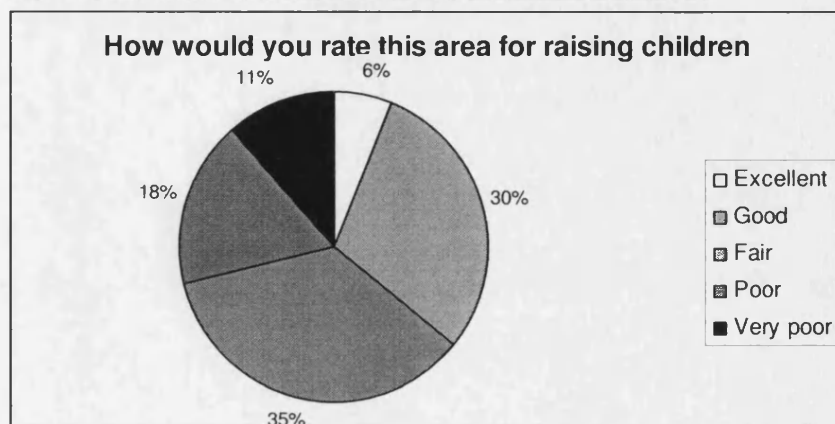
Table 4.9: Summary of family characteristics and attitudes, by tenure and type.

	Social tenant families	Local families in private homes	Newcomer families in private homes
Age of children	All ages	All ages	Pre-school
Dual career families?	Most mothers not employed.	Most mothers employed part-time.	Most mothers employed full-time
Send children to local primaries?	Neighbourhood schools.	Neighbourhood primary schools	Some send to local nurseries, but few attend primary schools.
Opinion on local primary schools.	Good schools	A bit better than average	Worse than average
Involvement in school	Some involvement	Often volunteer	Not applicable for parents of toddlers.
Kids play across tenure?	Half do: primary school aged.	Yes (all).	About half.
Attitude to tenure mix?	Positive	Mostly positive	Varies
Rate n'hood for raising children	Good	Fair – good	Poor – fair
Intend to move?	Very few	About half.	Nearly all

4.3 Raising children at New Gorbals

All residents at New Gorbals, not just parents, were asked to ‘rate’ the neighbourhood as a place to raise children. Figure 4.6 below shows that most residents rated the area either ‘fair’ or ‘good’. The in-depth interviews with parents highlighted three key challenges to making the neighbourhood work for families: the homes, the schools, and the public realm.. This section discusses how these challenges were met at New Gorbals.

Figure 4.6: Residents rate New Gorbals as a place to raise children



Source: Field Survey

Homes and gardens for families

The first section of this chapter described the ways in which the Crown Street Regeneration Project developed family homes in the ground floors of all tenement blocks. This resulted in about 200 homes for sale with private gardens, and internal layout suitable for families, as shown in Table 4.1. This section explores the responses of families to the homes, private gardens and courtyards.

Families generally appreciated the design of the houses and maisonettes:

*Great house! I love it, although the second child's bedroom is a bit too small.
We like to spend time in the garden (owner)*

Some families, and newcomer families in particular, were living in upper floor flats that were not designed for children, particularly when they had purchased the flats before the birth of their children. However, families usually also liked the flats, and accepted that the upper floor flats were not intended to be appropriate for raising children:

The design of the flat is terrific. Although it is on the second floor and we have to get the pram up the stairs, it works for us, with one child (owner).

Private gardens:

All ground floor maisonettes and houses at New Gorbals were designed with private gardens, as part of the aim to attract families to the renewed area. In most cases, the private gardens form an outer ring enclosing the shared semi-private courtyard. Parents with small children said the gardens were small but well designed: large windows into the living rooms and kitchens meant that children could play outside while parents observed them from inside the home. Residents without children were less enthusiastic about their garden, finding it 'too small' and not private enough, overlooked by children playing in the courtyards, and some said they had moved from homes with gardens to flats above.

Courtyards:

Nearly all the homes in New Gorbals were built in perimeter blocks enclosing a shared courtyard, as illustrated in Plate 1 at the beginning of this chapter. The original concept plan for CSRP envisaged that *'the large private communal gardens in the centre of the tenement blocks will meet almost all the play and leisure needs of residents in a safe and secure environment'* (Galloway and Gough 1992). The shared courtyards were quite large in the initial phases and landscaped with mounded grass and trees. In the later phases, the courtyards were smaller and landscaped with gravel or other low-maintenance materials (see photos in Plate 1).

The courtyards were well-used and well-liked by families: *'it's very safe and great'*. All families across tenures reported that their children frequently used the courtyard²⁷. The courtyards may also have helped to promote social mixing across tenure, since roughly one fourth of the homes in each courtyard were for social rent

We moved here to be near family, and because our old area had nothing for our daughter, no activities, no play area or green space, near a big road. Here our daughter (6) can play safely in the courtyard without constant supervision ('local' owners).

It was great when our wee ones were young, they were out there and you knew where they were, we could sit out in the back garden, and play cards, and that helped bring them up through the teen-age years... You just open the door and

²⁷ In contrast, the courtyards were much less used by residents without children. Half of all residents without children reported that they rarely or never used the courtyard, even to look at.

they are out, first thing in the morning, just call them in for dinner ('local owners').

None of the courtyards contained play equipment for children. In each courtyard, residents had been asked to make a collective decision on additional courtyard landscaping. Residents had voted against including play equipment in every courtyard. One explanation for the vote against play equipment, according to the project manager, may have been from fear of insurance costs: the residents could have been held legally liable for any injuries occurring as a result of play equipment which they determined to install. Another reason may have been the social composition of the blocks, in which families with small children were usually in a minority, and other residents may have preferred to minimize noise from children's play.

Structured observations, including on sunny weekend afternoons, generally found only quiet play in the courtyards, and there were few negative comments about children's play. The one exception was in the smallest and most recently completed courtyard, landscaped in hard gravel in at the time of the field research ('Spring Wynde'). There, residents complained that there were:

Lots of kids, sometimes chucking stones (owner, no children).

There are some thirty children in this courtyard, and it is flat and covered with gravel, which makes problems. Pylons have gone up to prevent playing in the courtyard, the young people in the bought houses opposite don't want kids playing there, so I don't let mine use it any more (social tenant, parent).

Overall, the homes, gardens, and courtyards at New Gorbals were considered one of the best features of the neighbourhood for families. Family homes near the centre city are a rare commodity in Glasgow, and the 'maisonette' homes with private gardens at New Gorbals were a rather unique example new-build flats for families, in high-density urban areas in Britain.

Child care and schools

While the Crown Street Regeneration Project aimed to attract better-off families to the area, child-care and formal education do not seem to have been a particular focus of the regeneration programme. This section describes the educational facilities in New Gorbals, discusses the impact of these facilities on parents' decisions to remain in the

neighbourhood, and explores the coordination between the regeneration project and the educational services.

Early Years Childcare:

There were seven child-care centres operating in the wider Gorbals region, offering a total of about two hundred and fifty places for children up to five years old. Demand for childcare was higher than the supply at Gorbals: 68% of Crown Street residents said that a lack of early years child-care was a major problem (GCF, 2004). The level of unmet demand is particularly striking in contrast with the national situation, in which only 13% of carers were unable to access childcare places (Scottish Executive 2004).

Parents from different tenures utilized different sets of child-care services. Unemployed parents were more likely to use the council nurseries, which provided half-day sessions (2.5 hours) free for children aged three and over, and a full-day session for children in 'vulnerable families'. Many unemployed parents also attended a weekly mother-toddler group which met mid-day, and provided content for the adult carers, such as manicures, or workshops on healthy cooking. These programmes were partially subsidized through the Social Inclusion Partnership, which targeted funding at 'vulnerable families' and children of parents in employment training programmes.

Parents in employment, on the other hand, typically sought out full-day care for their children, starting from the infant years. There were no more than fifty such places offered in Gorbals, across all types of child care providers: council-run, voluntary and private sector. The private nurseries offered the longest hours, but also the highest fees, and attracted few parents from the social housing. There was no direct contact between the nurseries and the local primary schools, so parents were not 'channeled' from the nurseries to the local schools.

There was one service with the potential to bring together parents and children across tenure, and to introduce new parents to the local primary school. This was the 'toy library', a well-stocked centre operated once a week by friendly volunteers ('local' parents in private homes) from a room within a local primary school. However, the

service was publicized primarily within the school itself, and few 'newcomer' parents were aware of it.

Overall, there seem to have been little if any strategic effort to use early childhood education services to promote social mixing among families from different tenures, or to develop a cohort of families who would together 'brave' the local primary schools.

Primary Schools:

'Local' and 'newcomer' parents had different attitudes toward the neighbourhood primary schools, as reported above. The local parents were generally content with the primary schools, while the newcomers tended to dismiss the schools out-of-hand, often without even venturing inside. This section explains some of the reasons for the difference.

There were two main primary schools serving the Gorbals, one Catholic and one non-denominational. There was also a smaller Catholic school some distance away, not attended by children from any of the families interviewed. Neither school had made any attempt to reach out to new families in the neighbourhood.

Blackfriars, the non-denominational Christian school in the centre of the New Gorbals, had an unprepossessing exterior, with peeling paint and blank glass windows. The school grounds, enclosed within high metal gates, were not visible from the street, and the compound carried an image of neglect and disrepair. Once inside the gates, however, the entrance hall was vibrant with children's designs and exhibits, there was a well-used adventure playground and a rather fabulous award-winning wild-life garden.

A high proportion of pupils were eligible for free school meals: 61%, as compared with 42% in Glasgow City and 20% in Scotland. Enrollment was at only 60% of capacity, and as a result, some children were in smaller class groups, combining children from two years. The most recent report from the Scottish Inspectorate of Education (HMIE) praised the school for providing a welcoming and caring environment that pupils enjoyed - features appreciated by school parents interviewed as well - but noted that

educational achievements, while improving, were still below average for Glasgow and for Scotland (HMIE, 2004). Pupils in years three to six achieved, on average, between seventy to eighty percent of the minimum expected standards in maths, English and science.

Parents with children at Blackfriars were generally positive about the school:

The teachers are very caring, concerned, and involved in outside activities' ('local' parent owner).

The school is about average, I guess. But there's a nice feel when you walk in, they get the parents involved ('local' parent owner).

The other primary school in the neighbourhood was the Roman Catholic St. Francis school. It too presented an unwelcoming appearance, with the squat dark building approached circuitously through a series of fences. Inside, the school seemed austere, with bare bulletin boards and few pictures on the walls. As at Blackfriars, pupil numbers had fallen, and teacher turn-over was reported to be high. The school published no information about itself on the web²⁸, and the Headteacher was unwilling to provide details about the numbers of children eligible for free school meals or school attainment.

Parents tended to be somewhat more critical of this school:

The school is supportive, and they praise the children, but I don't like the composite classes where they have primary 1 and 2 in the same class. My child has had 5 primary teachers over the course of this year. ('local' parent owner).

Although one central aim of the regeneration was to boost declining school rolls by attracting and retaining new families in New Gorbals, there seems to have been little coordination between the regeneration partnership and the primary schools. The regeneration did not contribute financially to the schools. The Headteacher at Blackfriars noted that while the landscaped gardens and adventure playground were

²⁸ Scottish educational policy does not require publication of school inspection reports, although schools are allowed to post these reports if they wish.

recent additions, most of the funding did not come through the regeneration partnership, and the timing was unrelated.

Headteachers at both primary schools had little expectation that the regeneration would change their intake. Both Headteachers expressed the opinion that there were very few children living in the private homes, and that these children were unlikely to attend their schools. The provision of new social housing homes may have helped to stabilize enrolment at the schools, although neither Headteacher raised this point.

The Headteachers were not involved in decision making at the planning stages of the regeneration, and the main involvement seems to have been a design contest for the new park among pupils, and pupil responses to the housing and road layout near the school. Beyond the Headteacher, the local educational authority also seems to have had marginal input into the regeneration plans.

Overall, there appears to have been little contact between the regeneration project and the schools. The schools did not reach out to new parents or to the neighbourhood, and were not much involved in community affairs. The regeneration project did not attempt to 'market' the schools to prospective purchasers, and had made little attempt to involve the school in its programme. Newcomer parents typically had a poor image of the local schools, a key factor in their intention to move away from the neighbourhood. It seems that neither the regeneration partnership nor the schools expended much effort on challenging this image.

Secondary Schools

There was no secondary school in the Gorbals at the time of the field research, a direct result of 'school rationalization' policy that calls for larger secondary schools serving an expanded area. Gorbals had boasted two secondaries until the late 1980s: one Catholic, and one non-denominational. The non-denominational school was demolished in the early 1990s, and a business park and leisure centre had been built in its place on the river-front site.

The remaining secondary school had had falling enrolment for many years. With a capacity of 1800 pupils, it was reduced to just over three hundred by 1997. Parents explained that the threat of closure had hung over the school for many years, serving in itself to reduce enrolment. In 1997, despite the aim of the regeneration project to attract families with children, the last remaining secondary school was demolished. Demolition of the school also involved demolishing amenities that had previously been available to the wider community: a library, swimming pool, cafeteria, football pitches and other sports facilities and language labs.

Without a neighbourhood secondary school, children from the non-denominational school attended any one of five secondary schools in Glasgow, while children from the Catholic schools were attending one of the UK's largest secondary schools, with 2700 children. Many parents complained about this school, noting that it was 'too large', 'an accident waiting to happen', that the journey was too difficult and too expensive, and that achievements were poor. Parents commented that the distance and dispersion limits opportunities for after-school activities, parental involvement and oversight, and community cohesion. A primary school Headteacher supported this position, noting that:

These children would benefit from the added security of a more local secondary school, where people could still tell their parents what the children were up to. It's all still very territorial here, community matters and without it we are struggling.

Nearly every parent interviewed said that lack of a neighbourhood secondary school was a major problem, and a more than sufficient reason for families with older children to leave the neighbourhood. Lack of a secondary school was also named a serious problem by 86% of Gorbals area residents in a survey of 400 residents completed in 2004 by the Gorbals Community Forum. The survey found that:

A secondary school would have helped with sectarianism and territorialism issues and could provide opportunities for developmental work with local young people. It would also promote a greater sense of community. However, it was felt that there was little hope of a secondary school.' (GCF 2004, p. 10).

In summary, the educational facilities at New Gorbals were not conducive to retaining families in the private homes, and were particularly unattractive for the newcomer parents. There was little evidence of any effort to remedy this situation. The overall lack of coordination between regeneration projects and the educational system was apparently not atypical in Scotland, according to a Scottish researcher on urban regeneration:

“We researched new mixed tenure regeneration programmes in Scotland (Beekman, Lyons et al. 2001) and found no one in all of Scotland saying ‘if we are regenerating how do we build in a good school’. In none of our ten case studies did I see ‘we’ve got a regeneration area, what shall we do with the primary school’? (John Scott, personal communication, April 2004).

The public realm

The master plan for New Gorbals made a deliberate decision to integrate the new homes and facilities within the wider Gorbals area, rather than creating a ‘village’ isolated from its surroundings. Integration within the wider area meant, as we have seen, that a much broader constituency was served by the new facilities. However, the spatial integration brought a certain ‘roughness’ to the public realm that was much commented on by parents in the private homes. Newcomer parents in particular commented that the area did not feel like a particularly safe place to bring up their children. This section looks at three issues: the children’s playground, feelings of safety and cleanliness, and the attempts to build community. Overall, the findings suggest that additional management measures could help to reduce the impression of ‘roughness’ in the neighbourhood.

Children’s play area:

The most significant open space for young children at New Gorbals, in addition to the courtyards, was the Gorbals Park. This was a small oval of public open space at the southern end of the neighbourhood, encircled by residential homes. It was initially envisaged as a ‘relaxation park’, in order not to impede on the adjacent homes. The park had become rather rundown, and, upon urging by local parents, Glasgow City Council had recently spent £100,000 to renew the play equipment and resurface the park.

On most of my visits the park was strewn with rubbish and litter and the play equipment was covered with graffiti, as shown in the photograph of the park in Plate One. The park opened directly onto a main road and park gates were usually open. Despite the risks inherent in the exposure to the street, adult supervision in the park was minimal: structured observations at different times of day typically counted ten children for every adult, and one autumn afternoon saw nineteen children ranging in age from toddler to about twelve, with only one adult. On that occasion, a small group of boys aged eight to ten threw footballs, water balloons, and spit balls from a strategic position on the central tall slide, while keeping up a constant stream of swearing. Small girls tended to play just outside the park, on the traffic-calmed streets within closer calling distance to the near-by homes.

Parents in the private homes reported that their children used the park occasionally, but that it was not a favourite destination. Few newcomers took their children to the neighbourhood playground, or let them play there unsupervised, and one commented:

I won't let my son go there – he would look like a target because he isn't wearing a Lacoste track suit and a skip cap—he would stick out and get bullied (owner, pre-teen child).

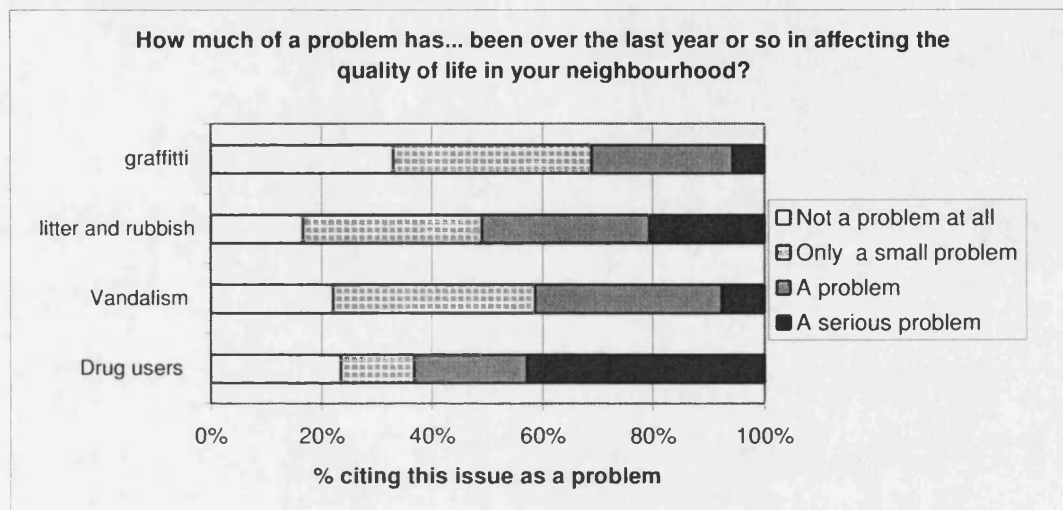
One way to make the play area feel more welcoming and secure might have been to hire a 'park warden' or 'play supervisor' for after-school hours. A staff-person on site could perhaps have helped to supervise play and reduce vandalism.

Safety and cleanliness

Many parents in the private homes commented on a feeling of 'roughness' in the public realm, a term that encompassed litter and graffiti, vandalism, and the presence of drug users, as shown in Figure 4.7 below. Parents' concerns about the public realm became more acute as children became older and wanted to move about the neighbourhood more independently. The issues of safety and neighbourhood problems seemed to be of less concern to locals, who typically noted that '*personally I feel safe because I know where to go and where not to go*'.

Many residents also noted problems with graffiti, rubbish, and vandalism, as shown in Figure 4.7 below.

Figure 4.7: Problems affecting quality of life



Source: Field survey.

In contrast to parents' concerns, senior officials involved in the development indicated that the quality of the public realm in New Gorbals was more than adequate, and certainly far better maintained and more secure than in the wider Gorbals area. The comparison with the wider Gorbals area is a natural one, and the field survey supported the officials' views that the renewal area enjoyed higher standards of safety and cleanliness than in the 'old Gorbals'. At New Gorbals, over 70% said they felt at least 'fairly safe' walking around at night, while 41% of Gorbals-wide residents were afraid to go out at night, with the strongest reasons being 'too many gangs loitering' (52%) and 'afraid of being attacked in or around block of flats (41%)' (Gorbals Social Inclusion Partnership 2002). The greater feelings of safety within New Gorbals could be attributed to several factors: the new build area had stronger lighting at night; most of the new build housing was located some distance from the tower block with a known concentration of drug users; a continuously staffed police station was located at the very heart of the new build area; and the flats themselves had secure central access.

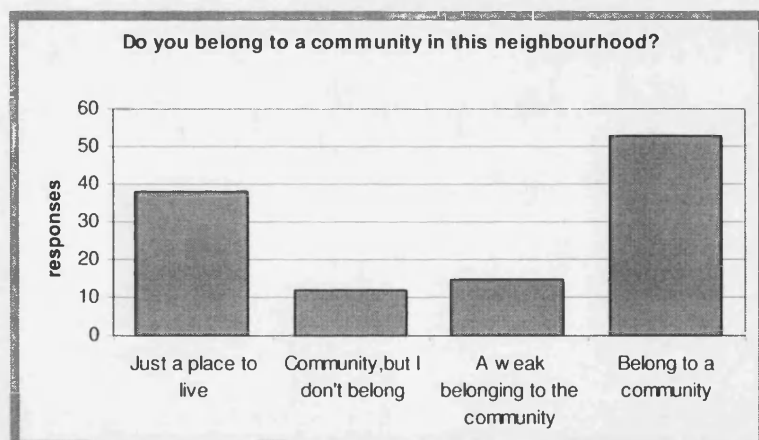
However, a public realm that feels safer and better maintained than an area of noted poverty is unlikely to be sufficient to retain families with housing choice in MINCs.

These families are comparing their environment to better-off areas they could afford, not to the surrounding low-income neighbourhood. In a better-off neighbourhood, for instance, residents might have acted to reduce the dispensation of methadone from the local pharmacies, or demanded higher standards of public maintenance. But officials in a renewal neighbourhood may have difficulty justifying increased expenditures for quality of public realm in the new build areas, while adjacent areas are so much more strongly disadvantaged. Maintaining a high standard of the public realm may prove easier in ‘wholly new’ areas, as will be discussed in the coming chapters.

Community building:

Parents at New Gorbals with local ties often spoke of participating in community organizations. Newcomer parents, however, were rarely aware of the community organizations. Figure 4.8 below tabulates residents’ responses to a question about belonging to a community at New Gorbals. Residents who had lived longer at New Gorbals were more likely to say they felt a stronger sense of belonging to the community.

Figure 4.8: Feelings of belonging to community.



‘Belonging to a community’ is a subjective term, and it may have different meanings for different people. For locals, ‘community’ seemed to refer to a social network of friends and relatives, ‘gabbing at the Kwiksave’, participating in local activities or volunteering, or ‘getting involved in my daughter’s drama class’. They often felt a strong sense of belonging to the community, and talked about participating in a huge range of activities, courses, and groups.

For newcomers, in contrast, a sense of 'community' related more to the existence of organized social functions, such as meetings, outings, and get-togethers, and these activities were commented on favorably. Newcomers rarely mentioned taking part in any on-going local classes or activities, however. As one local parent commented:

There's a strong sense of community here, you can really feel it. But sometimes I think that it must also be very isolating for those who are outsiders, those who didn't grow up here'.

The CSRP had tried to implement some community-building measures at New Gorbals: they had hired an outside consultant to jump-start residents' committees in each new block; published a Crown Street Newsletter; and started an 'Umbrella Group' to manage resident participation in the planning process -- all processes typical of a top-down flow of information (EDAW 1997). The CSRP had also intended to form a 'community management trust' in which would place neighbourhood management in the hands of residents, together with the main development agencies.

However, by the time of the field work, the CSRP had withdrawn from promoting community governance. There was only one block with a functioning residents' committee, and that was the only block with no social housing. The community management trust had not met for over a year, and, with no agency particularly interested in convening the trust, it was not clear when, if ever, it would meet again.

The main player for community building at the time of the field work was the Gorbals Social Inclusion Partnership (SIP). The SIP's records note that they provided information and support to 111 local groups, organizations and agencies in the Gorbals (Gorbals Social Inclusion Partnership 2003)²⁹, '*more organizations than shops*' according to one staff member.

²⁹ Including the Gorbals Initiative (employment training and counselling), Glasgow South Forum on violence against women, the Gorbals Drugs Forum, the Gorbals Community Safety Action Group, the Gorbals Youth Providers Forum, The Gorbals Youth Steering Group, the Health Forum and the Healthy Living Network, and the Gorbals Asylum Seekers and Refugees Steering Group.

The Gorbals Community Forum, responsible for coordinating amongst all the other community groups, explained that their orientation was explicitly towards the tenants and lower-income residents, and that reaching out to the better off newcomers was not a priority. The orientation away from the newcomers in the private homes was also expressed by a senior staff member at the SIP:

We haven't been doing much with the private home: how much do the people who are moving in there really want to get involved? As for families—I think newcomers are always going to leave once they have children. Our services are aimed at the people in greatest need.

Building community in a renewal area, and one that combines long-term residents and new residents is a complex task. Still, additional efforts might have helped to ease the situation. Some of these methods are discussed in the next chapter on Greenwich Millennium Village.

In summary, the quality of the public realm at New Gorbals was considered problematic by most newcomer families, and many local families in the private homes, and was a central factor in the intention of most newcomer families to leave the neighbourhood. However, the concerns of the families in private homes were not a high priority for most programme staff, who were oriented primarily towards the much more urgent needs of the low-income residents in the wider neighbourhood.

4.4 Discussion

This section places the evidence from New Gorbals within the context of the existing knowledge base about 'renewal' MINCs, as reviewed in Chapter Two. The section first contrasts the outcomes of the regeneration at New Gorbals with the existing evidence on outcomes for services, housing, and social interaction. The second part of the section examines how New Gorbals coped with two of the dilemmas that face renewal MINCs: mitigating the 'cliff effect' and 'joined-up programmemes'.

Outcomes:

Chapter Two reviewed the evidence base on renewal and wholly new MINCs across three categories: improving services for low-income residents, delivering new housing and other economic benefits, and social interaction and community stability. The evidence from New Gorbals is summarized and compared to the existing evidence and conjectures in Tables 4.11 and 4.12, below.

The tables highlight the contribution of the 'local' and 'newcomer' distinction as described in this chapter. Distinguishing between locals and newcomers helps to explain conflicts among the findings of some previous studies, particularly as related to families. One area of discrepancy concerned the extent to which owners used neighbourhood schools in MINCs. Some studies found evidence that owners were not sending their children to local schools (Beekman 2001, and Cole 1997), while others indicated that owners did in fact use the neighbourhood schools (Atkinson and Kintrea 1998, and Pawson 2000). By distinguishing between locals and newcomers, this study found that locals tended to send their children to neighbourhood schools, while newcomers did not (Table 4. 10).

A second discrepancy related to the social interaction across tenures, and whether this was harmed or helped by living closer together. Some studies found that in renewal areas, closer physical proximity seemed to increase tensions between owners and tenants (Beekman 2001, and Billig and Churchman 2002), while other studies found that physical proximity aided positive social contact across tenures (Page and Boughton 1997). This study of New Gorbals suggests that part of the answer may lie in the 'local' and 'newcomer' dichotomy (Table 4.11). Although the field survey was too limited to provide conclusive evidence, the interviews suggests that for 'local' owners, proximity to tenants increased social contact, particularly among children, and brought few tensions. 'Newcomer' owners, however, seemed to feel most comfortable socially in the several courtyards that were completely private-sector.

Table 4.11 also underscores several important lessons from New Gorbals for renewal MINCs. First, the existing evidence base had suggested that MINCs in renewal areas may apply harsher criteria to social lettings, thus excluding the most vulnerable

households. New Gorbals provides a counter-example: the allocations policies applied no special criteria concerning employment, criminal or drug records, age or child density, and priority was given to re-housing council tenants from Gorbals.

Second, rising land values as a result of regeneration has sometimes been seen as a positive outcome of tenure mix in renewal areas. But the experience at New Gorbals highlights the difficulties of price increases. For low-income owners who had purchased in the initial stages, the resale value of their homes was sufficient to purchase larger homes for expanding families outside the neighbourhood, but the price gap was too great to upgrade within the neighbourhood. Similarly, by the middle stages, New Gorbals tenants and relatives could no longer afford to move into ownership in the neighbourhood.

Finally, the issue of social stability seems also to be connected with the distinction between locals and newcomers. Where locals were likely to remain in the neighbourhood, at least until their children approached secondary school age, newcomers nearly all intended to move, casting doubts on the long-term social stability of the neighbourhood.

Table 4.10: Outcomes for services compared with renewal MINCs

		Renewal MINCS	New Gorbals
Services for low-income residents			
External appearance, cleanliness and safety	Evidence	Improved standards.	Improved standards, though 'roughness' remains an important negative factor.
	Conjecture	Neighbourhood nuisance factors may still be strong where MINC abuts existing low-income area?	
Social infrastructure, leisure and retail	Evidence	Services based on user-volume often suffer during demolition. Owners tend to prefer services outside neighbourhood	Some services suffered (secondary schools, playing fields), while others improved, over time (shops, library, leisure). No evidence that owners do not use local services.
	Conjecture	Low-rent services may be driven out? Depends on tenure ratio.	
Programmemes for low-income residents	Evidence	Little evidence	Programmemes increase, due to SIP funding, and serve the wider community.
	Conjecture	Remain unchanged?	
Local school uptake by better-off residents	Evidence	Some evidence of participation.	Locals use local primary schools, while newcomers do not.
	Conjecture	Variable depending on school, pupils and types of better-off parents?	

Table 4.11: Outcomes for housing, social relations compared with renewal MINCs

Housing and economic benefits		
Issue	Renewal MINCs	New Gorbals
Decent affordable housing	Yes, especially where spatially integrated with market-rate homes	Yes, throughout the neighbourhood.
Stigma reduced	Somewhat, but may be a lengthy process and may result in excluding troublesome households?	Stigma reduced, but still retained. No evidence that troublesome households were excluded.
Land values raised	Very sharply	Very sharp increases, but these create problems for lower-income owners and for tenants and their families.
Social interaction and community stability		
Residents' perception of tenure mix	Indifferent. Tenants more satisfied with tenure mix than owners.	Among owners, newcomers less comfortable with tenure mix than locals.
Physical proximity and social interaction	Greater physical interaction may increase social tensions.	Greater physical proximity is welcomed among locals, but less so among newcomers.
Children and social interaction across tenure.	Greatest social interactions occur across families with children, but high 'child density' can be a source of tension.	Greatest social interactions among local owners and tenants. Newcomers have little social interaction with tenants.
Social stability over time	Mix of housing types may add to early social cohesion.	Newcomers with children nearly all intend to leave, endangering social stability over time.

Meeting the challenges of Area Based Initiatives?

Chapter Two posed a series of questions for renewal MINCs, based on a review of area-based initiatives and the problems they have faced. This section discusses how three of those questions were resolved at New Gorbals: the 'cliff effect', 'joined-up' implementation, and gentrification and displacement.

The '*cliff effect*', as described in Chapter Two, is the imposition of a strong boundary between the renewed neighbourhood and surrounding areas of poverty, in which low-income residents of neighbouring areas do not benefit from the services offered in the regenerated area. One of the central goals at New Gorbals was to avoid this problem, by physically integrating the development into the wider area. In this way, council tenants in the wider Gorbals were able to benefit from the broad array of new services at New Gorbals.

One indication of a successful integration is the way residents refer to the regeneration area. While the official names for the new build areas are 'Crown Street Regeneration Project', and 'Queen Elizabeth Square', these terms are rarely heard: instead, residents (and estate agents) use 'New Gorbals', symbolically connecting the new build to the history and continued presence of the area.

The physical and social integration have brought a number of benefits, for the better-off residents as well as for the social tenants. The shops and facilities are far more comprehensive than would otherwise have been built to serve only 1400 households in the new build. On the other hand, the quality of these services may be higher than would have been the case if the area were still entirely social housing. Meanwhile, low-income residents at New Gorbals are able to participate in the programmes offered by the SIP, including job training, employment counselling and programmes for youth.

One area of tension is that some of the new services at New Gorbals may benefit the better-off residents rather more than the tenants, with the new leisure centre and pool as one example. The pool was considered too expensive for regular use by many of the social tenants, while the prices were considered very attractive for the better-off owners. However, perhaps the most significant benefit of the pool is to the low-income children: all children in Glasgow are entitled to swim free at the leisure centre.

'*Joined-up programmes*' were considered to be one of the strengths of area-based regeneration in general, yet raised some challenges for MINCs in particular. Large-scale, multiple stake-holder partnerships were noted for marginalizing the contribution

of residents, as discussed in Chapter Two. This was certainly true at New Gorbals. Neither tenants nor owners had much input into decisions of importance. By the time of the fieldwork, the Crown Street Regeneration Partnership had relocated away from the site, and was considered by many residents to be of marginal value, at best. Further, there was no decision-making structure that involved both tenants and owners. Although the SIP was a local body charged with soliciting and empowering local leadership, it did not solicit the involvement of the better-off owners, or seek to strengthen ties between owners and tenants.

Another challenge of area based programmemes is to bring together lead stakeholders from different services. At New Gorbals, there was an obvious lack of contact between the regeneration project and the educational sector, from the local educational authority to the primary school headteachers. Other services, however, were coordinated: the community police contributed to discussions about safety and play, and the local healthy living network planned joint community events with a wide range of other groups.

The difficulties of 'joined up' implementation at New Gorbals were no stronger than those experienced at many other area-based initiatives. However, the pervasiveness of these challenges indicates the need for further reflection.

Conclusions

New Gorbals presents an example of a regeneration programmeme that improved a place as well as improving the quality of life for local residents. Importantly, low-income tenants on site were not displaced from Gorbals to make room for the new build. The regeneration process began on land that had already been demolished at the request of tenants who had asked to be re-housed elsewhere, and those tenants were then offered priority in the new homes, both private and social. Where additional homes were demolished for the new-build, these tenants were re-housed in the new-build social housing, and tenants generally agreed that the new homes were a great improvement over the previous standards.

Key to the success of the programme was the determination that the New Gorbals would not become an enclave of better off homes, isolated from the existing poor neighbourhood, or creating a 'cliff effect' as discussed in Chapter Two. Instead, the new homes and facilities were both physically and socially embedded within a larger Gorbals-wide area improvement programme. The physical integration helped to ensure that the new services at New Gorbals were enjoyed by residents of the wider region. The physical integration may also have served to stabilize the value of homes at New Gorbals, at a price lower than their city-centre and riverside location would otherwise command, though still well above the level affordable to most local residents.

However, the integration within the wider area was seen to create considerable disadvantages particularly for families in the new private homes. The chapter explored the ways in which 'local' and 'newcomer' families responded differently to the neighbourhood. Newcomer families had typically purchased homes at New Gorbals while they were singles or couples without children. The newcomer families were generally well satisfied with the size and design of their homes, but the local schools and the quality of the public realm fell below their standards and expectations and 'roughness' was frequently mentioned as a problem. Their children rarely attended the local schools or used the local park, tended not to play with children from the social homes, and the parents did not often take part in community activities. Nearly all the newcomer families intended to leave the neighbourhood in the coming years.

Local families, in contrast, usually already had children by the time they purchased their homes at New Gorbals. They too were well-pleased with the quality of their homes, and, in the early years, with the price of the homes as well. Local families were less critical of the public services than the newcomer families. Their children typically attended the local schools, played in the park, and had friends from the social housing homes. However, as their children got older and more independent, many of the local families found the neighbourhood less satisfactory: they were concerned about exposing their children to undesirable social behaviour in public places, and were dissatisfied with the options for secondary school. About half the local parents thought it likely that they would leave the neighbourhood.

Satisfying the expectations of better-off families in renewal MINCs is clearly a challenging task. The example of New Gorbals indicates that merely providing good quality family homes, while necessary to attract some families, is not sufficient to retain them. The quality of schools and the public realm featured strongly in families' considerations about leaving the neighbourhood. Meeting the higher expectations of 'newcomer' families for quality schools and a very safe and clean public realm may not be a priority in a severely distressed renewal area. A more attainable objective for renewal MINCs may be to devote cross-sector efforts and resources to retaining local families, at least in the initial years of the development. Policy and practice recommendations in this vein are offered in Silverman, Lupton et al (2006).

The next two chapters now move from the challenges of a renewal MINC to those of 'new' areas, and from Scotland to London. Chapter Five presents Greenwich Millennium Village, a completely new MINC without any previous residents, and Chapter Six presents Britannia Village, a MINC that was a hybrid between renewal and new.

CHAPTER FIVE: GREENWICH MILLENNIUM VILLAGE

This chapter explores the story of the second of the field work case studies, Greenwich Millennium Village. Greenwich Millennium Village (GMV) is an example of a ‘wholly new’ MINC. In contrast to the ‘renewal’ MINC at New Gorbals, embedded within the wider Gorbals area, GMV was isolated from the surrounding area and had no previous residents. Greenwich Millennium Village became a very high profile regeneration site, as a flagship of New Labour’s urban regeneration agenda³⁰.

The chapter has four sections, paralleling the format of the previous chapter. The opening section presents the history and development of the site as a MINC. This is followed by a profile of the residents and their attitudes towards living at GMV in the second section. The third section examines issues related to raising children at GMV, looking at the homes, schooling, and public realm. The final section compares the evidence from GMV to the existing knowledge base about wholly new MINCs, as reviewed in Chapter Two.

5.1 Background

Greenwich Millennium Village was developed from the late 1990’s as a wholly new neighbourhood on the Greenwich Peninsula along the south bank of the Thames in London. It was one element of a broader plan to regenerate the entire Peninsula, one of the largest regeneration plans in Europe. The Greenwich Peninsula, a former marshlands, had been an industrial site for over one hundred and fifty years, housing at various periods a munitions factory, tar works, steel works, and the world’s biggest gas-oil plant. It has been termed ‘the dirtiest brown-field in Europe’ (Prescott, 1999).

³⁰ Over six years there were 26 articles about GMV in ‘Building’ magazine alone.

The whole of the Peninsula was effectively owned by the Government and managed by English Partnerships, in its role as national brownfield regeneration agency. The masterplan for the Peninsula, commissioned from Richard Rogers, included a number of projects in addition to the Greenwich Millennium Village: the Jubilee Line tube station with fast connections to central London; the Millennium Dome as a venue for major events; the Thames Path for pedestrians and cyclists, and an additional 10,000 homes between GMV and the Tube station, together with new commercial and office space.

English Partnerships (EP) initiated GMV as one of seven Millennium Communities³¹. The Millennium Committees were New Labour's updated version of the Urban Village, intended to showcase latest technology in energy efficiency and land remediation, as well as the social aspects of mixed use and mixed tenure, and the importance of design quality.

The objectives of the Millennium Communities, as defined by EP, were:

- Integration of different tenures
- Mixed use development
- Design excellence
- Reduction in car dependency
- Environmental responsibility
- Community participation and management

(Dibsdale, EP 2005).

³¹ The seven run the gamut from market and seaside towns to an inner-urban housing estate. By 2005, construction had begun only at New Islington in Manchester and at Allertown Bywater

GMV was the first of the seven Millennium Communities to be built and inhabited, and this has led to widespread media coverage and national importance as a flagship test-site for the government's vision of urban renewal. Deputy Prime Minister John Prescott adopted it as his personal project, saying it would be 'a showcase to the world'. EP has spent over £200 million on the Greenwich peninsula, on decontaminating land and on transport infrastructure, and on developing new parks, a new school and a new health centre.

The design competition for GMV was launched to media fanfare by the Deputy Prime Minister, John Prescott, in 1997. The joint venture company selected a partnership of developers Countryside Properties and Taylor Woodrow (Greenwich Millennium Ventures Ltd or 'GMVL'), with MOAT and Ujima housing associations, working according to a masterplan by British-Swedish architect Ralph Erskine². With the selection of Countryside Properties, GMV gained a private developer who, as a former member of the Urban Task Force was well aware of the potential of mixed-income new communities, and was willing to take financial risks in order to establish a reputation for exemplary new sustainable communities. The price paid for the land by the development company is not in the public domain, and I was able to ascertain only that the figure was 'very low' (Cherry 2005, Dibsedale, 2005, interview).

Following the competition, the developers conducted extensive negotiations on the contract with EP, with the local authority taking a less central role. Early on, the charge was made that the developers, and EP, were 'watering down' the original vision, diluting the environmental innovations and reducing the tenure integration (Baldcock 1999; Lane 2002). EP froze negotiations and noted publicly that a 'land for performance clause' in the contract made land release contingent on performance.

However, an inquiry undertaken for ODPM found few problems, and the developers continued to take the lead role at the site. Construction at GMV began in December 1999, and the first residents moved in to social housing homes at the tail-end of the

² the original consortium also included HTA architects, who later resigned in a dispute with GMVL.

millennium year, in December 2000. English Partnerships remained the landowner for the homes and infrastructure, and remained engaged in outline planning permission for subsequent phases.

The site in 2004:

Plates Three and Four at the beginning of this thesis show the location and site maps for Greenwich Millennium Village along with photographs of the homes and the public realm. The borders of the Village are clearly delineated by the Thames River and newly landscaped footpaths and cycle-ways to the east, and in the West by a busy dual carriageway, and a retail park. Internal access roads define the northern and southern borders.

At the time of the fieldwork there were about 700 new homes built and inhabited, on just over five hectares of land giving a density of 134 homes per hectare³². On completion, the project was planned to include 2956 homes at a density of about 200 homes per hectare. Approximately 12% of the homes were for social rent or shared ownership, scheduled to rise to 20% by the final stages of the project.

The Village was laid out in quadrants, divided in half by a wide central boulevard and bus lane. The quadrants form a horse-shoe around a large central open space. The quadrant design was echoed at the level of the homes: most are in perimeter blocks of flats joined together at different heights to enclose an internal courtyard, accessible only to key-holders. The design of the courtyards inverts the traditional London squares: instead of the front of the house facing onto a square with a common centre, the 'square' becomes a courtyard enclosed by the backs of terraces and apartment blocks.

³² The density calculation here excludes the large Ecology Park, and major roads. See Cope, H. (2002). *Capital Gains: Making High Density Housing Work in London*. London, London Housing Federation: 140. for a discussion of density calculations.

The homes themselves, as shown in the photos on plate two, were colourful massed buildings, with 'Legoland' as the somewhat affectionate local description for the bright colours, curves, and modern materials. Most flats above ground level had terraces or balconies looking out over open space: the river, the ecology park, or the courtyard, or out to Canary Wharf and the Millennium Dome.

Entrance to the homes was through a secure common entrance or from the ground level enclosed parking. Internally the flats were large, about 20% above the normal space standards for new homes, and bright and airy, with large windows.

Car traffic was restricted within GMV. Cars were expected to park off-street, in designated landscaped parking areas under the buildings or on the edge of the site. Pedestrians had priority in the quiet car-free streets. The restricted access to the central courtyards created a lack of permeability on the site. Rather than passing through the centre of each courtyard to the adjacent building, the visitor had to walk around the perimeters of each of the larger blocks, often a disorienting experience. Navigation around the site was eased by the distinctive colours and designs of the landmark buildings.

The centre of the site was dominated by two large public open spaces: the Ecology Park and the Southern Park. The Ecology Park was a wetlands area, developed and maintained by English Partnerships on reclaimed swamp lands. It featured a staffed learning centre offering frequent activities, and the wheelchair accessible paths wound through a peaceful and pleasant wildlife reserve. The 'Southern Park' was designated but not developed in 2004, and was intended for active play and organized sports. A new Village Square was planned for the next phases to provide a central open meeting place (Erskine Tovatt Architects and Planners 2004).

By 2004, the first two quadrants of GMV had been built, in the north-east and north-west of the site. The north-east quadrant, facing the river, had the tallest and most distinctively designed buildings, with warm vibrant colours using plaster, rough-sawn wood, sheet metal, exposed timber-barrel roofs and windows in various sizes. The buildings ranged in height from eight to thirteen stories, placed here to block the harsh

northerly winds and to maximize the views. These were the most expensive homes: designed by the Swedish firm of Ralph Erskine, they offered striking views of the river and the adjacent ecology park. All homes in this area were flats, with entry from recessed common core entrances. Affordable housing in this quadrant was minimal, limited to eight ground floor flats for shared ownership (see Plate One).

The north west quadrant was designed by Proctor Mathews, using primary colours and exposed steel with accents in clay tile. This quadrant contained most of the social housing, as well as the local school and health centre. The building height and density were lower, stepping down progressively to the less expensive three-storey flats and houses. Private sector homes were typically located on the upper floors, and were mostly one or two bedroom flats. On the ground floors, the houses and larger flats were mostly for social rent or shared ownership.

Services

The north-west quadrant also contained the school and the health centre, both funded by English Partnerships and designed by Cullinan. The public buildings were bright, spacious and attractive buildings, conscious attempts to model New Labour's vision of the public services at the turn of the century. The Greenwich Millennium Primary School was built to include extended day care, an early years centre, and community facilities for Village use. The Health Centre also served the wider region, and provided state of the art facilities in preventative care and treatment, including popular pre-natal and ante-natal clinics.

The only shop within GMV at the time of the fieldwork was a small convenience shop adjacent to the marketing suite. The main shopping area was a 'retail and leisure park' to the south of the site. This strip of big box brand-name shops included a multi-plex cinema, several restaurants, and a large supermarket, and separates GMV from the rest of Greenwich to the south. Development of the retail and leisure building predated the housing, in order to signal that 'something was happening on the Peninsula' as well as to generate revenues used to fund other projects on the site (Dibsdale, 2005, interview).

The next phases of GMV were planned to include several more shops and a cafe, as well as a small community meeting place.

GMV has won numerous architecture awards for the housing design, environmental standards, courtyard landscaping, school and health centre, and ecology park. The village design and architecture have also been critiqued, as 'faux village', 'stockaded', 'a modern new-town' and lacking flexibility to accommodate subdivisions, or ground floor shops instead of flats ((Worpole 2003;Sudjic 2001).

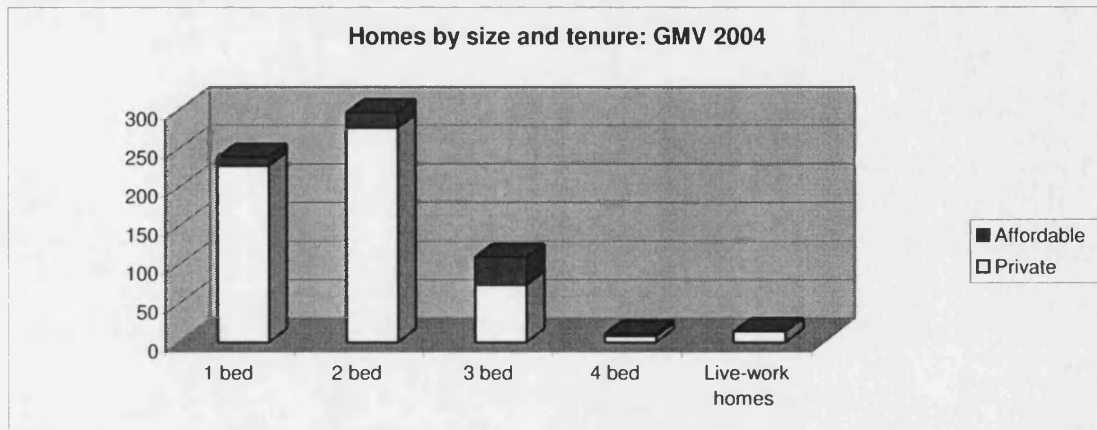
Housing and tenure integration:

At the time of the field work, about 12% of all homes were for social rent or shared ownership: seventy homes altogether.. In the first phases, most social housing was clustered in the north part of the site, away from the most expensive private housing. The clustering, and resulting segregation, was a result of Greenwich Council's request for large homes for families in social housing (Parker, 2003, Cooper 2004). 1. Greenwich council wished to use the new social housing primarily for larger families, their most immediate housing priority (Parker, 2003). The Council negotiated an agreement to add more family houses in place of flats for social rent in return for a reduction in the total percentage of social housing from 25% to 20%. However, the master plan had allocated one specific area for larger family homes, adjacent to the school and health centre, in the less dense part of the site. The Council's priority to house large families in social housing then resulted in a clustering of social housing, and spatial segregation between the social housing and the private housing in the first phases of the project. Crucially for this research, the priority on large family homes for social housing also resulted in a severe reduction of the stock of larger homes for sale.

Figure 5.1 below shows the distribution of homes by size and tenure at GMV in 2004. In the private sector, 85% of the homes had only one or two bedrooms. Homes in the social sector, meanwhile, were larger, with over 50% having at least 3 bedrooms. All the flats in those phases were built with generous internal space standards, about 20% above the industry standards. One bedroom homes were 50 to 70 square meters and two

bedroom flats ranged from 75 to 110 square meters, with large windows and high ceilings.

Figure 5.1 Built homes at GMV, by size and tenure 2004³³



Source: field work, MOAT, GMVL.

Most homes had some outdoor space: a balcony or terrace, private gardens for the ground floor homes, and access to communal gardens. The communal gardens were intended as places for quiet contemplation: to be looked out from the windows and balconies, and for small children at play (Tovatt, 2004). Access to the communal inner area was restricted to key-holders only, making these safe spaces for children. Most courtyards at GMV were hard-landscaped, with low plantings, gravel features and shrubs covering parking areas underneath. Newer courtyards had softer landscaping, with greater use of grass, as shown in the photos on Plate One. Surrounding the communal courtyards was an outer ring of private gardens or patios for ground floor flats and houses. These were often paved for outdoor dining, and were partially enclosed by a low fence.

The social rented homes at GMV were all owned by MOAT. MOAT also managed most of the homes, with 30% managed by a BME housing association, Ujima. In the first phases of social housing no housing grant was received from the Housing Corporation. The Section 106 agreement stipulated that MOAT purchase the homes at 70% of the market value. Purchasing the homes with no social housing grant became increasingly problematic for MOAT, as the values of homes at GMV rose, and housing grant was received for the newer affordable homes. Along with the social housing grant, however, came a ceiling on the price that MOAT can offer the developer for these

homes (Cooper, 2004, interview). As values rise, MOAT may no longer be able to purchase the homes. One possible alternative was the newly introduced 'Home-buy' scheme, in which affordable homes on site may be offered directly by the developer for 70% of their value.

Future plans:

GMV had received planning permission for 2400 homes by 2012. Housing density would increase to nearly 200 homes per hectare. The high density housing, above the the maximum density specified in LB Greenwich's unitary development plan, required a revision of the policies to allow for higher densities for 'non-family housing', on sites of high public transport accessibility and with exceptional design qualities (EDAW 2004b).

The subsequent phases were also scheduled to increase the share of affordable housing to 35%, to create an overall tenure mix of about 20% affordable homes. Flats in the subsequent phases were planned to be smaller on average, with lower ceilings, and less detailed specification (EDAW 2004a; Cherry, 2005). The spatial integration by tenure was planned to change as well, limiting the total number of social housing flats in any block to less than ten, 'sandwiched' between shared equity homes (Cooper, 2005, personal communication). The typical core plan projected ground floors housing families in social rented homes, lower floors with smaller social rented or shared ownership flats, and upper floors given over to market rate flats with views. With this, some blocks were planned with mono-tenure cores (GMVL planning documents 2005).

In addition to the expansions at GMV, a much larger development is planned to extend north from GMV to the Dome, with 10,000 homes (35% affordable) as well as office space, shops, restaurants, leisure facilities and a new primary and secondary school. Housing densities are planned to be about 350 dwellings/hectare. 90% of private sector homes are to be in one and two bedroom flats, and 12% of the social rented homes were to be in three and fourbedroom houses (Meridian Delta Limited (MDL), 2004).

Planning to attract families

Analysis of the competition planning documents and early marketing strategy reveal that GMV was originally envisioned as a place for families in both the private and affordable homes. One striking example is found in a central section of the competition documents, 'The Home of a Lifetime: the story unfolds'. The section describes the projected housing history of a first-time buyer, who are presumably the main clientèle for GMV. The text and illustrations show a single twenty-four year old woman who becomes enthralled with the space and light at GMV. She sells her car and takes out a bank loan in order to purchase an eighty square metre flat. After four years, she has a husband and a baby boy, and the couple have added a conservatory to the flat. After another three years there is a second child, and the couple purchase the flat below to make a grand three-bedroom live-work duplex. The final stage is eight years later, when her ageing parents purchase a ground floor flat in the adjacent building (Greenwich Millennium Team 1997). The ability to remain at Greenwich Millennium Village throughout numerous life-cycle changes, from single life, to childless couples, to families with children, to caring for ageing parents, is conceived as central to the concept of a sustainable community.

The core assumption that GMV would attract families in the private sector was also embedded in early marketing approaches, most vividly in an exhibit proposed for to the Millennium Dome. The marketing strategy showed how a family of four would explore the Village, with the children dashing through coloured fountains in the Square, identifying wildfowl at the Ecology Park and tracking trams over CCTV. In the marketing strategy, the family then purchases a three bedroom family home (Greenwich Millennium Team 1997).

In order to understand if these stories were intended mostly for public relations, or whether families were indeed a target audience for the market rate homes, I spoke with the Swedish master planner, Yohannes Tovatt, who noted that:

Indeed, we envisaged families with children in the market flats, and in the houses. There were more family units in the competition documents than were actually built (Tovatt, 2004.)

The original competition bid for GMV envisioned that about one-fifth of all homes would be houses, with the remaining four-fifths to be flats, as shown in Table 5.1. Nearly half of all houses were to be marketed for sale. Within the private sector, houses, not flats, were to account for about 12% of all homes.

Table 5.1 Proposed homes by type and tenure, 1997

	Flats	Houses	Total
Social rent	60	150	210
Shared ownership	60	14	74
Private	959	134	1079
TOTAL	1079	298	1377

Source (Greenwich Millennium Team 1997b; Greenwich Millennium Team 1997a)c:

The actual mix of homes as built had changed rather substantially by the end of 2004. The share of houses for sale among all private sector homes had been reduced from 12% to 2%. As noted above, about 85% of all homes for sale were one and two bedroom flats, and the larger homes for sale were mostly luxury penthouse flats, not family homes. English Partnerships' representative explained the shift:

At the end of the day, private for-sale housing is market led, and developers will play to the market. The proof of the pudding is borne out through sales prices. That's why it goes that way. There's no point in building private for-sale family houses (sic) if the demand isn't there... I believe these issues will resolve themselves. (Dibsdale, 2005)

The master plans incorporated many facilities attractive to families in addition to the larger family homes and private gardens. The plans projected a new primary school including a creche, a nursery and rooms for after-school groups, a new health centre, child-friendly traffic free streets, an on-site concierge system for full safety and maintenance, and a varied and extensive hierarchy of green and open space.

In my first visit to GMV, I was quite taken with the many family-friendly features. I contacted the on-site estate agent to find out about families living in the private sector homes. His answer echoed what most stakeholders there would repeatedly tell me:

There are very few families with kids purchasing these homes. That's because of the type of development. I don't really think apartments are ideal for families. If people ask me, 'is it family oriented', I am honest and I say, 'no'.

I became very intrigued by the strong official presumption against families with children in the private sector homes, given the vision of a sustainable community for all ages, and the apparent plethora of features for children. The following sections seek to unravel this apparent contradiction.

5.2 Residents

A socio-demographic profile of the residents living at GMV at the time of the field work is presented in this chapter, along with an analysis of their attitudes towards living in the neighbourhood. It is important to note that the social profile of residents may change significantly in the coming years: as noted, only one-fifth of the planned homes had been built at the time of this research, and the share of affordable housing was slated to rise from 12% in the first stages to 35% in subsequent phases.

The information in this section is based on the Field Survey of one hundred residents, supplemented by two resident surveys conducted by the developers (Simpson 2003b; Simpson 2003a). The developers' surveys were hand-delivered self-completion forms with a response rate of 37% among 348 households for the earlier survey and 22% of 415 households for the later survey. The developer's surveys did not provide an analysis of responses by tenure. MOAT Housing Association provided detailed household composition figures for the social housing, including ages of children where known. The 2001 Census was not used for the profile of residents at GMV because at the time of the Census there were almost no households in occupancy.

Table 5.2 below shows that owners and renters together accounted for 85% of residents, and nearly 90% of all households at GMV in 2004. Private renters were about 20% of all households (30% of all private sector households). The developers at GMV worked to limit the share of private renters by not offering discounts to institutional purchasers buying large numbers of homes. The decision to limit the share of private renters was partly driven by a financial analysis: the developers believed there was a strong market for their homes at the offering price, with no need to offer discounts (Putnam, 2004).

Table 5.2: Estimated population by tenure: GMV 09/2004

	# of households	% of households	% of population
Owner Occupied	466	70%	60%
Privately Rented	135	20%	25%
Social Rent	43	7%	10%
Shared Ownership	18	3%	5%
TOTAL	671	100%	100%

Sources: Field Survey, resident survey (GMVL 2003) and mix of homes in approved plans (GMVL 2003).

The field survey conducted for this research interviewed 100 residents from among 600 households living on site by the end of September 2005. The sample profile was selected to represent tenure, area, and phase of building. Table 5.3 below shows the breakdown by tenure of the interviewees. Comparing the field survey with the developer's survey, the main difference is in the percentage of private renters: 25% of the population in the developer's survey, but 38% in the field survey. The lower rate of private renters in the developer's survey may be a result of differences in methodology: the developer's survey sampled households and was delivered to homes while the field survey for this research was conducted on the street and sampled population. There were typically more adults per household in the privately rented homes (sharers) and renters may have had less of an incentive to complete and return the developer survey. The discrepancy may also reflect changes in tenure from the time of the developer's survey in 2003 to the field survey in 2004.

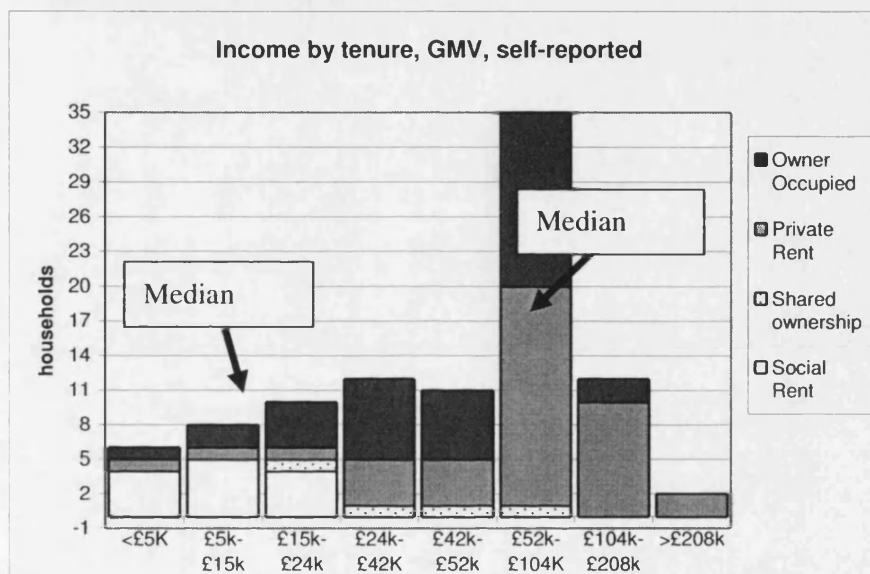
Table 5.3: Field Survey interviews, by tenure

Tenure	No. of interviewees
Owner occupiers	44
Private renters	38
Shared ownership	4
Social rented	14
TOTAL	100

Figure 5.2 below shows the distribution of income at GMV, as reported by interviewees in the field survey. The median household incomes in the private sector was between 159

£53,000 and £100,000, much higher than the Greenwich average of £26,000, and much higher than the median for New Gorbals. In the social rented sector, the median income was between £9,000 –£19,000, similar to that at New Gorbals. There was little overlap across tenures in income levels at GMV, in contrast to the overlap apparent at New Gorbals (see Figure 4.2).

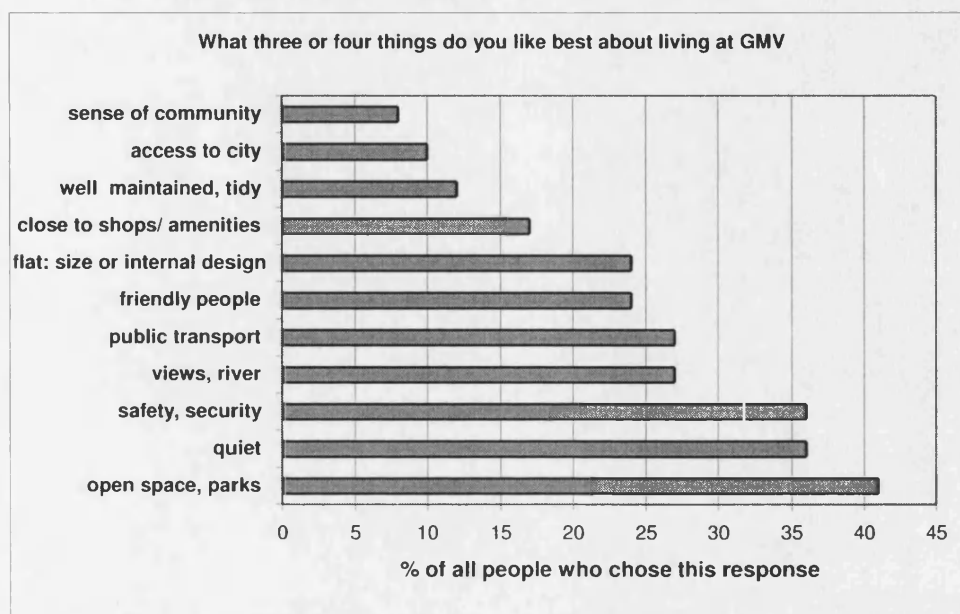
Figure 5.2: Income by tenure at GMV self-reported



Source: field survey

Figure 5.3 shows the aspects of living at GMV that residents like most. Residents of all tenures said they most liked the open spaces and parks at GMV, as well as the quiet, and the river views, all related to the atmosphere of the public realm at GMV. Other well-liked aspects were the safety and security, the public transport, the size and design of the flats, and, interestingly for a new development, the friendly people.

Figure 5.3: What residents like most about living at GMV

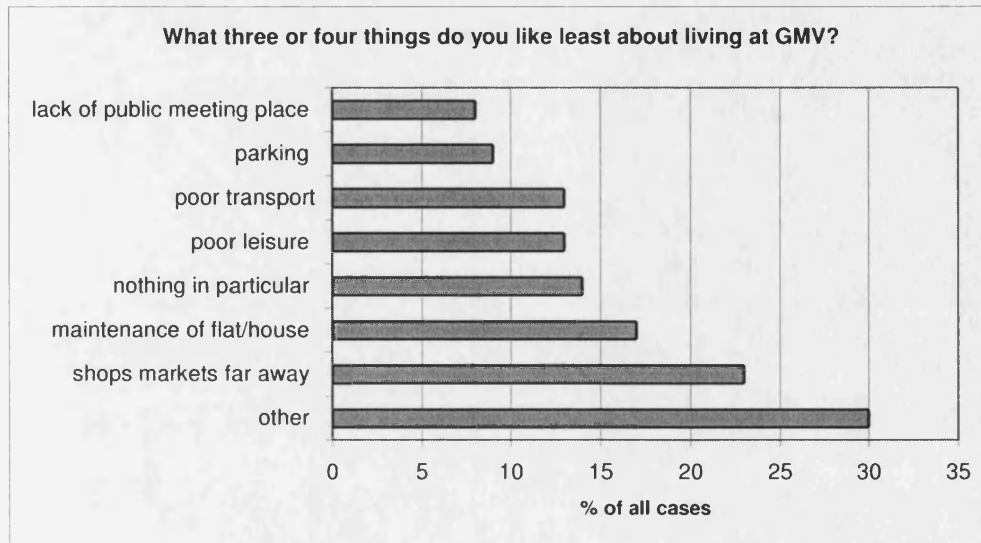


Source: field survey

Many of the features that residents liked best relate to the isolation of GMV: the neighbourhood felt safe and quiet in part because there was little reason for anyone besides the residents themselves to pass through it.

The isolation, however, was also a factor in some of the least liked aspects of the neighbourhood, including the distance to shops and markets, and the lack of organised cultural and leisure facilities (see Figure 5.4 below). Residents had less to say about what they disliked than about what they liked at GMV. Many of the complaints about maintenance were from residents in the most recent phase of building where the build quality was apparently lower, resulting in more complaints about neighbour noise, smells, and overlooking. The comments about transport referred to the crowded buses to the tube at the morning rush hour. The large category of 'other' included single responses such as 'air pollution', 'smells (hops) 'bugs and mice', 'construction noise', 'the CHP system', and 'no playground'

Figure 5.4: What residents like least about living in GMV



Source: field survey

Private sector residents

Owners:

Owners³⁴ at GMV were mostly between the ages of 25 and 44 (80%), with very few over the age of 65. Just over half were couples. They were predominantly white (about 75%), with about one quarter of these coming from outside Britain. Nearly one quarter of owners interviewed (11) gave their ethnicity as non-white with Asian as the single largest group (7)³⁵.

Most owners were not first-time buyers: over 60% had previously owned their own home. Nearly 30% of owners owned another home elsewhere: this included investment properties, weekend houses, and family homes outside the city. Most owners had lived previously in inner-London (50%) or outer London (20%), but few in Greenwich itself (less than 10%).

³⁴ The homes are sold as 'leasehold', not 'freehold'.

³⁵ Across LB Greenwich, 23% of residents were black or minority ethnic, including 11.3% Black or Black British and 6.8% Asian or Asian British (Census 2001). ONS figures do not permit analysis of ethnicity by tenure at neighbourhood level.

Most owners worked as senior managers and professionals. The most frequently named professions were in banking or IT, with a number of people working in 'creative' professions such as architecture, art and design, theatre, dance, and publishing (Simpson 2003). The median annual household income of the owners was between £52,000 and £104,000, much higher than the Greenwich average of £26,000 (See Figure 4.2 above).

When asked why they moved to GMV, owners were most likely to talk about the transport and access to work (70%) and the investment potential (60%). The outdoor features of the area were also important: over half mentioned the outdoor space, and the river views. For some, the flat itself was an important factor (30%).

The values and ethos of Greenwich Millennium Village were a real attraction for about one third of the owners. These talked about the importance of environmental sustainability and the social mix, or about the design quality of the homes.

I liked the environmentally friendly policy, the fact that it is different from everywhere else in London. I liked this one because it is on the lake. (owner)

We were attracted here as an ideal world, a model community. The modern architecture was a big draw too. (owner)

Commenting on the tenure mix at GMV, owners often differentiated between their ideological position, usually in favour but sometimes opposed, and their perception of the mix in practice, typically seen as neutral:

I believe in the tenure mix in principle, though in practice you wouldn't know most of the time'.

As an idea, it skews the market. But in practice, there's no problem, personally.

Nearly all owners were either 'very satisfied' (50%) or 'fairly satisfied' (39%) with the neighbourhood, which is similar to satisfaction levels nationally in urban areas (Survey of English Housing). Despite this, only about 40% of owners thought they would remain at GMV, in contrast to 73% of owners in urban areas nationally (Survey of English Housing).

Private Renters

Monthly private rents at GMV were lower than in central London or in other Docklands area: a one-bedroom flat rented for about £800, and a penthouse for £1500 per month.

The private renters were mostly couples (60%) or sharers in a multi-person household (30%), with very few. They were somewhat younger than the owners, mostly between the ages of 25 and 34. Their occupations, correspondingly, were somewhat more junior, with more associate professionals than higher-level managers. The high levels of household income shown in Figure 5.2 above typically represent multiple incomes sharers within one sharer household.

Most private renters had previously rented their homes. About half had previously lived in inner-London, though not in Greenwich, with the rest split about evenly among Greenwich, outer London, elsewhere in the UK and outside the UK. Just over 20% said they owned another home elsewhere. As expected, they had lived less time at GMV than the owners. They had moved to GMV for reasons similar to those mentioned by the owners, though more renters mentioned the flat itself as an important factor (40%) and very few talked about the values or ethos of GMV.

It's Inner London -- but it's not. It's very green, and central to anywhere.

3 equal sized rooms are good for sharers -not like Victorian homes.

Some renters were on their second or even third home within GMV. There were very few 'for rent' or 'for sale' (resale) signs at GMV, and enquiries to local estate agents found a mere handful of properties for resale or private rent at any given time.

Private renters were less aware of the tenure mix at GMV than owners. Only 40% of renters knew about the tenure mix before they moved to GMV, compared with 95% of owners who knew about the tenure mix in advance. Despite the lack of prior knowledge, private renters attitudes to the tenure mix were similar to those of the owners, typically positive or neutral (77%). Just over 90% of private renters were 'very satisfied' or 'satisfied' with the neighbourhood. Despite this, over 70% of renters reported that they were unlikely to remain at GMV for more than the next few years.

Shared owners and social tenants:

The main housing association, MOAT, worked closely with the LB Greenwich to develop a 'streamed' approach to allocation of social housing at GMV³⁶. Living at GMV was presented to prospective tenants as an opportunity that might not be suitable for all. Tenants in the first phases were offered a choice, and were not penalised for declining the option. The offer of a place at GMV included a home visit with an explanation about special features, including the tenure mix, service charges, and the implications of the environmental principles for parking and electricity costs. In many cases, prospective tenants had a guided tour of the area when it was still a construction site, and received a follow-up visit within a short time of moving in.

There were four 'access streams' of tenants: families with school-aged children who would be transferring to the millennium village school; older council tenants who were vacating large family homes elsewhere in Greenwich; key workers for the shared ownership homes, and people from the regular housing lists. The LB Greenwich ensured that prospective tenants not only had no rental arrears, standard procedure in transfers, but also had no actions against them for anti-social behaviour.

The process was costly for the Council, amounting to about £1000 per transfer, but considered a worthwhile investment (Cooper, interviews 2004, 2005). The nominations process is liable to change in the future with the onset of sub-regional lettings, allowing other London boroughs in addition to Greenwich to nominate tenants.

Fourteen social tenants and four shared owners were interviewed in the field survey. Most had previously lived elsewhere in Greenwich (13/15). They were somewhat older, on average, than residents in the private sector, tending toward the upper half of the 35 – 54 age range. Half of the households had at least one person in part-time or full-time employment, including all the shared ownership homes. Median household income was reported to be between £5000 and £15,000 (see Figure 5.2 above). Tenants had lived in the area slightly longer than private sector residents, in part because the social rented homes were the first completed on site, and in part because tenants were more likely to

³⁶ The director for MOAT had previously worked for LB Greenwich housing, facilitating contacts. (Cooper, personal communication, 2005).

remain. Income levels for the shared ownership homes were apparently rather higher: the park warden, for instance, reported that her salary was too low to qualify for shared ownership (Smith, interview, 2004).

All reported that the reason they moved to GMV was the flat or house: its size and layout, stressing the generous size and higher than usual ceiling-to-floor heights. The homes afford a particularly high measure of privacy for a high-density area, and the sound-proofing has won accolades as a best practice standard, 'virtually non-existent transfer of noise' (Mulholland 2003).

This is the opportunity of a lifetime for me. We were crowded into a small 3 bedroom flat in Greenwich, and now we've got 4 bedroom house. My rent increased from £65 to £100 a week, I'm glad we could afford it. I just love living here, the country atmosphere, the friends, I know most people because of the school. I feel safe here – that's the most important to me.

Some tenants in the social rented housing noted that while their new homes were far preferable to their previous homes, they personally did not like modern housing features such as open-plan kitchens and the bright colours:

If I had that money I certainly wouldn't buy here, not at those prices. I'd get a house of my own, with a private garden to myself, not that concreted over bit, that has no privacy (tenant).

Tenants liked the friendly people at GMV, and mentioned this far more than did the private sector residents. They also liked the quiet, and the proximity to transport and amenities. Most tenants said there was nothing in particular that they didn't like, with one tenant commenting that there was nowhere to buy yams or root vegetables. The single most frequent problem concerned the costs of maintenance and heating: most households experienced a rent increase when they moved from previous council homes to the MOAT owned homes at GMV. The cost of combined rent and mortgage was mentioned as a serious problem by several of the shared owners.

It's been more expensive than we had expected: the rise in rent, plus council tax plus water plus CHP. We weren't told about the heating bill - then a

massive one arrived. I have had to start work as well as my husband to afford this

Nine of fourteen tenants, and three of four shared owners said they were unlikely to leave over in the coming years MOAT confirmed that turnover at GMV was very low.

I've grown up on some very rough estates. This is the best. If you are housed here by a Housing Association, then you're very very lucky (tenant).

We would not leave here ever! (tenant).

Table 5.4 below summarises the typical characteristics of residents at GMV, by tenure.

Table 5.4: Typical characteristics of residents at GMV, by tenure

	Owner occupiers	Private renters	Social tenants and shared owners
Previous residence and tenure	Owners (60%)	Renters (70%)	Social rent (all s.tenants). Private rent (all s. owners)
Average age	25 – 44 (80%)	25 – 34 (60%)	35 – 44 (60%)
Occupations	Senior managers and professionals.	Associate professionals and junior managers.	Skilled trades, administrative and secretarial.
Median income per household	£52 – 104K	£52 – 104k	£5 – 15K
Reasons for moving in	Transport/access to work (70%) Investment(60%)	Transport (50%), outdoor space (30%), the flat (30%).	The size and design of the flat or house.
Length of residence	Less than two years (75%)	Less than one year (65%).	Two to five years (66%)
Most liked features	Open spaces and views, quiet, friendly people, transport access.	Open spaces and views, quiet, safety, friendly people.	Friendly people, quiet.
Least liked features	Cost of maintenance, distance to shops, building snags.	Poor leisure facilities, distance to shops.	Nothing in particular
Attitude towards social mix	Positive to neutral, 95% knew in advance	Positive to neutral, 40% knew in advance	Mostly or very positive. Half of tenants and all shared owners knew in advance.
Overall satisfaction	Very or fairly satisfied (90%)	Very or fairly satisfied (90%)	Fairly or very satisfied (80%).
'Very'/'fairly' like to move soon.	60%	70%	30%

Families at GMV

In-depth interviews were conducted with thirty-nine families at Greenwich Millennium Village. Table 5.5 below, compares the tenure of the families interviewed with the estimated numbers of families living at GMV at the time of the fieldwork³⁷, and finds that the research succeeded in interviewing upwards of one in four families in the private sector homes at GMV.

³⁷ The number of families in the neighbourhood was of course in constant flux, as new homes were built and residents arrived and left. The figures in this section are based on the best available data, but due to the small total population and the small sample size, they must be regarded as estimates only.

Table 5.5: Families interviewed as share of all families at GMV, by tenure

Tenure	Estimated total number of families, by tenure	Number Interviewed	Percentage interviewed
Owners	61	15	25%
Private renters	14	6	44%
Social tenants	26	15	58%
Shared owners	13	3	24%
TOTAL	112	39	25%

Sources: GMVL accommodation phase schedule, MOAT detailed household composition figures, developer survey, field survey..

The estimated distribution of families and child density, by tenure is shown in Table 5.6 below. About 13% of owners and 10% of renter households at GMV had children, far lower than the 33% among households of all tenure nationally, 29% of all owners in Greenwich, and 25% of all owners in London (Census 2001). In sharp contrast, families made up about 60% of the social rented homes, and 70% of the shared ownership homes.

In describing life for families at GMV, planners, developers and council officers frequently indicated that the vast majority of children were living in the social housing homes. Residents of all tenure also shared this perception. In discussing the tenure mix, for example, both residents and stakeholders often described children's play as a visible sign of the presence of social housing tenants.

However, the field survey and the interviews conducted with families began to reveal more children living in the private sector homes than had previously been expected. Since this finding was strongly at variance with the general impression, I was granted access to unpublished data on household composition by the housing association and the developer's researcher.

Careful comparison among the sources confirmed that the majority of children at GMV were from the private sector homes, as shown in Table 5.6 below. Including the shared ownership families would raise the total percentage of children from households with housing choice to 70% of all children at GMV.

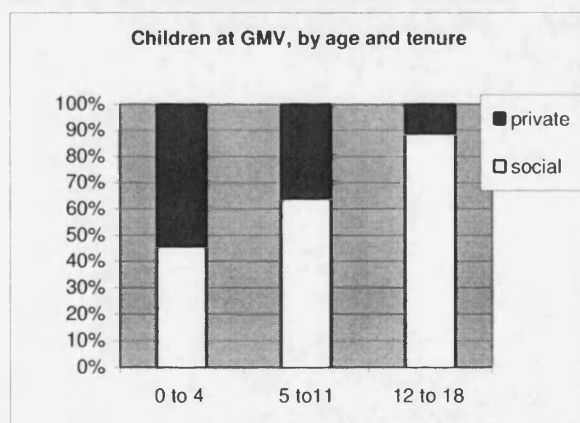
Table 5.6: Estimated households with children, and child density, by tenure.

	% of all households within this tenure	% with children within this tenure ³⁸	% of all children who are within this tenure	'Child density': children/all people within tenure
Owner Occupied	69%	13%	45%	10%
Privately Rented	20%	10%	10%	6%
Social Rent	8%	60%	35%	40%
Shared ownership	3%	70%	15%	40%
TOTAL	100%	16%	100%	13%

Sources: GMVL accommodation phase schedule, MOAT detailed household composition figures, Simpson 2003a, 2003b, field survey..

In addition to the absolute number of children across tenures, the distribution of the children across age ranges is also revealing, as shown in Figure 5.5 below. Children from the private sector homes (not including shared ownership) were over 60% of all children under five, but fewer than 15% of all secondary school aged children. The decreasing share of older children from the private sector homes is explained by the pattern of families in the private sector: most had arrived at GMV without children, or with infants only, and children born at GMV would have been no older than five by late 2004.

Figure 5.5: Children at GMV, by age and tenure



Sources: Field Survey, MOAT household composition, Simpson 2003a, 2003b.

Of course, the exact ages and tenure split of children in the neighbourhood is a moving target, changing as new homes are built and as residents come and go. The important issue to clarify is that because the vast majority of all homes were in the private sector (85% not including the shared ownership homes), even a small percentage of families in

the private sector (less than 15%) was sufficient to generate a majority of children from the private sector homes.

There are several possible explanations for the mistaken impression among stakeholders and residents that nearly all children at GMV were from the social housing homes. Ethnicity may be one factor. White parents in private homes almost always knew of other White British families, but rarely referred me to non-White families in private sector housing. They may have assumed that the Asian and Black families were living in social housing. Second, the children in the private homes were mostly of pre-school age, but there were no pre-school frameworks at GMV, and many of the children spent their days at nurseries off site. Some may also have spent weekends in second homes, away from GMV. Third, the main point of contact with residents for estate agents and managers would have been at the time of purchase, when many of the private sector households did not yet have children. Finally, families were only a small percentage of all households in the private sector, so few families would have been visible in any given block.

Whatever the explanations, correcting the assumption that there were very children from the private sector homes at GMV may help to contribute to future planning for families in the neighbourhood, as discussed in the following sections. The next section presents a socio-demographic profile of the families by tenure, and describes their attitudes towards raising children at GMV.

Families in the private homes:

Families in the private sector housing were demographically similar to the couples without children in most respects, including ethnicity, income, and occupation. Most had moved in before they had children, and so their reasons for purchasing at GMV were identical to those of the larger group of private sector households without children. Very few of these families had more than two children.

When I moved in, I wasn't thinking about raising children here. I bought a 2 bedroom flat. I hadn't yet even met N (his partner). Eight months later, she was pregnant. I had no notion of raising kids here at all, but the fact that there was a school here was important, and the Ecology Park too (owner)

One difference from the child-less households was that fewer of the mothers were working in full or part-time employment than the women without children. Nearly all women without children in the private sector, but only fourteen of the twenty-one mothers in the private sector households worked outside the homes. The percentage of employed mothers at GMV is similar to the national figures for mothers with higher education who return to work after the birth of their first child (65%) (Gatrell 2004) . The decision to return to work or not has implications for the family's decision to remain at GMV. For example, one new mother explained that her decision to stop working with the birth of their first child meant that her family could no longer afford the mortgage. The family had then decided that as long as she no longer needed to be near her former job, they would leave GMV and relocate outside London.

Parents and non-parents also differed in their opinions on raising children in the city. Nearly all the parents in the private sector thought that London could be a good place for raising children – but fewer than half the private sector residents without children agreed. One possible explanation is that those parents who felt otherwise had already left. However, I found few stories of parents who had left GMV for child-related reasons, although stories of this kind were plentiful at one of the other case study areas.

More plausible is that either the experience of raising children at GMV changed the opinion of these parents, or that at least some of these parents were already pre-disposed to raising children in the city, rather than in the suburbs or the countryside.

We bought a two bedroom flat because we knew the child would be on the agenda at some point. The suburbs isn't my style, I'm from the suburbs. Previously we were living in the West End, I would rather go back into the centre than the suburbs, if anything, but I don't think Soho's the place for child raising.

Nearly all families in the private sector homes were living in flats, not houses, since there were few houses for sale. Some families said they were happy to raise their

children in a flat, rather than a house. This was particularly true of residents from Scotland and from overseas elsewhere in Northern Europe:.

“We wanted a modern flat, I am from Glasgow and flatted housing is the vernacular there, we are used to flat living in the cities, not like the English. This way, I’m not carting children’s toys up the stairs all the time, and we have the convenience of maintenance and a concierge” (owner, GMV)

Most of these families also lived on the upper floors, since the larger ground floor flats were usually allocated to social housing, including shared ownership homes. Despite living in flats, not houses, these families were largely pleased with their homes, and nearly all (17/20) thought the size and design of the flats was suitable for raising children. Parents liked the wide corridors, high ceilings, large family rooms, and especially the sliding doors between the children’s bedroom and the family room in some flats.

The flat is very open. It doesn’t actually feel like a flat, just a home’ (owner)

One repeated complaint about the homes concerned the limited storage and kitchen space. As one mother, showing me the cupboard –sized kitchen in her spacious penthouse flat, said:

‘The kitchen has exactly four cupboards. They expected us to be using the kitchen only in order to microwave the take-away meals (owner).

Significantly, most of the families living in these flats had only one young child. Many of the parents noted that as their family expanded, or their children got older, they would look for a larger flat, with three bedrooms or more. However, as noted above, there were almost no larger flats for sale at GMV.

Nearly all parents of school-age children at GMV were sending their children to the newly built neighbourhood school, the Millennium Primary School. The few exceptions were those who preferred a Catholic school. Parents of all tenure described high levels of satisfaction with the Millennium Primary School (MPS). Relative to other schools in the area they rated it ‘much better than average’, and, in fact, the MPS ranked in the top twenty percent of Greenwich schools for aggregate achievement. Parents praised the school ethos, ‘a whole child approach’; the award-winning use of ICT; the striking new

design and very well resourced facilities; and the family feel and welcoming approach of staff.

The Millennium Primary School was a main factor in our decision to move here. We chose to move from a 2 bed to a 2 bed just so our kids could go to the school. Now have 3 bed finally (private renter).

The school has a lovely atmosphere, very friendly and welcoming to parents as well as children. The teachers are very good, and they do creative things with art and dance' (owner)

Families in private homes at GMV were largely aware that they were living in a mixed-income neighbourhood, and for many of them, this was a positive feature. Nearly all the owners with children had been aware of the planned social mix at GMV when they chose to live there: the affordable homes are clearly marked in the purchasing information and on the scale models, and the mix had been an advertised part of GMV's ethos. Parents said their children had friends from the social housing in about two-thirds of the private households. Few of the private sector families interviewed volunteered stories or much information relating directly to the social mix, although they were aware that this was very relevant to the research — it didn't seem to be an important part of their experience at GMV. Most comments were fairly neutral:

I don't notice it - people change their style when they move here, so you can't tell who is who (private renter).

It is good, I guess, for people to know a little bit about each other (owner).

Belonging to a community was considered 'very important' (14/20) or 'somewhat important' (3/20) to the families in the private homes, more so than for private sector households without children. Three in four private sector families said they felt a 'belonging' (12/20) or a 'weak belonging' (3/20) to the community at GMV. As one owner mother said:

I wouldn't have said that community was important to me before, but it is crucial now, with the kids. I don't join in as much as the others here. . There are all sorts of societies, theatre groups, social get-togethers...(owner mother).

Families rated GMV very highly as a neighbourhood in which to raise children. The few negative responses tended to be from parents who believed that London, and large cities in general, are not good places for raising children.

I think GMV is perfect for children, it's like a little oasis in the middle of London (owner, mother of toddler)

Despite the positive response by parents, homes at GMV had not been marketed as family homes. Advertisements showed beautiful young couples doing yoga and drinking wine, not families at the dinner table. The on-site marketing suite was expensively decorated in earthy tones with delicate stone and wood sculptures, with a panelTV in the master bedroom: not the kind of dirt-proof sturdy furnishings geared towards families. As one resident said:

From the marketing, I got the impression that this place wasn't for families, and I was afraid that people might look oddly at me living in a flat with a child. I was surprised to find out how many families lived here' (owner, mother)

Families in the private sector were more likely than those without children to say that they intended to remain at GMV. However, about half the families said it was very or fairly likely that they would leave in the next few years. For many the reason was personal: changing work or moving countries. For others, the lack of larger homes with outdoor access was the main factor that could make them leave in the coming years.

We'll see how it goes. I like the Village as a community, I want to stay living here, but I could imagine us needing some outside space, other than just a balcony. I would hope that as the development grows they would have housing with more outside space, so kids can be safe, without other people saying oi, he's making so much noise (owner).

There is a huge market [for family housing] here. So many babies are being born.... [Developers should] have more of a longterm view than just building for couples. Couples have babies. If you are going to go through the trouble to build a school, then build flats for families too..."(owner, parent).

Families in social housing

By the end of 2004 there were nearly forty families with children in affordable housing at GMV. Twenty-five of these were in social rented homes (60% of all social rented homes), and thirteen in shared ownership (70% of all shared ownership homes)³⁹.

Twenty families in social housing were interviewed for this research, with a lower proportion of shared-ownership homes because many of these residents moved in after the end of the field research. About half of these families with children were headed by lone parents.

Overall satisfaction among social housing families was very high. Families were particularly happy with the houses. These typically had open plan kitchens overlooking the small private gardens, and attached to the spacious living rooms. The houses had a number of special child-friendly features: built-in storage; safety windows with security bars, and in some homes sliding doors leading between a child's bedroom and the living room allowing them to expand the child's playspace into the living area during the day, and reclaim it as adult territory at night. Overall, nearly all families in social housing interviewed said that the size and design of their homes was suitable for raising children (17/18), even more so than the private sector homes:

I visited a friend who owns her flat here. Hers is small, and mine is much more roomy (social tenant).

The ground floor houses had small private gardens attached. These were appreciated by parents, but their proximity to the shared courtyards also engendered complaints about the lack of privacy, particularly in the smaller courtyards:

I don't want to see Mr. Murphy when I go out to my private garden in my nightie -- even if he does say he doesn't mind. (social tenant)

On our patio, I am hiding from my community. My son doesn't like having a dozen kids chatting at him, looking over the walls, looking on, he's autistic and he needs quiet (social tenant).

³⁹ According to detailed household composition figures received from the housing associations.

The garden isn't sheltered off, you can stare right through, especially in the summer, when it isn't dark until 09:00 pm. In the summer there are usually 10 children out there, maybe 20, with no adults (shared owner).

This sense of exposure in the private gardens at GMV was termed the 'goldfish bowl' experience in a recent report on privacy in high-density neighbourhoods (Mulholland 2003). One solution recommended there was to consider separating the private garden space from communal garden space, for example by providing private garden space to the rear, and communal space to the front of the buildings. However, the most recent design statement from GMVL seemed to retain the connection between the private and the semi-private spaces, with no high walls or separation fences between the private gardens and the courtyards (Erskine Tovatt Architects and Planners 2004)

Families in the social housing had typically moved in with school aged children, particularly those whose children were being transferred to the Millennium Primary School. As a consequence, many of the families knew each other previously from the school. Nearly all the families in the social housing sent their school-aged children to the local Millennium Primary School, and, like the parents in the private sector homes, they were very well-satisfied with the school. Many of the parents in social housing (9/12) reported that they volunteered with their children's class at school.

Love the teachers, very friendly. Everything is so high tech. There's everything the children need (tenant, mother).

The school is fabulous. It always seems so happy, I can see it from my window at home. It has a good reputation, the staff are terrific, I like the inclusionary policies, and of course the facilities (shared ownership, mother).

When asked about the social mix, social tenant parents said they felt it was positive or neutral. However, their additional comments were more conflicted: some mentioned that owners had complained about their children playing in the courtyards, and others described a social divide, for instance describing their feeling of exclusion from a 'resident's lunch' planned at a local pub for £25 per head. About half the social housing families reported that their children played with children from the private sector homes. Most families in the social housing intended to remain at GMV for the years to come.

“This is the best thing that could have happened to me and my family. I wake up to a sense that I am actually somewhere nice. Despite the problems, nothing would ever make me wish I didn’t live here’ (social tenant, father of three children)

Family characteristics and attitudes are summarised in Table 5.7 below.

Table 5.7: Summary of family characteristics and attitudes, by tenure and type.

	Families in affordable housing	Families in private housing
Age of children	All ages	Mostly pre-school
Dual career families?	Shared owners, but not social tenants	About 65%
Send children to local primary?	Yes.	Yes.
Opinion of local primary schools.	Very high	Very high
Involvement in school	Volunteer with class	Meet with teachers
Kids play across tenure?	About half	Two-thirds.
Attitude to tenure mix?	Mixed	Neutral
Rate n’hood for raising children	Excellent	Good to excellent.
Intend to move?	Very few	About half

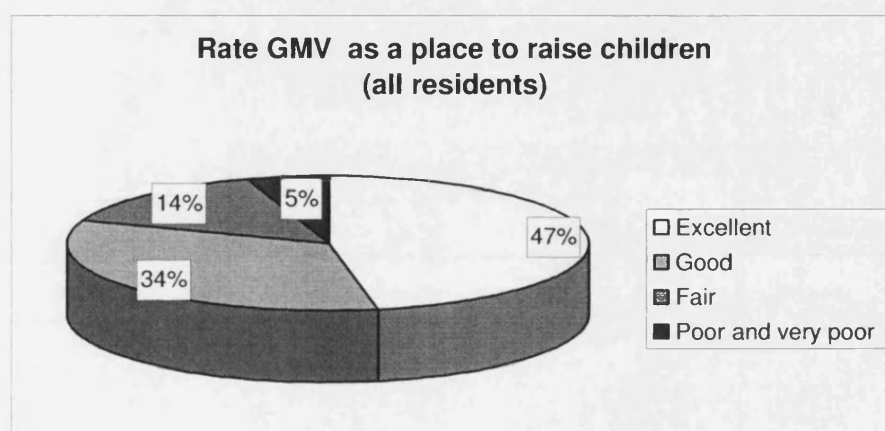
5.3 Raising children

All residents, not just parents, were asked to rate the neighbourhood as a place to raise children. Figure 5.6 below shows that most residents felt that GMV was a good or excellent place to bring up children. GMV received the highest rating by residents as a good place for bringing up children across the three case study areas. These ratings are compared with each other, and against national findings, in Chapter 8, Figure 8.1. The few negative responses were mostly from people who believed that London, and large cities in general, were not good places for raising children.

This is the best thing that could have happened to me and my family. I wake up to a sense that I am actually somewhere nice. Despite the problems, nothing would ever make me wish I didn't live here' (social tenants, father of three children).

This section explores the reasons for the high ratings, discussing the homes and gardens, the educational facilities, and the public realm.

Figure 5.6: Rating the area as a place for raising children



Source: field survey

Homes and courtyards

The last section described families' general satisfaction with the size and layout of homes at GMV, across all tenures. It might be expected that parents in social housing would appreciate the purpose-built houses with small 'private' gardens. However, it was by no means apparent that families with housing choice would be satisfied with flats in relatively high-density blocks. Families in England typically aspire to live in houses, as frequently noted in surveys of consumer preferences (Mulholland 2000; Senior, Webster et al. 2002; CABE 2005). That the flats at GMV succeed in meeting the aspirations of middle-to higher income parents has important implications for the design of urban family housing in London, and perhaps also for other large cities in Britain.

Part of the parents' satisfaction with the flats can be attributed to physical factors: the above average space standards and ceiling heights, the careful design and layout of the rooms, and to the sense of privacy created by well-insulated walls and the lack of overlooking across the courtyards. Other factors concern the families themselves. First, about a quarter were from European countries outside Britain, where they may have been more accustomed to raising children in flats. Second, most of the families in the private sector had only one child, usually pre-school aged. Flat-living may be more acceptable to these families than to those with more or older children. Finally, the majority of the families in private homes had two professionally employed adults, allowing them the income to afford expensive flats not far from the city core.

The internal courtyards were not usually named as a positive feature of raising children at GMV. Some private-sector families in the larger courtyards noted that their children enjoyed playing there. More typical, however, were complaints about the noise and lack of privacy in the courtyards. Complaints were strongest in the two smallest courtyards:

Too many children here see the courtyard as an extended playground. There are too many children, they play football, biking, all around the courtyard, there are restrictions but no one enforces them here, I tried to and got my plants ripped up, stolen, accidental rubbish in the yard, here's a rock they threw through, the worst is that my cat was poisoned. (social tenant, mother)

The size of the courtyards had been determined in proportion to the height and massing of the surrounding homes. The taller and denser blocks of flats had larger courtyards, while the less dense areas, primarily those with the family houses, had smaller courtyards. In practice, the effect was that the areas with the most children had the smallest courtyards. Children's unsupervised play in these courtyards concerned parents in both private sector and social housing, and parents raised problems of noise, pilfering and minor vandalism, and tensions with other residents.

GMVL had set regulations about play in the courtyard, defining acceptable 'passive play', primarily for toddlers, and inappropriate 'active play', including ball games and bicycle riding. Some parents were frustrated by these rules, and others felt that they

would be unable to enforce them, and so had simply banned the children from using the courtyard.

I don't go out to the courtyard. Even in summer I never go out there. I banned the children (ages 9,10, 11) from using the courtyard, I don't want them getting yelled at. You can't ban younger children though (shared owner parent)

I'm happy when it rains, and when there's poor weather in the winter, so that the courtyard is quiet, not a buzzing mess as it is in the summer-time'(social tenant, mother).

Families whose children had been misbehaving in the courtyard received visits from the concierge, and from the MOAT housing officer, where appropriate. MOAT's community development worker reported that children's behaviour in the courtyards had improved over time:

These children had never lived anywhere they had to treat properly before, they weren't accustomed to having garden space and all they knew how to do out there was kick a football. By the end of the first summer, they had learned to do things differently, to bring out little toy cars to run around, drawing paper. It was about sticking with it, having the resources to keep putting the plants back if they ripped them out... (Fields, 2004, interview).

GMVL carried out a poll about adding toddler play facilities such as small wooden play houses or stepping stones to the courtyards. The play facilities were supported by 75% of families with children, but opposed by 70% of households without children (Simpson 2003). The most recently built phases of GMV accommodate the families' need for 'quiet play' by incorporating 'passive' play for toddlers in the courtyards, without prior consultation .

The difficulties arising from children's noise in the courtyards may have a cultural as well as a design element. The Swedish GMV master planner declared himself 'absolutely shocked' to learn from the fieldwork that children playing in the courtyards could be an issue of contention:

'This would never happen in Sweden. People there assume that children will play in the courtyards, and the noise levels are acceptable' (Tovatt 2005).

Despite the families' satisfaction with the flats, as indicated overall in the field work, the developers were not persuaded that the flats were appropriate for families. The CEO of Countryside Properties stated his belief that English culture would not accept families by choice in flats on higher floors:

It's about what you know, and, like it or not, in Britain, families will expect to live at ground level in one or two or maybe three storey houses. The change in culture from a three-storey house to living six storeys up would be – very very difficult. You have to recognize that this is a psychological issue. (Alan Cherry, interview).

By the end of the fieldwork, however, residents with growing families had begun telling the developers of their desire to purchase larger flats in the neighbourhood, and GMVL was investigating the potential market for larger flats for families on the lower floors within the next phases of the project (EDAW 2004a);and interviews with Putnam, 2004, Gimblett, 2005)

Overall, the flats at GMV were considered a positive feature for private-sector families, so long as their families were young, and small. In order to retain these families over time, however, GMV would need to provide larger flats at prices that were attractive to dual-income couples.

Childcare and schools

Providing high quality education across tenures was inherent in the goals for the Millennium Community (Greenwich Millennium Team 1997; Greenwich Millennium Team 1997). At the time of the fieldwork, the new Millennium Primary School (MPS) had become a very popular school for parents of all tenure at GMV. This section focuses on the Millennium Primary School, and on the 'joined-up' coordination across housing, education, and funding sectors. The section opens with a discussion of facilities for pre-school children.

Early childcare

The Millennium Primary School (MPS) had been designed with full Early Years facilities, as part of Greenwich Council's vision of new primary schools. These facilities included an Early Years Centre with full-time equivalent places for fifty 3-4 year olds, fourteen 2 to 3 year olds, and ten 1-2 year olds, and a crèche for the use of parents attending the health centre or other activities in the school. The Early Years Centre was intended to offer an extended day for 48 weeks of the year (Millennium Primary School, planning brief 1999, Dennison 2004 interview).

However, in 2004 the Early Years Centre at the MPS was not in operation. The Headteacher explained that the Early Years facilities had been inappropriately designed and was not in use because the facilities did not meet educational specifications (Dennison, 2004, interview). As a result, the rooms had been turned over to other uses, including a well-equipped toy library, a mother-toddler group, and a breakfast club and after school club -at £16 a day, considerably more costly than in some other parts of London... These facilities were used by a small number of children, and for limited hours weekly.

A different explanation for the lack of early child-care at the Millennium Primary School was offered by the Greenwich LEA officer. He noted that the design flaws could be easily remedied, but that the main obstacle was a lack of budget, resulting from the

LEA's priorities in operating daycare. The LEA operated subsidised early years care in disadvantaged neighbourhoods, as a passport into employment. GMV, with its low share of social housing at the time, did not qualify as a priority:

“The model of Greenwich Millennium Village with an integrated under- threes centre at the primary school is probably in retrospect more suited to a different type of housing development, one with a higher percentage of social housing” (Johncock, 2004).

In the absence of LEA funding for the Early Years programme at the MPS, parents experienced a severe lack of child-care places. GMV was outside the catchment area for the nearby, and much acclaimed, subsidised Robert Owen Early Years Centre. Waiting lists for childcare places there and elsewhere were often up to eighteen months. Some parents who needed child-care in order to remain in employment had examined local area state nurseries but felt these were *‘more about day-care than about education’*. Other parents had enrolled their infants in private nurseries, either close to their place of work (*‘but taking the baby on the Jubilee Line to Waterloo is a nightmare, I don’t think I can keep it up’*), or in Canary Wharf where monthly fees costs were equivalent to rent for a two-bedroom flat. No families seemed to be employing au-pairs or live-in nannies, perhaps because nearly all were living in two bedroom flats.

It is possible that the Early Years Centre at the MPS could have been ‘franchised’ to a private sector operator, providing a combination of subsidised and market-rate places for this mixed-income development. However, there was no advocate for such a scheme at the time of the fieldwork, and both the LEA officer and the MPS Head-Teacher considered this to be outside their range of experience and responsibilities.

Primary School

The Millennium Primary School was highly popular and nearly all parents across tenures sent their children there, as described in Section 5.2 of this chapter. The school was designated as an ‘inclusive’ school, meaning that it must accept children with special needs from elsewhere in the Borough, and was recognised by the DfES as a ‘Beacon School’, a model for others. The pupils were drawn from both middle-class

Victorian homes in Greenwich and from neighbouring council estates as well as from GMV. Indicators of special needs were roughly similar to the Greenwich LEA average in 2004, though well above national averages, as shown in Table 5.8 below:

Table 5.8: Indicators of special needs at Millennium Primary School

	Millennium Primary School	Greenwich LEA	Nationally
% Free School Meals	34%	38%	16.8%
% Special Educational Needs	21%	22%	17.6%
% English as additional language	30%	25%	8%

When GMV was first planned, population projections did not justify the building of a new school, as the planned growth of population in the peninsula could have been absorbed in neighbouring primary schools for many years to come. However, the developers requested that a new primary school be built along with the first homes:

We said 'well that's all very well to build the school once the children are there, but we ain't going to get families to come and live here if they've got too far to go to school. And in any case, you need to make a statement early on in development, that this is not just a promise, this is here, now. So we were able to persuade government to make the money available to provide the primary school at a very early stage of the development. And the same with the health facilities. (Cherry, 2005).

The Local Educational Authority (LEA) supported the request for a new school, and suggested an extensive brief for 'the school of the future' within the high-profile Millennium Village. The Local Education Authority planning officer related that:

We included everything possible to make this a model school of the future, to resonate with the vision of the new Millennium community – a fully inclusive school, with community facilities for Village events, fully accessible classrooms, extended day care, an early years centre, and a drop-off crèche, the most modern computer technology, and an award-winning architectural design (Johncock, 2004).

Funding for the new school came from English Partnerships, following intervention from the Office of the Deputy Prime Minister. EP's brochure noted that the school would be '*much more than a school*'. It was intended to be open to the community

after-hours, with wrap-around care and holiday play schemes. Special features included a larger-than-usual practical area for hobbies and arts and crafts; a large studio and community room; and a wide range of adult education and training opportunities to be offered during the school day in the open learning centre. The school grounds also include a flood-lit all-weather pitch and changing rooms, with separate entrance, and an enlarged reception area, both designed for safe separate access by public groups outside school hours (EP brochure, 1999).

The LEA voiced a number of concerns about the new school in a consultation document for local parents:

The likelihood of a slow build-up of population on the Millennium Village creates the risk of surplus capacity in the new school in the early years of its life. The cost of maintaining the school may be disproportionately high. The same effect may be felt in other neighbouring schools, if children are drawn away, thus increasing their unit costs at the same time and creating the potential for instability. (Greenwich Council MPS consultation document, 1999: 7)

To mitigate the problems, the LEA proposed to populate the new premises with an already well-established school. Four schools were invited to bid for the move, though all were able to decline the opportunity. The Annendale school was selected because it had an established reputation, a socially mixed student body, and a well-respected head teacher. It was then housed on a valuable site, in a building which needed expensive repairs if it was to continue as a school. Parents, who were consulted intensively over the proposed move, were concerned about the distance to the new school, and the LEA promised to examine the possibility of providing special buses for pupils facing a long journey⁴⁰. After eighteen months in the new building, research conducted by the then deputy Head teacher found that nearly all parents and children felt that the move was an improvement (Dennison 2001).

Planning for the new school also involved the Housing Association. MOAT and Greenwich Council together agreed to give priority to tenants with children at the

⁴⁰ Buses were apparently never provided.

Annendale School, in order that the first families at GMV would already be sending their children to the new neighbourhood school. When the new school was opened by the Secretary of State for Education, among the parents waiting to greet her were the first five social housing families in residence at Greenwich Millennium Village.

The school's Headteacher said she sought to create ties between the school and the Millennium Village. One obstacle, however, was the lack of an external budget for community events. Use of the technologically complex facilities required the presence of a 'facilities manager', whose time was funded by the rent generated. Charges for use of the premises were high as a result, and few GMV events such as community meetings or exercise groups were held at the school.

The head teacher noted that parents from the Village had been active in the parent-teacher association, and reflected that parents from the middle class homes at GMV had been particularly active. The school had also worked together with the residents who were not parents, organising a Village Fayre with the Residents' Association. The Fayre took place on the grounds of the School, with the active participation of the Headteacher. The developers also continued to support the school, funding the Village Fayre and other activities such as an outing to the cinema (Cherry, 2005). As a result of resident involvement, the school was considering changing the name of the Parent-Teacher Association, to 'Friends of Millennium Primary School' to acknowledge local residents who are not parents.

In all, and despite the difficulties, the MPS exemplified a high level of coordination and cooperation across sectors, including the LEA and the Council's housing department, the developers and the housing association, and parents and other residents. The strong cooperation across sectors seems to have helped the school become '*the real centre of the community*' according to one of the parents.

Secondary School:

Secondary schools were rarely mentioned in the interviews with parents in the private sector, perhaps because their children were still very young. Those parents who did

discuss secondary schools noted the option of high-performing independent secondary schools in the area. Parents in the social housing voiced concerns about the nearest state secondary school, John Roane, which had one of the lowest rates of GCSE passes in Greenwich, according to the BBC school ranking website. Future plans for the peninsula included a new secondary school in conjunction with new housing.

In summary, the success of the primary school at GMV provides an important model for cross-sector cooperation at a mixed-income neighbourhood, bringing together housing and education, developers and residents. However, replication of the MPS model may require special funding such as that received at GMV. The failure to utilize the school's early childhood education facilities illustrates the difficulties of operating traditionally subsidised services in a mixed-income neighbourhood.

The public realm

A quality public realm was an integral part of the master plan for Greenwich Millennium Village, seen as particularly important given the isolated site on the then-desolate peninsula. GMV had a dense hierarchy of open spaces, progressing from the smallest and most private gardens, terraces and balconies, through mid-sized communal courtyards, to the largest public open spaces in the neighbourhood parks and surrounding pedestrian and cycle paths. The progression in size paralleled the use by ages: infants made most use of the private gardens; toddlers and younger children play in the courtyards; and the older children made most use of the Ecology Park and the riverside walks and cycle paths.

Residents praised the qualities of the open neighbourhood, and spoke of the neighbourhood as safe, well-managed and welcoming. This section explores the main elements responsible for the praise: the Ecology Park, the management of the public realm, and the creation of community.

Ecology Park

Many parents in private housing noted the Ecology Park, together with the other open spaces at GMV, as a main factor in their choice to live there, and one of the best features of raising children there. The Ecology Park was the most popular place for children to play after their own or friends' homes (Simpson 2003, Field Survey).

We wanted somewhere that our children could have adventures and a safe place, could go off and build a den, stay out all day (owner).

The four-acre Ecology Park was developed by EP on former swamp lands, and had become an inspiring inner-city wetlands park, home to swans, kingfishers and bats. The park was managed by a specialist non-profit organization (the Trust for Urban Ecology) and funding from English Partnerships supported the employment of two full-time staff.

Supervised activities and outreach to the community were an integral part of the Ecology Park's programming and funding. Adults were invited to activities such as 'birdsong and wine afternoon', or 'beer and bats evening', and adult volunteers regularly helped out with habitat maintenance. Children could participate in a free regular 'wildlife watch club', and free seasonal trails and events such as tree dressing in December, national Frog Day in the spring and Apple Day in the autumn.

The staffing, supervision and educational activities helped make the park particularly appealing to middle-class families, and the free activities may also have contributed to social mixing across tenures. However, the extensive funding from English Partnerships makes it unlikely that the Ecology Park could be reproduced in other areas. The Park's long-term sustainability at GMV is also in question: English Partnerships envisioned eventually handing over ownership of the park to the local council, who would be

unlikely to maintain EP's level of spending on the Park (Dibsdale, 2005, interview). Another alternative under consideration was to hand the Park ownership over to some form of a neighbourhood management committee (Cherry, interview 2005; Dibsdale 2005) a move that might jeopardise the public nature of the Park: resident 'owners' might not too unreasonably decide that if the Park was maintained by their service charges, then access should be restricted to residents⁴¹.

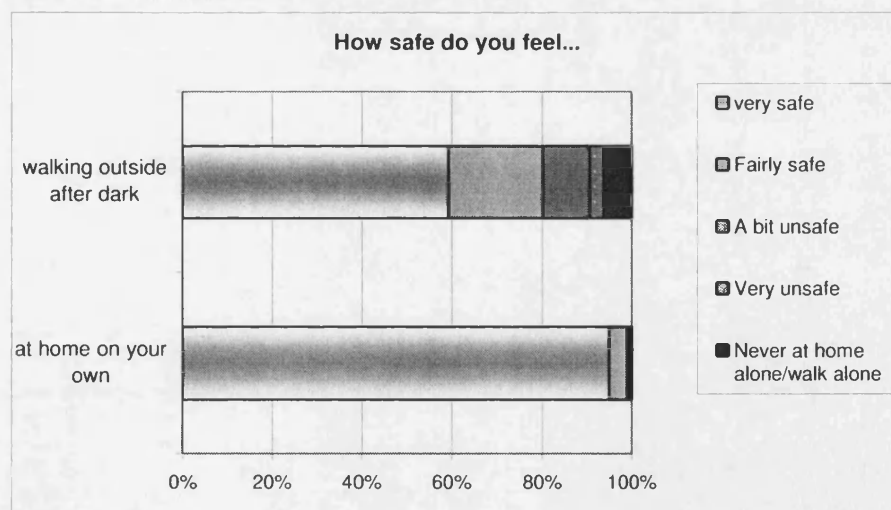
Safe and clean environment

Residents said they felt very safe at GMV, both at home alone and walking in the neighbourhood after dark, with no significant differences by tenure or by household composition (see Figure 5.7). This sense of safety is particularly striking given the relative isolation of GMV, as an island of residential housing amidst a peninsula of yet-to-be developed land.

Safety was a main reason for moving to the neighbourhood with my children. All the other places I could afford were busy roads (owner).

As a single mother, the feeling of security here was crucial for me (tenant).

Figure 5.7: Feeling safe at home, and walking alone

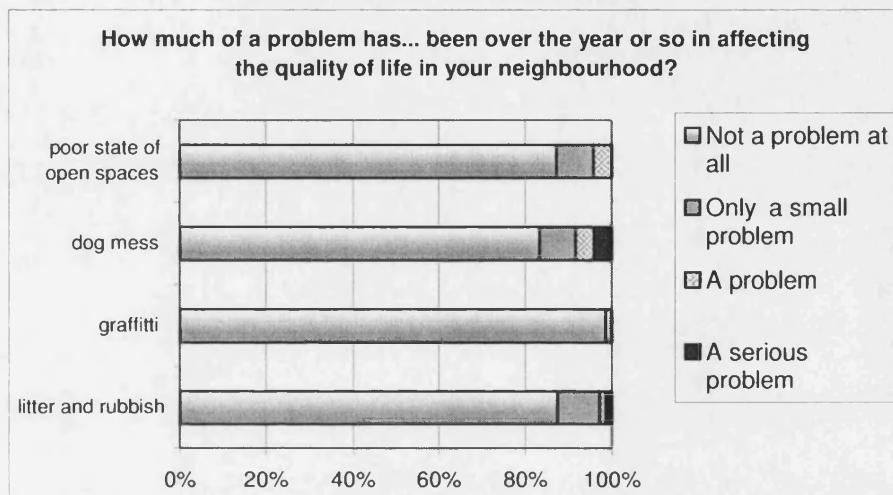


Source: Field Survey

⁴¹ A similar issue arises in regard to adoption of the internal roads: if the resident owner community trust eventually adopted the internal roads, could these roads then be closed off to non-residents, effectively gating off GMV from the surrounding areas?

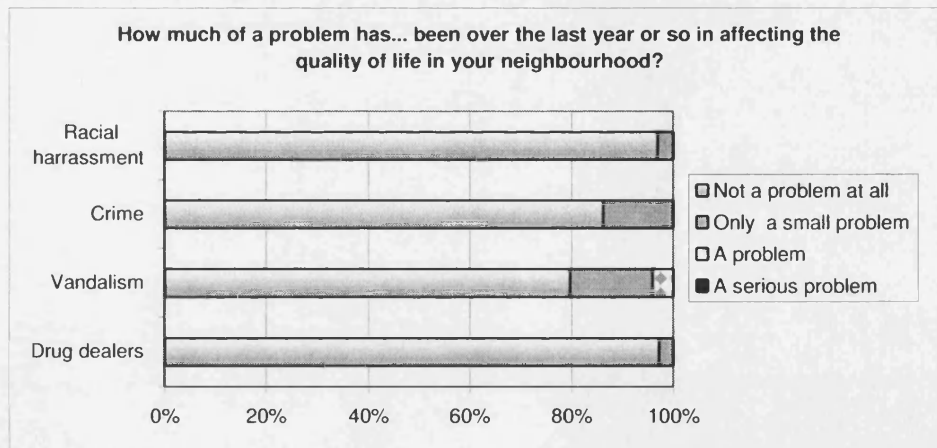
Residents also reported few neighbourhood problems with quality of life, as shown in Figures 5.8 and 5.9 below. Some vandalism was reported from the areas with the most social housing.

Figure 5.8: Neighbourhood problems affecting quality of life



Source: field survey

Figure 5.9: More neighbourhood problems affecting quality of life



Source: field survey

One factor behind the feelings of safety and quality in the public realm was the security infrastructure managed by Pinnacle, a private for-profit company specialising in management of social housing estates in London. Pinnacle was responsible for

191

maintenance, street cleaning, management and security across the entire site, for both private sector and affordable housing homes. Six full-time staff monitored fifty CCTV cameras twenty-four hours a day, cleaned the site, held spare keys, accepted packages for residents, and enforced resident contracts, among other services.

According to a senior manager at Pinnacle, the standards for grounds maintenance, cleanliness and safety were noticeably higher at GMV than on mono-tenure social housing estates, in part because the owners are far more demanding (Sullivan, Interview, 2004). The costs were also higher: private residents paid a service charge of approximately £1.40/square foot annually (about £1400 annually for a two-bedroom flat). MOAT tenants were charged at the same rate as owners, but most of the charge was paid by MOAT, with the remainder not covered by housing benefits. It was unclear whether MOAT would be able to continue to afford the charges as the share of social housing on site increased in the next phases, raising the question of whether housing corporation grant may need to cover a high rate of service charges at mixed-income sites. A further question for later stages was whether residents might justifiably ask to 'adopt' the internal roads that their service charges were maintaining, possibly affording them the right to limit access to public squares and parks.

Community: responsibility and governance:

The field survey asked residents how important they felt community was to them, and how much they felt a part of a community at GMV. The charts below indicate that most GMV residents placed a high value on belonging to a community, and often felt a community belonging of some kind at GMV. For parents in particular, the feelings of belonging to a community, and the friendly people, were one of the most liked features at GMV, second only to the open space, the river views and the quiet.

We used to keep ourselves to ourselves, and that's a habit we're breaking now. We're unlearning our learned behavior. Here people are appreciative, and you can be at ease (Shared ownership parent)

Figure 5.10: Importance of belonging to community

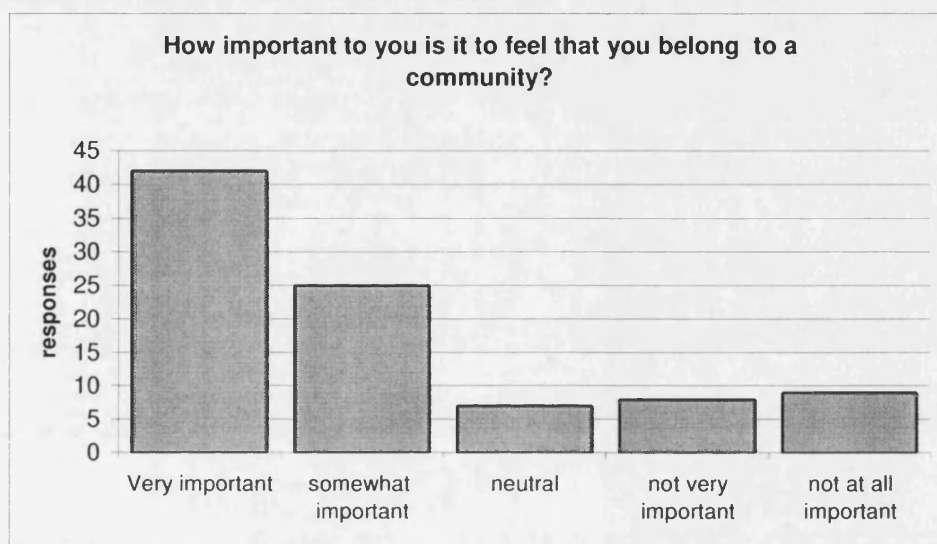
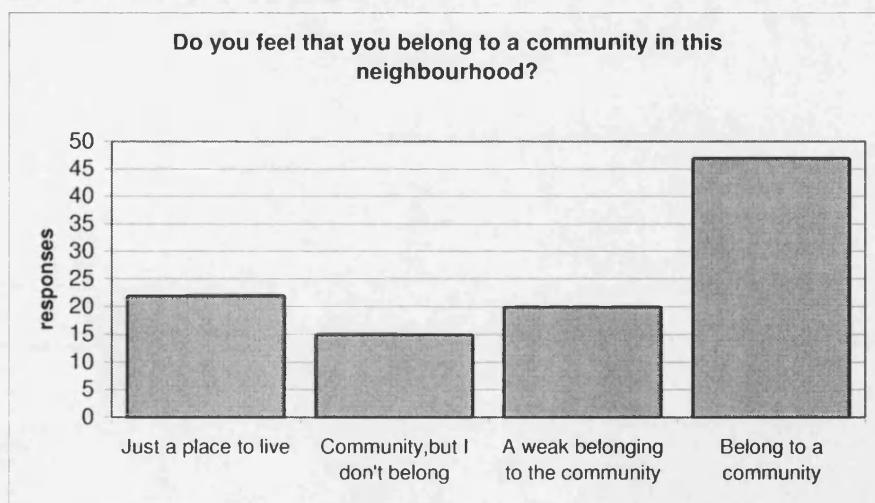


Figure 5.11: Strength of belonging to a community



Source: Field survey

GMVL deliberately determined to invest in building community. The decision may have been motivated in part for financial reasons: while half of prospective purchasers

felt that strong local community was extremely important, most said their impression was that GMV did not have a strong sense of community.

GMVL funded a community development worker to act as part-time 'resident liaison'⁴², and also funded the residents' association with £5000, neighbourhood social events, a neighbourhood newsletter ('The Village Voice'), and an on-line chat site.

The 'resident liaison', an experienced community development manager from MOAT, noted that in contrast to residents' associations on most housing estates, the residents association at GMV was mostly resource rich, but time poor. She saw her role as having less focus on empowering residents and teaching skills than the traditional community development worker, and more as helping with time-consuming tasks, such as fund-raising, helping to organise events, and initiating the internal newsletter.

The resident liaison was also involved in building the first residents' association at GMV, helping to ensure that the first chair was chosen from the shared-ownership homes, in order to reach out to the social tenants. Figure 5.12 below lists examples of community building at GMV from the Village Voice newsletter.

Figure 5.12 Examples of community building at GMV published in the Village Voice newsletter

- An invitation to rickshaw rides at the Summer Village Fayre, an afternoon of jazz in the park on the following day (with an option to pre-order a barbecue meal), and a gathering at one of the courtyards called 'around the world in 80 dishes'.
- Announcement of a photo competition on the theme of millennium life
- Schedule of summer events at the adjacent Yacht Club (non-members welcome)
- Planning updates, and an article introducing the new Village Manager
- Invitations to play football at the school on Sundays and to join in a parachute jump for charity
- Discount theatre tickets for a group booking from GMV
- News from the Ecology Park about the swans and the dragonflies

⁴² 'Resident liason' is the term used by the developers, while MOAT calls the position 'community development manager'.

- A story about a new resident-run dog walking company (leaflet included)
- A welcome for the first GMV twins
- Classified ads including a resident hairdresser willing to make housecalls, and a resident carpet cleaner.

Source: 'Village Voices' newsletter

Funding for community activities, and for the 'community liaison officer', was intended only for the first phases of the project, as one project manager explained:

The budget for community development work is part of our agenda, to fulfill our obligations as a millennium community. It's not a huge sum of money – I would recommend that other developers take this on, where you have a large development, with more than 500 units. But very quickly the residents have to take this over – the developers don't continue to fund that function over the long term (Putnam, interview, 2004).

The extent of community activity at GMV was clearly related to the particular vision of the developers, as well as to the skills of the resident liaison officer. However, the wealth of community activities was likely to change in subsequent phases with the reduction of budget by the developers, and the phasing out of the community liaison position. The strong maintenance and security, unified across tenures, may change as well, as GMVL intended to hand over ownership and management of the communal areas to a resident-owned management vehicle, with shares distributed to property owners, but not necessarily to social tenants (Cherry, interview 2005, Cooper, interview 2004). Continued success with community building may require a more sustained budget over time

In summary, GMV was seen by residents as providing excellent open spaces, a secure environment and a welcoming neighbourhood. Each of these features, however, depended on special funding allocated externally: from English Partnerships for the Ecology Park, from MOAT HA for higher than usual service charges for tenants, and from the developers for supporting the community development worker and community events. In each case, the long-range plans were to reduce or eliminate the special

funding, returning responsibilities to residents or to the Council. The success of the public realm at GMV, then, rested on funding that was unsustainable in the long-run, limiting the applicability of lessons at GMV to other mixed income new communities.

5.4 Discussion:

This section places the evidence from GMV within the context of the existing knowledge about 'wholly new' MINCs, as reviewed in Chapter Two. Following the pattern set out in the previous chapter on New Gorbals, this section first contrasts the outcomes at GMV with existing evidence on outcomes for services, housing and social interaction at wholly new MINCs. The second part of the section examines two of the challenges facing wholly new MINCs: involving the local authority and finding funding sources for special programmes.

Outcomes:

Table 5.9, on services for low-income residents, presents the example of the Millennium Primary School at GMV against the background of a lack of research evidence on school uptake in wholly new mixed income communities. The example of the Millennium Primary School (MPS) showed that it is possible for a school in a wholly new MINC to become the school of choice across tenures, overcoming some of the challenges of linking housing and education. There are some important practice lessons to be learned from the planning and implementation of the MPS, although it is important to recognize the unique funding situation that limits replication.

In a related issue, the challenge of providing services for low-income people at wholly new mixed-income neighbourhoods was exemplified in the lack of subsidised early-

years programmes at GMV. Programme catchment areas were determined by indicators of area deprivation, missing out on pockets very low-income households within MINCs. As MINCs become more prevalent, it may be necessary to devise new indicators or standards to include their low-income households within area-based programmes.

Table 5.9: Comparing outcomes at GMV with existing evidence on services at wholly new MINCs

		Wholly new MINCS	GMV
Services for low-income residents			
External appearance, cleanliness and safety	Evidence	Generally high standards.	Exceptionally high standards, especially for social housing.
	Conjecture	Standards higher where social homes are spatially and aesthetically integrated with private homes?	
Social infrastructure, leisure and retail	Evidence	Services lacking in early years.	Lack of leisure and retail services, some new community services tailored to high-end of market.
	Conjecture	Services tailored to high-end of market?	
Programmemes for low-income residents	Evidence	Little evidence	Few programmemes. Not eligible for Sure Start, subsidized early years care.
	Conjecture	Limited programmemes	
Local school uptake by better-off residents	Evidence	Very limited evidence. Sometimes new school is built.	Strong uptake across all tenures.
	Conjecture	Variable depending on school, students and types of better-off parents?	

Table 5.10, on outcomes for housing, economic benefit, and social interaction, shows that outcomes at GMV generally support existing evidence on wholly new MINCs.

One interesting point concerns rising land values, and who benefits from them.

Land values at GMV rose over the course of the development, benefitting both the private developers and individual home-owners who were able to capitalise on the increased value of their properties at resale. Public sector benefits from the rising land values, however, were limited. Although English Partnerships (EP) had a phased contract with the private developers, there was no expectation of revenues from the sale of land in the later phases of development (Dibsdale, interview, 2005).

Public sector benefits from the economic success of GMV did, however, accrue in the form of more economically favourable negotiations at the rest of the Peninsula, including Section 106 contributions for educational and health services that had been funded by EP alone at GMV. It should be noted that revenues from the rising land values were not solely for the benefit of the Peninsula, but could be used by EP for projects in other areas as well. The absence of 'ring-fencing' revenues in a national institution such as English Partnerships contrasts with the situation of New Town development companies, urban development companies, and urban regeneration companies, where benefits are more typically invested locally, or the 'unearned increment' that was to benefit residents in Garden Cities. Little has been written about the role of 'intermediate institutions' such as English Partnerships in urban regeneration, and it could be fruitful to compare the benefits and weaknesses of this approach to that of more localised urban development corporations.

Finally, another lesson from GMV highlighted in Table 5.10 concerns the potential of conflict arising from high 'child density'. This was particularly evident from the strong opinions about 'too many children' in the smaller courtyards, where there were many children from the social housing homes. Chapter Seven takes up this thread in discussing the possibility of new measures for child density, related to tenure.

Table 5.10 Comparing outcomes at GMV with existing evidence on housing, neighbourhood and social relations at wholly new MINCs

Housing and economic benefits		
Issue	Wholly new MINCs	GMV
Decent affordable housing	Yes, especially where spatially integrated with market-rate homes	Yes, throughout the neighbourhood.
Stigma reduced	Yes, very much	Yes
Land values raised	Very sharply	Yes, for surrounding area.
Social interaction and community stability		
Residents' perception of tenure mix	Indifferent.	Generally positive. Owners and shared owners more aware than private renters and tenants.
Physical proximity and social interaction	Greater physical interaction brings increased social interaction.	Lack of evidence.
Children and social interaction across tenure.	Greatest social interactions occur across families with children, but high 'child density' can be a source of tension.	High 'child density' as a source of tension especially in smaller courtyards.
Social stability over time	Mix of housing types may add to early social cohesion.	Half of all private sector families with children expect to leave, despite rating areas as good place to raise children, due in part to lack of larger homes for sale.

The challenges of New Communities and GMV

Chapter Two reviewed the history of model industrial villages, garden cities and new towns, to tease out questions and challenges for wholly new MINCs. This section examines two of those challenges: the role of the local authorities, and funding for social development and services for low-income residents. Issues of social mix are not discussed due to the low share of social housing at GMV at the time of the field research.

Local authority role: It was noted in Chapter Two that the broad powers of Urban Development Corporations (UDCs) in New Towns sometimes led to tensions with the

local planning authorities. At GMV, English Partnerships had a more time-limited role than did the UDCs in the New Towns, and was at the helm only through the initial stages of land assembly, decontamination, and preparing the international competition. Implementation powers then passed to the specially constituted private development consortium, GMVL, with EP retaining 'carrot and stick' (Dibsdale, interview 2005) oversight powers at pre-defined phases. The London Borough of Greenwich played a limited role in planning, funding and service delivery, typically defined as 'strategic' (Parker, interview 2004; Mills, interview 2004; Johncock, interview 2004), a role that has been maligned as rather amorphous (Cole 2006).

In the case of GMV, however, the strategic role of the local authority included three significant interventions. First, the local educational authority managed the process of selecting and transferring an existing school to the new facilities at the millennium village, carefully coordinating work with staff and parents to bring about a new school that satisfied a diverse range of parents. Second, the local housing officers instituted a more than usually intensive process for nominating tenants at GMV, including defining 'priority streams' of tenants in accordance with the aims of the millennium community, investing up to £1000 per tenant household in explaining the new community, and negotiating the mix of size, type and numbers of social housing homes to be developed. The investment in nominations appeared to have paid off in terms of a generally satisfied tenant body. Finally, an environmental psychologist from the local authority's development team guided plans for community development and tenure mix, deriving lessons from GMV for other mixed income developments in Greenwich. Together, these interventions constituted a not inconsiderable role for the local authority.

The local authority, and councillors in particular, were criticised by local media and Greenwich residents for disproportional concentration of new resources on the Peninsula, including the new Health Centre, school, new roads, and Ecology Park. Additionally, the local authority did not obtain any special priority or subsidies for Greenwich residents in purchasing private sector homes, although previous residence in Greenwich was an advantage in purchasing shared ownership homes. It is possible that the lack of a leading role in the development of GMV may have helped the local

authority to deflect the criticism, though a stronger local authority role might have prevented it altogether.

Funding challenges: Chapter Two described a bundle of funding challenges facing wholly new communities, several of which also surfaced at GMV. At New Towns, ‘social development officers’ had been funded by the public sector development corporations, but at GMV, the ‘community liason worker’ was funded by the private sector developers. When conflicts emerged between the residents association and the private developers, the community liason worker at GMV was placed in an untenable position, choosing between her role to help empower residents, and her financial sponsor, and she was ultimately barred from meetings and stripped of her responsibilities (Fields, interviews, 2004/5). While public sector community workers might face a similar conflicts between residents associations and the local authority, their allegiance and mode of recourse might be clearer. Additional funding challenges included the need for spending on some special services for low-income households, despite the income-mix, and the problem of reproducing pilot programmes with their special attention and special funding, both discussed within the previous sections.

Conclusions

GMV is an example of a wholly new MINC on formerly contaminated industrial land that provided good housing and clean, safe and friendly surroundings for social tenants and private sector residents alike. The local authority had gained land reclaimed for housing and mixed uses, as well as a new school, health centre, roads, pedestrian routes and cycleways funded externally. The experience at GMV had influenced the local authority to initiate other mixed income initiatives, including a renewal MINC at a nearby estate.

This study found that GMV was rated highly as a place to raise children. Families in the private sector homes had typically purchased flats at GMV before they had children, and then remained while their children were young. While only 13% of private sector households had children, their children constituted over half of all children in the

neighbourhood, due to the predominance of private sector homes on site (over 85%). Parents in the private homes were enthusiastic about sending their children to the local primary school and were well pleased with the Ecology Park and other public spaces at GMV. There were few problems noted with the tenure mix, and about two-thirds of the children had friends from the social housing homes. Unexpectedly, parents in the private homes generally felt that their high density flats were well-designed for raising children. However, despite intentions in the original masterplan for larger family homes for sale, very few of these had in fact been built. Nearly half of the parents in private homes intended to move within the next few years, many for personal reasons but others because of a lack of larger homes for sale at GMV.

Some of the success of GMV must be attributed to a combination of uniquely favourable features: excellent transport access on the Jubilee Line; riverfront promenades and a quiet location; nearby retail outlets and the promise of future leisure facilities at the Dome; special funding and political support due to its visibility as a national demonstration project; and the involvement of a private sector developer willing to take risks in order to build an exemplary mixed income neighbourhood. Another important factor in the success was the generally high levels of cooperation across different sectors, including the original master planners, the local authorities' planning, housing and education departments, the housing association, the private developers and the government's urban regeneration body, English Partnership, and a relatively high degree of learning from consultation with the existing residents.

However, at the time of the fieldwork GMV was still in early phases, with less than one fourth of planned housing constructed. The share of social housing was low, at 12%, and scheduled to nearly triple in the next phases to 35%. New homes were to be scaled down from the former spacious proportions, and were to be designed at higher densities, with lower quality specifications and less expensive semi-private open space, new caps on service charges by the Housing Corporation and changes in council housing nominations. These changes were likely to have significant effects on the demographic profile of GMV residents, and on the future experience of living in the neighbourhood.

GMV illustrates the potential for wholly new inner-ring urban mixed income communities to attract and retain families in the private sector homes, as well as the expenses. Lessons from GMV for practice and policy are drawn out in Chapter Eight. However, it is probably still too soon to determine whether this early success can be replicated elsewhere or sustained over the long-term.

The next chapter presents the third and last case study, Britannia Village, a London Docklands neighbourhood that represents a hybrid between a 'wholly new' and a 'renewal' MINC.

CHAPTER SIX: BRITANNIA VILLAGE

This chapter presents the story of families in the third and last of the case study areas, Britannia Village in London's Royal Docks.

The chapter opens with the history of West Silvertown, and the story of its transformation into Britannia Village, one of the first Urban Villages. This is followed by a portrait of the residents and their attitudes towards the neighbourhood. The third section focuses on the families who lived at Britannia Village, and the facilities most important to them: their homes, the local primary school, and the public realm. The final section discusses the contribution of the case study to evidence on outcomes for MINCs in general, and families in MINCs in particular.

6.1 Background

Britannia Village was a new Urban Village built on the site of a former Docklands community in East London known as West Silvertown. It was located between the Royal Victoria Docks and the Thames, in the London Borough of Newham (see map). The neighbourhood was self-contained within clearly delineated physical boundaries: busy main roads to the south and west, the docks to the north, and as-yet unredeveloped disused warehouses to the east. A Docklands Light Rail station was a short walk away, and thence it was a thirty minute journey into the City of London.

West Silvertown was settled in the mid 1880's, and named after a local industry, SW Silvers' clothing works. In 1855 the area was chosen as the site for the new deep-water Royal Docks, purpose-built to allow London to accommodate new steam powered ships, too large for the existing docks. Warehouses and industry spread around the perimeter of the docks, including Britain's largest sugar refinery at the Tate and Lyle, grain mills, a rubber factory, meat processing and refrigeration, ship repair, and docking. Factory workers moved in, living in between the industrial buildings on the Thames, and the warehouses and shops on the Docks(Lund 1976).

East London was heavily bombed during World War II, and much of the housing in West Silvertown was destroyed. After the War, the area was rezoned as an industrial district in 1948. In spite of the industrial zoning, two residential tower blocks for council housing were built in the 1960's – Cranwood and Dunlop Point, known together as Barnwood Court. All flats were one and two bedrooms, built to spacious internal space standards (REF).

The Royal Docks declined as newer methods of handling cargo replaced the need for inland docks and dockworkers. The flourmills and rubber factory closed down in the 1970's and by 1981 the Royal Docks themselves had closed. West Silvertown was called ‘the forgotten people, on the forgotten island’ (People's Plan for the Royal Docklands, 1983).

Planning the regeneration

Plans for an Urban Village in West Silvertown were first floated in 1993. By then, the council tower blocks at Barnwood Court were home to about 250 households, including perhaps 25 families with 60 children, according to remaining residents and the community liason for the London Docklands Development Corporation. Very few homes had been purchased through the Right to Buy (Johnson interview, 2003). In addition to Barnwood Court, and south of the North Woolwich Road, there were another hundred and fifty homes along four streets of Victorian terraces, built for workers at the nearby Tate and Lyle sugar refineries. Most residents were white British, with about 25% from black or minority ethnic groups: low relative to the overall BME population in Newham at that time (43%), but equivalent to the overall London average (Census 1991).

The immediate surroundings were quite desolate. Most of the shops had been boarded up, leaving only a barber shop, a chip shop, and a post office. The community centre had been vandalised and closed, the play area described as ‘bloody useless’ (Johnson, 2004, interview) with a football cage and a ropey piece of equipment. Newham had closed the single-form entry primary school in 1992, and it was subsequently burned

down, 'because around here, if you didn't have a use for things they got burned down' (veteran resident).

West Silvertown was isolated from the surrounding area. There were only two bus lines, running to Canning Town and North Woolwich. The wide watery expanse of the Royal Docks blocked access to the North, and the Thames hemmed in the site to the south. To the east lay more abandoned docks, soon to be developed into the City Airport, and to the west was a busy motorway and industrial sites surrounding the mouth of the Lea River. As architect/planner George Gardner from Tibbalds Monro said: 'in 1994 you couldn't drag a developer down there – it was the back of beyond'.

Proposals to transform West Silvertown were led by the London Docklands Development Corporation (LDDC) The London Docklands Development Corporation was set up by the Thatcher Government as the second Urban Development Corporation, covering 8.5 square miles of docklands, a tract of land equivalent in size to Central London. The LDDC had power to plan, develop infrastructure and regenerate the whole of the Docklands area (Bentley 1997; LDDC 2005).

The Royal Docks was one of the LDDC's later undertakings. The vision for the entire Royal Docks area included a major exhibition centre, the new City Airport, hotels, shopping, an indoor stadium, and a festival market (LDDC 2005). Plans for the Royal Docks also included new social housing as well as new market-rate homes. This was partially in response to criticisms made by local communities on the Isle of Dogs which had been redeveloped in the early period of LDDC's activity.

Building new homes at West Silvertown was by no means an obvious decision. Earlier attempts had largely failed. Only one development had been completed during the property boom years of the late 1980s, comprising eighty-five low-end private homes for private sale. When the housing market dropped in 1992, these homes were sold *en bloc* by Laing developers to the Peabody Trust for social rent.

In addition to coping with the weak market, the LDDC needed to ensure cooperation with the London Borough of Newham. The LDDC owned the waterfront sites and many of the remaining industrial buildings, and was designated as the local planning

authority responsible for development control. Newham owned the Barnwood Court tower blocks, and was responsible for preparing statutory development plans (West Silvertown Development Framework). Lack of cooperation would stymie any plans.

The idea of an Urban Village at West Silvertown was first raised by the LDDC. The Prince of Wales' Urban Villages Forum sponsored a large 'Community Planning Weekend' in 1993, bringing in expertise from elsewhere, including Crown Street in Gorbals, Glasgow. The Urban Village idea, including the proposal to mix new social rented housing and new upper-end private homes, seemed to bridge the interests of most stakeholders, and captured support from the Peabody Trust and local residents (Hunt Thompson Associates 1993; Neal 2003), as well as from the London Borough of Newham. Newham is considered one of the first boroughs in London to use tenure strategically and openly to change its demographic profile, attempting to become 'a place where people choose to live and work' (London Borough of Newham Housing Department 2003; Page 2003).

The LDDC Development Brief (1994) set out the concept of the Urban Village.

The aim is to produce a rounded neighbourhood with a degree of self-sufficiency in a high quality environment. It will contain the variety, quality and style of development comparable to that which would evolve organically in a traditional village over centuries. ... There should be sufficient variety in the range of housing to provide a ladder for residents to progress from social housing through high quality owner occupation without having to leave the village. Above all else, West Silvertown will not have the ambience of a suburban dormitory estate (LDDC 1993).

More specifically, the new Urban Village was intended to:

- Encourage social interaction
- Establish a balanced community, integrating housing types and tenures.
- Provide social housing at nearly 30%, spread throughout the site, and identical or nearly identical in design. (LDDC 1994: 5).

A central question was the future of the council housing tower blocks, and their residents. Newham originally suggested retaining the tower blocks and re-housing local residents into new homes on site. This direction, laid out in the first Urban Village brief in 1994, found little interest among developers in those years of market torpor. The

LDDC then proposed demolishing the tower blocks in 1996, in the hopes of attracting greater market interest. Residents were asked to vote on the demolition plans, which offered them their choice of either new housing on site, or council or housing association homes elsewhere in the borough.

Opinion on the demolition plans was split along demographic lines. Elderly residents were most often against the demolition, preferring to remain in their flats. Families with younger children were more likely to support the demolition: the school had been closed in 1992, and they were facing years of disruptive construction work on site. A relatively high percentage of residents voted, nearly seventy percent, and demolition was approved, with 126 residents in favour and 84 opposed, representing a majority of tenants eligible to vote. (Johnson, 2005).

With a commitment to demolish the tower blocks and re-house many of the occupants elsewhere, the area became more attractive to private developers. The LDDC invited pre-qualifying developers to submit design proposals for the area. These were based on the Urban Village Design Guidelines, which carried the weight of 'material planning consideration' (SPG status). The short-listed developers then submitted financial proposals for land purchase. The LDDC selected Wimpey Homes, with a design by architects/ master planners Tibbalds Munro (now TM2). At the time of the bid, Wimpey had never built homes higher than three storeys and Tibbalds Munro had no previous record of house-building (Gardner interview, 2003).

The site in 2004:

Homes and tenure integration

Plates 5 and 6 at the beginning of the thesis show the site map of Britannia Village in 2004, along with photographs of the site. The first homes were constructed in 1995, and by the close of the fieldwork the site was nearing completion with about 1400 homes on sixteen hectares of land, giving an overall density of 87.5 homes per hectare, including the small open space. Slightly fewer than 25% of the homes were for social rent, with a very small number of shared ownership homes built during 2005. The share of social housing homes was calculated according to a commitment to replace three hundred

social housing homes demolished at Barnwood Court⁴³, and an initial concern that the private market would shy away from purchasing homes in this area in buildings taller than four or five stories.

The tenure map in Plate 5 shows the distribution of housing by sector across the site. The new private housing was located between the 'Village Green' and the waterfront. Homes along the waterfront were in four story buildings in yellow brick and cement, containing one or two double bedroom flats, and separated by small enclosed yards. This housing type was replicated in parallel rows rising to seven storeys adjacent to the Village Green. Connecting between the rows were nearly two hundred two storey terraced and semi-detached houses, each with two and three bedrooms and tiny gardens. The newest private homes were at each end of the waterfront of the site in glass and steel point blocks, eleven storeys tall. Here too the predominant house type was one- and two-bedroom flats, with larger internal space and much larger open balconies than the older housing. In all, about 80% of the private sector homes were one and two bedroom flats, and the other 20% were small two and three bedroom houses.

⁴³ Only 250 of which had been occupied at the time of demolition (Johnson, interview 2004).

Figure 6.1: Housing Provision in Britannia Village, c 2005*

	Housing types and providers	Total number of homes (%)
Private housing	New build (Wimpey) 150 houses 650 flats in mid-rise 190 flats in high rise Previous 60 terraced homes. (Approximately 40% of homes rented privately.)	1050 (~75%)
Social housing	Peabody Trust 140 flats in mid-rise Crescent Block 85 family houses from Laing. 4 shared ownership houses. East Thames HA 96 family homes	229 96 325 (~25%)
TOTAL		1375

Sources: compiled from information received from developers, housing associations and LBN planners.

The physical segregation of housing by tenure at Britannia Village has been described as ‘a large separating wall, though no developer would call it that’ (Butler and Robson 2003). In practice, the social housing homes were grouped in three separate areas. On the waterfront was the Peabody Trust’s distinctive six-storey crescent block of one- and two-bedroom flats, Royal Victoria Place. This block housed many of the elderly long-term residents who chose to stay on after demolition of Barnwood Court. Families with children who chose to remain on site were mostly housed in the former Laing Homes, two- and three-bedroom terraced houses built for small families. The East Thames Housing Association owned housing to the south and east of the Village Green, with blocks of flats at the ends of the streets, and two storey houses with private gardens in the middle.

The materials used for the social housing were similar to those of the private housing, and the design distinctions were not immediately obvious to the outsider. One clue was in the street names: those in the private areas recall British nobility and authors, while those in the social housing areas were named after local labour leaders. According to Wimpey’s director of development at the time:

We believe that the private housing on a mixed-tenure site sells better when the social housing is designed to fully integrate physically so that it can barely be told apart. That's why we insist on using the same materials in the building, the same quality of environment—it's a great marketing tool! (Lamb interview, 2003).

The first shared ownership homes were constructed in 2005, in glimmering materials very different to the rest of the site, as shown in Plate 6. .

Parking was prevalent everywhere: on the street, underneath the blocks of flats, alongside the houses and underneath their first floors, and inside long blank walls enclosing parking areas between the homes. The design has been critiqued as lacklustre, with a 'dull housing estate complexion' (Trocme 2005), but it could also be argued that the repetition and use of brick creates a certain solidity of character.

Britannia Village became a good investment as the value of homes rose by 2003. House prices at Britannia Village had increased in line with the general rise in house prices in London. By 2004, prices were slightly lower than at the Isle of Dogs, though higher than in neighbouring Canning Town, or most other areas of Newham.

Turnover within the private flats seemed to be far higher than at GMV or New Gorbals: on one visit thirty-six flats were being offered for rent or resale by the local estate agent. A two-bedroom duplex flat on the waterfront was offered for £300,000, a two-bedroom flat without the waterfront views for £240,000, and a three bedroom terraced house with small rear garden for £250,000. A two-bedroom flat was offered for rent at £1000 pcm. Prices were rising in 2005 , partly spurred by the decision to base the 2012 Olympics in London: the Royal Docks will host boating and other water events.

Services

In addition to the new homes, the site included a small Village Green, a new primary school, the Britannia Village Primary, and a large new Village Hall housing a badminton court, a nursery, meeting rooms and a youth club. All these were in the

centre of the development between the private and the social housing. There were several shops underneath the Peabody crescent block: a convenience grocery shop, a wine bar, dry cleaners, a newsagent, a video shop, and, in the largest commercial space, an estate agent. The post-office was closed in 2004, and replaced by the dry cleaners, and the doctor's surgery was closed in 2003. Services targeted at low-income residents included a weekly shopping bus for the elderly; a twice-weekly youth club; a morning toddler group; and a 'digital learning centre' run by the Peabody Trust. A well-tended Victorian-era park was a short walk across the busy road to the south of the site, and the Thames Barrier Park, newly developed at a cost of £14 million, was a ten minute walk away.

Despite the addition of a new DLR station to the south of the site in 2005, Britannia Village still retained something of an island feel. The approach to Britannia Village was across a new 15 metre high footbridge from the Docklands Light Rail and the busy ExCel Exhibition Centre. Standing on the bridge the sweeping views take in a vast rectangular stretch of water, airplanes landing to the east at the City Airport and the canopy of the Millennium Dome. Huge coal black cranes pierce the sky, recalling the former scale and power of the departed industry. The cranes edge the hard-landscaped waterfront promenade and frame the four-storey, yellow brick and concrete homes of Britannia Village. From the bridge, the Urban Village looks a peaceful haven, close to the bustle of the City.

Future Development Plans

To the east of Britannia Village, a new and much larger mixed-income development was in the process of receiving planning permission at the time of the research. Called 'Silvertown Quays' it was planned to have nearly 5000 homes on about 29 hectares, with a much higher density than at Britannia Village: 210 dwellings per hectare as compared with about 87 dwellings per hectare. Just under 25% of the homes were intended for social housing, split among social rent (15%) and intermediate housing (25%). As at Britannia Village, over 80% of the new market-rate homes would be in

one and two bedroom flats, and were not intended for families with children, according to the project master planner (Trocme, interview 2005).

Silvertown Quays was planned as a mixed-use town centre for the Royal Docks and was to include over 25,000 square meters of commercial and retail space, a hotel, new public squares, and the new city aquarium, as well as community services including a doctor's surgery, library, community centre, and a school. The new development, unlike Britannia Village, was designed to pull non-residents into the area, creating a leisure route from the ExCel Centre through the new waterside restaurants, shops and squares, to the Aquarium and on to the Thames Barrier Park. Plans for Silvertown Quays were approved in March 2005. (Silvertown Quays Planning Permission 2005 PDU/0498/01).).

Planning to attract families

Britannia Village was envisioned in the master plan as a community for people of diverse ages and backgrounds, implicitly included families with children living in both the social housing and the private market housing. The intention to include families with children is reflected in the layout of the 'urban village', with a school, 'village green', and community centre at the heart of the site. However, there does not seem to have been a concerted effort to plan to attract families into the market rate homes. According to the representative of the developer Wimpey's, now also Chair of the West Silvertown Village Community Foundation:

'We were targetting the development at budding executives, who would want small flats – so 75% are one and two bedroom flats. There was also a need for some townhouses with gardens and garages, and these sold very fast – but then, everything sold very fast.' (Lamb, interview 2003).

The then community development worker with the LDDC corroborated this point:

"I can't remember a detailed discussion with Wimpey on the size of their homes or who would live there, other than thinking that their market would generally be people without children, or with younger children who would move out and away. Wimpey's were the ones taking the risk, if it doesn't sell it's their problem, not the Corporation (LDDC) or Newham's. We wouldn't have interfered in their decisions." (Johnson, interview 2003).

The project architect also noted that:

It wasn't envisaged that families would live in the flats here. I would say that was an explicit conception, though perhaps others might not agree (Gardner, interview 2003).

Finally, the deputy director of the East Thames Housing Group added his perception that the mix of households in the private sector homes was not a matter for social engineering:

"Once we are talking a high density area – and for a London area we wanted to see a relatively high density -- it is going too far to ask the developer to try to get families into the private housing... We hoped that a new school, with a new head, would serve the whole community, would be part of making this an integrated community. But we accepted lower child densities in the private homes, and making the school work is really the role of the LEA, not our job'. (Vickery, interview 2003).

Some key actors, however, retained a perception that Britannia Village would be home to children from the private housing sector as well as the social housing sector. The Britannia Village School Head Teacher, recruited a year before the school opened in its new building, recounted that:

At the time the school was founded, Newham Council wanted this to be an area for people with housing choice, they thought there would be a very mixed group of people here. They thought the social mix here would be the other way around – that a majority of the children would be from the private housing. So did I. That wasn't a fact, nobody ever wrote it down, there was no 'community vision' for the school. Maybe the idea for wrap-around nursery care from 08:00 – 18:00 was related to the possibility of professional parents – I don't know.

But there was no special brief, this was seen to be just the same as any primary school, the job description was the same as anywhere else. I just somehow imagined parents paying for the school meals with credit cards! I never

expected that none of them had ever or would ever pay for school meals – that was a very steep learning curve for me! (Church, interview, 2003).

In the end, there were about 200 small houses for sale at Britannia Village (see Table 6.1). These were originally conceived as family homes. However, the houses were slow to sell initially, and the marketing directors reported that potential buyers were more interested in the possibility of letting out one room, or renting the house to single sharers. The developers then decided to redesign the internal layout houses to be more suitable for sharers, with larger double bedrooms and en-suite bathrooms on different floors, smaller storage space, and smaller kitchens (Gardiner, interview). The next section describes the household composition and demographic profile of residents at Britannia Village.

Table 6.1 Family homes' as share of all homes, by tenure (2004) ⁴⁴

	Family homes (% within tenure)
Private sector	200 (20%)
Social sector	185 (57%)
Total family homes	385 (28%)

Source: derived from figures drawn from project planning documents and the Housing Associations.

6.2 Residents and families

This section presents a socio-demographic profile of the residents at Britannia Village at the time of the field work, and their attitudes towards living in the neighbourhood.

Obtaining accurate figures to draw the demographic profile of Britannia Village was a challenging task, more so than in the other two case study areas. Census 2001 was the single most complete source of demographic data on Britannia Village. However, the Census has been found to under-enumerate in four instances, all of which pertain to

⁴⁴ Refer to Figure 1. The two hundred houses for sale are considered 'family homes' for either private rental or for sale. The 96 ETHG family houses, and 85 Peabody homes built for Laing, and 4 shared ownership houses are considered social sector family houses.

Britannia Village: flatted dwellings, new build, private renters, and Inner London areas (ONS 2004). Further, between the time of the Census and the fieldwork the number of homes built on site increased by forty percent.

This section correlates information from the Census with a community survey sponsored by the local church in 2003 (Community Action Team and Royal Docks Community Church 2003). The survey used a self-completing questionnaire, delivered by volunteers to all homes. 151 forms, 13% of the total households, were returned by mail or collected by the volunteers, and were analysed by a Newham company. The survey coordinator, the minister of the local church, indicated that the distribution and collection methods may have resulted in over-sampling families in both social and private housing, and under-representation of private renters (Marsh 2004).

The field survey for this research interviewed 100 residents (about 8% of the population) was used to inform the demographic profile, and to describe residents' attitudes about living in the neighbourhood. Finally, these sources are supplemented with information from the developers, architects, borough planners and London Docklands Development Corporation.

The second part of the section then focuses on the families living at Britannia Village, particularly in the private homes, and their attitudes towards raising children there. This section is based on interviews with twenty families in the private homes and twenty families in the social homes.

The description distinguishes between three groups of residents: the newcomers living in private sector homes, the newcomers living in social housing, and a small number of long-term residents, or 'locals', living in both social rented and private housing.

Residents

At Britannia Village in 2004, about three in every four households was in the private sector. The high percentage of private rental homes, estimated at up to 40% of the new private homes, results directly from the site marketing. The developers targeted 'Buy to

Let' investors, who could wait for the potential of the site to be realized, and granted discounts to investors who purchased multiple homes. (Lamb, interview 2003, Estate Agent 2003).

Table 6.2 Population at Britannia Village, by tenure⁴⁵:

	Number of homes	% of households
Owner Occupied	632	46%
Privately Rented	421	31%
Social Rent	321	23%
Shared Ownership	4	<1%
Total	1378	

Sources: compilation based on Census 2001, with additional households based on figures received from planners, housing associations, and private developers.

The field survey for this research interviewed 101 residents, split roughly evenly across the three tenures (see Table 6.3).

Table 6.3 : Field Survey interviews, by tenure

Tenure	No. of Interviewees	Percentage
Owner occupiers	35	35%
Private renters	33	33%
Social tenants	33	33%
TOTAL	101	100%

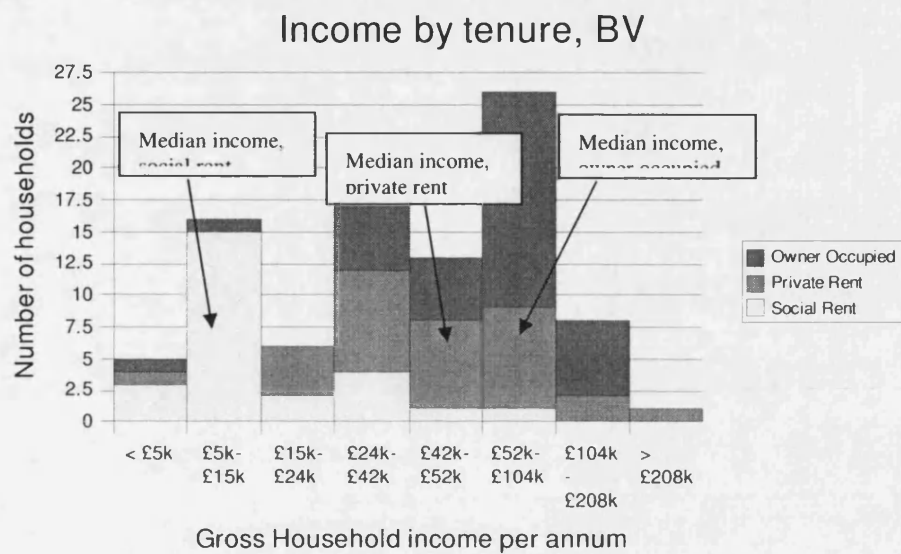
Relative to the Census 2001 population figures, the field survey recorded more private renters and proportionally fewer social tenants and owner occupiers. Part of the difference is explained in noting that the field survey sampled individuals while the Census sampled households, and there were typically more people (sharers) living in the private rented households than in the owner-occupied homes. An additional explanation of the difference relates to problems of Census underenumeration in areas with flatted

⁴⁵ There were some differences in the tenure profile among the three main sources: census 2001, the community survey, and the field work, and the percentages given here should be viewed as estimates.

accommodation, new build, and areas of low-response such as Inner London(ONS 2004)., as described in Chapter One.

Figure 6.2 below shows the distribution of income at Britannia Village, as reported by interviewees in the field survey.

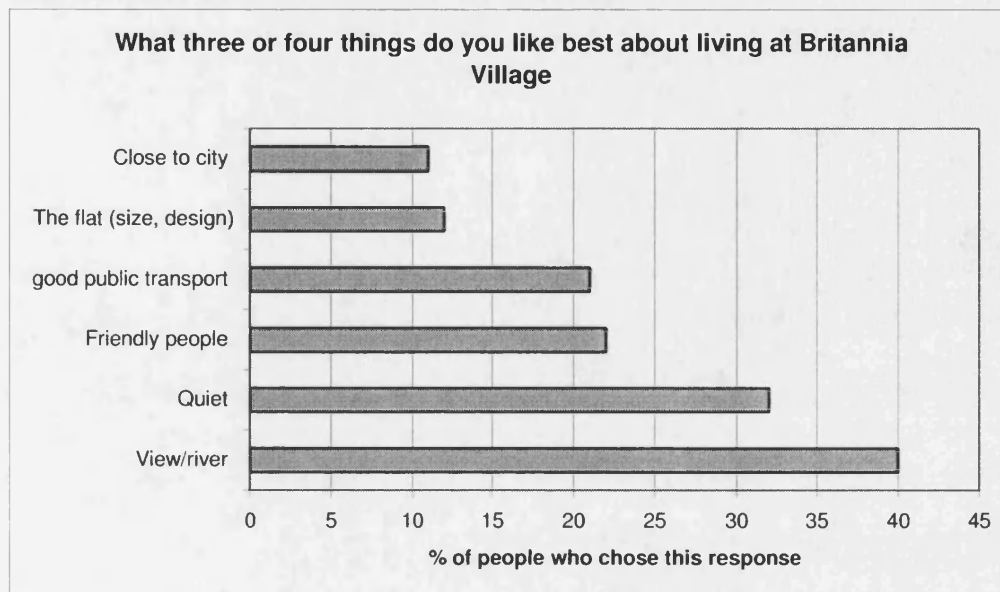
Figure 6.2: self-reported income by tenure, Britannia Village



Source: field survey

Figures 6.3 and 6.4 below show the aspects of living at Britannia Village that residents liked most, across all tenures. The quiet and the views were the most liked features of the neighbourhood. The peacefulness is the positive side of the area’s isolation. There were some differences by tenure. Social tenants were more positive about the friendly people and the size and design of flats, while private sector residents spoke more of the proximity to the city centre, public transport, and river views (more accessible to most of the private sector homes)

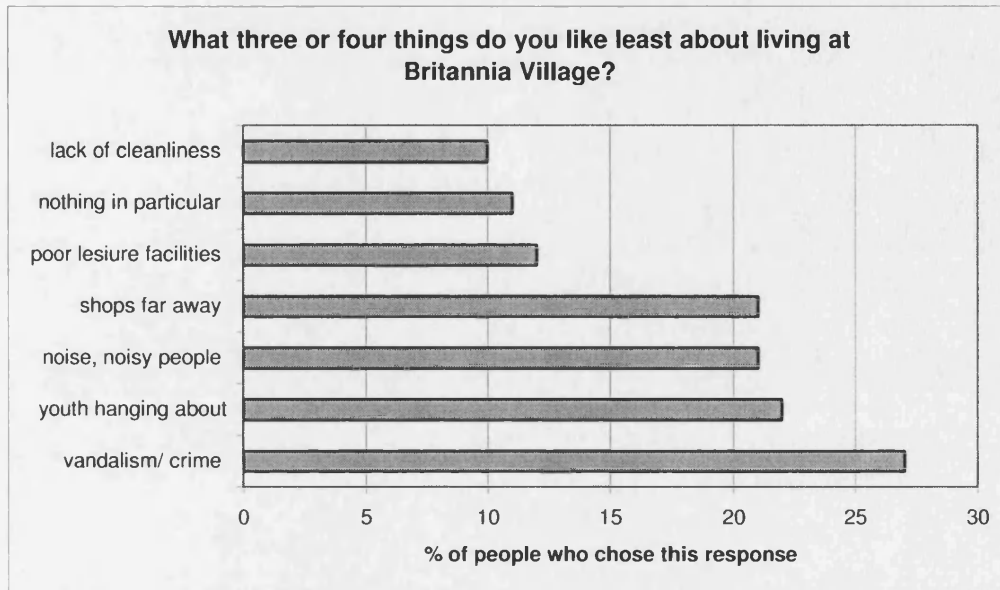
Figure 6.3: What do residents like most at Britannia Village



Source: field survey

Figure 6.4 below shows the aspects of living at Britannia Village that residents liked least. Vandalism, young people hanging about and noisy people were the aspects that residents liked least. Social tenants were less concerned about the noisy people, and more concerned about the distance to shops than were private-sector residents. These results were similar to those found in the local community survey, where ‘vandalism’, ‘anti-social behavior’ and crime were considered the issues of greatest concern.

Figure 6.4: What do residents like least at Britannia Village



Source: field survey

Newcomers in private sector homes :

Owners at Britannia Village were mostly between the ages of 25 and 55 (85%), with none over the age of 55. Most had moved in within the past five years, although 30% had lived there for longer. The majority of households were couples (60%). They were predominantly white (just over 80%), including 12% who listed themselves as non-British white. Asian was the single largest other ethnic group (13%) among owners, as it was across Newham.

Most owners were first-time buyers (70%). 25% said they owned another home elsewhere: this included investment properties, weekend houses, and family homes outside the city. Two-thirds had lived previously in London, including elsewhere in Newham (20%). Over half of all owners worked as professionals, most often in financial services; others were associate professionals (20%) and managers (10%). Nearly half of all owners reported a combined household income of between £52,000 and £104,000 (see Figure 6.2 above).

When asked why they moved to Britannia Village, owners were most likely to talk about issues of money or convenience: the value for money, proximity to work, and transport access. Factors relating to the specific place (river, views, quiet, people) or the flat itself (size, design), were far less important in their choice, and only one (the local vicar) referred to the values or ideology of a mixed-income neighbourhood.

It's close to Canary Wharf, but not too in the thick of it. The Olympics should boost property values. (owner)

It was in-between my place of work and my partner's, and looked nice.

Commenting on the tenure mix at Britannia Village, more than half of the owners ranked it as somewhat or very negative, and fewer than one in ten gave the social mix a positive ranking:

In theory I believe this is a good thing, but unfortunately a few people with anti-social behaviour from social housing have made it a problem. Owners have moved out as a result. It should be positive but it doesn't work out like that (owner).

There is a huge socio-economic gap, it's mixing chalk and cheese. At the Residents' Association meetings, all the talk is about the problems from the social housing. There is a lot of resentment: they pay £30 a week, we pay £250k – yet they have new cars (owner).

Despite the poor perception of the tenure mix, most owners were either 'fairly satisfied (60%) or 'very satisfied (15%) with the neighbourhood, rather lower than satisfaction levels nationally in urban areas (Survey of English Housing 2004). About 40% of owners thought they would remain at Britannia Village, similar to the figure for GMV, and in sharp contrast to 73% of owners in urban areas nationally (Survey of English Housing).

Renters were slightly younger than owners, and newer to the area: over ninety percent of private renters had been there less than two years. About half the renters were sharers in multi-person households. The high levels of household income shown in Figure 6.2 above typically represent multiple incomes within one sharer household

Monthly private rents at Britannia Village were lower than in central London or in other Docklands areas, and substantially lower than at Greenwich Millennium Village: a two double-bedroom flat with a partial dock view rented for about £900 per calendar month as compared to £1400 at Greenwich Millennium Village in 2004.

Nearly all private renters had moved from other rented accommodation. Just about half had previously lived in London, including about 20% who had previously lived in Newham. About 20% said they owned another home elsewhere. Their reasons for moving to Britannia Village were similar to those of the owners, with several more noting family and friends. The layout of the flat was also a factor for about 25%.

Private renters were less aware of the tenure mix at Britannia Village than owners. Only 30% of renters knew about the tenure mix before they moved to GMV, compared with 80% of owners who knew about the tenure mix in advance. Private renters rated the social mix as 'neutral', with about one in four rating it as negative or somewhat negative.

One side of this estate is the haves and one side the have nots: this side is clean and tidy, over there it's not well maintained, they chuck out mattresses in the gardens. But I have no other problems with it. I always feel safer walking nearer the dock (private tenant).

65% of the private renters were 'fairly satisfied' (30%) or 'very satisfied' (35%) with the neighbourhood, slightly fewer than the owners. Over 80% of renters reported that they were unlikely to remain at GMV for more than the next few years, as compared with 40% of private renters who actually move each year (Survey of English Housing 2005).

Newcomers in social housing

Newham in 2004 was one of the most disadvantaged areas in Britain: the fourth most deprived borough in Greater London (after Hackney, Tower Hamlets and Islington), and the sixth most deprived in England and Wales (ODPM 2004). The areas of Newham with the lowest income were in Canning Town, and North Woolwich/ Silvertown, the closest immediate neighbours to Britannia Village. Newham was the first local authority

in Britain to become 'majority minority', and had the largest percentage of ethnic minorities in Britain, 61% in 2004. Over 35% of households in Newham were economically inactive.

Nominations to social housing at Britannia Village were predominantly from the local council: Newham nominates 75% of tenants in the family homes, and 50% of the single bedrooms across the borough, with the remainder coming from the housing associations' lists. There was no priority for nominating economically active households at this site (Blackman 2005).

Accordingly, the majority of residents in social housing at Britannia Village had previously lived in Newham (70%), and the rest had all previously lived in London. Social housing residents had lived in Britannia Village longer than the private sector residents: 70% had lived there at least two years.

Newcomer social housing tenants were predominantly from black and ethnic minority backgrounds (85%), well above the Newham borough average (61%). The majority worked in intermediate and lower-technical professions (58%), and 22% had never worked or were long term unemployed. Nearly 70% of all tenants in social housing said their household income was under £15,000.

Commenting about their reasons for accepting the transfer to Britannia Village, tenants noted that:

We like to spend time outside, and it is cleaner here than in Canning Town. Plus, our house here has a garden.

This is a nice respectful place, not a low area. It's not scary to live here.

What most convinced me to live here was the actual house, which is perfect. I really like it (tenant, with three children in 3 bedroom flat).

Tenants were somewhat more positive about the tenure mix than were the owners and private renters, although 40% of tenants had not known of the tenure mix before moving

in. Attitudes ranged from negative to positive, with more than half rating it as positive or very positive,

If it was all estates it would not be so safe. The mix makes people behave better.

I'm not bothered. The wine bar is the only place we all mix but then some can't even go there as it is £2.85 a pint (tenant)

There's a border -- them and us -- they don't come here, they don't have reason to. It's the way it's built. In our cul de sac, it works very badly -- the mix is strongest here, and the people in private housing are having trouble selling on (tenant)

Safety was not considered a problem for most people. Local young people noted that in Britannia Village, in contrast to neighbouring Canning Town, they did not have to conceal their mobile phones for fear of having them stolen. In some cases, the design of the Urban Village did not promote safety: the north-south facing footpaths lacked surveillance, and there were no exits from the homes to the dockside boulevard, limiting intervention if necessary. Several residents mentioned a recent decline in safety standards:

The feel of the area has become noticeably worse. There has been a lot of anti-social behaviour nearby, possibly connected to drugs. Most of the private housing on my road (it is half private, half social) has now been sold to private landlords to rent out. There is a very fast turnover of residents – every 6 months or so. They are not friendly – they don't say hello when they move in or see you in the street. Three houses have been let out to businesses that house foreign workers there. Minibuses come to collect them at 5.30 am and they have no consideration for their neighbours – shouting across the road to each other at that hour! They also hang out in the street and have noisy parties. It has changed the feel of the place. When we went to ask the estate agent about the situation they said “we thought it would be OK to put them down that end of the village.” What they meant was in an area where there is a majority of social housing. Most people down this end are tenants who don't complain so much – that's why they thought they could get away with it.”

Overall, 65% of newcomer tenants said they were either satisfied or very satisfied. Turnover among social tenants was reported to be low by the housing associations, but our survey found that 45% said they intended to move within the next few years – much higher than the English average for social tenants (10%).

Long-term residents, 'locals':

There were a small number of long-term residents in Britannia Village. Some were in privately owned homes built before the second World War, and others had been re-housed from the tower blocks in West Silvertown. Approximately twenty-five families were re-housed in the Peabody homes off Fort Street and an estimated seventy elderly residents were re-housed in flats in the 'Peabody Crescent Block' overlooking the docks (Johnson, interview 2003; Vickery, interview 2003). Some households had purchased their homes through the Right to Buy. The field research interviewed eight of these long-term residents, of whom five owned their own homes and three were social tenants.

The 'local' residents interviewed were all white British. Two were single people over the age of 65, and the rest of the households were composed of couples with dependent children. Those who were in employment worked in construction or building trades, or in printing and research.

The locals were less satisfied with the neighbourhood than were the other groups. For most, there was 'nothing in particular' that they liked best about the neighbourhood, and many aspects that they disliked, including vandalism, youth hanging about, noise, and the mix of people. In comparing the current situation with the past, some locals noted that the current housing was better and the streets were cleaner, but others emphasized the loss of community:

It's worse than it was before. We lived in the tower blocks, and everyone used to go on holiday together. I used to run the community centre. Now there's theft. We're buying through the Right to Buy in order to sell. They've actually split us up trying to make a new community. They've made it worse (social tenant).

There used to be a nice small community here, like a village. Everyone looked out for each other. I was a school governor, ran a youth club. Not any more (owner).

Opinions on the social mix ranged from 'neutral' to 'very negative'. There were numerous negative comments about the new social housing tenants:

The social mix never used to be a problem. Now some of the people are dodgy, drunks, drugs (social tenant)

The majority of people moved in by the Housing Associations are thieves. Now it seems that you've got to be bad to get anything (owner).

The few comments about the newcomer owners presumed that these too were uncomfortable with the new social tenants:

The new owner-occupiers might be reasonable to be getting pissed off by 'all the shitty little kids' from social housing (owner).

There is nothing more demoralising than paying money for a good house, and then seeing an exact copy of it for rent from the council. I've been unemployed, I know both sides of the story (owner).

Some of the locals hoped to leave the neighbourhood, selling their homes for a higher price than they would have previously received. The older residents spoke of being resigned to remaining in the neighbourhood, despite their disaffection.

Table 6.4 below summarises the typical characteristics and attitudes of residents at Britannia Village, by tenure.

Table 6.4: Typical characteristics of residents at BV, by tenure

	Newcomer, private owners	Newcomer private renters	Newcomer social tenants	Locals
Previous residence and tenure	Private rental (50%)	Private rental (66%)	Social housing (66%)	Council or owners
Median age	25 -44 (70%)	25 - 44 (65%)	24 - 44 (50%)	45 - 54
Occupations	Senior managers and professionals.	Associate professionals and junior managers.	Services, unemployed.	Services, unemployed
Median income per household	£52 - £104K	£52 - £104k	£5 -£ 15K	£23 -£41K
Reasons for moving in	Transport/access to work (25%) Value for money (15%) River/ views (15%)	Transport/ access to work (25%) river/views (15%).	Newness (10%) Peaceful (10%) Flat/ garden (10%)	Always lived there.
Length of residence	One to five years (50%)	Less than one year (60%)	One to five years (60%).	More than 10 years
Most liked features	Quiet, views, river (25%)	Quiet, views, river (40%)	Quiet, views, river (25%) Friendly people (20%) Flat itself (20%)	Nothing in particular
Least liked features	Vandalism/ crime and youths hanging about (25%)	Vandalism/ crime and youths hanging about (25%) Noise./noisy people (15%)	Vandalism/ crime and youths hanging about (15%) Distance to shops (15%)	Vandalism, youth, noisy people. Loss of community.
Attitude towards social mix	Somewhat/very negative (50%)	Neutral (50%)	Somewhat/very positive (50%)	Neutral to negative.
Overall satisfaction	Fairly satisfied (60%) Very satisfied (16%)	Fairly satisfied (50%) Very satisfied (25%)	Fairly satisfied (30%) Very satisfied (30%)	Dissatisfied
'Very' or 'fairly' like to move in next few years	Very or fairly likely (55%)	Very or fairly likely (80%)	Not very likely (60%)	Varies

Families

In-depth interviews with forty families were conducted at Britannia Village. The field work located and interviewed nearly one in three families in private housing and about one in eight of all families in social housing. Among the 'locals', five families with children were interviewed.

Table 6.5: Families interviewed as share of all families at BV by tenure

Tenure	Estimated total number of families, by tenure ⁴⁶	Number Interviewed	Percentage interviewed
Owners	46	16	35%
Private renters	33	8	24%
Social tenants	115	15	13%
TOTAL	176	40	23%

Source: Census 2001, field work.

The estimated distribution of families by tenure is shown in Table 6.7 below. About 12% of the private sector households had children, far lower than in private sector households in Newham (36%) or in London (25%)⁴⁷. In contrast, and as at the other two case study sites, families were over half of all households in the social rented sector.

The general impression among residents, council officers and others connected with the area was that nearly all the families at Britannia Village were living in the social rented homes. However, analysis of the figures shows that in fact slightly more than one third of all families was living in the private sector homes, due to the large majority of private sector housing. The private sector families had fewer children per household than did the social sector families, and so in total about one in four children lived in the private sector homes. Table 6.7 also reveals that the supply of small houses for families was nearly double the share of private sector families in the neighbourhood. The 'child density' was much higher in the social rented sector than in the private sector

⁴⁶ The total number of families here is derived from the percentage of families by tenure as measured in Census 2001 (CAS053), and updated by projection to include forty percent more private sector homes built since 2001.

⁴⁷

households, as in the other two case study areas, an issue that is taken up in Chapter Seven.

Table 6.6 : Households with children and child density at Britannia Village, by tenure.

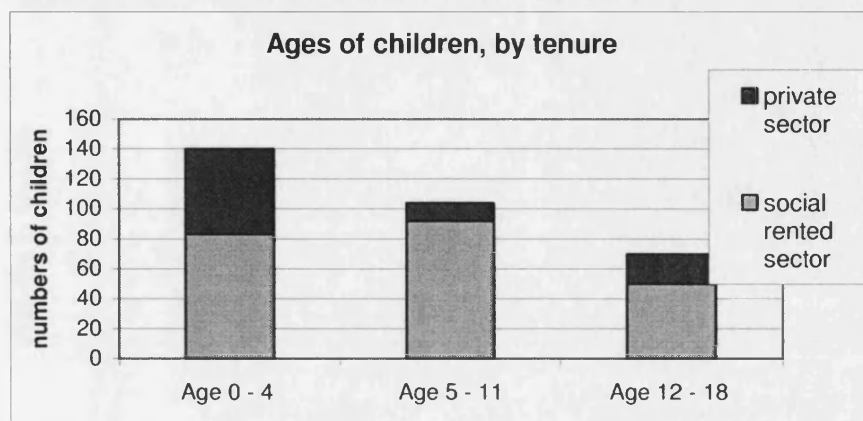
	% of all households with this tenure	% with children within this tenure	% of all homes suitable for families in this tenure ⁴⁸	% of all children who are within this tenure	'Child density': children/all people within tenure
Owner Occupied	46%	11%	20%	18%	9%
Privately Rented	31%	13%	20%	9%	7%
Social Rent	23%	51%	57%	73%	41%
All tenures	100%	24%	27%	100%	21%

Source: Census 2001, CAS 053 (Fenton 2005)

Most of the children in the private sector homes were pre-school aged (65%) as shown in Figure 6.5 below. There was then a sharp drop in the numbers of primary school aged children, with slightly more children at secondary school age, many of whom were from the 'local' families. The drop in primary school-aged children might be explained by the relative newness of the area, together with the fact that many of the private sector families arrived without children, or it may indicate that private sector families were leaving Britannia Village as their children approached school age. The next sections provide some answers to these questions, as they describe the newcomer and local families in the private and the social sectors and their attitudes towards raising children at Britannia Village.

⁴⁸ Refer to Table 1.

Figure 6.5: Children at Britannia Village, by age and tenure



Source: Census 2001 (Fenton 2005)

Families in private housing

Most of the families in the private sector homes had moved to Britannia Village before their children were born, and were similar in outlook and characteristics to the households without children in the private homes. The majority worked in professional or associate professional jobs, and the majority were white. Many listed their ethnicity as 'white other', coming from outside the UK, including northern European countries and Australia/ New Zealand. They were drawn to Britannia Village because it was close to work, and offered good value for money. Very few of the families had more than one child. About two thirds of mothers were working full or part-time, similar to the national average, and in contrast to the child-less households in the private sector, where nearly all women were in paid employment.

We came here on a bit of a whim. We needed a two bedroom place as the baby was on the way, and we wanted to be in the Docklands. The price was ok here. (mother in private rental).

There were also a small number of families at Britannia Village who had lived there prior to the regeneration, in privately owned homes and in those purchased through the Right to Buy. In contrast to the newcomers, these 'local' families tended to work in

skilled trades and personal service jobs, were all white British, and had children of all ages. The 'local' families expressed a good deal of dissatisfaction with life at Britannia Village. The most common complaints were about vandalism and the loss of community since the regeneration. They reported very little social interaction with the new residents in either the social housing or the private homes.

Parents differed slightly from non-parents in their opinions on raising children in the city. About half of private sector parents thought that large cities, and London in particular could be a good place to raise children, but only a third of those without children agreed.

About half of all the parents in the private sector were living in ground floor houses, as compared with about one in ten among the childless households. These include those families who had purchased through the right to buy, but also may indicate that at least some of those parents who chose a house at Britannia Village may have already been planning to have children at the time of purchase. Just over half the families felt that their homes were not well designed for raising children. The greatest concerns were voiced about the two-bedroom houses: all felt that these were too small, and also that they were not well designed for families.

The town houses are not ideally designed for families, you can see it in the details. The kitchen doesn't overlook the garden, ideally you'd want to overlook your child playing out there. There is too little space for storage and perhaps too much for bathrooms (owner).

The flat is ok, but only for one child. There's no lift, and even getting up to the first floor with a pram is a problem. The gardens are too small to be used (owner).

My house is not designed well for us: the walls are too thin and sound carries, the lounge isn't big enough for my large Asian family and our guests.

Pre-school aged children were either home with their mothers or attending private nurseries near a parents' place of work. Few of the children participated in the toddler sessions run under contract for Newham out of the local Village Hall. However many of

the mothers who were not employed outside the home took their toddlers to a weekly 'bounce about' session run by the community church. Mothers said these sessions were helping to form bonds with other parents and children in the neighbourhood.

The few primary school aged children in the private sector were attending the nursery or reception years at Britannia Village School. Parents were wary about this school, with comments such as '*it's early days*' or '*it's adequate for my child at this age (four), despite the poor OFSTED report*'. Relative to other schools in the area, parents rated the Britannia Village School 'worse than average', consistent with achievement rankings placing the school to the bottom of Newham's schools. For these parents, the main problem with the schools was behavioural problems with the children.

My child is challenged, he is enjoying the school, I have no concerns, academically, but some behaviorally. He is copycatting some bad behaviour. Now, who knows if that is just him, but I think it is copied. His cohort is fine, in reception, but I am grateful that he is not in the year above, Year1 is a very difficult group. The nursery began with his year, and most of the children in reception started in the nursery and have been socialized into this (owner parent, 2003).

One parent who chose not to send her children to Britannia Village commented:

We chose Drew School (the neighbouring school) not Britannia Village, because there is no discipline or authority at Britannia. At Drew there are polite and happy kids. I know two or three other parents from here who go there (owner, 2003).

Only two of the parents in the private homes said they volunteered with the school or served on the parents association. Notably, none of the parents surveyed were sending their children to private schools, though several were paying large amounts monthly for private pre-school care.

Most owners with children, and about half the families in privately rented homes, were aware of the tenure mix in the neighbourhood. Nearly all the owners and private renters reported that their children played with friends from the social housing homes. Owner

parents were more negative about the social mix, while the private renters said their experience was 'neutral'.

Unfortunately a few families with anti-social behavior from social housing have made it a problem for all of us. Some families in the private homes have moved out as a result (owner mother).

I am happy here. Despite that, though, I'm not happy for my 5 year old to play outside unsupervised. His friends from school come by and ask him to play out and I have to say no. More families here with a culture of play at friends' houses would be good – for instance, my son has been invited to one birthday party all year, whereas my niece, also 5, who lives in Surrey, has been invited to about one a week. These children don't have a tradition of inviting over to the home, just playing outside unsupervised. The school standards are lowish – but then, there is the benefit of the diversity and multi-culturalism.

Belonging to a community was considered at least somewhat important by about half the parents in the private sector homes, but only one quarter said they felt a belonging to a community at Britannia Village. One long-term resident who had purchased her home through the Right to Buy said:

It used to be more of a community here. Now people keep themselves to themselves' (grandparent).

One physical obstacle to community building across or within tenures was the lack of benches for parents near areas where children might play. There were no benches in the very small local playground, or in the Village Green, or on the dockside promenade⁴⁹. Field observations noted children playing unsupervised in these areas, perhaps in part due to the lack of provision for parents.

When asked 'what could be done to improve life here for families', families often talked about playgrounds:

⁴⁹ One LDDC official suggested that benches were deliberately left out of the design, 'because otherwise people would sleep on them or do drugs on them'.

A better playground in a nicer park. The Village Hall is not a good space and the Green is boring, full of dog mess and there is nowhere for children to play football (parent, social tenant).

A safer proper playground. This one has been burnt down, and the teens hang out in there. There isn't much equipment for the younger children. There is nothing here for girls. (parent, private rent).

Boys in particular noted that sports facilities, such as football cages, nets on the village green, or a skate park, would improve their life at Britannia Village.

The majority of parents in private homes rated the neighbourhood as 'fair' to 'poor' for bringing up children. Although most said they were 'fairly satisfied' with the neighbourhood in general, over seventy percent thought they would be leaving the neighbourhood in the next few years. For some the reason was to move back to their country of origin, outside Britain. For most, however, the main reason given for wanting to move was to find a better primary school, followed by the more general wish to find somewhere they felt would be a better place to raise children.

Families in social housing:

Nearly half the families in the social housing were headed by unemployed lone mothers. Most of the two-parent families had at least one parent in work, and overall 35% of mothers were in full or part-time employment. About half the parents interviewed in social housing said they were white British, with the rest either white Irish, white other, black British or black African.

Tenant families generally said they were 'fairly' satisfied with Britannia Village as a place to live (60%). They rated the neighbourhood more highly for raising children than did the parents from the private sector homes, with over half rating it as good to excellent. The homes were considered one of the better features.

Nothing convinced me to be here, except the actual house, which is perfect'.

One problem frequently mentioned was the access over the pedestrian bridge to the DLR, more significant to families without a car:

It's not safe for children around here –there aren't safety rails on the footbridge, and the lift there is down all the time, I can't get across the steps with the pram and the small children.

Most families in social housing had two or more children when they moved in, in accordance with letting priorities. Toddlers from the social housing homes attended the 'Community Links' morning sessions, run out of the Village Hall. School-age children mostly went to the Britannia Village primary school, but nearly a third continued to attend a school in their previous neighbourhood. Parents in social housing were somewhat more positive than parents in private housing about the Britannia Village school, typically rating it 'about average'. About half the parents said they volunteered at the school. The main improvement they wanted to see was in school achievement and more traditional methods of discipline.

The facilities are quite good, the staff and food are bad. (parent, social tenant)

It's alright. I went there myself (parent, social tenant).

They spend all their energies on behaviour. If one kid does something wrong, you might see two or three teachers talking with him about blame and responsibility, while all the others go unattended. This is so different from other Newham schools. Elsewhere, if someone hits, they punish him by removing him from the classroom, but here they might put the kid into the 'restart room'. It's a lot of effort put into reflecting on behaviour. The children aren't sent to school for psychobabble (parent, social tenant)

The tenure mix was known in advance to about two-thirds of the parents in the social housing. Attitudes were somewhat more positive than among social tenants without children:

If it was all social housing here, it would get to be what my thirteen year old daughter wants, street corners to hang out on. But I don't want that, it is good for us that they have bought here, they have more say, people take more notice of them (tenant).

I do think that it would be a good thing if more private housing parents would send their kids to the local school – all the children would benefit – more shared experiences, more diverse attitudes, possible role models – I do think this would help (tenant).

Community and belonging were considered somewhat or very important (80%), far more so than to the families in the private homes. However, only one in five families in the social homes felt they belonged to a community at Britannia Village:

Most of the people here don't work. I'm a full-time working mum, so I feel a bit left out' (tenant).

Overall, nearly half the families in social housing thought it likely that they would move away from Britannia Village in the coming years. The main reason given was to find a larger or more suitable home with a bigger garden.

'Local' families:

Only five 'local' families were interviewed, two from social housing and three from owner occupied homes. All the children went to the local primary school. Parents noted positively the new school building, but said they would like to see more discipline in the school, and more traditional teaching methods. Their children played with others from the neighbourhood, but rarely with the mostly younger children from the newcomers in private homes. The local parents did not think that Britannia Village was a particularly good neighbourhood for raising children. Several noted that there was little for older children to do in the neighbourhood, and one commented that she had withdrawn her older children from activities at the local Village Hall, because of bullying and behaviour problems with the other children. Some of these families hoped to leave the neighbourhood in the near future.

Family characteristics and attitudes are summarized in Table 6.8 below.

Table 6.7: Summary of family characteristics and attitudes, by tenure and type.

	Newcomer families in private housing	Newcomer families in social housing	'Local' families
Age of children	Mostly pre-school	All ages	School age
Dual career families?	About 65%	About 35%	Among owners.
Send children to local primaries?	Yes, only reception.	Yes.	Yes.
Opinion on local primary school	Worse than average	About average	Worse than average.
Involvement in school	Little.	Volunteer with the class.	Little
Kids play across tenure?	Yes, all	About a third	Some
Attitude to tenure mix?	Neutral to poor.	Fair to positive	Neutral to poor.
Rate n'hood for raising children	Fair to poor .	Good	Poor.
Intend to move?	About two –thirds	Nearly half.	Some

6.3 Raising children

Britannia Village had strong potential to attract – or at least retain – middle income families wishing to live in the city. The physical location offered peace and calm, bounded by the views over the Docks and Thames, and was insulated from the adjacent low-income areas. Transport to the City compared favourably with most other inner-London areas of choice, and was excellent for access to Canary Wharf. The site layout was generally child-friendly, with low-traffic pedestrian streets, and there were attractive parks within walking distance, including the neighbouring Lyle Park and the larger Thames Barrier Park, as well as the wide promenade along the dock, and the central Village Green. The brand new school, and the large Village Hall, were intended

to provide excellent education and leisure services. Finally, the homes themselves, while criticised for their lack of design flair, are in a familiar style, and the two hundred houses provided an opportunity to purchase a single family home in inner London at a competitive price.

Despite all these family-friendly features, Britannia Village in 2005 was not attracting middle-income families with children. Families who had moved into the private homes without children often stayed at Britannia Village for the infant and toddler years, but tended to leave before the children reached school age. Local families with children were hoping to move away. This section investigates two factors in the decision of families with housing choice to move away: the low-achieving primary school, and issues of public realm and community.

Primary School

The Britannia Village Primary School was purpose-built for the new Urban Village, at a cost of £5.5 million, including a £300,000 contribution from the LDDC. It was an airy brightly painted new school, located in the centre of the development, between the Village Hall and the Village Green. According to the LDDC's community liaison officer:

“Making a school on-site at Britannia Village was a piece of the whole urban village concept. Newham was absolutely committed to it, and so we wrote a new school into the social brief for the neighbourhood, since we knew there had been a problem with under-provision in Beckton, and elsewhere in Newham.”
(Johnson, interview 2003).

The Britannia Village School was designed to be ‘fully inclusive’, suitable for children with special needs, both physical and behavioural, in accordance with the standard brief for new schools in Newham. Schools designated ‘fully inclusive’ were open to children

with special needs from outside the catchment area. The school was also designed with full facilities for extended day early years care, but no budget was provided for early childhood education and in 2004 those rooms were largely unused.

The new school opened in 1999, well before completion of the homes at Britannia Village. The school was populated with the staff and students of a nearby school that had been closed for poor achievements, and a new Headteacher was recruited a year before the school opened. About 40% of the children were white, and 27% were Black African or Black Caribbean, the next largest ethnic group.

Indices of deprivation at the Britannia Village School are shown in Table 6.9 below. In 2004, nearly 24% of children were listed as having ‘special educational needs without statements’, well over the national average (17.6%). Fifty-two percent of children were entitled to free school meals in 2003, far above the Newham average (39%), and more than three times the national average (16.8%). In 2004 the school ranked at the very bottom of the ‘league table’ rankings for achievement in Newham. An OFSTED report from 2001 found that the school was in the lowest five percent nationally for reading and writing achievements. By 2004, the school was ranked lowest in Newham out of fifty-eight schools for ‘value added’ (measuring improvement in students’ performance) as well as for absolute achievement in English, maths and science.

Table 6.8 Indices of deprivation at Britannia Village Primary School

	Britannia Village Primary School	Newham LEA	Nationally
Free School Meals	52%	39%	16.8%
Special educational needs	24%	16%	17.6%
English as an additional language	60%	37%	8%

Source: BV primary school, LB of Newham.

The Headteacher at the Britannia Village Primary School reported that he had received no special brief or guidelines concerning implications of the neighbourhood social mix

for the new school, as described above. The planning officer from the Local Educational Authority (LEA) said that the social composition of the student body was not a significant factor in defining the school 'brief':

We don't think of education provision in those terms. We expect the school to serve all children in the community. We certainly aren't looking at a tenure-specific pattern of provision or a social origin pattern of provision, our schools are very generous in their provision and very inclusive, providing a broad range of services including ICT and libraries... If anything, we would need a poorer standard of provision in wealthier areas since we wouldn't have so many children with special needs' (Brunning, Interview 2004).

The new school had little contact with the neighbourhood, or with children or parents outside of school hours. The school did not provide after-school clubs, did not allow community use of facilities after hours, did not hold events, classes, or social activities for parents, and did not promote the adjacent after-school club or other activities in the Village Hall. The unused 'early years' rooms had not been converted into a breakfast club or a toy library, as at Greenwich Millennium Village, and the weekly church-run toddler-group, which had initially given parents a chance to experience the school before their children reached school-age, later moved to the Village Hall. During the Village Fun Day, a neighbourhood fair event, the school was closed and the Headteacher was not present. The school was not marketed to prospective buyers: when the on-site estate agents were asked about local schools, they suggested private schools, and offered no information about the Britannia Village School.

The Headteacher suggested that the main problem was one of funding, especially given the high share of special needs children:

We're very stretched for resources, because at the start-up stage we were undersubscribed. Like every school, we are funded primarily on the basis of bums on seats. Now at start-up stage we had, say, 14 children in a classroom meant for 30. Now, if 29 children is economically viable – 14 certainly is not. And 14 is what we'd got. Even today, when we do have 30 children in most of the classes, we're still struggling to catch up.

We're understaffed also relative to the nature of these children. These children need an enormous amount of attention to their behaviour and attitudes, they children need more positive adult role models, but we can't afford it. Funding at the beginning start-up years should be per units of classes, not per bums on seats. At the start –up stage, a school like this needs a much higher ratio of trained and skilled adults, to ensure the smoothness (Church interview 2003).

A full understanding of the reasons for the poor achievements at the Britannia Village School would require an investigation of internal school issues such as management and pedagogical methods, beyond the scope of this research. However, the important lessons for this study is that despite the provision of a well-equipped new school building in a mixed income area, the Britannia Village School had become a low-performing and unpopular school by 2004. As seen in the previous section, families in the private sector homes in particular considered the primary school one of the main reasons for leaving the neighbourhood.

Public realm and community

Few families felt strongly that they belonged to a community at Britannia Village, as described in section 6.2. Local families particularly remarked on the lack of a community spirit, relative to what they remembered prior to the demolitions and construction of the urban village.

Building strong community ties across tenures at Britannia Village would not have been a simple task, given the very diverse backgrounds of the residents, and the rather tenure-segregated physical layout of the neighbourhood. The agency created to address the issue was the 'West Silvertown Village Community Trust', endowed by the LDDC, together with Wimpey plc, Peabody Trust and East Thames Housing Group, to promote charitable and cultural activities in the urban village. Trustees were drawn from representatives of the founding organisations, together with four residents, representing both social and private housing. In 2004, the Community Trust had sponsored a Fun Day, a fireworks display, football coaching, re-provision of a small children's play area,

and two editions of a newsletter. Their total expenditures for the year were about £56,000, leaving a reserve of £253,000 from the initial endowment (West Silvertown Village Community Trust website). One tenant remarked of the Foundation:

The Foundation sits like God in judgment. They say 'let's give the people a 'Fun Day' and fire works, but let's not give them access to the village hall, or help them get organized.

The efforts of the Community Trust aside, there was little ongoing cross-tenure activity at Britannia Village. Residents' associations at Britannia Village were split along tenure lines, with separate groups for each of the two housing associations, and another separate group for the private homes. Management of the public realm was also partially split along tenure lines, with a private management company responsible for maintaining the private sector areas.

The Village Hall was designed to be the main community facility, but did not function as a community hub. The 10,000 square foot Hall was owned by the volume house-builders Wimpey's, who paid £750,000 for the construction. The building included offices, a sports hall, a meeting area and a stage, and hosted a crèche and an after-school youth club a few days a week. Despite the facilities, the Village Hall offered few activities for residents. There was no budget for community outreach activities, and the private management company charged a high rental fee for use of the facilities to cover operating costs. The building was closed on weekends, except when rented out for weddings. Maintenance of the Village Hall was paid for from the monthly service charges paid by residents in private housing, and by an annual levy on the Peabody Trust. This arrangement was much disliked by residents (Britannia Village Residents Association Website 2004).

The local church group was one organization in Britannia Village that was actively trying to build a cross-tenure sense of community. The Minister lived on site, in a live-work home purchased at her instigation for the Baptist Church. In addition to church related activity, the Royal Docklands Community Church ran a club for the over-60's, a weekly coach service to the nearest supermarket, and a toddler drop-in. They received

funding from the Government's Neighbourhood Renewal Unit to carry out a community survey of resident needs (RDDC, 2003), and further funding to hire a community worker office, and establish a small drop-in centre in the Village Hall offering information, a reading corner, and a small activity space. However, these efforts depended on the vision and goodwill of the particular church leader, who was struggling with the personal implications of her decision to raise children in the neighbourhood, worried in particular about her children copying behaviour that she found unacceptable.

In summary, building community at Britannia Village would have been a challenging task in any circumstances. In the absence of a lead agency, the opportunities for cross-tenure social interaction in the neighbourhood were limited.

6.4 Discussion

The first part of this section compares the outcomes at Britannia Village with the existing evidence on outcomes at mixed income new communities, as presented in Chapter Two. While the outcomes from New Gorbals were compared with outcomes at 'renewal' MINCs, and those from Greenwich Millennium Village were compared with 'wholly new' MINCs, outcomes from Britannia Village are compared with both 'wholly new' and 'renewal' MINCs, because Britannia Village can be seen to contain elements of both. Like wholly new MINCs, Britannia Village was conceived as an entirely new community, isolated from the surrounding area, and the development was led primarily by the private developers. However, like renewal MINCs, there was an existing population at West Silvertown to be re-housed at Britannia Village, and some new community services were intended for the wider population, including the primary school. The location, isolation, and new urban form help to make Britannia Village stand out as 'different' in Newham, visually more akin to the other new housing in Isle of Dogs than to the surrounding neighbourhoods in Canning Town or North Woolwich.

The second part of this section explores the issue of displacement at Britannia Village.

A. OUTCOMES

Tables 6.9 and 6.10 below contrast the findings from Britannia Village with the evidence from both wholly new and renewal MINCs, as presented in Chapter Two.

Outcomes in services for low-income residents

Published case studies have found that standards for external appearance, cleanliness and safety have been found to improve in renewal MINCs, and to be generally high in wholly new MINCs, as summarized in Table 6.10 (Page and Boughton 1997; Jupp 1999; Pawson 2000; Beekman, Lyons et al. 2001; Andrews and Reardon-Smith 2005). At Britannia Village, there were much higher levels of cleanliness and repair in the private sector areas, under the responsibility of a private management company, than in the social housing areas where the council and the housing associations were responsible for upkeep. The different standards of maintenance resulted in part from the lack of integrated management and maintenance of the public realm sharpened the contrast between the different areas. 'Neighbourhood nuisance' can be a problem in renewal neighbourhoods (Beekman, Lyons et al. 2001). At Britannia Village there was growing reportage of 'neighbourhood nuisance', particularly evident along the waterfront in the summer months, and apparently caused by youths from the nearby low-income area (according to the community police officer). This outcome supports the conjecture from Chapter Two that external appearance standards in MINCs may be higher where the social and the private housing are more spatially integrated.

Previous case studies have also shown that low-income residents at MINCs can experience a decline in access to social programmes, particularly in wholly new MINCs, as noted in Table 10 (Mumford 1998; Atkinson and Kintrea 2000; Arthurson 2002). At Britannia Village, 'local' residents in particular felt that many services had declined since the time when most residents were council tenants (see also Tait 2003, p. 45). For example, low-income families were not eligible for the Sure Start programme for pre-school children and their parents, due to the relatively high average socio-economic indicators for the neighbourhood. The neighbourhood medical

surgery had been closed due to low-demand, particularly on the part of the private-sector residents, and the neighbourhood post office, used also to receive benefit checks, had been replaced by a dry-cleaner's. Charges for use of the Village Hall were beyond the means of low-income residents. These findings illustrate the need to plan alternative access to services for low-income residents in MINCs, particularly in wholly new and 'hybrid' MINCs.

There has been little published evidence on local school uptake by private sector families at MINCs. This study of Britannia Village found that some parents in the private homes did send their children to the nursery and reception classes at the local school, together with the children from the social housing. However, most private sector parents intended to remove their children from this school as they approached Year One, due to low academic achievements and concerns about children's behaviour in the school, and despite the brand new school facilities. This outcome indicates that building a new primary school at a MINC is not in itself sufficient to ensure that private sector parents will send their children to the school.

Table 6.9: Comparing outcomes at Britannia Village with evidence on services for low-income residents

		Wholly New MINCs	Renewal MINCs	Britannia Village
External appearance, cleanliness and safety	Evidence	Generally high standards.	Improved standards.	Generally high standards, higher in private sector areas. Some n'hood nuisance.
	Conjecture	Standards higher where social homes are spatially and aesthetically integrated with private homes?	Neighbourhood nuisance factors may still be strong where MINC abuts existing low-income area?	
Social infrastructure, leisure and retail	Evidence	Lacking in early years.	Services based on user-volume often suffer during demolition. Owners tend to prefer services outside neighbourhood	Low-rent services driven out by low demand from private sector. Leisure charges beyond the means of low-income residents.
	Conjecture	Tailored more to higher-end market?	Low-rent services may be driven out? Depends on tenure ratio.	
Programmes for low-income residents	Evidence	Little evidence	Little evidence	Some programmes available, others deemed ineligible due to high average income. No lead agency.
	Conjecture	Limited?	Remain unchanged?	
Local school uptake by better-off residents	Evidence	Very limited evidence. Sometimes new school is built.	Some evidence of participation.	Some uptake at new school in early years, but trend to remove children after reception, due to low achievements and behavioural issues.
	Conjecture	Variable depending on school, students and types of better-off parents?	Variable depending on school, students and types of better-off parents?	

Outcomes for housing, neighbourhood and social relations:

Published evidence indicates that MINCs in the UK can result in high quality social housing, a reduction in stigma, and rising land values, as summarised in Table 6.11 (Cole and Shayer 1998; Beekman, Lyons et al. 2001; Allen, Camina et al. 2005; Andrews and Reardon-Smith 2005) The evidence from Britannia Village supports these findings. The new social housing homes at Britannia Village were generally well-liked by tenants, and the houses, in particular, typically provided more space and often higher quality than in the market-rate homes. The neighbourhood stigma that attached to West Silvertown, the 'back of beyond' has changed considerably: over 80% of residents thought that outsiders would consider the neighbourhood as 'very nice' or 'reasonable'. Residents commented that the area was seen as 'posh' and 'flash', an appearance influenced by the design of the footbridge, and the pedestrian walkway, and perhaps also by the relegation of much of the social housing to the rear of the site.

Reducing stigma may be a lengthier process in renewal MINCs than in wholly new MINCs, and the experience at Britannia Village gives some insight into this process. One tenant commented that while 'outsiders don't know the neighbourhood', for locals, the reputation hasn't changed:

Native East Enders are not going to get away from what West Silvertown is and choose to buy here. For an East Ham person who is upwardly mobile, this is not their aspiration, not the aspiration of the ordinary East Londoner ('local' tenant).

The names, too, may say something about the changing reputation. The name 'Britannia Village' scrubbed away the connection to West Silvertown and the docks, and added a rhetorical 'Urban Village' to an area that was neither urban nor a village. The next phase of the development, in contrast, has the confidence to welcome the association with the area's industrial docking heritage, and is called 'Silvertown Quays'. The decrease in stigma – or rather the replacement of 'West Silvertown' with 'Britannia Village' -- has been accompanied by positive land values for this next phase of development, which will also carry a more extensive set of section 106 agreements (London Borough of Newham 2005)

Previous investigations of social relations across tenure in MINCs have typically found that residents are 'indifferent' to tenure, but that there is somewhat greater interaction across tenures among families with children, as shown in Table 6.11 (Page and Boughton 1997; Jupp 1999; Allen, Camina et al. 2005). A related finding was that spatial integration across tenures may improve social interaction in wholly new MINCs, but may carry increased tensions in renewal MINCs. The findings from Britannia Village on social interaction are somewhat limited. There was social contact among children across tenures, more than among residents without children. This finding corroborates previous research at Britannia Village (Tait 2003). The experience of the tenure mix among private sector residents did not seem to be greatly influenced by proximity to social housing.

The most significant finding in this category was that nearly all newcomers with children intended to leave the neighbourhood, calling into question the social stability of the urban village over time.

Table 6.10 Summary of evidence on housing, neighbourhood and social relations

	Wholly New	Renewal	Britannia Village
Housing and Economic Benefits			
Decent affordable housing	✓✓	✓✓ (especially where spatially integrated)	✓✓ despite the lack of full spatial integration. Internal space and design of social housing homes occasionally surpassed that of the market-rate homes.
Stigma reduced	✓✓	✓ (takes longer at renewal neighbourhoods)	✓✓ prestigious new neighbourhood to be built in next phase.
Land values raised	✓✓	✓✓ (rising prices may limit upgrading for low-income residents).	✓✓
Social interaction and community stability			
Residents' perception of social mix	Indifferent	Indifferent. Tenants more satisfied than owners.	Range. Tenants positive, private renters neutral, locals and owners negative.
Physical proximity and social interaction	Greater physical integration brings increased social interaction.	Greater physical interaction may increase social tensions.	Lack of evidence
Children, social interaction across tenure	Greatest social interactions occur across families with children, but high 'child density' can be a source of tension.	Greatest social interactions occur across families with children, but high 'child density' can be a source of tension.	Most children in private sector families play with children in social rented families.
Social stability over time	Mix of housing types can help increase social cohesion over time.	Mix of housing types may add to early social cohesion.	Newcomers with children nearly all intend to leave. Lack of intermediate housing limits 'staircasing up' for social tenants and other locals.

THE CHALLENGE OF DISPLACEMENT

Chapter Two noted that classic gentrification has typically resulted in displacement of low-income residents, either intentionally, through planned demolition and slum clearance; unintentionally, as the by-product of rising rental values; or through exclusionary displacement, in which rising prices prevent relatives of existing low-income owners from purchasing homes in the neighbourhood (Marcuse 1986; Smith 1996; Kennedy and Leonard 2001). The chapter noted that there are high rates of displacement in mixed income new communities developed through the HOPE VI programme in the US (Abt Associates Inc 2003; Popkin 2004), and questioned whether UK MINCs would be able to surmount the problem, at least in council housing areas where demolished social housing is replaced and housing density overall is increased.

The first phase of the displacement challenge at Britannia Village took place before the Urban Village was planned, in the last years of West Silvertown. As described above, the area was neglected, the school was closed, and tenants were not encouraged to remain. As one official commented 'anybody with any get up and go had got up and gone' (Johnson, interview 2003), leaving about two hundred households and another fifty empty flats, in the two council-owned tower blocks⁵⁰. Following the vote to demolish the existing tower blocks, social tenants were given the option to be re-housed immediately in housing association homes on site, or in council or housing association homes elsewhere in the borough at similar rent levels, or to receive £500 in cash in return for their homes. According to the community consultant for the London Docklands Development Corporation:

It was of interest to the Corporation that Newham provide the choice, but it was Newham's responsibility to manage the process, I don't think we monitored it in any way. When families asked my advice, I said 'you have to make your own choice, it's clearly set out on paper, one's your local authority, one's the Housing Association, one's the LDDC, make your choice'. ..

⁵⁰ The community consultant for the LDDC estimated that no more than 3 of the flats in the council tower block had been purchased through the Right to Buy.

I think it was difficult for people to believe in abstracts. We laid on a bus for a week, three trips a day to see Peabody and East Thames housing, brand new housing, and people would say: 'This is really nice, but we're not going to get this at West Silvertown, are we?' We said: 'Yes, you are, this is the guarantee, the same size of rooms, the same Housing Association.' But all the same, there was a high level of incredulity. Still, we certainly weren't saying this will be a brilliant area in two years time -- we didn't know ourselves -- if we had known, we would have bought down here too--none of us knew... (Johnson, interview, 2003).

The demolition and new build were timed so that decanting to new homes in the neighbourhood could be a one-stage process, from council tower block flats straight to the new housing association homes, rather than involving an interim move while the new homes were constructed. Other than the relative ease of the one-stage decanting, there did not seem to have been any further measures taken to encourage residents to choose the option of re-housing on site. Additionally, there were no special programmes to assist the tenants to purchase new homes on site, along the lines of the Priority Purchase Scheme used at New Gorbals. By the end of this phase, only about twenty-five families and an estimated eighty elderly residents chose to remain on site.

In the second phase, once it was clear that only a portion of the social tenants wished to be re-housed on site, the agencies involved in the development could have determined to reduce the total amount of new social housing to be built, in order to accommodate solely their needs for re-housing. However, the decision was made to replace all the social housing units demolished, including those which had been empty before the vote to demolish the tower block. The result was that two hundred and fifty new social housing homes were built in addition to the social housing homes off-site in which most former tenants were re-housed. This significant decision meant that despite the demolition, Britannia Village resulted in a net addition to the total social housing stock in Newham.

So was there displacement at Britannia Village? On the one hand, residents were offered the option of remaining, and the total stock of social housing units grew as a result of the project. On the other hand, retaining the local community did not seem to have been a high priority for any of the bodies involved, as it was, for example, at New Gorbals. Most of the original council tenants left for other areas, leaving the few 'locals' who

remained to mourn their lost community. Newham, or even the LDDC, could probably have made additional efforts to retain the former residents, for instance by offering them second option to return at a later time, or perhaps by giving priority on the waiting list to relatives of those who remained, or by offering them 'priority purchase' arrangements or subsidies on the for-sale homes, as at New Gorbals. However, overall, and with some degree of caution, Britannia Village could be regarded as an example of new mixed income development that did not necessitate large-scale displacement of the original low-income residents.

Conclusions

Britannia Village was a mixed-income new neighbourhood built on the remnants of a stigmatized and isolated low-income area.

Social tenants have benefited from some aspects of the transformation from West Silvertown into Britannia Village. Unpopular, though spacious, tower-block flats were replaced with good quality housing in safe and quiet surroundings, with a net addition to the total social housing stock in the borough. However, tenants were not supported into ownership, and few have benefited economically from the improved area status and rising prices. There was limited direct 'social mixing' across tenure, but also few reports of tensions across tenure.

Local government, meanwhile, has reaped considerable benefits from Britannia Village. The new social housing homes were built largely at the expense of the private sector, and in accordance with local housing need priorities. One-off capital investment in showy external features, such as the footbridge and the dockside cranes and landscaping helped to reduce stigma and raise land values, greatly enhancing the development potential of the much larger adjacent Phase Two site of Silvertown Quays. Residential density in this second phase is planned to be much higher in this second phase, and the planned Aquarium and High Street are also expected to open new job possibilities.

Britannia Village was not considered a particularly good place to raise children. In the social rented sector, about one half of all households had dependent children, often

headed by lone parents. Parents in the social housing homes, while usually pleased with the size and design of their homes, were less well-satisfied with the other family – oriented aspects: the Village Green, the Village Hall, or the Village School.

In the private sector, about 12% of the households had children, and about one-quarter of all children on site coming from the private sector homes. Families in the private housing area were mostly young professionals with little ties to the area, who had purchased homes before they had children. These families sent their children to the brand new local primary school, but most were dissatisfied with the school, and few expected to remain in the neighbourhood. There seemed to be a cycle of ‘churning’ at Britannia Village, in which private sector families who had been involved and active in the community were leaving and being replaced by multi-person rental households. Over the course of the fieldwork, the social tenants who had founded the tenants association had decided to leave the neighbourhood.

Several project staff noted that during the time the London Docklands Development Corporation (LDDC) had been in charge, there had been a clear guiding hand, soliciting residents’ concerns and ensuring that problems were resolved (Johnson, interview 2003, 2004; Sorenson, interview 2005). With the dissolution of the LDDC, and the handing over of responsibilities first to English Partnerships and then to the London Development Agency, this role had not been clearly assumed by any single agency. Without a lead agency, there seems to have been little ‘joined-up planning’, and many small problems remained unresolved, with the potential to fester over time.

Britannia Village may be considered as representing a MINC that was neither a ‘wholly new’ nor fully a ‘renewal’ model, but was instead an amalgam of each, a ‘*hybrid*’. Hybrid MINCs may face more challenges: unlike the ‘wholly new’, they must cope with the integration of decanting and re-housing low-income residents on site, but unlike full ‘renewal’ MINCs, they are not embedded within a wider network of support programmes and services for low-income residents.

This comparison and others are explored in the next two chapters, which use the findings from the three case study MINCs to draw out implications for policy and practice.

CHAPTER SEVEN: SYNTHESISING THE CASE STUDIES OUTCOMES AND FAMILY TYPES AT RENEWAL AND WHOLLY NEW MINCS

If places can be conceptualized in terms of the social interactions which they tie together, then it is also the case that these interactions themselves are not motionless things, frozen in time. They are processes. One of the great one-liners in Marxist exchanges has for long been, 'Ah, but capital is not a thing, it is a process.' Perhaps this should be said also about places; that places are processes too.'

The three case studies are all very much places in process, captured in a snapshot at a single moment of time, looking backwards. This chapter compares and contrasts the field work findings in order to explore the questions raised in Chapters Two and Three: what are the differences in outcome at renewal and wholly new inner-city MINCs, and which types of families choose to move in, stay or leave these MINCs.

The first section weaves together evidence from the case studies to contribute to existing knowledge on the outcomes and aims of MINCs. The section follows the pattern set out in Chapter Two, distinguishing between renewal and wholly new MINCs. The second section looks at the types of families that have moved into these MINCs, comparing the findings from the field work with the suggested 'typologies' of family gentrifiers that was presented in Chapter Three.

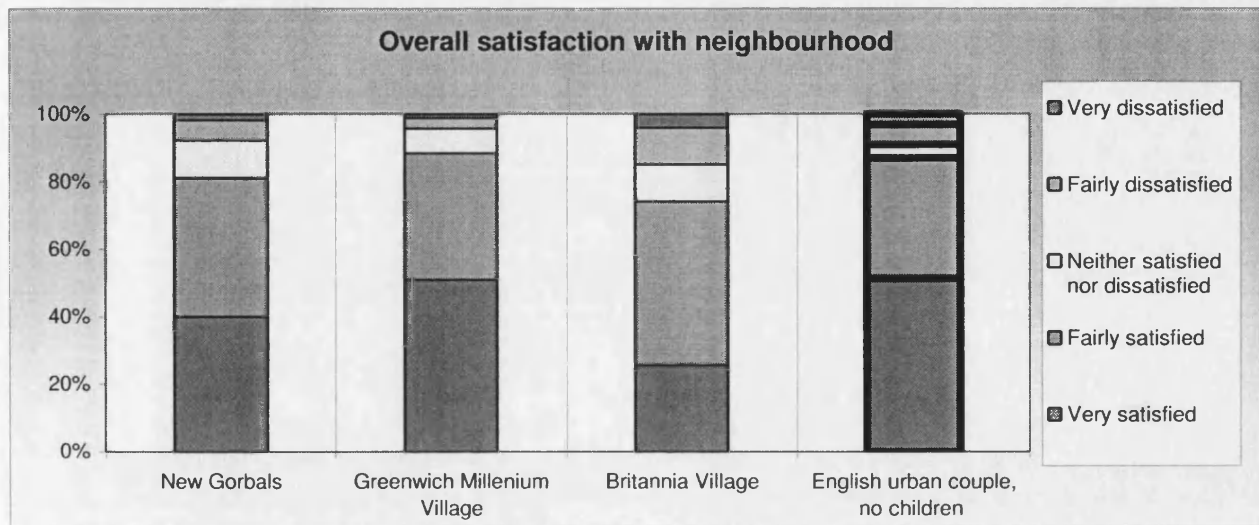
7.1 Achieving the aims of MINCs

Chapter Two reviewed the existing base of knowledge on the extent to which MINCs achieve their social, economic and housing goals. This section contributes the evidence from the case studies to that body of knowledge. The section emphasises outcomes for issues related to families: schools, family homes, and social interaction across tenure among children. In examining the evidence from the case studies, it is important to note that this study did not directly seek to measure change in quality of life for social housing residents: it did not evaluate improvements relative to the tenants' former places of residence, or relative to the surrounding areas. The study can, however, offer information about how the residents viewed services and amenities.

Perhaps the most general measure of outcomes at the MINCs is the level of resident satisfaction. Satisfaction levels for all residents, not just families, are compared with those of English couples without children in cities in Figure 7.1. Differences across tenure were not statistically significant and are not presented.

Figure 7.1 shows that satisfaction was highest at the wholly new community: there was almost no incidence of deep dissatisfaction at Greenwich Millennium Village. Satisfaction levels were nearly as high at New Gorbals, the 'renewal' MINC. The high levels of satisfaction at New Gorbals are particularly noteworthy in light of the area's reputation and remaining high levels of poverty and deprivation. Satisfaction levels for all residents at GMV and at New Gorbals were roughly similar to national satisfaction levels for urban couples without children, perhaps the closest comparison set. Resident satisfaction at Britannia Village was lower than at the other two sites.

Figure 7.1 : Resident satisfaction with neighbourhood



Source: field survey, Survey of English Housing

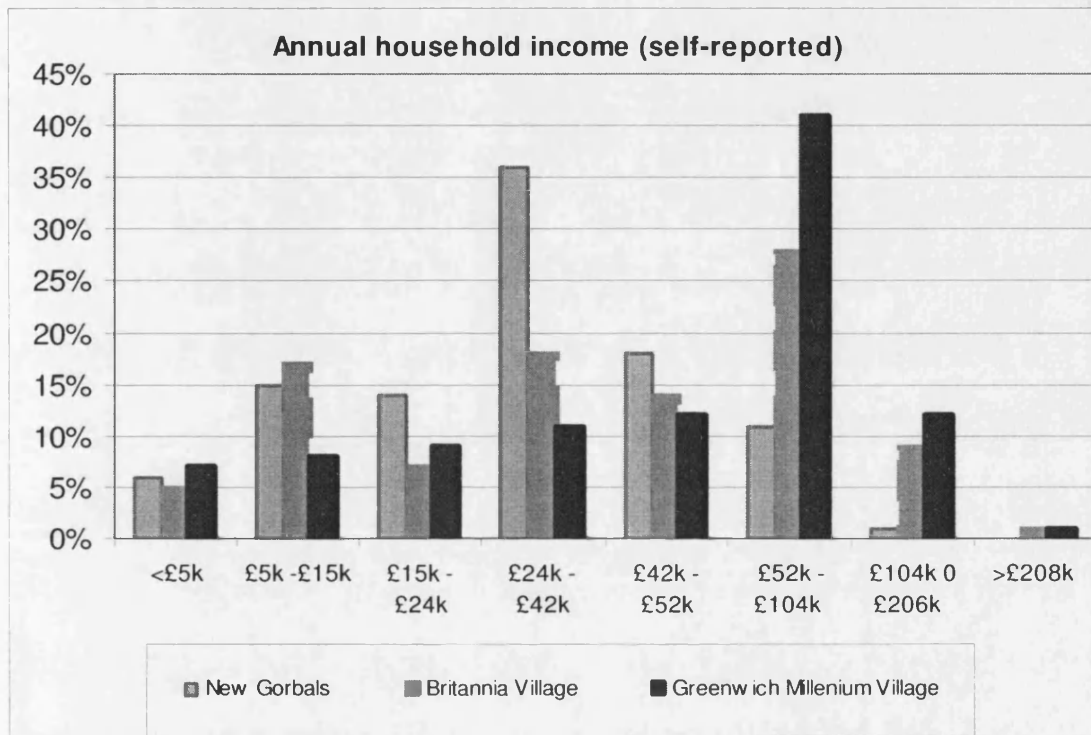
a. deconcentrating poverty and improving outcomes for low-income residents

One definition of concentrated poverty is areas in which at least 40% of households are below the poverty line (Jargowsky 1997), and the evidence on the problems of concentrated poverty were reviewed in Chapter Two. One aim of mixed-income new communities has been to ‘dilute’ the concentration of poor households, by adding higher income households to the area.

This aim was achieved at all the case study areas, as shown in Figure 7.2. The poverty line, defined as 60% of median income, was at £10,400 annually for a couple with no children at the time of the field work, and about £6,350 for a single person (ONS 2004). Figure 7.2 shows that no more than 15% of households had incomes below the poverty line. The ‘income gap’ between wealthiest and poorest was greatest at Greenwich

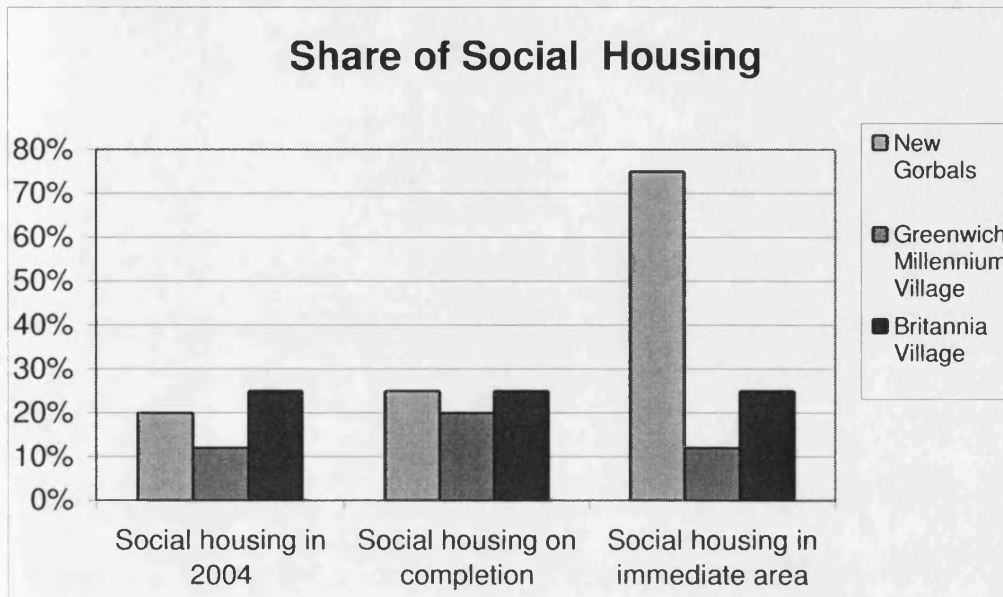
Millennium Village and at Britannia Village, while the range of incomes was more evenly distributed at New Gorbals.

Figure 7.2 Household Income (self-reported)



The low level of households in poverty was related to the share of affordable housing on site: 12% at GMV; 20% at New Gorbals and 25% at Britannia Village at the time of fieldwork, as shown in Figure 7.3 below. In comparison, new MINCs in London are being planned with a higher level of social rented and intermediate housing, typically between 35% to 50% (Mayor of London 2004, ss 3.37), while a consultation document on planning for mixed communities nationally suggests that 25% social housing might be a 'crude baseline assumption' (ODPM 2005 (d), para 19, p. 21).

Figure 7.3: Share of social housing



Cleanliness and safety:

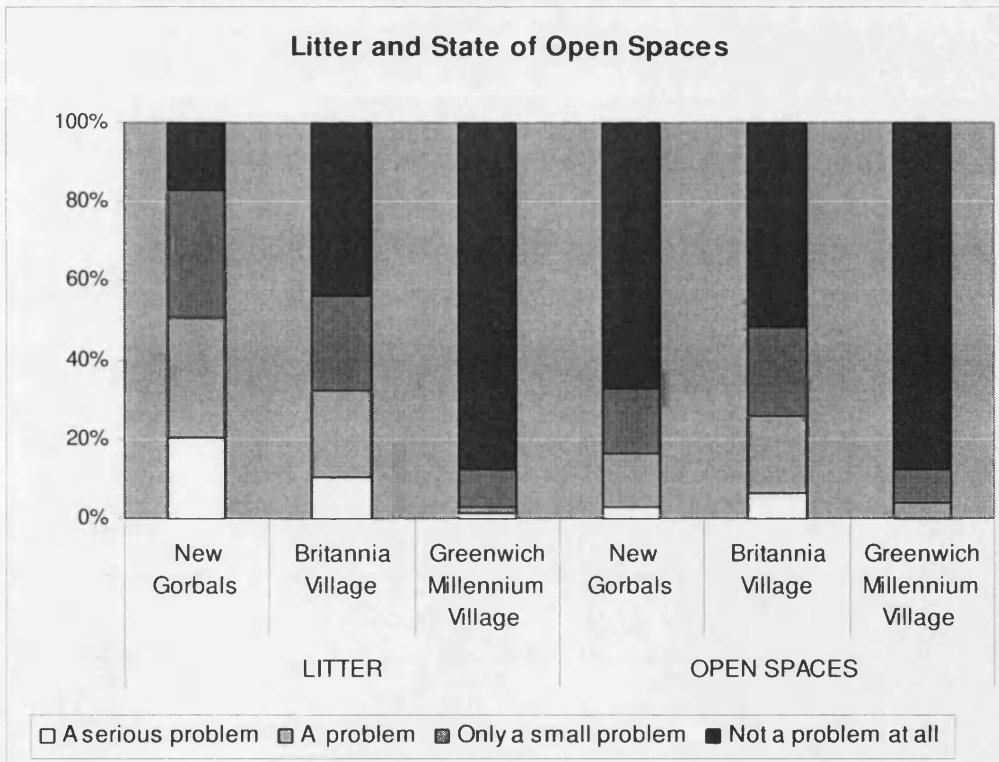
The review of published case-study evidence in Chapter Two found that mixed communities were typically cleaner and better maintained than mono-tenure social housing estates, and that safety improved at renewal sites, perhaps as a result of improved architectural designs. (Page and Boughton 1997; Pawson 2000; Beekman, Lyons et al. 2001; Andrews and Reardon-Smith 2005). Distinguishing evidence from 'wholly new' and 'renewal' MINCs led to the speculation that the former may be better maintained and may feel safer than 'renewal' neighbourhoods, especially where these are embedded within larger areas of low-income housing. This speculation is examined below in the comparison between the single instances of the field work case studies.

Figures 7.4 - 7.5 below present residents' views on the extent to which four issues were a problem in their neighbourhood: litter, maintenance of open spaces, crime and drug usage. Responses are not analysed by tenure due to the small sample size. Figure 7.4

shows that residents at Greenwich Millennium Village reported the lowest levels of problems with maintenance and with open spaces, with only 15% finding these issues to be even a small problem. The highest levels of problems with the public realm were reported at Britannia Village, despite relative isolation of the site, insulating it from passers-by as well as from other low-income housing in the area.

One possible explanation is that the public realm was managed by a single entity at both Greenwich Millennium Village (a private management company) and at New Gorbals (the housing association), while at Britannia Village, responsibilities were split across tenures, and within the social housing sector. These issues are discussed further in Chapter Eight, section three.

Figure 7.4: Problems of litter and open spaces

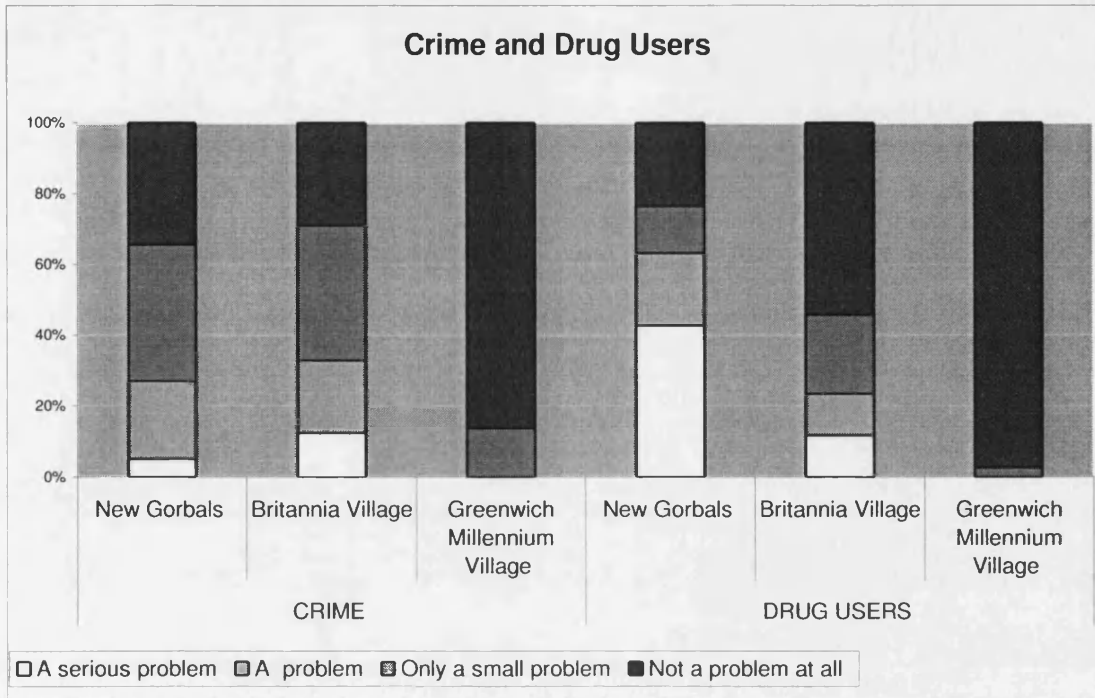


Source: field work

With respect to crime and drug users (Figure 7.5), a similar picture emerges with the lowest levels of problems reported at Greenwich Millennium Village. Drug usage was perceived to be more of a problem at New Gorbals than elsewhere, with over 60% of residents considered drug users a problem or a serious problem. The problem was caused by city-wide distribution of methadone at the neighbourhood pharmacies, rather than necessarily from the neighbourhood population. New Gorbals was also the area where residents most often commented on a certain 'roughness' to the neighbourhood, and identified 'no go' areas on the edges of the mixed-income new community. That New Gorbals retained a certain roughness around the edges is hardly surprising since the new build homes are purposely integrated within the surrounding notoriously problematic area. It is also relevant to point out the percentage of residents who were not troubled by these issues, and to note that these difficulties may lessen as the regeneration programme continues.

The limited evidence from these three individual cases supports the conjecture that 'wholly new' MINCs may be better maintained and feel safer than renewal MINCs, an important factor in attracting and retaining families with housing choice. However, the story of Britannia Village raises questions as to whether 'hybrid' sites – or perhaps sites in which management of the public realm is segregated by tenure – may face unexpected degrees of neighbourhood nuisance.

Figure 7.5: Problems of crime and drug users



Social infrastructure, leisure and retail:

Evidence reviewed in Chapter Two indicated that social infrastructure might be lacking in the early years of a mixed-income community, particularly where demolition had temporarily reduced the volume of users for shops, health services, and leisure activities (Mumford 1998; Alexander and Reardon-Smith 2005; Allen, Camina et al. 2005). There was some evidence from renewal areas that better-off households tend not to patronize local shops and other services (Atkinson and Kintrea 2000), and a suggestion that low-revenue services may be replaced over time.

Table 7.1 below summarises the services available in each of the three areas. New services were planned for all the areas, as the building programmes advanced and the number of residents increased. The table shows that by far the greatest range of facilities were offered at the renewal site, New Gorbals: it had more retail shops, easier access to

post offices, housing offices, and churches, and a quality library and leisure centre. The new facilities were sometimes funded through extra public funding targeted at areas of deprivation, one advantage for residents of the physical integration between New Gorbals and the surrounding social housing in the rest of Gorbals.

However, some services had been lost during the regeneration project: demolition had removed the neighbourhood secondary school with its low-cost café, swimming pool and library, and playing fields had been replaced by new residential homes. Better-off residents reported using the local supermarket and shops, leisure centre and library, among other services. Use of local services by better-off residents in a renewal neighbourhood does not support Atkinson's (2000) findings that better-off residents tended to shun neighbourhood facilities in MINCs.

Table 7.1: Services and amenities at the case study areas

	New Gorbals	Britannia Village	Greenwich Millennium Village
Shops			
Supermarket	+	-	+
Other retail	20	4	7
Take-away food	+	-	+
Pub/ restaurant	+	+	+
Services plus			
Bank	-	-	-
Post office	+	-	
GP/ Health Centre	+	-	+
Housing office	+	-	-
Churches/ church group	++	+	-
School (primary)	++	+	+
Sports and leisure			
Sports Centre/ pool	+	-	-
Playing fields	+	-	+
Community Centre	+	+	-
Library	+	-	-
Park	+	-	+
Security			
Police (officer/ station)	++	+	-
CCTV	-	-	+
Concierge	-	-	+

At the 'wholly new' site, Greenwich Millennium Village, many local services were still lacking, since the development had not yet reached the half-way phase at the time of field-work, and was still quite isolated, lacking population to support a wider range of amenities. The existing new facilities were of very high standard, including the health centre, park, school and sub-regional shopping centre, in part due to special political attention to this first of the Government's Millennium Communities. Services in the wider area catered to a range of incomes.

Services at Britannia Village were least satisfactory for the low-income residents, across the three sites. Services used by low-income tenants, such as the post office and a low-cost pub, had been replaced by those more tailored to the majority better-off population, such as a dry cleaners', estate agents, and wine bar. The Village Hall had not succeeded in targetting either group.

Chapter Two also raised the conjecture that services targeted to low-income residents may decline for lack of a critical mass of low-income residents. This was not a problem at New Gorbals, where social tenants at New Gorbals were able to access a full range of special programmes and services through the Social Inclusion Partnership that operated in the wider area. There was no evidence either way at Greenwich Millennium Village, perhaps due to the low total number of social tenants at the time of fieldwork. The problem was felt more at Britannia Village, where tenants were not eligible for Sure Start programmes because the area no longer qualified as a most deprived ward.

Table 7.2 below summarises the outcomes for deconcentrating poverty and improving services for low-income residents at the three case study sites. The comparison highlights the relative problems at the 'hybrid' site. Further research could help establish whether these results were unique to Britannia Village, or typical of hybrid MINCs.

Table 7.2: Summary of outcomes for improving services for low-income residents

	Renewal (New Gorbals)	Wholly New (Greenwich Millennium Village)	Hybrid (Britannia Village)
Deconcentrated poverty	✓	✓	✓
Cleanliness and safety	Cleanliness at high standards, but drug users are a problem.	✓✓ high security and cleanliness standards.	Safety at higher standard, but litter and graffiti are a problem
Services and facilities	Focus on services for low-income residents in wider area. But, schools and playing fields demolished. Education not improving.	Excellent school, health centre, open space.	Low-achieving school, no surgery, few shops. New Village Green and Village Hall not well used.
Programmes for low-income residents.	✓✓	Not at date.	✗

b. producing, high quality affordable homes, reducing stigma and raising land values

This section relates the evidence from the field work to the review of evidence in Chapter Two on the supply of affordable homes, stigma, and land values in new mixed income communities.

Decent affordable homes:

Most mixed income communities seem to have produced good quality new or refurbished social homes, according to the review of evidence from Chapter Two. All three case

studies support this finding. Externally the new-build social homes looked very similar to the private homes, with differences apparent only to the trained or informed eye. Internally, the social homes were usually at least equivalent in size to the private homes, and at Britannia Village the social homes were typically more spacious and better laid out than the private market homes.

Social tenants rated '*my home*' as one of the best features of the neighbourhood at all three areas, often elaborating about the size, internal layout or external appearance. Just as tellingly, there were few complaints about the homes when tenants were asked about the worst features of living in the neighbourhood.

Chapter Two conjectured that the quality of social housing might be higher in mixed income neighbourhoods with a greater degree of spatial integration across tenures. Developers interviewed for the field research emphasized the importance of high quality external design for social housing and physical integration across tenures to prevent 'ghetto-like' areas within the mixed income schemes (Baron 2003, Cherry 2005, Lamb 2004). Among the three case studies, Britannia Village had the strongest degree of spatial segregation across tenure. However, the quality of the social housing homes there was judged as highly as at the other two sites. This finding implies that high quality social housing is not necessarily dependent on full spatial integration across the site, countering the initial conjecture.

Stigma and exclusion at MINCs:

Evidence reviewed in Chapter Two indicated that the introduction of new private housing has helped improve the image and stigma associated with renewal neighbourhoods, and gain recognition for previously unknown brownfield sites (Cole and Shayer 1998;

Atkinson and Kintrea 2000; Allen, Camina et al. 2005). The field work evidence supports this conclusion.

All three sites had poor reputations before the onset of the regeneration programmes: GMV as isolated and contaminated; West Silvertown as 'the back of beyond' and Gorbals as synonymous with dire poverty. The field research found that reputations had greatly improved at all three sites, though some degree of stigma still attached to New Gorbals.

As one means of ascertaining stigma, the survey questionnaire asked residents how outsiders perceive the neighbourhood, offering five structured answers. Most residents at the London areas did not think their neighbourhoods were at all stigmatised: over 80% selected 'very nice' or 'reasonable neighbourhood' as the closest description of outsiders' perceptions. Residents thought outsiders had a polarized reaction to GMV, unrelated to stigma:

With envy! Love it or hate it!

'Kinda weird. English people don't like it, no pubs.'

At the renewal neighbourhood in New Gorbals, more of the stigma still persisted. About two in five residents responded that outsiders perceive the neighbourhood as slightly or very problematic. About one in five said that the neighbourhood reputation was best characterised as 'up and coming'. A fairly typical comment from an owner was:

My Glaswegian friends tried to put me off buying a place in Gorbals – but when they come and visit, they change their minds.

The aim of reducing stigma through tenure diversification has been critiqued for the possibility that it may encourage the exclusion of very difficult households from the new

homes (Cole and Goodchild 2001), as discussed in Chapter Two. There was little evidence from these three case studies that problematic tenants were excluded from the new homes. At New Gorbals, all tenants decanted for demolition during the project were re-housed in the new homes, including households with known drug addictions. About 15% of homes were allocated to Council-nominated homeless families including refugees. Britannia Village did not operate any special policies for streaming or vetting tenants. Interviewees did not cite any cases of evictions on grounds of anti-social behaviour. At Greenwich Millennium Village, residents referred complaints about vandalism associated with one particular family to the housing association. The housing officer was concerned to retain the family on site, and described interventions resulting in a reduction in problematic behaviour (Fields, personal communication 2004).

The lack of evidence for exclusion at these three case study sites does not preclude the possibility of exclusion at other MINCs, currently or in the future. The rise of 'anti-social behaviour orders' under New Labour indicates increased public sector intervention against offenders. Further, the Government's new Mixed Communities Initiative is strongly influenced by the policies for HOPE VI, which have justified the use of 'draconian' measures to exclude and evict households with antisocial behaviour from public housing in new mixed-income neighbourhoods (Brody, interview 2004, Katz 2005). There are some precedents on tenant selection in mixed income or mixed tenure areas, such as that described at the Bournville Trust or in Coulby Newham (Groves, Middleton et al 2003, p. 37; Allen, Camina et al. 2005, p. 26) and at least one recent instance in which developers at a mixed-income area in England were granted 'veto power' in social housing allocations⁵¹. However, the Government has remained cautious about eviction from social housing as a sanction for behaviour in the public

⁵¹ Developers St George received a 'vetting veto' over 50% of local council allocations at Imperial Wharf, a very prestigious Thameside site in LB Hammersmith and Fulham (Power, personal communication 2005).

realm, leaving the dilemma to be resolved at future new mixed-income neighbourhoods and elsewhere.

Land values

The review of evidence in Chapter Two noted that land values typically increased at mixed-income new communities (Roessner 2000; Grove, Middleton et al. 2003; Rowlands, Murie et al. 2006). The case studies support this evidence, finding that land values increased at all three sites. In all three cases, land had initially been turned over to developers at essentially nil value. Infrastructure improvements had been subsidised with public investment, and at New Gorbals even the new homes for sale had been publicly subsidised. However, in all three areas new developments were planned at adjacent sites, at similar or greater scale. While details of the transactions were held confidential, it was confirmed that the land values had generated revenues, that little if any public subsidy would be requested for the new developments, and that developers were expected to make sizable contributions to new public services, including schools.

Table 7.3: Summary of findings on economic aims

	New Gorbals	Greenwich Millennium Village	Britannia Village
Quality social housing provided	25% - but needed subsidy for private homes at first. High quality homes.	20% - but other s 106 for environmental innovation. High quality homes	25%, high quality homes.
Stigma reduced	✓ (but still remains)	✓	✓
Land values increased	Yes. End of public subsidy, and sales for adjacent areas at increased value.	Yes. Sales for adjacent areas at increased value, developers to fund new schools and other public services.	Yes. Sales for adjacent areas at increased value, developers to fund new schools and other public services.

The findings from this study are hardly representative, because the cases were chosen as examples of ‘best practice’. However, they do provide additional UK evidence that mixed income developments can reduce stigma and raise land-values, confirming existing findings. The evidence from these three case studies reveals that MINCs can be perceived as successful without excluding difficult tenants.

c. social interaction and community stability

Social interaction

The extent of social mixing in mixed tenure estates is probably the most exhaustively researched aspect of tenure mix, and is reviewed in Page (2003). This study did not seek to replicate previous work by investigating the extent or impact of social mixing across tenures, but instead accepted earlier findings that residents tend to be indifferent to tenure mix, and that social interaction is greatest among families with children, as summarised in Chapter Two. The survey asked residents a simple question about their perception of the tenure-based social mix as positive or negative, and whether they knew of the tenure mix before moving in. Parents were asked additional questions about their children’s cross-tenure friendships.

Most residents stated that tenure mix was not experienced as a problem, as shown in Figure 7.6 below. Fewer than 10% of all residents experienced the tenure mix as ‘very negative’, with the largest share of discontented responses coming from Britannia Village. There were some variations among tenure: social renters were somewhat more positive about the social mix than were owners or renters. These findings concur with numerous UK and US studies, as reviewed in Chapter Two, in finding that residents,

when asked directly, do not describe perceiving social tension in mixed tenure or mixed income areas.

It should be noted that a more refined methodology might bring different results, exploring the difference between expressed perception and revealed behaviour. For example, some private sector residents who reported 'indifference' to the social mix, also said that they were intending to leave the neighbourhood or the local primary school because of 'rough' behavior by other neighbourhood children, usually attributed to the children in social housing. The structured questionnaire did not offer residents many different options to express their opinions on the social mix. It is certainly possible that more in-depth and probing questions, or deeper observational methods might uncover tensions, however it is nonetheless noteworthy that at a surface level residents in MINCs did not, by and large, express dissatisfaction with the tenure mix.

Spatial integration and social mix:

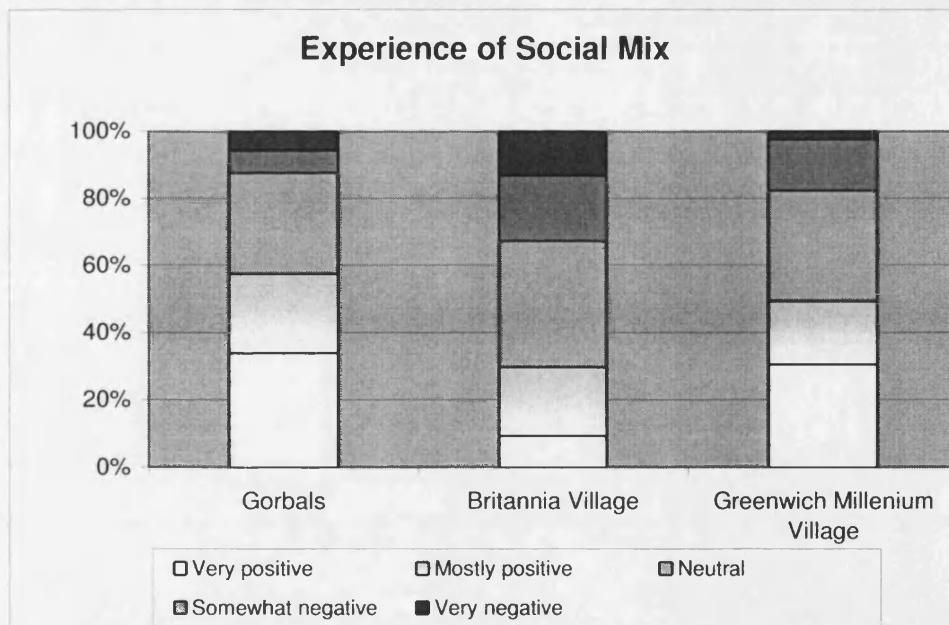
Several pieces of published research have explored the relationship between social mix and spatial integration by tenure, looking at whether closer physical integration across tenures eases or increases social tensions. Beekman's research at renewal MINCs (Beekman, Lyons et al. 2001) indicated that greater spatial integration may increase social tensions, while Jupp's research (Jupp 1999) at wholly new MINCs suggested the converse, that greater spatial integration may improve relations across tenures.

The field work sample was not large enough to provide definitive support for either of these propositions. Spatial integration by tenure varied considerably across different areas of each neighbourhood: for example, while the renewal site of New Gorbals was overall the most spatially integrated site, there were two large blocks of new housing with no social housing at all. Residents of these blocks had expressed attitudes towards the social mix that were similar to residents of the more integrated sites. In contrast, the areas of

Britannia Village and Greenwich Millennium Village that were more spatially integrated by tenure did indeed provoke more negative comments about the social mix from both tenants and private sector residents.

Overall, the experience of the social mix at the case study areas seems to have been influenced by other factors in addition to spatial proximity, including the presence of 'local' owners at Gorbals who had strong connections with the social tenants, the lower standards of grounds maintenance at Britannia Village, and the low percentage of social housing tenants overall at Greenwich Millennium Village. Further research on the connection between spatial proximity and social tensions at MINCs might make use of more detailed ethnographic and observational methods, as well as distinguish between renewal and wholly new MINCs.

Figure 7.6: Experience of social mix



Source: field work

Advance knowledge about tenure mix:

Researchers have questioned whether advance knowledge about the tenure mix eases future tensions. Jupp's (1999) study of social interaction had postulated that advance knowledge of the social mix may be an important factor in creating appropriate expectations and readiness for the social mix, based on a finding that: '*those who had moved to the estate from nearby tended to identify less problems than those who had moved from a long distance*' (ibid, p. 69). Based on this finding, Jupp's study recommended that 'all prospective residents should be told that the estate is mixed' (ibid, p. 69). Other studies have recommended, in contrast, that marketing downplay the mixed-income aspect, since this is not a draw for the higher-income tenants (Brophy and Smith 1997) or alternatively, that residents should be made aware they will be living in a mixed-income area, in order to prevent difficulties (Carmon 2002 Howell, 1999 #112).

Findings from the survey of three case studies for this report were not definitive enough to support either approach. Nearly all owners at Greenwich Millennium Village knew in advance about the social mix, as compared with 88% at New Gorbals and only 68% of owners at Britannia Village. However, no correlation could be found between whether an individual knew in advance about the social mix and how they experienced the social mix. There was also no apparent correlation between having previously lived in the area and having a more positive experience with the social mix. More focussed and extensive research could help to illuminate the significance of prior knowledge about the social mix.

Tenure mix and children:

A third finding about social mix has been that families with children are more likely to mix across tenures than households without children (Jupp 1999; Atkinson and Kintrea 2000; Dixon 2000; Forrest and Kearns 2001), although this is not always reported to be a

positive experience (Manzi and Bill 2003; Martin and Watkinson 2003; Andrews and Reardon-Smith 2005). The case study evidence did support the proposition that households with children were more likely to have some form of cross-tenure social interaction than households without children. The research also found that children played across tenure in about half of all private sector homes, across all three case study areas. Parents in the private sector homes reported some concerns with cross-tenure playing at Britannia Village and at New Gorbals.

Community stability:

An important rationale for mixed-income communities has been the opportunity to allow residents to remain in the neighbourhood as their households and fortunes change, by offering a wide range of housing types (Page and Boughton 1997; Camina 2004). The variety of housing types and prices on offer has been expected to counter high rates of turnover observed in some new central city developments, dubbed the 'conveyor belt phenomenon' (Nathan and Urwin 2006).

The case study evidence does not support the projection that mixed income communities will have a lower turnover than other areas. All of the case study areas were envisioned as providing a wide range of housing types to meet changing household needs over time, although at the time of the field research, none of the three sites offered many opportunities for shared equity or other forms of intermediate housing. Despite the range of housing on offer, in all three areas studied about half of all private sector owners surveyed, not just families with children, said that they thought it likely they would be moving out of the to leave the neighbourhood within the coming few years. While not directly comparable, this figure is much higher than the national figure of 6% of urban

private sector owners who do actually move annually (Survey of English Housing 2005)⁵².

Families with children living in the case study areas were also more likely to say they would move out than were urban families nationally, according to background analysis of the English Household Condition Survey (EHCS) (Lupton 2005b)⁵³. Lupton found that nationally, 37% of all families across tenures intend to move out of their properties within the coming five years. Nationally, intentions to move were higher among families with children under the age of eleven (44%), with no significant differences between urban families and others. Even among the urban families who were most satisfied with their neighbourhoods, 27% intended to move (EHCS). In comparison, at Britannia Village as many as 70% of private sector owners with children intended to leave the neighbourhood, as did about 40% at Greenwich Millennium Village and at New Gorbals.

These findings of higher than average levels of intention to leave the neighbourhood, among both families and households without children, should be seen as preliminary since all three case study areas were still in their first stages. At Greenwich Millennium Village, for example, a new supply of somewhat larger family homes for sale may help to retain some families. However, the findings do raise questions for further research as to whether the mixed-income strategy does indeed promote greater community stability over time.

⁵² Nationally, 10% of all households move annually, but this varies widely by tenure, from 6% among owners, over 30% for unfurnished private rental, and over 50% for furnished private rental (Survey of English Housing 2005).

⁵³ It should be noted that the EHCS asks residents directly about the intention to move out the *property*, while the field survey asked about the probability of moving out of the *neighbourhood*.

Table 7.4: Summary of findings on social interaction and community stability

	New Gorbals	Greenwich Millennium Village	Britannia Village
Residents' perception of social mix	85% positive or neutral	80% positive or neutral	65% positive or neutral
Children and social interaction	About half of private sector children have friends from social housing, with some concerns reported by owners.	About half of private sector children have friends from social housing.	About half of private sector children have friends from social housing, with some concerns reported by owners.
Intention to leave the neighbourhood.	About 55% of all owners, and about 40% of all private sector families .	About 55% of all owners, and about 40% of all private sector families	About 55% of all owners, and about 70% of all private sector families.

7.2 Families in the private-sector homes

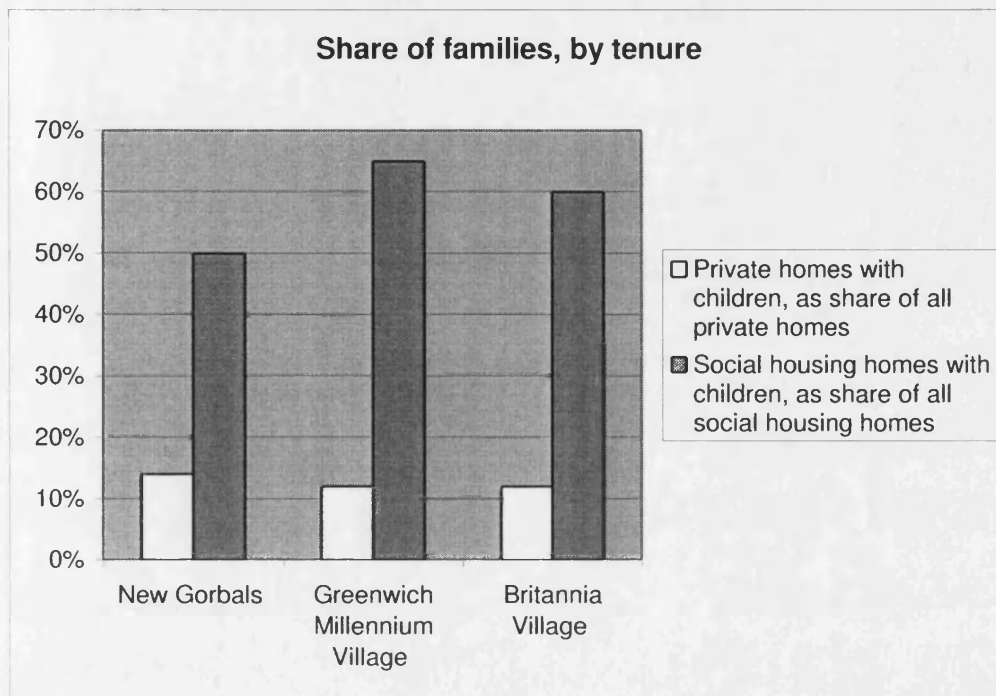
The central question for this research, as set out in Chapter One, was whether some high-density mixed income new developments could attract and retain better-off families in the inner cities. This section directly addresses the first two parts of that question: how many families and children were living in private housing at the case study neighbourhoods, and who these families were.

Numbers of families and children in private housing

Initial briefs for all three case study areas envisioned families living in the private sector homes. The vision was most explicit at New Gorbals, where planners projected that about half of the private homes would be populated by families. At Britannia Village and Greenwich Millennium Village there were no explicit targets set for the number or share of families in the private sector homes. However early planning documents clearly envisaged families in the private homes as part of the mixed and balanced community, and both areas included a new primary school and a central public open space.

Figure 7.7 below shows that families with children made up fewer than 15% of all households in the private homes in all three areas. This was about half the share of families in private sector households across London and Glasgow (nearly 30%). By comparison, nationally only the London Borough of Westminster had a similarly low proportion of families living in the private sector homes (Census 2001). The social housing homes, in contrast, had a very high proportion of families with children: from 50% (at New Gorbals) to 65% (at Greenwich Millennium Village) of all households. The share of families in social housing at the case study areas was more than double their share within London and Glasgow overall.

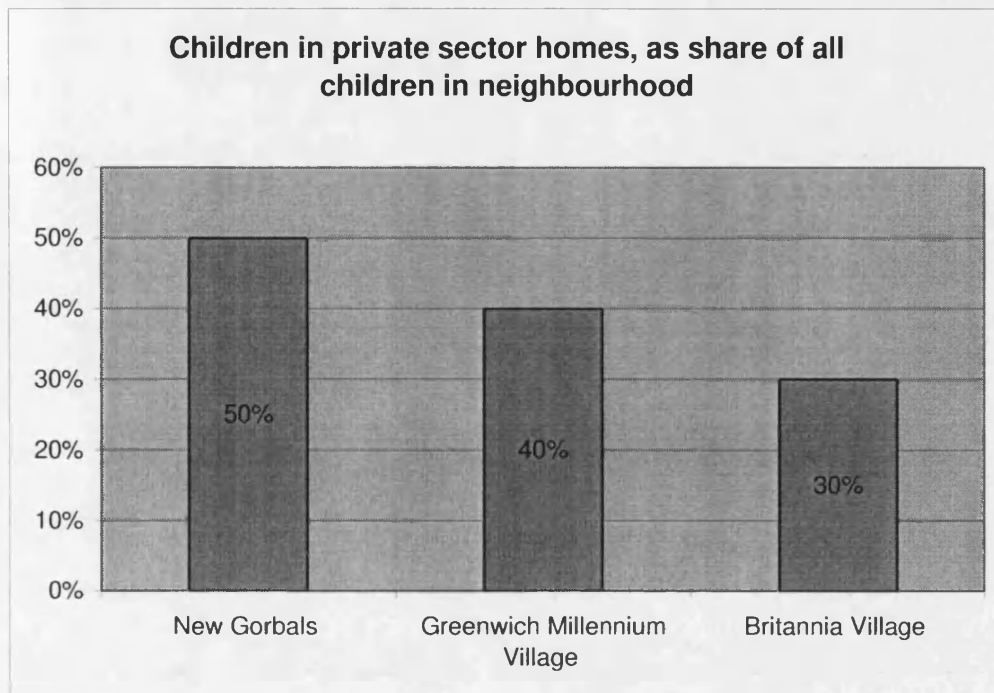
Figure 7.7: Share of families by tenure, across 3 case study areas



Source: Census 2001 for BV and New Gorbals, compiled information for GMV.

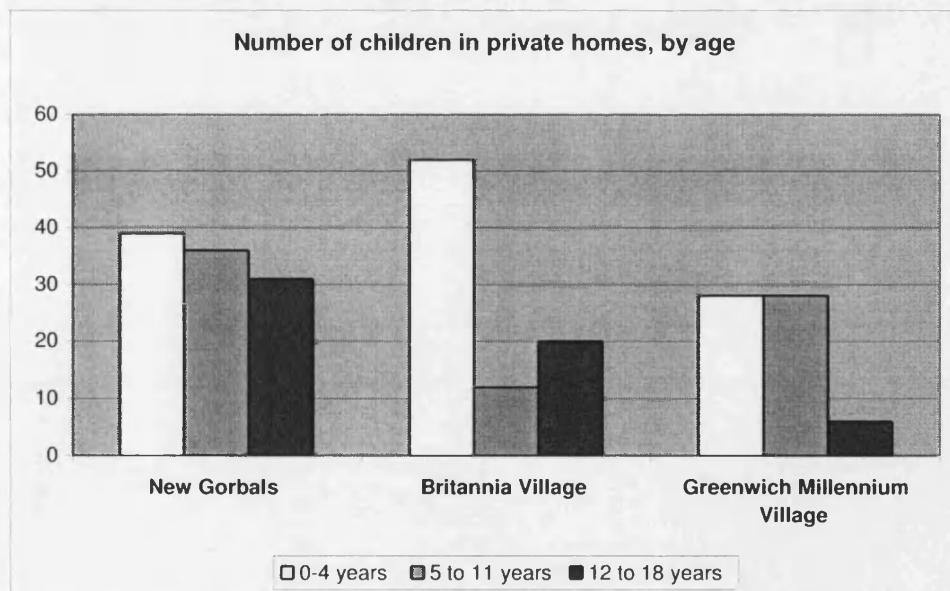
In all three areas, service providers and residents assumed that most children were living in social housing. The research revealed that a higher than expected proportion of the children were living in the private sector homes, due to the large majority of private housing at each site. Figure 7.8 below shows that the share of children in the private sector homes was at least 30% (at Britannia Village) and as high as 50% (at New Gorbals). The ages of the children in the private sector homes varied across the case study areas, as shown in Figure 7.9 below.

Figure 7.8: Share of children in private sector homes



Source: Census 2001 for BV and New Gorbals, compiled information for GMV

Figure 7.9: Children in private homes, by age



There are several possible explanations for the mistaken impression that the vast majority of children on site were from the social housing homes. Figures for Britannia Village and for New Gorbals include 'local' families who were living in the neighbourhood before the regeneration projects began. Further, project managers and estate agents came in contact with residents primarily at the time of purchase, when many of the private sector households did not yet have children. Racial assumptions may also be at play, and stakeholders and residents may have assumed that ethnic minority children were living in the social housing homes. At Britannia Village and at GMV, many of the children were pre-school aged, but spent their days at nurseries off site. Some may also have spent weekends in second homes. Finally, in any given block of private sector housing, families with children were a small percentage of all households. .

Child density

Chapter Two raised the issue of 'child density', defined as the share of children in a residential area, as a problem at housing estates. High child density (measured as the share of children among all people, adults plus children) has been extensively correlated with dissatisfaction and low-demand in social housing (Page 1993; Page and Boughton 1997; Cope 2002).

The average child density across inner-London in housing association lettings was measured at 37.6% in Cope's report on high density social housing for the London Housing Federation (Cope 2002, p. 107), or about forty children for every sixty adults. The London Housing Federation has suggested a target maximum of 25% child-density in high-density housing, and 45% in all scheme types (Cope 2002, p. 9).

The child density at the three case study areas is shown in Table 7.5, by tenure:

Table 7.5: Child density: children as a proportion of total people housed, by tenure

	New Gorbals	Britannia Village	Greenwich Millennium Village
Social housing	21%	41%	40%
Private housing	12%	10%	6%
Overall child density	14%	21%	10%

Sources: Census 2001, field survey, community surveys, housing association records.

Child density among the social housing homes alone exceeded the target 25% at Greenwich Millennium Village (40%) and at Britannia Village (41%), though not at New Gorbals (21%). However, the share of children in the private housing reduced the overall child density to well below the upper limit at New Gorbals (14%) and at GMV (10%) and to just below the cited maximum at Britannia Village (21%).

While child density is construed as negative in low-income areas, it is often considered positive in middle and higher income areas. Where poverty is not a pervasive feature, families look for 'other families with children, like ours' (Mulholland 2003), and 'densities that allow children to find many playmates within walking distance are highly desirable' (Churchman 2003). Child densities of 50% would not be considered out of place in many new middle-class developments. Indeed, many cities in the United States acclaimed for their regenerated downtown areas, are now focussing on attracting better-off families with children, deliberately in order to raise the child density (Egan 2005).

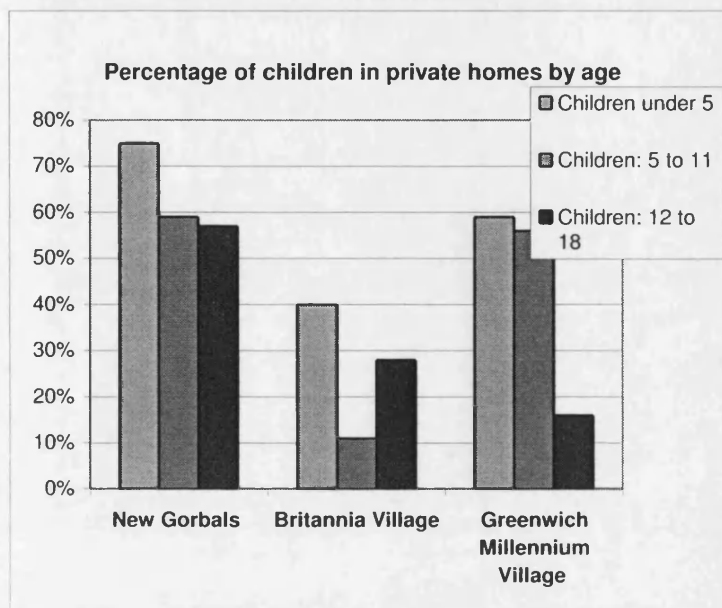
The important question here is how to perceive, and how to measure, child density within mixed income neighbourhoods. Should a high proportion of children to adults be considered a negative factor, as it is in predominantly social housing areas, or an appealing feature, as it would be in most middle class areas? Most studies of mixed

income communities implicitly adopt the perspective that child density is negative, and note that a reduction in child density can be an added benefit of mixed communities (Manzi and Bowers 2003, p. 11; Martin and Watkinson 2003, p. 19; Alexander and Reardon-Smith 2005, p. 20).

Based on the evidence from this research, I would argue that limiting families in the market-rate homes in order to reduce child density overall is an inappropriate approach in mixed communities. Such an approach begins by forfeiting many potential social benefits for low-income children and their parents of living in a mixed community. One alternative is to compile a measure of child density that takes tenure into account, at least in areas where tenure can serve as an albeit imperfect proxy for income.

Figure 7.9 proposes a simple measure of child population by tenure, applying it to the three case study areas. The figure also shows how this balance changes among children of different ages, potentially useful information when planning community services. Such a measure might be used to set a different target, for instance trying to balance the numbers of children in the market-rate and social housing homes. The measure may also prove useful in indicating which families remain in or leave the neighbourhoods

Figure 7.10: child population by tenure, and age.



Sources: Census 2001 for New Gorbals and BV, compilation for GMV.

Types of families living in the private homes

The dwelling mix influences the household mix, which in turn creates the social environment of the estate (Taper and Duffy 1998, p. 6)

This section uses the field work to examine the types of better-off families choosing to raise children in urban MINCs. Several ‘types’ were presented earlier in Chapter Two, based on previously published case studies of families in mixed income or gentrifying areas. In this section, I examine the ‘fit’ between the families in MINCs in this research, and the typologies developed by others.

The reason for attempting to ‘typologise’ the families relates to the assumption contained in the quote above, that the types of people attracted to the areas in the initial phases

influences the future development of the neighbourhood. If, in the first phase of neighbourhood formation at a new development, the people are drawn by the homes and services on offer, in the second phase a process of self-sorting sets in, tending toward a reproduction of the existing households.

Table 7.6 below presents the characteristics and attitudes of the better-off families living at the three case study areas. Table 7.7 compares these families with the ‘typologies’ from published research as summarized in Chapter Three. Most of the suggested ‘types’ do not correspond with the field work evidence, as discussed below. Only Atkinson and Kintrea’s discussion of ‘Would-be locals’ is found to describe some of the families living in the case study areas.

Table 7.6: Private sector families in the case study areas

	New Gorbals (n= 23)		Greenwich Millennium (n=21)	Britannia Village (n=24)
	Locals	Newcomers		
Typical Characteristics	White, junior professional couples, with previous ties to the area, five years in area at least. Moved with children, who are all ages. Mothers work part-time. Live in houses.	Mostly white, professional couples, about two years in area. Children are pre-school aged, born there. Most mothers work full time. Live in flats and houses.	Mostly white (1/4 from outside UK) professional couples, two to five years in area. Children are elementary school aged and younger, most born there. 2/3 of mothers in work Live in flats.	Mostly white (UK and non-UK), professional couples, two to five years in area. Usually one child, pre-school aged, born there. 2/3 of mothers in work. Live in flats and houses.
Reasons for moving in:	People, location, cost, homes, outdoor spaces. .	Location, cost, homes.	Location, cost, homes, schools, outdoor spaces, safety, other people.	Location, cost, homes, outdoor spaces.
Raising children	Children attend local schools, rated 'a bit better than average'. Children play across tenures. 'Fairly good' neighbourhood for raising children.	Children do not attend local schools, rated 'worse than average. Half of children play across tenure. 'Poor to fair' neighbourhood for raising children.	Children attend local school, rated 'much better than average'. Two-thirds play across tenure. 'Good to excellent' neighbourhood for raising children.	Some children attend local school, rated 'worse than average', All children play across tenure. 'Fair to poor' neighbourhood for raising children.
Intend to remain	Half. Want affordable larger homes, and less rough area.	Nearly all. Want 'a better place for children'.	Half. Changing work or country, or lack of larger homes.	More than two-thirds. Changing work or country, or want 'a better place for children.'

Table 7.7: 'Types' of families: comparison of findings:

	'Creative Class' (Karsten, 2003)	'Would-be Locals' (Atkinson and Kintrea, 1998, 2000)	Economic capital gentrifiers (Butler and Robson, 2001, 2003)	Social capital gentrifiers (Butler and Robson, 2001, 2003)
Typical Characteristics	Dual earner couples working in social and cultural sectors. Children in local schools.	First-time buyers, junior professionals, some with local ties. Children in local schools and play across tenure.	Fathers work in high-earning corporate jobs, mothers at home. Children in private schools.	Fathers work as social service professionals. Children in local schools, play across tenure.
Reasons for moving in and out.	Proximity to work, social diversity, and urban cultural vitality. Intend to remain.	Proximity to relatives, and attractive, affordable homes. Many intend to move out to find larger homes, despite preference for staying.	Many similar families, good private schools. Intending to move out of city as children get older.	Similar families, and social diversity, proximity to work. Intend to remain.
Comparison with field work findings	Does not describe most case study families. Few employed in 'creative professions', few positively chose to raise children in the city, few sought out social diversity. Few intended to remain.	Describes the 'locals' at New Gorbals.	Does not describe most case study families. Families chose neighbourhood before having children, for other reasons, and few sending their children to private schools.	Does not describe most case study families. Families chose neighbourhood before having children, for other reasons, and worked in varied professions. Few intending to remain.

Karsten's work in family gentrifiers in Amsterdam's former Port District identified a 'Creative Class' type of family living in mixed-income new neighbourhoods: highly educated dual-career parents who worked long hours in media, academia, and service jobs or as freelancers in cultural and creative professions; people with a positive preference for urban life over rural or suburban; and strongly interested in neighbourhood diversity and community.

Although several families at GMV, and a few at New Gorbals could be described as 'creative urbanites', these characteristics were not particularly prevalent among the private families in any of the three case studies. The case study families worked in a wide variety of professions, with no identifiable concentration of creative professions. Dual-career families were no more prevalent than in the general population of owner-occupiers. Few interviewees described a positive choice to raise children in the city, and social diversity was more typically seen as innocuous and well-tolerated, than as a positive benefit. Families in the case study areas were more inclined to leave the neighbourhoods than were the 'creative urbanites'.

One explanation for the lack of 'Creative Class' parents is that the case study neighbourhoods were not culturally lively urban areas. These were not great places for classic flâneurs: there were no side-walk cafes, few people walking the streets, no bookshops, ethnic markets or galleries. On the other hand, street life in these places was no less urban in character than Borneo Sporenburg in Amsterdam, where the only store in walking distance is a small strip mall. In contrast to the sense of urban vitality, residents often praised the neighbourhoods for their peacefulness, for being 'close to the city – but not really of it'. Another explanation may be the type of housing available: the 'Creative Class Families' that Karsten described enjoyed the opportunity to design their own single-family homes. For these types of people, the architectural 'project' styles at Britannia Village and New Gorbals would probably be off-putting, although the distinctive barrel-roofed flats at Greenwich Millennium Village might be more appealing. National cultural differences between the Dutch and the English may also play a role. In any event, at these three MINCs 'creative urbanites' were not much in evidence.

Butler and Robson's work on families in gentrified areas of London found that different areas were characterized by a preponderance of economic, social or cultural capital gentrifiers, as described in Chapter Three and summarized in Table 7.7. Close examination of the field work data could find no evidence that social, economic, or cultural capital gentrifiers predominated in any of the three case study areas.

Few of the families fit into any of the categories proposed by Butler and Robson. Parents' professions varied across all the MINCs, with a greater concentration of parents working in financial professions at Britannia Village. The families in the field work had selected the neighbourhoods for reasons different from those proposed by Butler and Robson. Most had moved in before having children, and chose the neighbourhood primarily for proximity to work and as a good investment, while others moved largely because they had friends and family already living there. The presence of 'other families like ours' was significant in Butler and Robson's study, but was rarely mentioned by families at the case study sites.

Butler and Robson found a correlation between social attitudes and the willingness to use public services, but no such correlation was found at the case study MINCs: instead, choice of school related more to the quality of the services offered. Finally, Butler and Robson also found a correlation between social attitudes and social interactions across tenure, especially among children. This correlation too was not apparent at the case study sites. Instead, the degree of social interaction seemed more linked to the design of housing and open space, and to physical integration by tenure.

One explanation for the lack of correlation with Butler and Robson's conceptual framework may be that their gentrifiers were attracted by the prospect of restoring single-family Victorian houses, which was not a possibility on offer at the case study areas. Another explanation may be that in contrast to the established gentrified London areas they studied, the field work areas were all fairly recent and a process of resident 'sorting' had not yet taken place. Finally, their framework, drawn exclusively from London, might be more relevant for other world cities than for cities such as Glasgow.

Atkinson and Kintrea's discussion of 'would-be local' families in renewal areas in Scotland accurately captures the profile of the local families identified at New Gorbals.

At New Gorbals as well as in their research areas, these families were dual-career junior professionals with family ties to the mixed income areas, who sent their children to the neighbourhood schools, had social ties across tenure, and preferred to remain in the neighbourhood.

Atkinson and Kintrea found that many of the 'would-be locals' were considering leaving the neighbourhood, due to the lack of larger homes. Larger homes were available at New Gorbals, but the rising land values of the regenerated area had put these homes beyond the means of most locals. Locals at New Gorbals were also considering moving away due to the roughness of the area, and the lack of a good secondary school.

Atkinson and Kintrea termed the 'would-be locals' the 'foot-soldiers of social inclusion'. This too was corroborated in the study of New Gorbals for this dissertation, where the locals were more positive than newcomers about the neighbourhood schools, social mix, and the general suitability of the area for raising children.

Expanding the share of local families at MINCs

New Gorbals was the only one of the case studies with a significant share of locals among the families in private housing. Planners at New Gorbals deliberately sought to recruit 'locals' to the private sector homes, by targeted local marketing, the priority purchase scheme, and discounts on the purchase price for 'decanting' social tenants. There was no such emphasis on locals at either GMV or Britannia Village, and no mechanisms to bring in locals from the surrounding area.

It could be argued that neither GMV nor BV had a natural base from which to draw 'local' residents, since both were developed as new communities, rather than a renewal of an existing low-income area. However, both were adjacent to areas with some social housing, and neither area provided many home-ownership opportunities for economically mobile residents who wanted to remain close to family and friends.

Nearby lower-income residents were not considered a priority in the plans for income mix/ social mix at either Britannia Village or Greenwich Millennium Village.

Cost was probably the main deterrent for locals who might otherwise have been interested in purchasing the new homes at BV or GMV. Residents from Canning Town, across the docks from Britannia Village, spoke of their early expectations to purchase the new homes at Britannia Village, and their later disillusionment with the relative cost of these homes⁵⁴.

There were very few opportunities for lower-cost shared ownership (LCHO) homes at Britannia Village (4 homes by mid- 2005) and at GMV (18 homes by mid-2005), and no intermediate home-ownership options at New Gorbals⁵⁵. Selection criteria for the few LCHO homes did not give priority to those with local ties to the neighbourhood. For example, several staff working at GMV noted that their applications for shared ownership at GMV were turned down by the housing association due to inadequate income levels⁵⁶.

For some potential local purchasers the style of the new homes may also have been a deterrent. Residents from areas adjoining GMV and BV made comments such as 'I wouldn't buy one of those flats even if I had that kind of money -- I'd get a proper house with a garden.' At New Gorbals, locals were less put-off by the higher-density housing, since the flatted family homes were more similar to traditional houses, and residents were more familiar with flatted housing.

⁵⁴ A local pub owner commented that commented that once it became clear to Canning Town residents who were employed in construction at Britannia Village that neither they nor their relatives would be able to purchase the new homes, some undertook minor 'sabotage' of the construction work (Chalvers, interview 2004).

⁵⁵ There were shared ownership homes in the previously developed 'Gorbals East', together with social rented but no private homes.

⁵⁶ In contrast, at a new mixed income neighbourhood in St. Louis, Missouri, the private developers offer employees a 10% discount on the price of a new home in the neighbourhood, in order to build morale and bring additional 'eyes and ears' to ensure neighbourhood safety Baron, R. (2003). Interview, Chairman and CEO, McCormack Baron. St Louis, Hawkins, P. (2003). Interview, General Manager at Murphy Park. St Louis.. Of thirteen employees based in the Murphy Park. St Louis neighbourhood, eight had chosen to rent on-site Baron, R. (2003). Interview, Chairman and CEO, McCormack Baron. St Louis, Hawkins, P. (2003). Interview, General Manager at Murphy Park. St Louis..

Overall, 'local' families showed greater willingness to use local services and to interact across tenure, and greater likelihood of remaining in the neighbourhood. Many of the local families acted as community 'anchors', volunteering in the neighbourhood and in the schools. The contribution of these local families to renewal MINCs can be seen as another reason to refrain from demolition and displacement.

The 'locals' category might usefully be expanded to include a wider range of families who have some greater similarities or affinities with the local social tenants, but did not necessarily grow up in the area or have family there. The expansion could include those with similar ethnic origins or religious identity, and 'moderate income' families, non-poor families whose socio-economic status or class is closer to the residents in social housing. Field research carried out in Hulme and modelled on this study, found that 'moderate-income' owners there acted in ways similar to the local residents in New Gorbals, using local schools and engaging socially across tenures (Silverman, Lupton and Fenton, 2005).

appears also in Allen and Camina's work investigating social mix in New Towns (2005). They argue that a 'more limited social range' in mixed-tenure neighbourhoods was important to the relative absence of tenure prejudice (Allen, Camina et al. 2005, p. 11), and speculate that the lack of extremes in wealth and poverty may help to produce a more civilized society (p. 70). Evidence from the US also suggests that a more graduated range of incomes is desirable, and helps to reduce tensions in new mixed-income developments (Brophy and Smith 1997).

Ethnicity and religion can also be important factors in neighbourhood affiliation⁵⁷. Work in Hulme 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 pers. comm). Also, a recent study of non-poor family housing choice in two US HOPE VI sites found that moderate-income Catholic families had a preference for the city over

⁵⁷ Although Uitermark indicates that mixed-income housing policies in parts of the Netherland may be motivated in part by a political concern to limit ethnic homogeneity in central city locations Uitermark, J. (2003). "Social mixing; and the Management of Disadvantaged Neighbourhoods: The Dutch Policy of Urban Restructuring Revisited." *Urban Studies* 40(3): 531- 549..

the suburbs, in order to access Catholic schools and churches (Varady, Raffel et al. 2005). In other HOPE VI sites where the majority of households in public housing are African American, so too are the majority of non-poor households (Abt Associates Inc 2003, p. 31).

The social advantages of a more graduated slope of tenancy are noted by several researchers on income mix: (Brophy and Smith 1997; Page and Boughton 1997; Jupp 1999; Schwartz and Tajbakhsh 2001). Not every MINC will have a local community to draw from, and bringing in locals may be more relevant in MINCs based in existing low-income areas than those developed as wholly new communities. Still, this research indicates that having at least some households with local ties, or other neighbourhood affinities, can help to build bridges among families from different tenures. .

Conclusions

Some common messages emerge from general conditions at all three case study areas. All three areas offered high quality social housing, in a generally clean and safe neighbourhood. Stigma had been reduced or overcome at all three areas, and land values had risen. The tenure mix was not perceived by residents to be particularly problematic in most parts of the neighbourhoods. The regenerated areas did not result in displacement of large numbers of low-income residents, though in part this was because many low-income residents had left New Gorbals and West Silvertown before the regeneration work had begun. Overall tenants and private sector residents were reasonably satisfied with the neighbourhoods, relative to national averages.

Comparing across the 'renewal', 'wholly new' and hybrid' sites, based on one case study of each type, suggested a number of distinctions. The 'renewal' site offered a wider range of services and support for low-income residents. The 'wholly new' site offered a particularly successful school, and a particularly well-managed public realm. The 'hybrid' site, in contrast, was the least satisfactory for all residents. To a degree, the outcomes at each case study area depend on the specific personalities and circumstances at each area, and further research would be needed to establish whether these findings can be generalised to other 'renewal' or 'wholly new' areas.

Families composed fewer than fifteen percent of all private sector households, roughly half the share of families in the wider urban areas. Children from the private sector homes accounted for between thirty and fifty percent of children in the area, due to the preponderance of private sector housing in the areas. Evidence on the numbers of children by tenure in the MINCs pointed out the problematic definition of 'child density' for mixed income new communities, and raised the suggestion to include tenure within the measure of child density.

The chapter found that the typology examined here that most nearly described the research findings was the definition of 'locals' suggested by Atkinson and Kintrea. Only one of the three case studies included 'local' families among the owners, restricting the potential to generalise from the findings. The findings support the hypothesis that families with 'local' ties tend to have more positive attitudes toward raising children in MINCs, and are more likely to remain in the area than 'newcomer' families.

The contribution of local families as community 'anchors' suggested the possibility of actively targeting MINCs for local families, including expanding the definition of 'local' to include those with geographic, ethnic, religious, or class affiliations with the surrounding area and/ or the social tenants. Deliberately attracting locals and others with neighbourhood affinities is partly a matter of marketing, but may also involve policies for priority in house-purchases and, in some cases, mechanism for capping housing costs.

Wealthier newcomers, in contrast, more closely fit the policy rhetoric of social mix in these new communities: they have greater purchasing power, a wider range of professions, a wider range of contacts, may be able to employ tenants in their own homes or places of work, and may use their skills and contacts to improve local services. The presence of the wealthier newcomers may be critical to changing the image of a place, and helping increase land values. Some newcomers in the first phase, in particular, may have 'urban pioneer' tendencies, and some may be willing to take greater risks and prefer a higher than average level of social diversity. However,

newcomers were seen as likely to leave the MINCs once they had children, even at the highly acclaimed Greenwich Millennium Village.

An insight into the role of neighbourhood affinities is contained in an anecdote from Sennet's Respect (2003) describing an evening in Chicago's notorious Cabrini Green in which former residents told stories of their success. The audience of young people was inspired by a formerly local electrician and by a secretary, but rejected the tale of faith and hard work told by a young doctor:

'...faith in his own future set him apart from his listeners. They, who were meant to be inspired, could not see far forward, or imagine another version of themselves; his self-confidence could only sharpen their sense of lack.... Whereas the secretary showed the young people what to do, the young doctor told them who they should become' (Sennett 2003, p.36).

The lesson for MINCs may be the need to ensure that households are from a wide range of incomes and backgrounds within any one MINC. Forms of low-cost home ownership (LCHO), included the relatively recent innovation of shared equity, might be one means to preserve a range of incomes and social backgrounds in MINCs, not just extremes of wealth and poverty. In renewal areas, low cost home ownership could become appropriate in later phases of the project, as land values rose, while in brand-new areas of high demand, it could be relevant from the very beginning. However, LCHO schemes can founder for loss of political support, particularly where the budget for LCHO is drawn from the same pot as social housing (Page 2003, p. 89).

The need for a range of social and income background was summed up by Herbert Gans nearly fifty years ago:

'neither residential homogeneity nor heterogeneity is clearly good or bad. Rather it is their extreme forms that are to be avoided'. (Gans 1961)

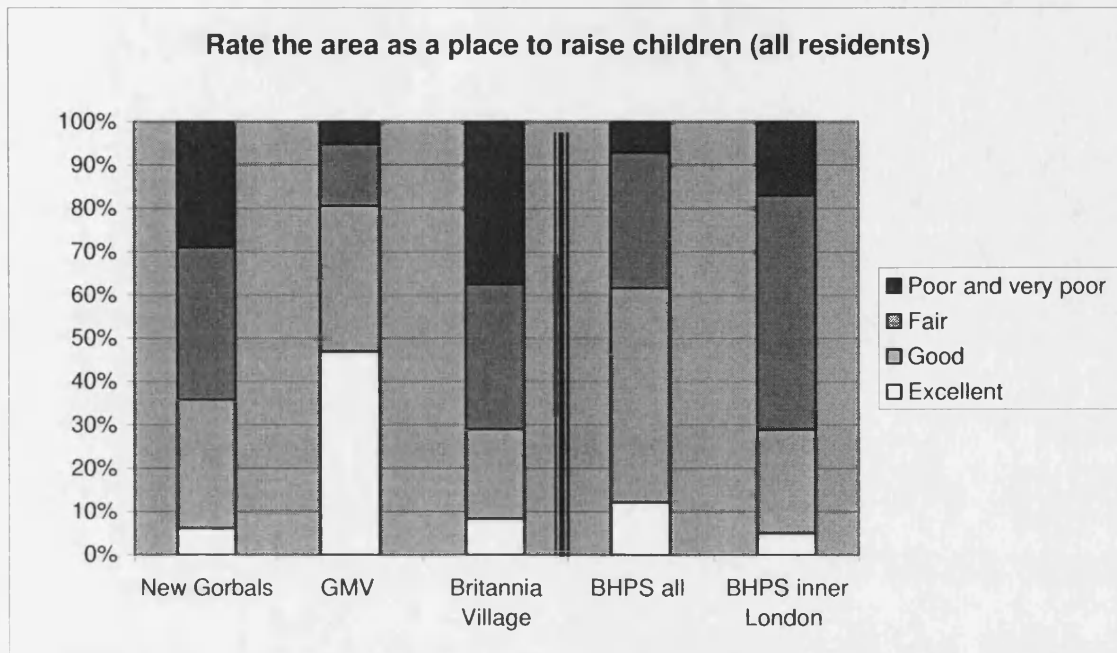
CHAPTER EIGHT: WHY BETTER-OFF FAMILIES LIVE IN AND LEAVE MINCS

HOMES, SCHOOLS AND PUBLIC REALM

The last chapter drew on the field work findings to answer the first two research questions, as set out in Chapter One, namely the numbers and types of better-off families living in the three case study areas. This chapter examines the final part of the research question, exploring the factors that made these places more or less attractive for raising children.

Figure 8.1 below shows how all residents, across the three case study areas, rated the neighbourhoods as a place to raise children. Greenwich Millennium Village received the highest rating, ranked as a 'good' or 'excellent' place for raising children by 80% of all residents. New Gorbals and Britannia Village received considerably lower ratings, at 35% and 30% respectively. However, the ratings for New Gorbals and Britannia Village are similar to those given by inner-London residents surveyed in the British Household Panel Survey (BHPS), drawn from a sub-sample of about 300 households. The ratings for Greenwich Millennium Village as a good or excellent place to raise children exceeded the average national responses.

Figure 8.1: Area rating as a place to raise children



Source: Field survey, BHPS (2004).

The percentage of better-off families who foresaw moving in the coming five years was about 40% at both New Gorbals and Greenwich Millennium Village, and about 70% at Britannia Village. This compares with about 44% nationally of families from all tenure with children under the age of eleven who intend to move in the next five years, as reported in the previous chapter (English Household Conditions Survey 2005). For some, the reasons for wanting to move were unrelated to the neighbourhood, and connected to changing jobs or the desire to move countries. Table 8.1 below presents the reasons for wanting to move away that were related to the neighbourhood.

One reason for wanting to leave that was common to all three areas was the lack of larger homes, or their cost. Better-off parents at Greenwich Millennium Village said that while they wished to remain and raise children there, they expected to leave as their children grew older or more numerous, since there were no three-bedroom homes available. Similarly, among 'local' parents at New Gorbals who were likely to leave, many said that they would prefer to remain, but were unable to afford the extra cost of moving to a larger home in the neighbourhood.

The second most prevalent reason was to find a ‘better place for children’.

Conversations with the parents showed that this rubric combined multiple aspects of the public realm: a concern that their children were exposed to undesirable behaviour, especially by their peers; fears for personal safety and security; and sometimes also a lack of suitable outdoor play spaces for children.

The third motivation for leaving among better-off parents was to find a better school. Primary schools were the problem for newcomer families at Britannia Village and at New Gorbals, and secondary school was the issue for ‘local’ owner families at New Gorbals.

The rest of this chapter examines these three factors in parents’ motivations for living in or leaving the mixed communities. The first section looks at family homes, and the reasons for their provision, or lack thereof, at the case study areas. The second section examines primary schools, and the integration between regeneration policy and school policy. The third section discusses the public realm and the factors that helped or hindered the case study areas to become ‘safe, green and friendly’ areas to raise children.

Table 8.1: Why parents consider moving away

	Homes	‘A better place for children’	Primary school	Secondary school
NG locals	X	X		X
NG newcomers		XXX	XXX	
Britannia Village	X	XXX	XXX	
Greenwich Millennium Village	XX			

(only reasons relating to neighbourhood are shown)

8.1 Family Homes in inner-city MINCs.

Lack of satisfaction with homes is one important reason why people choose to move, and perhaps even more important than lack of satisfaction with the surrounding neighbourhood, according to one study (Parkes 2002). Figure 8.2 below shows how parents rated the suitability of their market-rate homes for raising children across the three case study areas. The homes at Britannia Village received the lowest marks in terms of suitability for raising children, in terms of both design (layout) and size. The homes at Greenwich Millennium Village received high marks in the survey, but parents often commented that while their home size and design was suitable for raising a small child or children, as the children grew older they would want and expect to find a larger home, preferably in the neighbourhood. Homes at New Gorbals were also typically considered well-suited to raising children.

Figure 8.2: suitability of private homes for raising children

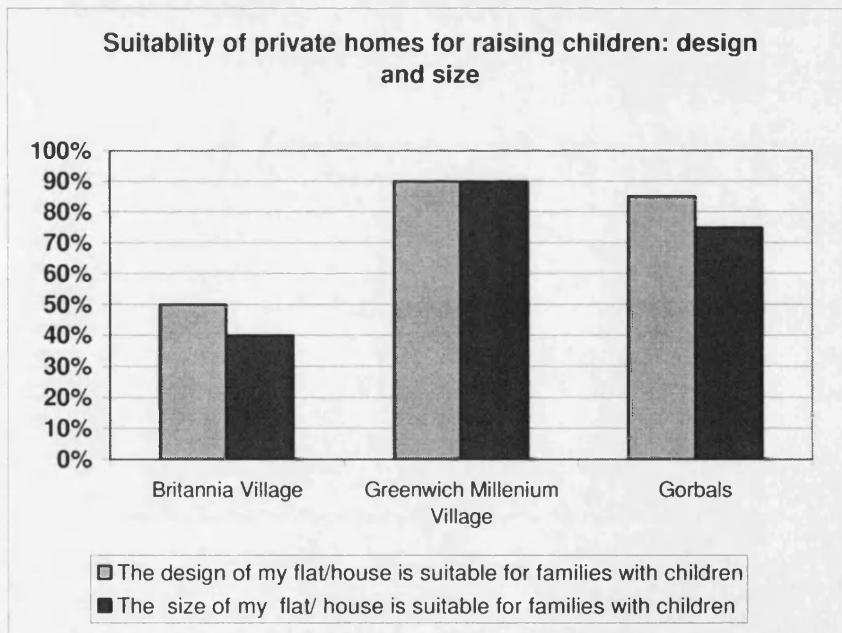
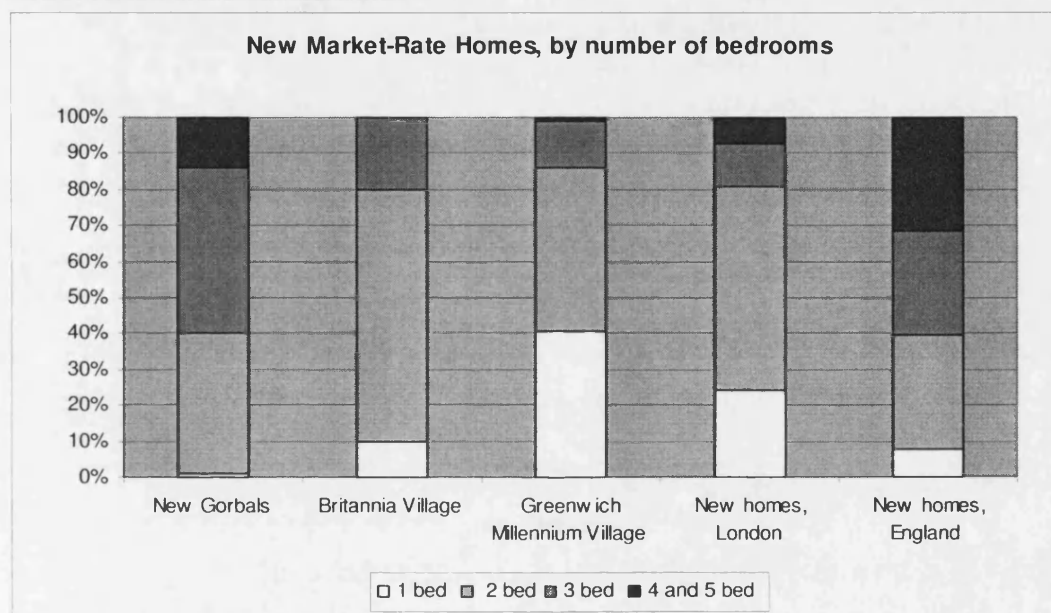


Figure 8.3 looks more closely at the issue of size of the market-rate homes. The chart shows that both Britannia Village and Greenwich Millennium Village had a low share of homes with at least three bedrooms or larger. Across England 60% of new homes had three or more bedrooms, a figure that dropped to 20% in London. In comparison, larger homes were 20% of all market-rate homes at Britannia Village, and only 13% at Greenwich Millennium Village.

Figure 8.3 size of private sector homes



Source: Field work, and Survey of English Housing (2005).

The larger flats at GMV were typically very expensive penthouses, usually ill-designed for families' needs. The three bedroom townhouses at Britannia Village were often configured for single sharers more than for families: large double bedrooms with en-suite baths, small kitchens with few cabinets, unsecured balconies and windows, and limited storage for equipment. Larger two-bedroom flats at GMV offered generous internal space, but some families found that these flats lacked storage and kitchen space. Families living in townhouses and maisonettes at New Gorbals were almost universally well-pleased with these, but families living in the smaller flats were less so. In all three places, families noted that the small flats do not have the flexibility of a family house for conversion to private rental, or to home-office uses.

Cost of the new homes was named a major obstacle only by local families in New Gorbals. Land values and housing prices there had risen significantly along with the

perceived success of the project. Local families who had not already purchased a home found the cost of new homes beyond their reach, while those who had already purchased found that the rise in values meant they were able to purchase a much larger home further away – but unable to afford a larger home in the neighbourhood. Newcomer families in New Gorbals and in the London case study areas were less concerned about the cost of the homes. Dual-income families spoke of weighing the added expense of a three-bedroom flat in the city against the probable reduction in one income if the family moved outside the city, and against the additional costs of time and commuting that a move would incur.

The lack of appropriate family homes at GMV and BV, and the high cost of family homes for locals at New Gorbals, is notable particularly since these case studies were selected as those whose master plans showed homes and layouts most likely to appeal to families. Here, it is instructive to compare the intentions in planning family homes against the built reality, as shown in Figure 8.4 below.

Figure 8.4 Family homes: planned and built

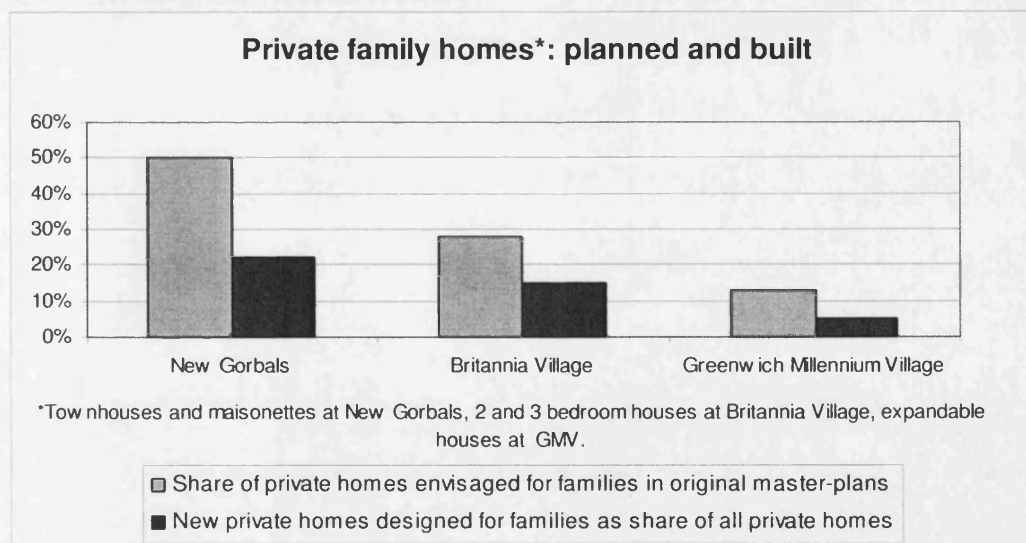


Figure 8.4 shows that the number of family homes built was about half the number planned, in all three neighbourhoods. At Britannia Village in particular, and to a lesser degree at GMV, the size and detailed design of homes was ultimately left largely to developer discretion with limited oversight by public agencies. Initial public sector involvement at all three cases was through a specially constituted regeneration agency: the LDDC at Britannia Village, English Partnerships at Greenwich Millennium Village

and the Crown Street Regeneration Partnership at New Gorbals. The regeneration agencies commissioned the masterplans and helped chose the developers. At both the London sites, the public agencies reported that they were either unable, or unwilling, to intervene in the developer's decisions about internal flat size and design.

As the Newham local authority planner said:

*We have a policy to require a certain split of unit sizes, but it's often not rigidly enforced. It might be required, but developers aren't very keen on it. When you come down to it, the private market sector is determined by what the house builders want to build, which is one and two bedroom apartments. So there's a gap between goals, objectives and implementation.*⁵⁸

At New Gorbals, the regeneration partnership remained strongly involved for rather longer. The partnership owned the land, retained the *feu superior*⁵⁹, and was initially managed by a charismatic individual with powerful backing. During this period it had control of size and design, and was able to ensure that developers continued to build family-sized homes, and that mechanisms were put in place that enabled local families to buy. However, the partnership's role was curtailed once the project had reached mid-completion, and the size and mix of new homes there too was then controlled primarily by the developers. The developers had no particular incentive to sell homes to families, and typically realized greater financial rewards from selling more smaller homes rather than larger family homes.

For local authority planners, the mix in size and design of homes was also sometimes driven by density targets. Local authorities were encouraged to achieve higher densities, measured solely in terms of units per hectare (PPG3), rather than in terms of bed-spaces or internal volumes. While density indicators measured in terms of units per hectare need not preclude the building of larger homes, it can allow the mix of sizes to slip off the agenda. A recent consultation paper on planning guidelines for mixed communities

⁵⁸ Newhams Supplementary Planning Guidance Notes for Residential Planning Guidelines from 2004, for instance, note that 'schemes of 40 or more dwellings should have at least 30% as family houses with gardens, of which half should have 4 or more bedrooms(p. 4) However, there is no discussion of tenure within this provision of family homes.

⁵⁹ The feu superior in Scottish legislation allows the project, as landowner, to impose service charges and maintenance conditions on successive owners.

raises the possibility of changing this situation by granting local authorities the statutory right to regulate the mix of home sizes within private housing (ODPM 2005 (d)).

At the time of writing, however, the trend for smaller homes was projected to continue in London and across England (Survey of English Housing 2005). Planning projections at the case study MINCs confirm this trend: at each area, new plans were in process for large scale new build residential projects. In all cases these were projected to include proportionally more one and two bedroom flats and fewer larger flats and houses. Some recent and previous research at mixed tenure sites in the UK has also noted the lack of family sized homes for sale (Atkinson and Kintrea 2000, p. 51; Rowlands, Murie et al. 2006), and for low cost home ownership in London (Page 2003, p. 92), and at mixed-income HOPE VI sites in the US (Varady, Raffel et al. 2005).

Flats vs. houses for families:

The main housing type at the case study neighbourhoods were flats, rather than houses. Exceptions to this were the small 'townhouses' at Britannia Village, the larger townhouses at New Gorbals, and to some extent the two-storey ground-floor flats with individual street access at New Gorbals.

The choice of flats, rather than houses, was a key reason for the low supply of larger, family sized homes at the London sites. English cultural attitudes show a strong preference for raising children in houses, rather than flats, as discussed in Chapter Three.

Numerous studies have found that English families have usually aspired to live in detached houses, where the outdoor space comes in the form of a private garden and where there are the added advantages of privacy, security and ease of access (CABE 2005). 86% of small families and 92% of large families currently live in houses of some kind (General Household Survey). Developers lack confidence that families will purchase flats in inner-city areas (Lupton 2005b). Added to this is the preference of English households for older housing: according to one study, only 36% of households

are willing to consider new build homes (Leishman 2004). The preference for older homes may reflect a critique of new-build homes as well as an appreciation of the 'antiquarian' (CABE 2005).

Of course, in many European and Asian cities, better-off families chose to live in flats today. Continuing the pattern begun with Viennese worker housing, family flats in many European cities tend to be larger internally than English flats, with high quality sound-proofing and careful planning to ensure privacy. Many offer spaces and services beyond the individual home: basement storage, cycle parking, and perhaps laundry rooms; shared courtyards and gardens, sometimes with a crèche, and play facilities for younger children; a concierge or maintenance staff; dedicated parking; and, more recently, health facilities including pools or gyms (PRP 2002). This model has recently begun spreading to North America, beginning in Vancouver, where 20% of all new flats in central city redevelopment areas are to be configured for middle-income families. These ground floor flats for families have proved to be far more in demand than expected (Punter 2004; Macdonald 2005, p. 28), and several West Coast cities in the US are now looking to adapt the 'Vancouver Style' (Price 2003).

Importantly, the case studies suggest that well-designed flats can be attractive to families in the UK. This was particularly true of the non-English white residents in the two London sites, and in Glasgow, where families are more accustomed to flat living. It may also be particularly attractive when families have access to another home in a more rural area, as was the case for some families in the London areas.

The two-storey ground level family flats at New Gorbals provide an unusual model for the UK of new mid-density family flats within the city. These 'maisonettes' were well designed for families with adequate kitchen, laundry and storage space, and a separation between public life below and private rooms above. All offered small private gardens leading onto the shared semi-private courtyard, and all had street level entry with private doors, further blurring the distinction between a house and a flat. One might speculate here about the link between language and action: while the word 'house' means single-family residence for the English, for the Scots the term 'house' is used for flats as well (Cullingworth and Nadin 2002, p. 295).

Within the London case studies, many families at Greenwich Millennium Village were quite willing to continue living in flats as their children grew older, provided that these could have at least three bedrooms. Families were particularly interested in larger lower-level flats with garden access. The developers had previously considered these flats less desirable for the lack of views, and these had been relegated to shared ownership. Following consultation with residents, however, the developers were considering more large lower-level flats for sale in the next building phases (Cherry, 2005, Gimblett, 2005).

Sales and marketing:

Sales and marketing did not encourage families to purchase homes at Britannia Village or at Greenwich Millennium Village, nor in the later stages at New Gorbals. Marketing materials rarely used images of families in any of the sites. Show homes were only available at Greenwich Millennium Village, where the internal design was clearly targeted to young childless couples. Estate agents at all three case study areas were unaccustomed to enquiries from families, knew little about the local schools and had no written information to offer about family life.

At all the case study areas, new homes were offered 'off-plan', requiring a speedy decision and a deposit. Some companies would only sell to people without another property to sell. This can be problematic for families, who typically require more information about the wider area and its services before buying, and who are often caught in housing chains. In New Gorbals, in contrast, this style of purchase worked well for the 'local' market: there, potential buyers knew the area well, were often living in council housing so had no housing chain, appreciated the set price as opposed to the usual Scottish system for second-hand homes of 'offers over' (bidding based on a given minimum price without an actual asking value), and were offered substantial discounts in the early years. Table 8.2 below sums up the provision of family homes at the case study areas.

Table 8.2: Private sector family homes in case study areas

	New Gorbals	Greenwich Millennium Village	Britannia Village
3 bedroom homes as share of all homes	60%	15%	20%
Planned vs. built family homes as percentage of all homes.	50%: 20%	13% :5%	28%: 15%
Inappropriate size	Not a problem	A problem as families expanded	A significant problem.
High cost	A problem for local families	Not applicable	Not a problem.
Unsuitable design	Not a problem	Lack of storage and kitchen space	Lack of storage and kitchen space, configuration.

8.2 Neighbourhood primary schools

A community cannot develop successfully and hold its population, especially its upwardly mobile families, over the long run if it does not provide a form of education that is good enough to prepare children for college (Orfield 1998, p. 370).

School quality is an important consideration for families purchasing homes: some studies place schools as the single most important criterion for middle class families (HBF 1997). The dividend a desirable primary school adds to the property values of family homes within its catchment area has been calculated to be as much as 34% within the UK (Cheshire and Sheppard 2004). In the case study areas, however, many of the families purchased their homes before they had children, and schools were not necessarily a major factor in their decision to move in, as shown in Chapter Seven (Table 7.6). Where schools did become a critical factor for these parents was in their decision to remain in, or leave, the neighbourhoods.

Chapter Two presented the rationale that mixed income housing can help improve schools for low-income children, by reducing the concentration of poverty and compositional effects, assuming that better-off parents do indeed send their children to the neighbourhood primary schools. However, the review of published case studies turned up a lack of evidence about the school attendance of children from better-off families in mixed income neighbourhoods. The chapter conjectured that better-off

parents might be more willing to send their children to brand-new schools than to existing neighbourhood schools, depending on the school achievements, the composition of the student body, and dependent also on the characteristics of the parents choosing the schools.

This section first examines the evidence on school intake by tenure, and then looks beyond the individual MINCs to better understand how the education sector regards 'social mix' in schools. The analysis section focuses on primary schools rather than secondary schools because most children in the private sector homes were of primary school age or younger (see Figure 7.9), particularly among newcomers. Two additional reasons for focussing on primary schools in mixed income neighbourhoods are that younger children may be more impressionable and more likely to be influenced by the positive behaviour of their peers, and that there is greater potential for MINCs to influence the overall composition of student intake at neighbourhood primary schools than at much larger and more distant secondary schools.

Using the local primary schools:

Table 8.3 below summarises the situation of the neighbourhood primary schools at the time of the field research. The primary school at Greenwich Millennium Village stands out as an example of a new school in a mixed-income area that became the school of choice for parents in private homes, even though there was a large socio-economic gap between these parents and those from social housing. The preponderance of private housing in the early stages of GMV's development meant that it was somewhat easier for this school to gain the confidence of the 'newcomer' parents. It was not perceived as predominantly a school for poor children, partly because the new school incorporated a high-performing nearby school, whose pupils were drawn from both middle-class and working class families.

Table 8.3: Neighbourhood primary schools in the case study areas

	New Gorbals: St. Francis, Blackfriars*	Greenwich Millennium Village Primary School	Britannia Village Primary School
School type	1 Catholic and 1 non-denominational school. Ages 5 – 11	Community school, ages 4– 11.	Community school, ages 4– 11
Facilities	Built in late 1960's. Decaying	Purpose built for GMV 2000. Award winning design, modern technology	Purpose built for BV 1999. Modern facilities including extended day
Enrolment	Both well below capacity for one form entry.	Below capacity for 2 forms.	Below capacity for 2 form entry.
Free school meals (FSM) 16.8% nationally	60% at Blackfriars NA at St. Francis 42% in Glasgow	34% 38% in Greenwich	52% 39% in Newham
% English as additional language 8% nationally	NA	30% 25% in Greenwich	60% 37% in Newham
% special educational needs 17.6% nationally	NA	21% 22% in Greenwich	36% 16% in Newham
Key Stage 2	Below Glasgow average	Above average nationally. 16 th / 64 in Greenwich.	5% lowest nationally. 58th/58 in Newham
Relation to parents and community	Contact with school parents, but little with wider community	School as community resource – and community as school resource.	Contact primarily with students, not parents or community.
'joined up' regeneration?	Little. Student input on design of park.	Much coordination.	Very little coordination.
Children from private homes?	Locals, but not newcomers.	School of choice for nearly all.	Some newcomers in early years, then leave.
Importance of schools to parents decision to remain/leave	Very important for newcomers deciding to move. Not critical for locals.	Important for parents wanting to remain.	Very important for parents wanting to leave.

* Scotland does not publish individual school figures for free school meals, and does not publish national or individual school figures for SEN, or English as an additional language.

Significantly, the school leaders and the Greenwich LEA worked closely with other agencies involved in the regeneration, including English Partnerships, the private developers, and the housing association. The cooperation has helped ensure that parents from the previous site supported the transition to the new school building, parents in the school were among those first allocated social housing at GMV, the playing fields are open for use at a cost after hours, and non-parent Governors are recruited from among GMV residents. The positive outcomes of this unusually high level of inter-agency co-ordination reinforces the claims of other research about the need for greater coordination between education and housing-led regeneration (Mumford 1998; Clark, Dyson et al. 1999; Beekman, Lyons et al. 2001).

In contrast, building a new school at Britannia Village did not guarantee positive outcomes. The families in the private homes at Britannia Village were very critical of the local primary school, as shown in Table 8.4 below. Many of the newcomer families sent their children to a church-run toddler group that met weekly in the school, and as a result some were willing to ‘*give the school a chance*’ for the early years, but most intended to leave as their children grew older. The LEA, meanwhile, maintained a ‘tenure-neutral policy of provision’. The experience at Britannia Village indicates that while a new primary school building, built concurrently with the new housing, can initially attract some families in the private homes, particularly to the early years classes, the new facilities alone are not enough to retain these families.

Table 8.4 Families’ rating of schools as compared to others in the area, by tenure

	Social housing	Local in private housing	Newcomer in private housing
New Gorbals	‘A bit better than average’	About average	Worse than average
Britannia Village	Average	NA	Worse than average
Greenwich Millennium Village	Much better than average	NA	Much better than average

The reasons why the school was unable to retain many of these families could be attributed to any of a number of factors: the large share of children from very low-income families in the new school; the transfer of staff and students from a previously

failing school, with a new head teacher; the school's focus on 'working through' problematic individual behaviour, perceived to come at the expense of academic achievement; the lack of coordination with other community agencies; or the 'hands-off' approach to parents. Additionally, impressive facilities for early years day-care were not utilised, thus losing a key opportunity to foster social bonds among the new parents of all tenures and to introduce them to the school. Definitive conclusions as to the main causes would require further research, across a range of areas, at greater depth within the schools, and through more extended interviews with the parents.

New Gorbals gives an example of school usage in a renewal neighbourhood. Here, although one important goal of the regeneration project was to attract families to the private homes and prop up the declining school rolls, there seems to have been little attempt to use the regeneration project as a means of improving the schools, or, conversely, to use the schools as a marketing tool to attract families with children. The schools had not received special budgets from the regeneration projects, and staff did not recall changes in strategy or planning as a result of the new housing. The LEA was little involved in the regeneration process⁶⁰.

Tenants in the social housing rated the schools somewhat better than average, despite the lack of investment in physical infrastructure, and 'locals' in the private housing usually sent their children to the same school they themselves had attended, rating them 'about average'. Newcomers, meanwhile, typically rejected the Gorbals primary schools out of hand, often without even entering the school gates. Their reasons for rejecting these schools were often based on a perception of 'rough behaviour', and may well have been influenced by previous stereotypes about Gorbals. The class and social background of the other pupils seemed more important to their decision than did the physical appearance of the school, academic achievements, or the school ethos. Beekman et al (2001) also found that owners were in general less positive about local schools than were tenants. ((Beekman, Lyons et al. 2001), p. 68.

⁶⁰ Beekman et al's study of mixed tenure in ten mixed-tenure neighbourhoods in Scotland also found low levels of coordination between headteachers and LEAs, on the one hand, and regeneration programmes on the other hand. Beekman, T., F. Lyons, et al. (2001). See also Mumford (1998), Clark, Dyson et al (1999) and Worpole (2000) on the lack of coordination between education and regeneration authorities

Will families in private homes at MINCs send their children to neighbourhood primary schools?

The limited experience of these case studies suggests two main findings. First, even in wholly new or hybrid areas, constructing a new school does not guarantee success attracting the better-off families. Their willingness to attend the new school may be linked to the socio-economic background of the other students, educational achievements, or school ethos. The case studies do not provide an example of a new school in a renewal area.

Second, in renewal areas, existing primary schools may attract families with local ties, or those whose socio-economic background is similar to the families in social housing, but attracting and retaining newcomer families, or those with a much wider socio-economic gap, will pose far more of a challenge. This view is supported by similar field work in Hulme conducted by Fenton (2005), and research I conducted in Birmingham, and in St. Louis, Missouri, summarised in the boxes on the following two pages.

Hulme in Manchester was a mixed-income development similar in time-frame, scale and character to New Gorbals: previously a social housing estate, it had been partially demolished in the early 1990's and 1500 new homes have been built of which just over 60% were for sale on the private market. As at New Gorbals, house prices were initially low, and purchasers included families with local ties, and also some families attracted by the presence of a black population.

The three neighbourhood primary schools were considered reasonably good and improving inner-city schools. Nearly all 'local' parents sent their children to one of the neighbourhood primary schools. Local parents tended to be well-pleased with the local primaries, citing warmth and spirit more than achievements. In contrast, newcomers at Hulme, as at New Gorbals were not attracted by these schools, and would not consider sending their children to them. Most of these parents intended to move. (Fenton 2005)

Pyre Hayes in Birmingham was originally a council housing estate, located in the outer fringes of the city. Council housing was found to be defective in the mid 1980's, and decanting and demolition began in 1993. New private homes were built to subsidize the costs of replacement social housing, at a 3:2 ratio. Many new homes were single family houses, giving an overall density far lower than that of New Gorbals, at about 37 homes per hectare. The new homes for sale were small in the first stages, 2 and 3 bedroom places, and attracted first time buyers on relatively low salaries, particularly those with 'local' ties.

The two local primary schools experienced a sharp decline in the early years of the regeneration, as their school rolls shrunk with the demolition and decanting. One of the two headteachers made determined efforts to reach out to families in the new homes, primarily in order to increase the per-capita funded budget. Interviews with families in private homes found that many 'local' parents sent their children to that local primary school. Newcomer parents were mostly intending to leave the neighbourhood.

Murphy Park, in St. Louis, Missouri is regarded as a progenitor for the US's HOPE VI programme, and an exemplar of mixed-income urban redevelopment. Built on a demolished public housing estate adjacent to the vacant former site of the infamous Pruitt-Igoe Homes, by 2003 there were 300 new homes for subsidised and market-rate rental. The majority were three bedroom two-story red-brick row-houses, with small gardens, private entrances and private parking. Nearly all residents were black, and 85% of households earned under \$40,000 annually.

Desegregation in education regulations had required that three-quarters of the children be bussed to schools far outside the neighbourhood, but the private developer worked with city hall to declare the nearby primary a 'neighbourhood school', giving priority to local students without regard to colour (Baron 2003). By 2005, the school was one of the most technologically advanced in the city and academic achievements were up significantly. However, it remains unclear whether better-off parents were sending their children to this school: while one report notes that 75% of the neighbourhood's children were attending the school (Turbov and Piper 2005, pp. 30-31), the same report notes that 97% of all pupils at the school were considered poor.

Case studies of mixed –tenure neighbourhoods undertaken by others lend additional support to the tentative conclusion that moderate-income families are likely to send their children to neighbourhood primary schools, but middle or higher-income families will do so only under special circumstances. Evidence for this is presented below.

Within studies looking at areas with a narrow socio-economic gap between owners and social tenants, Pawson’s study of one Scottish community with social tenants and moderate-income homeowners, but few higher-income families, found that owners were almost as likely as social tenants to send their children to local schools (Pawson 2000, p. 49). Beekman et al’s (2001) study of ten mixed-tenure neighbourhoods in Scotland indicated that most owners were sending their children to local schools (Scott, personal communication, 2004), and Kintrea’s diary exercise among 38 households in three mixed-tenure Scottish neighbourhoods with low cost home ownership schemes (GRO grant) found a similar result. (Atkinson and Kintrea 2000). Camina et al’s study of three former New Towns found that in two neighbourhoods with a mix of tenure but limited social diversity, the children attended the same schools, while in the third neighbourhood, where class differences were stronger, most children from the private homes had chosen to attend one of the two local primaries (Allen, Camina et al. 2005, personal communication).

Studies of places with a broader socio-economic range, and especially with a large income gap, found that the schools were less likely to be mixed, although there are exceptions, as with Greenwich Millennium Village. Karsten found that better off ‘newcomer’ parents in new private homes in Amsterdam ‘valued a school with different ethnic categories, so long as the majority of the pupils remain middle class’ (Karsten 2003, p. 2580). Butler’s study of six gentrified neighbourhoods in inner London found a range of responses, from middle-class ‘colonization’ of one particular neighbourhood primary school to opting –out for private schools while remaining in the neighbourhood, with no discussion of mixing within Church schools (Butler and Robson 2003, pp 139 - 160)). The only evidence-based study of HOPE VI looking at the links between housing and schools in the US found that three of four case study sites had very few middle –income families with children. In the one area that did have these families, in Louisville Kentucky, children were not attending neighbourhood schools,

since regulations on racial integration in schools meant that children were bussed to schools beyond the neighbourhood (Raffel, Denson et al. 2005).

Thus far, then, the case studies indicate that while 'local' families in MINCs, and non-poor or moderate-income families as well, are likely to send their children to typical neighbourhood schools, middle-income and newcomer families may not do so, and may leave the neighbourhood as a result.

Beyond individual schools: educational policy and social mix in MINCs

Within these case studies, most educational staff seemed to perceive school composition as largely beyond their control, not influenced by school policies. This research supports Worpole's finding that educational staff are far less explicit about social mix as a goal than are housing officers:

Housing officers are now upfront in talking about the need to 'protect' improving estates from falling back again as a result of inappropriate allocation policies, whereas in some areas of education this is still taboo. Indeed some politicians and senior educationists still refuse to acknowledge the very real and damaging effects that the concentration of poverty and loss of aspirations, or even the disruptive presence of a volatile and anti-social minority, can have on the culture of the school, whereas in housing this understanding is no longer in any doubt (Worpole 2000, p. 41).

The 'educationists' lack of engagement with concentration of poverty in schools is not due to lack of evidence. Educational research is clear about the strong correlation between deprivation and low educational achievements, one component of which is peer effects (eg Mortimore et al 1988; OECD 2001). Thrupp (1999) correlates the rising and waning discourse on social mix with changes in prevailing political ideologies, noting that the discussion has been most prevalent in climates of liberal reform.

The difficulty in engaging UK educational policy makers arises from a perceived conflict between, on the one hand, promoting greater social mix in school intake, and, on the other hand, the currently dominant paradigm of school choice as the moving force behind school composition, replacing the former system of 'banding'.

School composition in the UK is determined primarily by residential location. School composition is also influenced by parental choice⁶¹, and there is some evidence that class and ethnicity are at play in parents' choices (Gorard, Fitz et al. 2001; Burgess, Wilson et al. 2005). Proposed measures to reduce socio-economic stratification in schools tend to look for ways that schools can overcome patterns of segregation in housing. West, for example, focuses on selection in school intake as the main policy tool to promote social mix. Decreasing the formal role of individual schools in determining their own student bodies, she argues, might limit the well-known phenomena of 'creaming' the better students, or selecting out the less academically inclined, in order to boost achievements and school rank (West 2006). These remedies, however, run the risk of disconnecting schools from communities.

In MINCs, by contrast, social mix is inherent within the neighbourhood housing pattern. Parents' default neighbourhood choice, particularly for younger children, would be the local primary school, which would then naturally draw on the socially mixed population of the catchment area. The concerns for equity in school choice, then, may apply less in MINCs, or in other neighbourhoods where the catchment area is itself socially diverse. The investigation then centres on the incentives and methods by which schools in MINCs, or other socially mixed areas, can ensure that the school is attractive to the middle-income families as well as to the lower-income families in the neighbourhood.

Where schools in MINCs are undersubscribed, there is an incentive for them to reach out to the middle class parents to increase school budgets, funded *per capita*. Another incentive to include the middle class children would be to improve school testing scores, currently a main measure of school effectiveness. However, schools in two of the three

⁶¹ The quasi-market reforms in education in the 1980's allowed parents to express preferences among schools, while allocation of places is determined by the LEA (for voluntary-funded and state schools) or by the individual school (for voluntary aided and foundation schools).

case study areas did not seem motivated by these institutional incentives. Possible explanations include the individual orientation of school staff towards teaching disadvantaged students; an ideological disinclination to improve scores by recruiting students from more privileged homes, and a presumption that there was little likelihood of attracting the children of better-off families to the local schools in these areas.

The experience of the Millennium Primary School at GMV suggests that schools and LEAs can take some measures to capture the wider social mix within the neighbourhood, including close cooperation with housing associations and regeneration partners; targeted marketing and outreach to parents and to the wider community, although Ministerial involvement was necessary in order to achieve this outcome. The example of the Millennium Primary School provides relatively rare supporting evidence for recommendations found in Chung (2003) as well as in Raffel, Dennison et al (2005).

It may also be important to consider ways in which the school culture and ethos is related to class: research has found that class matters in the expectations and demands parents have from schools (Ball 2003). A 'one-size-fits-all' culture in primary schools in MINCs, particularly in low-income areas, is unlikely to be accepted by newcomers.

Beyond the efforts of individual schools, educational policy in the LEA, and nationally, could recognise social mix as a key achievable goal for schools in MINCs. It can be argued that the current national educational agenda does not support social mix in schools as a goal. After years of debate on class, equity, and school intake, this Government's education policy centres on raising individual academic achievements, through market reforms, school effectiveness research, and a managerial approach to individual schools (Lupton 2005), including training, special recruitment and library hours, for example. The Government's Schools in Challenging Circumstances initiative offered some additional support for schools in disadvantaged areas. However, there was no explicit agenda to deliberately change the composition of the student body in disadvantaged areas, perhaps due to the perceived conflict with parental choice.

There may be ways to avoid the apparent conflict between deliberate intervention in school composition and parental choice. Possible directions might include adapting the

concept of inner-city primary level magnet schools in the US (see, for example, Varady and Raffel 1995), or redefining the role of a 'community school', but these directions were not being widely examined in the UK at the time of this research.

Further research in this area might examine stratagems of popular schools in mixed areas that successfully maintain a diverse student body⁶²: in-school early years programmemes; activities for a diverse student body including speciality enrichment programmemes and magnet schools (Varady and Raffel 1995; Hill and Celio 1998); the role of community schools and 'Schools Plus' (DfEE 1999); and standards for community involvement and the impact of 'extended day' programmes on school intakes (Dyson and Cummings 2004).

In summary, at new mixed income neighbourhoods at least, educational policy and housing policy do not seem to be on the same page when it comes to fostering social mix. The Government's uniform emphasis on rationalisation, standardisation, efficiency, and measurable outcomes, while raising school achievements, might recall for some the past approach to large-scale council housing programmemes, especially in its lack of consultation with parents. For MINCs, direct engagement with educational policy-makers at the national level may be critical to success in retaining families in market rate homes.

School staff in MINCs and LEAs may understandably shy away from engaging with these contentious issues. However, schools in MINCs are unlikely to attract and retain children from better-off families unless these questions are directly addressed by educational personnel together with the regeneration partnerships.

⁶² There are some examples of mixed-tenure schools mentioned in research on tenure mix in general, for example in Bowthorpe, Allen, C., M. Camina, et al. (2005). *Mixed tenure twenty years on: nothing out of the ordinary*, Joseph Rowntree Foundation, work in progress.; in Bournville, Groves, R., A. Middleton, et al. (2003). *Neighbourhoods that work: A study of the Bournville estate, Birmingham*, Joseph Rowntree Foundation: 64.; in Niddrie, Pawson, H. (2000). *Assessing the Impact of Tenure Diversification: the case of Niddrie, Edinburgh, Scottish Homes*.

8.3 Safe, Green and Friendly Neighbourhoods

Families value places that feel safe, clean, and friendly, with places for their children to play. These are not easy conditions to create in any inner-city neighbourhood, and harder in MINCs with high density, ongoing construction, divergent social needs and expectations, and successive waves of new residents. The case studies highlight the importance of these issues, and support the emphasis that the Government places on them through its Cleaner, Safer, Greener policies. This section reviews three central aspects: places to play; neighbourhood safety and cleanliness; and a friendly community.

Places to Play

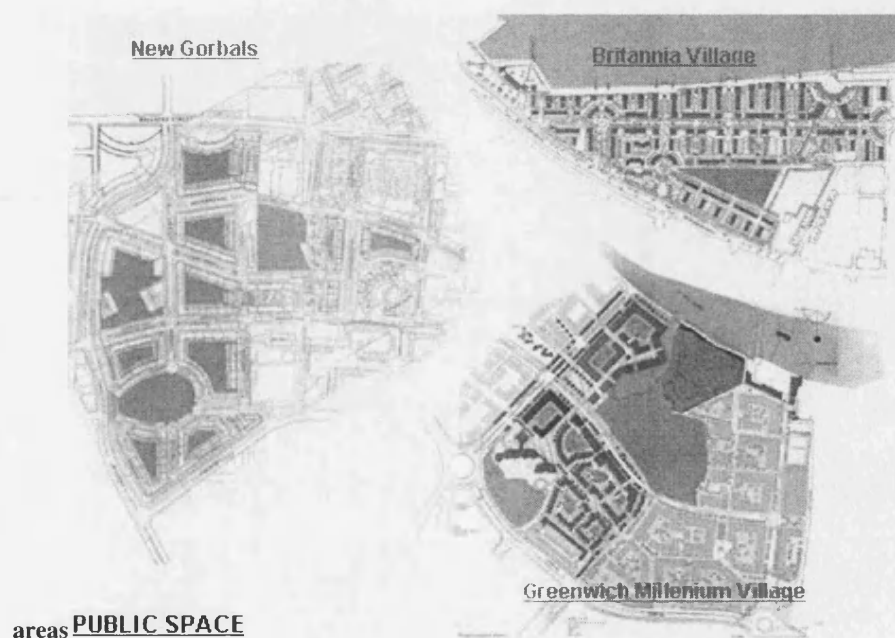
Planners do not seem to realize how high a ratio of adults is needed to rear children at incidental play... It is folly to build cities in a way that wastes this normal, casual power for child rearing and either leaves this essential job too much undone – with terrible consequences – or makes it necessary to hire substitutes. The myth that playgrounds and grass and hired guards or supervisors are innately wholesome for children and that city streets, filled with ordinary people, are innately evil for children, boils down to a deep contempt for ordinary people. (Jacobs 1961, p 92)

Play and leisure opportunities are critical for children of all ages, but until very recently, play provision has been declining in the UK (DCMS and Council 2004). Streets have been given over to cars, capital spend by local authorities on ‘urban parks and open spaces’ was reduced by 25% from 1976 – 2000, (DTLR 2002), including budgets for the youth workers and park wardens – the hired substitutes about whom Jane Jacobs is so scathing (Power 1999; Lupton 2004; English Heritage 2005). Worpole’s thought-provoking review of children, young people and public space cites an interim report of the Government’s Urban Green Spaces Taskforce noting that

'two-thirds of 9 -11 year-olds in the UK are dissatisfied with the quality of outdoor play facilities where they live. For 15 – 16 year olds this rose to 81%, higher than any other European country' (cited in Worpole 2003, p. 6).

The question for this thesis was whether the quiet streets, shared courtyards and park spaces of higher density flatted living were sufficient 'compensation' for relinquishing the English ideal of a private garden. Figure 8.5 below contrasts the very different levels of open space at the case study areas, including private gardens, shared courtyards and neighbourhood parks⁶³. Safe streets and 'home zone' areas are not marked in these maps but are also discussed below.

Figure 8.5: public space in the case study



I think a shared courtyard can sometimes be more fun than a private garden. A shared garden is bigger, so there are more friends, and there's more to do, more things happening. The problem is you have to obey the rules. In a private garden, you can just go outside anytime, and you can dig and plant your own things, even cucumbers. Maybe that's best for little children. (Noam, aged seven, with experience of both shared and private gardens.)

⁶³ Note: the map for Britannia Village does not show the small shared open plots behind the blocks of flats or the small private gardens, due to the very small scale of these largely un-tended and unused spaces.

The example of Greenwich Millennium Village provides evidence that well-designed open space in high density flatted homes can compensate for the loss of a private garden. Parents appreciated the variety of open space, and said these featured among the best aspects of raising children in the neighbourhood, making it feel '*safe and friendly*' for families. The well-staffed Ecology Park was particularly loved. Balconies, terraces, and the larger courtyards were also well-liked, although some of the smallest courtyards were less popular due to the high numbers of unsupervised children at play.

At New Gorbals, the open space provision seemed to work well for local families, who allowed their children to play unsupervised in the shared courtyards and neighbourhood park. Newcomer families in New Gorbals, however, were not well satisfied with the unstaffed neighbourhood park, and the shared courtyards and small gardens were often considered inadequate compensation for the loss of a private garden. At Britannia Village, families in private homes were not satisfied with the play provision or open space, and neither were the families in social housing.

Use of the city streets as play spaces could help to compensate for the loss of private gardens. Streets have been perhaps the most important of play spaces for city children, particularly during the nursery and primary school years (Gehl 1971; Cooper Marcus and Francis 1998; Churchman 2003). Ward summarizes research on patterns of street use by working class and middle class children, finding that while street play is important to both, it is far more central in the lives of working class children (Ward 1978, p. 32- 33). The Government has supported the creation of Home Zones modelled on the Dutch *woonerf*, as discussed in Chapter Three, internal neighbourhood roads with priority for pedestrians, including children playing in the streets.

Residential streets in all three case study areas were relatively pedestrian-friendly and traffic-free, most notably at GMV where on-street car parking was limited to fifteen minutes. However, repeated observations found little children's play taking place on the streets, and certainly nothing approaching the variety of imaginative street play catalogued by Ward in 1978(p. 78). One explanation for the absence of children's play on the streets may be that the children were playing more in the shared courtyards, and these did not permit access from one to another, across streets. Another

explanation is the lack of adults on the streets: Jacobs (1961) notes that children were attracted to lively streets with adult interaction, but with the exception of the main shopping street in New Gorbals, there were very few adults socialising on the streets in any of the case study areas. Plans for benches and a new public square with coffee shops may change this at GMV in the future. At New Gorbals and Britannia Village, children's play on streets was limited by some parents' perceptions that the area was *'too rough'* for unsupervised outdoor play. The research did not investigate whether children shared these fears.

The experience of the three case studies indicates that it is possible for dense inner-city MINCs to meet the expectations middle-income parents have for open space and play provision, but this requires adequate funding, maintenance and perhaps supervision. None of the three neighbourhood had park wardens funded by the local authority, as promoted by CABI's 'Parks Need Park Forces' initiative (CABI 2005, website), although GMV's Ecology Park's exceptional funding from English Partnerships, included a budget for staffing. Park wardens or play coordinators might have helped children to make safer use of the Village Green at Britannia Village or the neighbourhood park at New Gorbals, or at least helped to reassure parents⁶⁴.

Careful design and landscaping is also important, perhaps particularly in shared courtyards where unsupervised play can lead to conflict among residents. Both New Gorbals and GMV adopted the English approach of secure shared courtyards, inaccessible to the general public, as recommended for housing associations by both the Guinness Trust and the Peabody Trust design handbooks (Peabody Trust 2001, p. 92 ; The Guinness Trust nd, p. 18). The lack of permeability in the courtyards at GMV in particular, while contributing to a stronger feeling of safety, greatly reduced mobility and connectivity across the area. Permeability through courtyards was less of a problem at New Gorbals, where a traditional street grid was preserved.

A sharp contrast is found in otherwise similar designs for mixed-income housing in Amsterdam and Stockholm, including projects by the Swedish firm who designed GMV, where each courtyard gives access to to the next, occasionally spilling back on to the pedestrian streets. The 'Space Syntax' project has found a positive correlation

⁶⁴ For comparison, see Rotterdam's employment of play workers for after-school and weekend hours.

between spatial integration and property values, noting that housing which is more 'permeable' and 'intelligible' is also more socially integrated (Lynch 1960; Hillier 1996; Marcus 2002).

Mulholland et al (2003) suggest a different direction: in order to satisfy English expectations of privacy within higher density flats, they recommend that shared courtyards be located adjacent to the front entrance, not the rear private garden areas, and separated from the dwelling by internal access roads. Such an arrangement might enable greater connectivity and promote more street activity, at least during the daytime.

Safe and Clean

Most of the parents interviewed across the case study areas reported that they felt very safe at home alone, although some men as well as women felt less secure walking about the neighbourhoods at night. Residents rated GMV more highly for cleanliness and safety overall than at the other two sites, as described in the previous chapter. Some of the difference can be attributed to external factors, including the relative isolation and lower percentage of social housing at Greenwich Millennium Village, and the surrounding poverty and methadone clinics at New Gorbals.

This section explores the impact of four other factors: the unified appearance of the site; coordinated neighbourhood management; safe places to play; and deliberate community building.

Unified appearance:

A unified appearance may contribute to a greater feeling of safety across the entire neighbourhood. Where differences were more obvious, particularly at the adjacent retained council housing in New Gorbals, but also at the new-build social housing homes at Britannia Village, families in the private homes made distinctions, with comments such as 'I feel safe over here, but I wouldn't go 'over there'.

The master plans at all three neighbourhoods aimed to integrate social housing within the overall fabric of the site, rather than creating obviously segregated enclaves. Tenure

was not immediately apparent either from location or from the external appearance of the homes in most cases. This was most consistent at New Gorbals, where social housing typically formed one side of a four-sided block.

Another aspect of the unified appearance relates to cleanliness and maintenance of public areas. At Greenwich Millennium Village and New Gorbals, there was a uniform standard of cleanliness across the site. In both neighbourhoods a single on-site company had responsibility for grounds maintenance across the site: a private management company at GMV and the community-based housing association at New Gorbals. The cross-tenure management resulted in a standard of maintenance well above the norm for social housing estates, incurring higher than usual costs for the housing association, as discussed in Chapter Five. However, the high levels of surveillance at GMV raises additional issues concerning the extent of private sector control over the public realm, and freedom of access for the wider population.

At Britannia Village, an on-site private management company was responsible for maintaining the private areas, while maintenance at the social housing areas was split among the two RSLs and the council, none of which maintained an on-site presence. There was noticeably more litter, graffiti and potholes near the social housing, underscoring the social divide and perhaps contributing to a lesser feeling of safety across the neighbourhood.

Coordinated neighbourhood management and on-site staffing:

The importance of estate-based management has been firmly established in housing research (Page 1993; Power 1999; DETR 2000; PRP 2002), as have the difficulties of multi-landlord management (Zipfel 1994). Coordinated neighbourhood management can provide an overview of neighbourhood issues, link between agencies and deliver change. Coordination is especially important in the initial phases of these new build, high density and socially mixed MINCs.

At GMV, residents could refer problems with safety, cleanliness and social behaviour to a single, on-site office, run by the same management company responsible for grounds and housing maintenance. The concierge company employed six full-time staff who walked around the site and monitored 50 CCTV cameras at all hours. Problems were

reported to the developers. The developers also conducted periodic surveys of resident satisfaction, allowing them to tweak problems. There was no such extensive feedback process at either Britannia Village or New Gorbals.

As the government has recognised with its neighbourhood wardens programme, intensive staffing can help residents to feel that a neighbourhood is more clean and safe. There were no neighbourhood wardens as such in any of the neighbourhoods, but aspects of their roles were variously played by the concierge service, the on-site community-based housing association, and community police officers, as well as by staff and volunteers from community organisations such as churches, the healthy living network, or the residents' association. 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 on to.

Funding these positions is expensive. While the developer or the regeneration partnership may fund such projects in the initial stages, there is a need to address long-term funding sources. The case study areas were experimenting with various forms of community trusts and long term management companies, and these might provide an answer.

These findings confirm the importance of estate-based management and on-site staffing in social housing areas and indicate that these are equally important in mixed areas, supporting recommendations from other research (Cole and Shayer 1998; Beekman, Lyons et al. 2001; Hollingsworth, Denton et al. 2003) as well as earlier work by Brophy and Smith in the US (1997). Estate-wide management becomes increasingly important with higher density housing and flatted housing in particular carries additional shared spaces such as lifts and entrances, as well as outside spaces. The mix of incomes does not obviate the need for on-site estate-wide management.

Friendly Community

Research on mixed tenure neighbourhoods has tended to find different levels and kinds of interaction between tenures, with local social life being more consequential to tenants than to private sector residents (Jupp 1999; Atkinson and Kintrea 2000; Dixon 2000; Pawson 2000). This study extends those findings to differences within the private sector, between locals and newcomers.

‘Community’ had different meanings for locals and for newcomers, as discussed in Chapter Four on New Gorbals. For locals, ‘community’ was about a social network of friends and relatives, while for newcomers, it referred more to organised social functions.

The difference is perhaps not surprising: most organised community activity at New Gorbals was funded through the Gorbals Social Inclusion Partnership, or coordinated by the Gorbals Community Forum, and these groups did not see the ‘posh’ newcomers as their target audience. Similarly, Atkinson and Kintrea found that owner occupiers were reluctant to use community venues identified strongly with supporting social tenants (Atkinson 1998, p. 52). It might be worthwhile considering how these community services could engage more with the better-off population, while taking care not to divert limited resources from more pressing goals.

At the London regeneration sites, newcomer families expressed a much stronger sense of belonging at GMV than at Britannia Village. This may be partly attributed to self-selection: GMV had an extra appeal to people with strong environmental and social values. But some parents at GMV said that living there had influenced their perception of community:

We used to keep ourselves to ourselves, and that's a habit we're breaking now. We're unlearning our learned behavior. Here people are appreciative, and you can be at ease. (Shared ownership mother at GMV). .

Power (2004) lists four key questions to ask about building a sense of community; these questions are answered for the three sites in Table 8.5 below. Comparing across the three neighbourhoods in these terms, New Gorbals and Greenwich Millennium Village are seen to offer more of the community building features than Britannia Village.

Table 8.5: Elements of Community Building

	New Gorbals	Britannia Village	Greenwich Millennium Village
Community meeting points: (benches, pocket parks, cafes).	Supermarket as main meeting spot.	No.	Courtyards, events.
Community facilities for hire (meetings, parties, learning)	Yes, many	Yes, but expensive.	Yes, limited.
Community organizations, ways to have an input, for all sectors?	Many, but not cross-tenure.	Segregated by tenure	Yes, cross-tenure
Front-line jobs, (park keeper, care taker, warden).	Care-takers, housing office.	No.	Yes, concierge, care-takers, park wardens.

At GMV there was a deliberate attempt to foster a sense of community among residents, and across tenures, perhaps to live up to their ‘millennium community’ cognomen. The development team there hired an experienced community development worker from MOAT to work part-time on-site as ‘resident liaison’, helping new residents connect to the place. Armed with a small activities budget and a lot of insight, she supported residents in creating a widely read regular newsletter, advised the residents’ association, and helped to organise social activities and resident consultations. This may be an essential function for MINCs, particularly in wholly new areas.

Neighbourliness can also be fostered by informal meeting places (Gehl 1971; Appleyard, Gerson et al. 1981; Project for Public Spaces 2005)⁶⁵. In the renewal areas, the shops, bus stop, and especially the supermarkets often served this purpose,

⁶⁵ Although public open spaces can become territorialized, particularly across ethnic divides, as Sandercock points out in citing Amin : ‘the city’s public spaces are not natural servants of multicultural engagement.’ Sandercock, L. (2003). *Cosmopolis II: Mongrol Cities of the 21st Century*. London, Continuum. p. 94.

especially for locals. The open squares and roof terraces at GMV, and cafes and community centres at New Gorbals were also mentioned as good meeting-up places. Residents noted the lack of informal meeting places at Britannia Village - '*there's no centre, really*' - although the waterside promenade and village green could serve this purpose with additional street furniture and landscaping.

Another way to build a sense of community is through residents' associations. In the case studies, there were functioning cross-tenure residents' associations at GMV at the block and the wider neighbourhood level. These dealt with developer snags, security issues, and at GMV also with resident consultations on forward planning and social events. At New Gorbals, top-down attempts by CSRP to jumpstart cross-tenure block-associations had floundered everywhere, leaving only one block association – composed of entirely private homes. Finally, at Britannia Village there were separate associations for tenants and for owners, underscoring the physical and social divide there. This range indicates the difficulties inherent in cross-tenure residents' associations at MINCs.

External assistance to build community in general, and residents' associations in particular, may be especially important at MINCs for three reasons. First is the high density associated with new inner-city MINCs. Mulholland (2003, p. 2) points out that residents' associations become more critical in areas of high density, in order to maintain shared property, for instance courtyards and community gardens, and to provide informal social controls. Second is the diverse backgrounds of residents, and the increased difficulty in forming residents' associations across such wide social gaps. (cf. Manzi and Bowers 2003, p. 22 -23). Finally, the sudden influx of waves of new occupants at MINCs means that new residents in the early years can not rely on previous local organisations and will have to establish a residents group from the beginning.

Perhaps the most important lesson is that building community is not easy in these new mixed income neighbourhoods, but it is important, possible and valued by residents. Merely designing in the spaces for interaction may not be sufficient. It may prove worthwhile to develop new tools and disseminate practical information of this type to stakeholders in new MINCs.

Conclusions

This chapter examined the factors that made the neighbourhoods more or less attractive to better-off families. Homes, schools and the public realm were the three most prevalent reasons given for wanting to move out of the neighbourhoods.

With regard to homes, all three sites had fewer family-sized homes for sale than were originally planned. The reduction in provision of market-rate family homes is attributed in part to the reluctance of private developers to market flats to families, rather than houses. Public sector agencies that had initially envisioned family homes for sale as part of the neighbourhood mix, were less involved in the implementation stage, and also aimed to meet new national standards for increasing residential density, as measured in numbers of homes per area, not numbers of bedrooms or people per area. The lack of appropriately sized and designed family homes was given as an important reason for families intending to leave the two London sites.

The case study examples do show that raising children in flats can be considered appropriate by better-off parents in some cases. Families with only one or at most two young children at Greenwich Millennium Village were generally well-pleased with the size and design of their flats, as were families in the 'family maisonettes' at New Gorbals, two-storey flats with private and shared gardens, underneath additional flats. The very small 'town-houses' at Britannia Village were least well-liked by families. Further research on design of high-density market-rate housing for families could be helpful, in addition to the work of Cope (2002), Cooper(1986) and PRP (2002), perhaps investigating particularly the design needs and desires of dual-career parents, including for gardens and house maintenance, and also investigating construction methods that promote flexibility and change within flats (Hayden 1996). Policy recommendations for increasing the supply of family homes in MINCs can be found in Silverman, Lupton et al (2006).

The second aspect of the neighbourhoods critical to parents' decisions to leave was the schools. The case studies add to the small amount of published evidence concerning

primary school uptake among better-off parents in MINCs, perhaps one of the most significant projected benefits of mixed-income housing for low-income families.

Primary school uptake was different at each neighbourhood: a new primary school at Greenwich Millennium Village had become the school of choice across tenures, while a new primary school at Britannia Village was largely rejected by families in the market-rate homes. No new schools had been built at the renewal neighbourhood of New Gorbals, and the existing primary schools there were considered acceptable by families with local ties, but not by newcomer families.

These examples indicate that mere construction of a new school is not sufficient to guarantee take-up by the families in the market-rate homes. One key lesson was the importance of strategic coordination between the educational authorities and the regeneration and housing agencies. Another lesson was that schools may need to actively reach-out to the better-off families in the neighbourhood, a strategy that the schools in Britannia Village and New Gorbals had eschewed. On this point, the chapter reviewed the perception that the goal of social mix in schools conflicts with the prevailing national educational policy promoting school choice, and concluded that the conflict may be lower in socially mixed neighbourhoods, including MINCs. Finally, the limited evidence from New Gorbals speaks to the particularly difficult task of attracting newcomer parents to an existing school in a renewal neighbourhood. Further research could investigate popular schools with a mixed student body, including looking at relations with parents, school culture, the share of students from better-resourced families, and other factors that contribute to their success.

The third and final aspect examined was the creation of a safe and friendly public realm, including the shared courtyards, public parks, streets and community meeting places. Among the lessons were the importance of maintaining a unified appearance across the neighbourhood, providing coordinated, on-site management, and the need for supervision at public parks, confirming that earlier conclusions about estate management apply to mixed income neighbourhoods as well. Deliberate attempts at building community, exemplified at Greenwich Millennium Village, may be particularly

necessary in these high-density neighbourhoods with many brand-new residents from very different backgrounds

A recent study of 'shrinking cities' pointed to the difficulties in retaining better-off parents in inner-ring urban areas:

The other arm of policy is equally important but less well understood: it is to retain these people at the critical point when they form stable partnerships and start to have children, typically 10–15 years after they are first attracted to the city. Currently, most European cities – and Leipzig and Manchester are no exceptions – are not perceived as family friendly. The very qualities that attract the young – vibrancy, street life, partying – may appear negative to couples combining a dual career with a third taxing job of rearing and educating small children. Apartment living may then appear constrained and problematic; suitable family housing may be hard to find, especially if parts of the critical middle ring of the city are seen as unprepossessing or even downright dangerous, and city school systems are seen as poorly performing and even hazardous for middle-class children. The major risk, at this point, is that families decide that they have no alternative to leaving for suburbs or small rural towns (Mace, Gallent et al. 2004, pp. 36 - 37).

The case studies in this research, taken all together, indicate that it is possible to attract and retain families at high-density inner-ring urban areas, but achieving this goal requires intention, effort, and funding. The most difficult task of all may be retaining newcomer families in a renewal area, such as New Gorbals.

The next and final chapter turns back to the original research questions about mixed income new communities as a form of urban regeneration, and the people who chose to live there, using the field work evidence to provide some answers.

CHAPTER NINE: CONCLUSIONS

In this thesis, I set out to learn about better-off families living in mixed-income new communities (MINCs). The research questions, set out in Chapter One and reprinted in Figure 8.6 below, combined learning about places and people, specifically *whether and how high-density mixed income new developments can attract and retain better-off families in the inner cities*. The field work identified and explored three British case studies to answer questions about the MINCs and about the people who live there.

Chapters Two and Three provided the conceptual framework for the two central themes of urban regeneration and better-off families in cities. Chapter Two set out the issues for the places of urban regeneration. It introduced a distinction between ‘renewal’ MINCs, those in areas with a previous and remaining low-income population, and ‘wholly new’ MINCs, those in areas with no previous population. The distinction between ‘renewal’ and ‘wholly new’ was then used to examine evidence from previously published case studies of MINCs. The examination highlighted differences in outcomes at wholly new and at renewal MINCs. The chapter also posed challenges and lessons for MINCs drawn from a brief survey of past approaches to urban regeneration, including the difficulty of introducing a higher-income population without displacing existing low-income residents.

Chapter Three focused on the people, exploring the reasons why better-off families in Britain have chosen not to raise their children in inner-ring urban areas. This chapter identified new social and policy trends that may hold the potential for change. On the social side, a trend for delayed parenthood and fewer children, together with rising work-force participation by professional mothers and increased parenting by professional fathers, may make city living more appealing than long commutes. Policy changes introduced through the Urban Renaissance, meanwhile, may make cities more child-friendly, with less noise, crime and pollution, and better-quality play areas. The chapter then reviewed existing evidence on the characteristics of better-off families who choose to raise children in inner-urban areas, reviewing three different ‘typologies’ to be checked against the field work evidence.

Chapters Four to Six presented the field work findings from the three case study neighbourhoods. These were selected, in accordance with the criteria set out in Chapter One, from among well-regarded, new build mid-to-high density, inner-ring urban mixed income neighbourhoods, populated for at least two years. Each case study was based on analysis of documents, face-to-face surveys of one-hundred residents, and in-depth interviews with at least twenty families in private sector housing, together with interviews of about twenty key actors. The field work chapters told the story of each place, from its origins to the time of the fieldwork, and analysed the ways in which the neighbourhood did or did not appeal to better-off families with children.

New Gorbals in Glasgow was a 'renewal' neighbourhood, with new mixed-income housing set within a wider area of poverty and deprivation. Better-off families included a number of 'locals', those with previous ties to the neighbourhood. 'Local' families with children tended to be more satisfied with the neighbourhood than were 'newcomers', those with no previous ties to the neighbourhood. Greenwich Millennium Village was a 'wholly new' MINC, built on a gas-works site in a formerly isolated London Thameside peninsula. The homes, parks, and state primary school were all highly regarded by families in both the private sector and the social sector homes. Britannia Village, also in London, represented a 'hybrid' MINC, including some former tenants of the docklands area council housing. Families from both sectors reported many concerns about raising children at this neighbourhood.

Chapters Seven and Eight brought the field work findings together with the conceptual framework. Chapter Seven applied the field work data to the broader discussion of differences in outcome at renewal and wholly new MINCs. The evidence suggests that renewal MINCs may offer a wider range of services for low-income residents, but may face more challenges than wholly new MINCs in providing a safe and attractive public realm (see tables 7.2, 7.3 and 7.4). The chapter also found that the 'typologies' of better-off families in mixed-income areas, drawn from existing research and described in Chapter Three, did not correspond to the field work evidence. Instead, the typology that most closely described the data was found to be the simple division between 'locals', those with previous connections or affinities to the neighbourhood, and

'newcomers', those with no previous ties to the neighbourhood (see table 7.6). These findings are reviewed below.

Chapter Eight explored policy and practice lessons for attracting and retaining better-off families in these neighbourhoods. The chapter examined obstacles to providing sufficient family homes for sale at MINCs, including social attitudes towards family living in high density housing and planning regulations on density. Practice lessons for schools discussed engaging educational authorities in the social goals of mixed-income neighbourhoods, including recruitment of children from different family backgrounds. Integrated physical management and design across tenures was seen to contribute to feelings of safety and attractiveness of the public realm.

This chapter now sets out the contribution of the thesis in answering the detailed research questions reprinted below from Chapter One, drawing out policy and practice implications and raising directions for future research.

Figure 9.1: Research Questions

The Places

1. Are some high -density inner-city MINCs home to better-off families with children in Britain?
2. How did the plans for these new neighbourhoods relate to better-off families with children?
3. Once built and populated, what aspects of these places most help or hinder in attracting and retaining better-off families, and why?
4. How do these places meet other challenges of new mixed communities?

The People

5. How many better-off families are living in these MINCs?
6. Who are they, and why did they choose to live there?
7. Which of these families are most likely to remain in the neighbourhoods, and why?

9.1 RESEARCH FINDINGS ABOUT THE PLACES:

1. Are some high-density inner urban MINCs home to better-off families with children in Britain? The scoping survey of MINCs described in Chapter One found that while there were *suburban* MINCs with families in the private sector homes, within *inner-urban* areas very few mixed income new neighbourhoods were being designed for families. Most new mixed-income neighbourhoods in *high demand* areas in particular were not planned to include families in the private sector, and offered primarily small flats for sale targeted at singles and couples without children. The field work for this dissertation also found that even at the four British MINCs identified as deliberately providing family homes for sale, future developments at adjacent sites were being planned with a much reduced share of private sector family homes.

A central implication of the lack of homes for better-off families in MINCs is that low-income children are unlikely to reap the full benefits postulated from living in mixed-income communities. The presence of better-off families with children was expected to improve the schools and other services for children, as well as to provide opportunities for children to see alternative social models and to mix socially across tenure and class background, as discussed in Chapter Two. Without the presence of better-off families with children, these opportunities are greatly reduced, if not lost altogether.

At the time of the field research, the lack of family-sized homes for sale in MINCs was not widely acknowledged, though it has become more established since publication of initial research findings (Silverman, Lupton et al. 2006), as noted in Nathan (2006), Bailey, Haworth et al (forthcoming 2006) and Rowlands (2006). The lack of better-off families may have a number of consequences for these areas, including a loss of informal social contacts across tenure, developed through children; a potentially lower quality of services, particularly health, education and children's leisure activities; a reduced concern for shared areas; and possible implications for ethnic segregation.

Meanwhile, if inner-urban MINCs continue to be developed without better-off families in the private homes, then it should be questioned whether these places are in fact preferable for low-income children and their parents than mono-tenure social housing estates. The evidence so far indicates that low-income families are likely to benefit from higher quality housing and public realm, but may lose out on special services targeted for low-income residents, particularly at 'wholly new' and 'hybrid' MINCs. Further research at a later stage could be helpful in examining this point.

A second implication of the lack of better-off families is the need to re-evaluate the contribution of these new high density urban neighbourhoods to limiting sprawl. Much new housing development across Britain is now projected to include a mix of incomes, particularly in London and the Thames Gateway areas. However, if the current trend continues and these new urban mixed-income neighbourhoods do not offer attractive places to raise children, then young families who can afford to do will be likely to leave, failing to stem the demand for out-of town family homes. While this research has focussed on high-density inner-urban MINCs, further research could investigate the conditions under which mid-density outer-ring urban MINCs are suitable for better-off families and dual-career families.

Finally, a third implication of the lack of new family homes for sale in MINCs is the missed opportunity to expand the supply of city homes on offer for dual career families looking to remain within the city, a market with potential for growth as described in Chapter Three. Further research could compare the housing location preferences of employed and unemployed mothers. Another useful direction could apply mapping techniques and large-scale data sets to analyse the supply of market-rate family-sized homes in urban as opposed to suburban areas, and to examine the actual presence of non-poor families in inner-ring and outer-ring urban areas, looking across different time periods, ethnic groups, and income levels as well as in different regions of the country.

2. How did the plans for these new neighbourhoods relate to better –off families with children? The original plans for all three case studies explicitly envisioned better-off families among the residents. The reasons for including these families varied: at New Gorbals it was in order to redress the declining school

population; at Greenwich Millennium Village families were seen as an integral part of a socially sustainable community; and at Britannia Village families with children were expected to purchase about a quarter of the homes for sale. In accordance with the plans to include families with children, the neighbourhoods were all designed with child-friendly features including pedestrianized streets, parks and secure shared open spaces, community leisure facilities at New Gorbals and at Britannia Village, and new primary schools at Britannia Village and at Greenwich Millennium Village.

However, in all three cases, the number of family homes actually built for sale were only about half the number planned. Analysis of the cases showed that the pivotal moment of change occurred when the leadership of the project moved from strong public or quasi-public agencies to private sector or weakened public sector management. The private sector developers had little incentive to build family homes in these socially risky new mixed-income areas. Public sector agencies, meanwhile, were less concerned with the type and mix of market-rate housing, and focused more on the types and sizes of social housing, seeking especially to provide new social housing for larger families with children.

One factor that may have served to limit public sector intervention in the type and mix of market-rate homes was the new policy emphasis on increasing housing density. Policy to increase residential density supported construction of smaller market-rate units, rather than larger family homes, since housing density was measured by the numbers of homes per area. Some research has already recommended employing additional or alternative measures of density, including number of bedrooms or numbers of people per neighbourhood (Cope 2002; PRP 2002; LSE research group 2005). These forms of measurement could also help ensure that mixed communities incorporate a broader range of household types.

It is clear from this research that a vision for families in the original plans is not sufficient to ensure that family housing for sale will in fact be built. Public sector commitment to ensuring a supply of market-rate family homes may be necessary, particularly in high-demand areas. Such a commitment has been voiced recently in the

New Islington development in Manchester, and by key staff planners involved in the Thames Gateway London (Soreson interview, 2005, Watson, 2006).

As this conclusion is being written, Government was reviewing the extent of public sector involvement in the size and type of market-rate homes at mixed income new developments. A 2005 consultation paper on 'Planning for Mixed Communities' had recommended that local planning authorities '*should not be prescriptive about what they seek in terms of the size and type of market housing* (ODPM (g) 2005, Annex B, para 14). This approach was critiqued by the Royal Town Planning Institute as '*strengthening the hand of the private housebuilders at the expense of local planning authority (LPA) control over the size and type of houses built by the private sector*' (Royal Town Planning Institute (RTPI) 2005). The 2006 Office of the Deputy Prime Minister (ODPM) summary of responses to the consultation paper noted that local planning authorities and developers held opposing views on this point, with local planning authorities preferring a more interventionist approach while developers wished to '*avoid overly prescriptive policies in respect of household type as they would impact upon the financial viability of sites*' (ODPM 2006 para 8). The findings from this thesis support the position of the Local Planning Authorities and the Royal Town Planning Institute, that a stronger public sector involvement is necessary to ensure a greater range of household types in the market-rate homes.

3. Once built and populated, what aspects of these places most helped or hindered in attracting and retaining better-off families, and why?

Homes, schools, and public realm were the most important site-related factors as parents decided whether to remain in or leave the neighbourhoods. The case studies provided both positive and negative lessons for policy and practice, as described in Chapter Eight. Among the positive lessons were the family homes at New Gorbals, an example of new mid-density flats that were well-designed for families, containing individual street-entrances, small private gardens and access to shared semi-public courtyards, arranged over two stories, with further flats above. Further research could examine well-regarded examples of high-density market-rate family housing in Europe, building on the work done by PRP (2002), to uncover design models that may be applicable in the UK.

Another positive model was the primary school at Greenwich Millennium Village, proof that a new school at a mixed-income inner-city neighbourhood could become the school of choice for all parents, across tenures. The success and popularity of the school, attributed in part to a high level of coordination among housing, regeneration and educational authorities and in part to the ethos and orientation of the particular head teacher, may be challenged in the near future by the influx of new social housing in increasing proportions at GMV. There is little current research examining successful inner-city schools with students from a range of backgrounds (see for example Ball 2003), and a further study could investigate these schools to learn from their school culture, curriculum, balance of student population, parental involvement and other aspects, as well as from 'magnet schools' such as those developed in low-income areas in the US.

Greenwich Millennium Village also provided positive lessons on the unified management of the public realm and development of community spirit across tenures. It is clear that these exemplary measures incurred additional costs. At Greenwich Millennium Village, the costs were borne in part by the developer, in the initial stages of GMV as a 'demonstration project'. However, as MINCs become more common, Government and local authorities may need to identify or budget other funding if they intend to emulate the success of Greenwich Millennium Village.

The case studies also provided instructive negative examples. The school at Britannia Village, ranked one of the lowest achieving schools in the borough, showed that mere construction of a new school was not sufficient to attract better-off parents. At New Gorbals, the existing schools had changed little over the course of the regeneration, and were considered unappealing by the newcomer parents. The case studies also revealed the ambivalence of current educational policy toward the social mix agenda and neighbourhood schools. Education policy has not addressed the issue of cross-class recruitment, even in deliberately socially mixed neighbourhoods, as discussed in Chapter Eight. These examples are particularly relevant as new MINCs are planned to include a new primary school as a matter of course, but often lack coordination between the housing and the educational authorities, and do not usually include detailed

consideration of whether and how the new schools will seek to draw students from across the range of backgrounds.

In terms of the public realm, 'newcomer' parents spoke frequently of a perceived 'roughness' at New Gorbals, despite much investment in management and maintenance of public order. Newcomer parents at Britannia Village were also disturbed by their perception of inappropriate public behavior, particularly by unsupervised children. This is a difficult challenge to overcome, and as a result, renewal areas and 'hybrids' may not be found suitable by 'newcomer' families, at least in the early stages. Over time, as the MINCs become more established, the perceived risk may lessen for such families.

4. How did these places meet other challenges of new mixed communities?

The review of area based initiatives and planned new communities from Chapter Two had suggested different challenges for renewal and for wholly new MINCs. With regard to the complex issue of displacement of low-income people, a severe challenge in renewal areas, there was little evidence that the inclusion of market-rate housing has led to direct displacement of low-income households at New Gorbals or Britannia Village. There was also no evidence that tenants with 'anti-social behavior' are more likely to be excluded from social housing at MINCs than at mono-tenure estates. The lack of evidence for displacement, and the positive example from New Gorbals, where local households were assisted in moving from social housing to home-ownership in the new development, lends cautious support to the argument that it may be possible to 'improve without moving', or 'develop without displace' in renewal areas, by increasing density and providing preferential low cost home ownership options to local residents. To that extent, this research provides evidence in support of the Urban Task Force position in favour of controlled, 'low-level' gentrification.

Looking across the broader outcomes for MINCs, the analysis of case study evidence in Chapter Seven found that MINCs in both wholly new and renewal areas provided good quality new social housing, reduced stigma (though more slowly at the renewal site) and raised land values. Services targeted for low-income residents were found to be better at

the renewal MINC, where they served a wider range of residents outside the immediate regeneration area, than at the wholly new or hybrid case studies. 'Neighbourhood nuisances' were found to be strongest at the 'hybrid' site, perhaps reflecting the lack of integrated on-site management across tenure. Other research reviewed in Chapter Two had suggested that better-off residents were unlikely to use local shops and services (Atkinson 2000), but this was not supported by the case study evidence.

In terms of social mixing across tenures, parents in about half of the private sector homes reported that their children had friends from the social housing, and residents generally voiced few problems with the social mix, though private sector residents at the 'hybrid' Britannia Village site had rather more concerns. However, the field research did not closely examine issues of social mixing, and further research could employ deeper methods and more structured observations to learn what aspects of MINCs help to promote, or inhibit, social mix across tenure.

Overall, the evidence from these case studies indicates that it can be important to distinguish between 'renewal' and 'wholly new' MINCs when setting goals and evaluating outcomes. The 'hybrid' case study showed particular difficulties, and these types of MINCs probably need particular care in planning.

9.2 RESEARCH FINDINGS ABOUT THE PEOPLE:

5. How many better-off families are living in these MINCs? In all three case study areas, most residents and key actors assumed that there were very few families with children living in the owner-occupied homes. The research found, in contrast, that about fifteen percent of all private sector households were families with dependent children. Children from the private sector homes composed between thirty to fifty percent of all children on site, due to the higher share of private sector housing in these areas (from 75% – 82% of all homes). Recognition of the true share of children from the private sector homes could help to change service provision on site, as well as marketing and future plans.

One important implication concerns the need to reconsider recommendations to limit ‘child density’, the share of children among the total population, as discussed in Chapter Seven. Some housing associations have adopted ‘maximum child density’ policies, recommending building for about 25% children as a proportion of all people, in order to limit problems associated with having too many unsupervised children on housing estates. The child density measurements do not account for tenure. However, for better-off parents, higher numbers of similar families with children can be a positive aspect of a neighbourhood, creating a ‘critical mass’ of ‘other families like us’. Chapter Seven argued that limiting ‘child density’ is likely to lead to a reduction in the number of family-sized homes for sale while preserving the maximum number of family-sized homes for social rent, given the urgent priority to provide housing for homeless families. As currently constructed, ‘child density’ limits are likely then to reduce the numbers of better-off families in MINCs. An alternative measure of child density, taking account of tenure in mixed-income areas, was proposed in Chapter Seven.

6. Who are these families, and why did they choose to live in or leave the neighbourhoods? Three existing typologies were reviewed in Chapter Three, and compared against the research findings in Chapter Seven (Table 7.7). The comparison found that none of the three typologies fully described or predicted the kinds of families living at the case study areas. The families were unlike Karsten’s (2003) culturally creative ‘family gentrifiers’ in Amsterdam, with with no strong representation of ‘creative professions’, and no higher than average shares of dual-career couples. The case study sites also did not attract clusters of families corresponding to the ‘social, economic and cultural capital gentrifiers’ suggested by Butler and Robson. Atkinson and Kintrea’s (2003) typology described the ‘locals’ living in the Scottish renewal site, but did not encompass the non-locals with children.

This study proposed a simple dichotomy for describing the private sector families living at MINCs, distinguishing between ‘locals’, those with previous ties to the neighbourhood, and ‘newcomers’. The local and newcomer families had different reasons for moving in, and different attitudes towards living in the neighbourhoods, as summarized in Table 6, Chapter Seven. One significant difference was that locals

purchased homes once they already had children, while most 'newcomers' families initially arrived without children, and then decided whether or not to remain and raise their children in the neighbourhood. Locals were more influenced by considerations of cost and size of the homes, while for newcomers the investment potential and proximity to work were key reasons for purchasing.

Significantly, in the renewal area the 'local' families were far more likely than the newcomers to send their children to the neighbourhood school, and experienced greater satisfaction with the neighbourhood overall. 'Locals' were also more likely to remain in the renewal area, while newcomers there mostly intended to leave. Both these findings point to the strong contribution of 'local' families as 'anchors' in newly regenerated areas, strengthening the argument against demolition or other forms of displacement.

The research also proposed a new category of 'local affiliated' people, those with religious or ethnic characteristics similar to locals. The study was unable to investigate this category, since only one of the sites investigated here sought out 'locals' and offered them preferential purchasing conditions, and only this site had a significant population of locals. The inclusion of another renewal or 'hybrid' site that had deliberately tried to retain local families could have provided important additional evidence on this point.

A key implication of the findings is that where MINCs are intended to attract families with children in the private sector homes, 'local' families could be explicitly targeted. Targeting local or 'local affiliated' families is particularly relevant in the early stages of the project, when land values may still be low due to previous stigma attached to the area. At this stage, renewal and 'hybrid' areas could be particularly attractive to local families seeking to upgrade their homes while remaining close to relatives and friends. In contrast, wholly new sites may do better to phase in family housing at a slightly later stage, once some of the newcomers have begun to raise children on site.

7. Which of these families are most likely to remain in the neighbourhoods, and why?

The study found that at least half of all private sector families intended to move away from the neighbourhoods in the coming years, rather higher than the rate of movement among urban families with children nationally. For some, the reasons were personal, and related to returning to another country of origin, or changing jobs. Where the reasons were related to the neighbourhood, the main reasons concerned the homes, the schools, and the public realm, with differences between locals and newcomers, as discussed above.

The survey data indicated the importance of physical attributes such as homes, parks, and the public realm, as well as the school. In-depth interviews with parents however, also indicated the importance of the social aspects of the place in the decision to remain. Pedestrianized streets, new primary schools and family –sized homes for sale are all important to better-off families, but are probably not sufficient reason to remain, in and of themselves, particularly in renewal areas. In order to retain better-off families, and newcomer families in particular, the interviews suggest that there is a need to invest thought and effort in enhancing social structures, including developing cross-tenure residents' committees and events, actively working with a cohort of parents with young children to help create social bonds and break down apprehensions about the local schools. Another direction would be to actively support those families willing to get more involved, to come into more contact with their fellow residents, to consider themselves 'urban pioneers', and to inspire others with their vision (see for example Gladwell's discussion of 'the stickiness factor' (2000, p. 89 – 132)).

The MINCs were expected to have lower resident turn-over than at other areas, due to the provision of a range of housing types and sizes. The case study evidence, however, found relatively high rates of resident intention to move. The potential for high turnover may be partially attributed to the early phases of the projects, and could be checked by follow-up research at the same sites in years to come.

However, the lack of suitable family homes suggests that churning will continue as the young singles and couples grow older and give birth to their first children. The high rates of turnover at these mixed-income neighbourhoods calls into question the entire notion of MINCs as ‘sustainable communities’. The social divergence between the changing population of childless households in the private sector homes and the families with young children in the social housing homes, is likely to become even stronger as the younger children grow up and become adolescents. If MINCs are to become more than conveyer belts and way-stations for their better-off residents, if they are to evolve into communities with social ties and on-going institutions, then it will be crucial to learn and implement the lessons of how to attract and retain better-off families over time.

Overall, the case studies indicate that it is possible to attract better-off families at new mixed-income high density inner-urban areas, without displacing low-income residents. Retaining these families over time, however, takes sustained effort and political will as well as targeted budgets. In addition, some changes in current policies for developing MINCs may be necessary, particularly concerning the extent of public sector involvement in determining the mix and type of market-rate housing, as well as measures of child density and residential density. It will also be critical to engage the educational authorities in the issues of social and class mix at schools. Even more broadly, the potential to retain families in inner-urban MINCs depends also on the intention and ability of cities to become more ‘child-friendly’.

9.3 REFLECTIONS ON METHODS AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS

As I conclude this thesis, I find myself reflecting on the methods, and alternatives that could have been taken, and on future directions for this research.

Inner city vs. suburban case studies: one interesting approach might have been to contrast case studies in the inner city with those from suburban areas. I investigated a number of suburban MINCs when selecting the case study sites for the thesis, and found that the share of owner families with children seemed much higher in suburban areas

than in the inner-city ones. Contrasting the two might have helped to identify the factors that make the suburban MINCs more attractive to families with housing choice, whether density, built form, parking, schools, or others. This approach might also have been more revealing about the types of families who choose to live in each area. Ultimately, this approach was less appealing to me personally, because of my interest in learning transferable lessons for urban revitalization in high-density areas in Israel.

‘Side-by-side’, rather than fully mixed, developments: ‘mixed-income housing’ in this study referred to the spatial integration of market-rate and non-market housing. However, some smaller towns and neighbourhoods employ a ‘side-by-side’ strategy for deconcentrating poverty, encouraging new higher-end housing adjacent to – but distinct from – existing low-demand homes, including social housing and/or privately owned homes. The investigation could have contrasted the two approaches along similar lines to those pursued in the thesis. Does the side-by-side approach attract a higher share of families with housing choice? Are these families more or less likely to send their children to the local neighbourhood schools, and what factors influence that decision? Do the children ‘mix’ more socially across different backgrounds in the spatially integrated housing developments, or is the location, design and management of common services and public space of greater importance to social mixing?

London-only case studies: The comparison between the London case studies and the Glasgow ones was limited due to the differences in housing costs, employment opportunities, transport infrastructure and ethnic diversity, among other factors. I considered choosing only London case studies, in order to strengthen the comparison across the sites. Concentrating all the field research in London would have freed time from travel, allowing for research at more sites, and more investigation of the role of the GLA and the individual boroughs. On the other hand, since London is such a unique case within Britain, this approach would have forfeited the potential lessons and implications for the national or international levels.

On-site residence: I considered the possibility of living for some months in at least one if not all of the case study areas, though ultimately ruled this out for personal reasons. I believe that living on site could have contributed greatly to the thesis. At each case study area there were a few people whose personal experiences seemed to me to be greatly revealing about the problems, potentials and future trajectories of the neighbourhood. I wanted to include 'pen-portraits' of these people within the case study chapters, telling their stories alongside my own impressions of the places. In writing up the case studies, however, I found that I lacked the detail necessary to tell these stories richly, detail that would have come more naturally had I been living on site, sharing the lives and experiences of those around me. I was also concerned that their stories and my own intuitive interpretations were inappropriate within a social policy dissertation. In the long run, however, I remain convinced that personal stories, observations and the researcher's own intuitions form an integral part of the social science undertaking.

Survey questions: in retrospect, the analysis family types could have been enriched by the inclusion of additional questions about the residents' personal backgrounds. It would have been helpful to know more about the respondents' educational background, their political leanings, the types of leisure activities they engaged in, career ambitions, and how they viewed living in the city, as opposed to suburban or rural options. With the parents, it would have been particularly interesting to explore the main caretaker's choice to work outside the home, and the impact of that choice on the decision to live in the city.

The collaborative research project: my decision to bid for funding for a collaborative research project based on the field work for this dissertation raised some concerns about whether undertaking joint research would jeopardize the independence and original contribution of the thesis. In retrospect, I feel that the thesis benefited greatly from the joint research project. The methods, data and findings were carefully challenged by my colleagues and by the Project Advisory Group, and benefited from their insights. Affiliation with the Rowntree Foundation helped ease access to key actors, and allowed me to exchange ideas with a group of researchers who were all investigating different aspects of mixed income communities. Knowing that the research findings would be disseminated to media and decision-makers helped me to stay motivated over the

course of the dissertation, and added a useful time-pressure for finishing the research. With that, the time-pressure of finishing the commissioned report to an external deadline underscored the opportunity afforded by the dissertation to think and read in depth over an extended period of time.

Future directions: the research raised a number of intriguing issues for future research, some of which have been described above. This section describes future research that I hope to be able to undertake myself. Child density measures is one such topic, including finding out how practitioners are actually using the numerical recommendations on child density, in both mono-tenure and mixed income areas. Another intriguing direction would be to return to the case study sites at some point in the future, to learn how they have developed and changed. Pursuing the direction of mixed income housing as a tool for urban regeneration, it would be interesting to contrast the British experience with that of the US, Canada, Holland, Sweden, and Australia, among others. Following up the theme of Chapter Three, that there may be a new wave of demand for city living by families with housing choice, it would be helpful to use mapping techniques and census analysis to investigate this possibility, and to undertake a more thorough study of 'child-friendly cities' as part of a more environmentally sustainable and gender-balanced society. Finally, the thesis highlighted the conflicts between the housing and the education agendas on deconcentrating poverty and neighbourhood effects, a crucial and under-researched issue for further study.

As I finish writing this conclusion, I have returned to my home city of Tel Aviv, and to the half-finished tower-blocks that inspired the research questions of the thesis, as I waited to see whether they would indeed attract better-off families to the neighbourhood. I have learned from this research that the new development there could have been planned and designed very differently indeed, if the aim really was to attract better-off families to the neighbourhood. The development could have included a wider range of housing types than simply flats in the tower blocks, including ground-floor duplexes with street entrances and private gardens. The buildings themselves could have been designed to connect more permeably and legibly to the surrounding

neighbourhood and the existing green spaces, rather than presenting a closed front. Alternatively, the development programme could have encouraged existing residents to expand and upgrade their four-family, two storey homes, by building new flats on their roofs thus enriching the local owners and improving the quality of their homes, as well as adding the desired numbers of new homes.

Local families could have been explicitly targeted as potential purchasers. The project could have forged connections with the local day care centers and schools, as well with the excellent local leisure centre, marketing their facilities to families. These measures would also have helped to build social ties among the new resident parents, and between newcomers and locals. A budget could have been allocated for community building activities between the new residents and the old. Instead, it now appears that most of the flats have been purchased as investments, rented on a short-term basis to sharers with little intention to remain in the neighbourhood. Others have been sold to local residents looking to remain close to relatives. Neither situation serves to improve the area reputation or its existing services.

This thesis closes with a vision for a child-friendly city, taken from the Mayor of London's 'Children and Young People's Strategy'. At the time of writing, London stood out among some five hundred cities enrolled in UNESCO's Child-Friendly Cities Initiative (UNESCO website 2005) for the breadth of its strategic plans for a child-friendly city, and the scope of the new institutions designed to carry them out. The London Children and Young People's Unit managed a programme of child impact assessments, working with a designated planner in the Spatial Planning Department to evaluate the 'child-friendliness' of new roads and housing developments. The unit also directed 'child audits', analysed expenditure on children in and across London's key children's service, and produced 'State of London's Children' reports that contained an extraordinary range of indicators and background data, comparing children in London, across boroughs, by ethnicities, and nationally (Hood 2004). Other strategic measures included publications in child-friendly language and a children's website; a Children's Rights Commissioner for London; the GLA Young Londoner's Survey and annual consultations with children and young people.

The measures to make London a child-friendly city were not only 'strategic', as I have been hugely privileged as a parent to discover. They included cycle paths and safe routes to school, free bus travel and frequent school trips to cultural venues and free tube transport for accompanied children on weekends, park upgrades, publically subsidized outdoor family events and extraordinary museum educational programmes. My own Camden neighbourhood also offered a large and well-supervised playground with subsidized after-school clubs, an excellent children's library, and an inner-city school that celebrated diversity while creating a strong feeling of community among the children and parents. It seems fitting, then, to close with the following quotation:

If our major cities are to become genuinely sustainable – places where families chose to bring up their children and where all young people feel valued and included – we must listen to their concerns – and act on them. If we fail to do so, the costs will be considerable not just now but to future generations and to our society as a whole (Greater London Assembly 2004, p. 8).

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Appendix One: Statement concerning joint research

This statement was prepared on October 5th 2004, and approved by thesis supervisor, Professor Anne Power, and by LSE Social Policy Department Convener, Professor Anne West, as well as by research colleague Dr. Ruth Lupton (Institute of Education). The proposal has been adhered to in full.

University of London regulations state that

The thesis shall:

(a) consist of the candidate's own account of his/her investigations, the greater proportion of which shall have been undertaken during the period of registration under supervision for the degree; [The part played by the candidate in any work done jointly with the supervisor(s) and/or fellow research workers must be clearly stated by the candidate and certified by the supervisor.]

(section 4.1.2a)

and that:

Research work already published, or submitted for publication, at the time of submission of the thesis, either by the candidate alone or jointly with others, may be included in the thesis. The published papers themselves may not be included in the body of the thesis, but may be adapted to form an integral part of the thesis and thereby make a relevant contribution to the main theme of the thesis. Publications derived from the work in the thesis may be bound as supplementary material at the back of the thesis.] (section 4.1.2. c)

I am currently involved in joint research with Ruth Lupton funded by the Joseph Rowntree Foundation (JRF), and titled 'Families in Mixed Income New Communities'. I am named as first author on the report. The 15,000 word joint research, due to be published in June 2005, is a pragmatic and policy oriented investigation of the limited numbers of middle class families living in new mixed income urban communities. My PhD is a more theorized exploration of this issue.

I submitted a project proposal in response to the JRF's call for research on mixed income new communities in September, 2003, based on my PhD work over two years. I was particularly interested in foundation support in order to strengthen the evidence base for my thesis, and also to increase the policy relevance of the material.

I am responsible for research on three of four case study sites. I had already completed much of the field work in these sites before beginning the joint research. For the funded research, I designed a new questionnaire and managed the database. I will be responsible for analysing the data for the joint report.

The joint research adds three new pieces of research: a fourth case study, a survey of house builders, and an analysis of census data to determine trends in family housing choices. Ruth Lupton is leading on these pieces. I will cite this evidence in my PhD, stating clearly that this is not my own independent work.

Ruth Lupton and I will jointly analyse the data and map out our conclusions. Ruth Lupton is responsible for drafting the written report, with the exception of the analytical chapter which I will draft.

Appendix Two: Request for Interview and Description of Research

Dear _____

Hello, my name is Emily Silverman, I'm a researcher and PhD student at the London School of Economics, and I'm hoping that you will be able to find the time to meet with me concerning current research on mixed-income new communities.

This study looks at the experience of raising children in new mixed-income neighbourhoods, and Greenwich Millenium Village is one of three areas which will be profiled in-depth. Over the coming three months I will be interviewing key people involved with the planning, development and management of Greenwich Millenium Village, and will also look to interview a sample of parents from both social housing and private market homes.

I am hoping to be able to interview you about the Millenium Primary School, and your approach to education within a mixed/tenure and mixed-income community. Of course, I'm aware that you must be very busy, and would greatly appreciate any time that you could give to this. Interviews with head teachers in other case study areas have typically lasted for about one hour.

Attached is a short piece describing the research. I hope it will be all right if I call you early next week to try to arrange a short meeting?

Best wishes and thanks in advance,

Emily

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Families in new mixed -income communities

Support for socially balanced, mixed income and mixed –tenure neighbourhoods is now high on the political agenda in the UK. A growing number of mixed-income new communities have been developed in recent years, and many more are now planned.

Socially balanced communities are postulated to bring many benefits, including cross-subsidy for affordable housing, regeneration of distressed urban areas, and de-concentration of poverty. An additional benefit is considered to be the improvement of facilities and life opportunities for children from socially excluded families.

This research looks specifically at aspects of raising children in mixed-income communities, from both social housing and from market rate homes. The research is composed of two parts: a scoping survey of new mixed-income communities around the UK, followed up with in-depth case studies of four neighbourhoods. .

The in-depth case studies look at four mixed income new communities in the UK and the extent to which they have attracted market rate families with children. The case studies draw on **interviews with key actors in the development, planning and management of these neighbourhoods, including the development and architecture team, early children education and primary school staff, community and leisure staff, housing and grounds management, and neighbourhood representatives.** Field work for each case study also includes interviews with a representative sample of parents from both social housing and private market homes and an analysis of documentary materials and on-site observations.

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Appendix Three: List of Interviews

New Gorbals, Glasgow

NAME	Position/ organization	Date interviewed
Gerry Henaughen	Architect, Hypostyle	Nov 6 th , 2003
Fraser Stewart	Director, New Gorbals Housing Association	April 28 th , 2004, Nov 6 th , 2003
Rona Quinn	Bridge End Nursery, Adelphi Centre	April 26 th , 2004
Lynn Flower	Deputy Head teacher, BlackFriars School,	April 26 th , 2004
David Hogg	Project manager, Townsend and Turner,	April 26 th , 2004
John Scott	Researcher, Consultant, IDS	April 27, 2004
Linda Hendry	Gorbals SIP	April 27 th , 2004
Tony Devlin	Resident, photographer, ID project	April 28 th , 2004
Bob Perdan,	Director, healthy living Network, Gorbals	April 27 th , 2004
Linda Muirhead	Resident, play strategy group	April 28 th , 2004
Linda Quinn,	Sales Negotiator, Miller Homes	March 15 th , 2004
Angie Muir	Deputy director, TASK child care	March 16 th , 2004
Brian Fitch	Crown Street Regeneration Project	November 5 th , 2003, and March 16 th
Philomena	Patch coordinator	March 16 th , 2004
Community worker	Glasgow Community Alliance	March 16 th 2004
Norman Fitzpatrick	New Gorbals Housing Association, deputy director	August 17 th , Sept 13 th , 2004
Mourad*	Former chair, residents association ,	August 16 th
Elaine Sheerin	Healthy Living Network, Outreach Development Officer	Sept. 13, 2004
Liz Nemo	Gorbals Initiative Recruitment Assistant,	Sept. 12, 2004
Dr. Nicola Bourque	Crown Street Residents Association, Co-Converner	Sept. 13, 2004
Librarian	Library	Sept 13, 2004
Receptionist*	Leisure Centre	Sept. 12 th 2004
PC John McLelland*	Community Police Officer	August 17 th , 2004

* interviewed by Amy Anderson.

Greenwich Millennium Village

Name	Position	Date
Martyn Laycock	GMVRA, deputy chair	Jan-04
Carole Jones	Pinnacle, managing agent	Jan-04
Peter Knight	GMVL, estate agent	Jan-04
Caroline Field	MOAT, resident liason	Jan 2004, Sept 2004,
Joanne Smith	Ecology Park, Warden	Feb-04
Rashida	MPS, nursery nurse	Feb-04
Debby/ Corinna	MPS, toy library	Feb-04
Adrian Putman	GMVL, project director	Mar-04
Amanda Dennison	Millennium Primary School, Head teacher	Mar-04
Mary Mills	Local Councillor	Mar-04
Andrew Parker	LBGreenwich, Strategic Planning	Mar-04
Jonathan Gimblett	GMVL, site manager	Apr 2004, Oct 2004, Oct 2005.
Claire Winterflood	GMVL, communications director	Apr-04
Iain Johncock	LEA Greenwich, educational planning officer	Apr-04
Jonathan Fox*	GMVRA, Chair	Aug-04
Susan Cooper	MOAT, regional director for London	Sep-04, Oct 2005
Dr Jo Simpson	Countryside, group strategic research	Sep-04
Roger Sullivan	Pinnacle, senior manager	Oct-04
Johannes Tovatt	Erskine Tovatt architects, masterplanner	Nov-04
Alan Cherry	Countryside Properties, Chair	Jul-05
Robert Sprosen	GMVRA	Jul-05
Philip Dibsdaile	English Partnerships, senior regeneration manager	Oct- 05

* interviewed by Amy Anderson.

Britannia Village

Name	Position	Date
Gillian Turner	Manager, Community Links 2003	Mar-03
Lorna Hughes	residents association 3West Mercy Close	Mar-03, 04, 05
Theresa McDonald	Vice Chair, tenants association	Mar-03
Estate Agent	Royal Docks Estate Agents	Mar-03
Leslie Church	Britannia Village School	Apr-03
Gillian Turner	Manager, Community Links 2003	Apr-03
Penny Marsh	Royal Docks Community Church	Apr-03, 04
Mel Lamb	George Wimpey	Jun-03, 05
Frank Vickery	East Thames Housing Group	Jun-03
John Johnson	Formerly community consultant LDDC 2003	Jun-03, 04
Sid Keys	North Woolich and Silvertown Community Forum	Jun-03
George Gardner	Tibbalds TM2	Sep-03
Naomi.Newstead	LB Newham, planning	Oct-03
Piers Brunning	LEA, LB Newham	Oct-03
Brian Fitzsimmons	Community Forum, LSP	Jul-04
Caryn Metzger*	Headteacher, Drew School	Aug-04
Andy Miller- Chan	WS VCF	Sep-04
Jo Edwards	Newham Council	Sep-04
Peter Chilvers	yachtman	Sep-04
Ruth	RDCC community development worker	Sep-04
Charlie Irvine**	policeman	Oct-04
Barney Lodge	Residential Web Sites manager 2005	Jan-05
Eric Sorenson	Formerly CEO, LDDC	Jan-05
Michel Trocme	Urban Strategies	Jan-05
Rachelle Blackman	Team Manager, lettings, ETHA	Jun-05

* Hannah Loizos interview

** Alex Fenton interview

Appendix Four: Survey form

